



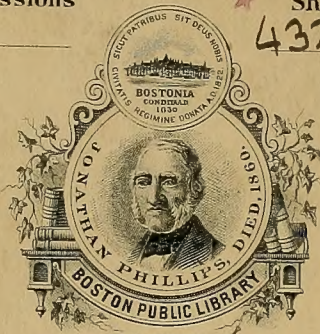


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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF

POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS;

DEVOTED TO THE EXPOSITION OF THE MUTUAL INTERESTS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

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VOL. III.

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**THE INDEX**

CONTAINS

**LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.**

**PRIVATE LETTERS FROM THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN STATES.**

**LEADERS ON TOPICS OF INTEREST.**

**FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.**

**THE COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.**

**REVIEWS OF BOOKS.**

**CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS.**

**MAGAZINE ARTICLES.**

**GLEANINGS FROM THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PRESS.**

**SOUTHERN STATISTICS. &c., &c.**



# CONTENTS.

LEADERS—	Page.
Army, the Confederate	25
American Aggression, the Lords' Debate on	56
"    Cawnpore, an	298
"    Policy or English Industry	345
"    Political Economy	299
"    Facts and Abolition Fictions	393
Appeal to Christians, the	104
Attorney-General, the, for the Defence	409
British Security and Yankee Impunity	153
"    Interests in Secession	186
Battles, the, in Pennsylvania	185
"    Impending	560
Blockade, the	376
Budgets, the Federal and Confederate	570
Charleston	80
"    the Siege of	312
"    the Siege of	328
Canningham, Mr., and the Slave Trade	122
Confederate Advance, the	153
Conceivable Calamity, a	169
Consistency at the Foreign Office	201
Cobden, Mr., on the Alabama	218
Cotton Trade, Can India Save Our	250
"    still King	520
"    the Embargo on	552
Chickamauga Creek	376
Campaigns, the New	473
"    the, of 1863	568
Cloven Foot, the	504
Congress, the, and England	506
Chattanooga, the Fight at	520
Debate, the, on Tuesday	152
Discharged Order, the	185
Dropping the Mask	328
Descensus Avernii	379
Dismissal of the British Consuls, the	440
Emperor, the, and the War	72
"    and Mr. Roebuck	168
England and Southern Statesmanship	184
Exchanges, the Cessation of	522
Extra-Parliamentary Utterances	537
Foreign Enlistment Act, the	10
Federals, the Military Prospects of	392
Gold, the Price of, in the South	363
German Professor, a, on the American	
Quarrel	426
Historical <i>versus</i> "Historical"	24
"    Again	330
Imperial Speech, the	457
International Law and American Practice	41
Injustice not Generosity	569
Jack in Office	89
Lamar, Colonel, at Chertsey	408
Letter of Invitation, the	473
Ministers in Congress	25
Mississippi, the Struggle in	120
"    the Losses on	216
Masterly Inactivity, the Fruits of	216
Mexico, the Empire of	248
"    Emperor of	378
Mexican Prospects	394
Mersey Steamships, the	425
North, the: What it is Fighting For	88
"    on its Defence	168
"    at a Standstill	280
Northern Threat of War with England, the	201
"    Revolution, the	280
New York Riots, the	217
"    and Charleston	296
Newman Hall's Excommunication	249
Negro Soldiers	265
Negroes, Arming the	312
Negro's Place in Nature, the	522
Neutrality of Non-Intercourse, the	472
Parliamentary Debates, Recent	8
President Davis's Address to the Confederate	
People	27
Puebla, the Fall of	120
Pennsylvania and Mississippi	200
Prospect, the	202
Parallel, a, and a Contrast	233
Peace Party at the North, the	235
Press, the, on Mr. Mason's Withdrawal	360
Premier, the, on the Great Questions of the	
Day	456
President Davis's Message	553
"    Lincoln's Message	554
Quem Deus Vult Perdere	74
Rappahannock, On the	56
Roebuck's (Mr.) Notice of Motion	105
Retaliation	121
Recognition before Parliament	136
Russell (Lord) at Blairgowrie	362
Reply of the Scottish Clergy, the	441
Star of the North, the New	40

LEADERS—(continued)	Page.
Seward's Letter to the "Citizens of London"	57
Stonewall Jackson	72
"    a British Monument to	136
Southern Exchanges, our	91
"    Trade, the Value of	137
"    Cause, the Advocacy of	488
Session, the	219
Secession, the Rightfulness of	235
Slavery, Northern <i>versus</i> Southern	264
State Elections in the North	424
State of Affairs North and South	536
Two Years' Invasion and its Results	248
Threat of War, the	296
Trade, the, Between New York and Nassau	313
Tennessee, the Situation in	408
"    East, the Struggle for	457
"    the Crisis in	504
"    and Virginia	536
Victory, another indecisive	73
Vicksburg	90
"    the Siege of	104
"    and Port Hudson	137
Virginia and Tennessee	424
War, a Long	40
"    the, in the West and East	73
"    without End	232
"    the new Aspect of the	234
"    the Progress of	265
"    a, of Extermination	282
"    the	440
"    Critics and the War	488
Withdrawal, the, of the Confederate Com-	
missioners	344
Yankee-Russian Alliance, the	392
"    the Tender Mercies of	553
REVIEWS—	
Anthropological Review	204
Border and Bastille	299
Battle Fields of the South	459
Chesney's Military View of Recent Campaigns	154
Estvan's War Pictures from the South	171
Forthcoming Books	44
Freeman's History of Federal Governments	236, 283
Familiar Epistle to Robt. J. Walker	491
Fremantle's Three Months in the Confederate	
States	523
Foster's History of Charles the Bold	534
Gronow's Recollections and Anecdotes	187
Gilliam's Manual of Instruction for Volunteers	347
Greenhow's, my Imprisonment	506
Hogg's Life of Dabney Carr Harrison	267
Hewitt's Poem—War	347
Hawthorn's Our Old Home	444
James (Mrs.) Wanderings of a Beauty	107
Kemble's Journal of a Residence on a Georgia	
Plantation	77
Literary Notes	476, 492, 534
La France, La Mexique et les Etats Confédérés	315
Magazines, The, 29, 94, 155, 236, 293, 380, 442	
Massey's History of the Reign of George III	107
Malet's Errand to the South	172
McMahon's Cause and Contrast	348
McHenry's Cotton Trade	427
Norton's (Mrs.) Lost and Saved	107
Peterhoff, Seizure of the	12
Peace, a Northern Plea for	12
"    The Sole Chance felt for Reunion	89
Photographs of Confederate Celebrities	396
Pollard's First Year of the War	171
Quarterlies, The	11, 173, 205, 428
Recognition, A Letter to Lord Palmerston by	
J. L. O'Sullivan	173
Royal, Ape, The	347
Renan's Vie de Jesus	395
South, The, as it is	30
Stonewall Jackson, Life of	316
Two Months in the Confederate States, by an	
English Merchant	27
Trip on Horseback through Tartary	108
Upshur's Enquiry into the Federal Government	58
Victor Hugo	203
Williams' Rise and Fall of the Model Republic	475
ARTICLES ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS—	
Auction Prices at Charleston	85
Alexandra, Seizure of the	141
"    the Case of	474, 490
African Missions; the Case of	222
Anthropological Society; Report of Meeting	471
American Question, the, in Italy (from the	
Discussion)	557
Bright, Mr., and the American Cotton Supply	
(Times)	118
Brougham, Lord, on America	407
Bledsoe, Professor, on the Causes of the Ameri-	
can War	518, 539, 571

ARTICLES—(continued)	Page
Charleston, Southern Accounts of the Battle	
of	22, 46
Capture of the Indianola	39
"    Federal Steamers	186
Confederate Cause, the, in France	279
"    Clergy's Appeal ( <i>Morning Herald</i> )	118
Clinton, Louisiana, the Sacking of	295
Chase's Estimates (from the <i>Times</i> )	565
Derby Day, the	76
Dramatic Topics	170
Daring Adventure, a	295
Ellice, Hon. E., on America	358
England's Position	439
Emperor Napoleon's Speech	454
Ferrell's Account of his Scouting Expedition	230
Federal Pillage and Barbarity	278
"    Kidnapping in Canada	525
Houston General, Life of	458
Hunt, Dr., on the Negro's Place in Nature	486, 501
Jackson, Condition of	309
Imperial Letter, the	454
Lamar, Colonel, Speech of	405
Lindsay, Mr., Speech of	429
"    Letter to the <i>Star</i>	
Letter from the Treasurer of the Southern Pri-	
soners' Relief Fund	501
Macfarland (Mr.) on Mr. Mason	142
Manchester Southern Independence Association	391
Newmarket Races	11
Palmerston's Speech at Guildhall	455
Prices at Richmond	119
Prayers used in the Confederacy	230
Roebuck's Motion ( <i>Morning Herald</i> )	87
"    the French Press on	165
Royalty at Eton College	106
Recognition, the English Press on	150
Recent Federal Successes, the English Press on	215
Russell, Earl, on America	357
"    Neutrality of, ( <i>Morning Herald</i> )	519
Rives, Hon., N.C., Letter From	459
Rams, the, in the Mersey	423
"    Correspondence on	429
Reply to the Address of the Confederate	
Clergy	439
Southern Newspapers, a Glance at	42
Stonewall Jackson, the London Press on	69
"    A Short Sketch of	75
"    A Reminiscence of	76
Siege of Vicksburg, Account of	262
Sufferings of Confederate Prisoners of War	279
Slave Trade in the Society Islands	228
Slavery in America from the <i>Church and State</i>	
Review	309
Slavery and the Bible, from the <i>Standard</i>	461
Theatres, the	397
Trade in Ships of War ( <i>Times</i> )	
Voice from a Federal Prison, a	229
Views of a Southern Planter	247
Wood, Fernando, on Peace	12
Winchester, Capture of	183
Walker, R. J., Letter to Democratic Committee,	
of Pennsylvania	486
Yankee Outrages in Gloucester County	183
Yancey, Hon. W. L., Life of	294
CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS:—	
Act to Provide for the Funding of Treasury	
Notes	39
"    to Establish the Flag of the Confederate	
States	84
Beauregard's General Orders at Charleston	21
"    Despatches	247
"    Letter to Gilmore	326
Bragg's Report of the Capture of Colonel	
Straits command	84
Blockade-running Statistics	359
Confederate Motto	84
"    Finances, Letter of the Secretary	
of the Treasury on	343
General Orders relating to the Vicksburg	
Garrison and the Defences of Mobile	278
Johnstone's Address to his Army	230
Lee's Letter denying Meade's reported Captures	247
General Orders	84, 230, 423
Moore, Consul, Letters Patent Revoking the	
Exequatur of	151
"    Despatch to Mr. Mason con-	
cerning	167
Mason's (Hon. J. M.) Farewell Despatch to	
Earl Russell	347
Official Reports on Federal Barbarities in Vir-	
ginia	7
"    Correspondence between the President	
and Vice-President	231
"    Correspondence between the French	
and Confederate Governments	314



CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS—(continued)

Official Correspondence on the Dismissal of the Consuls

476

Plan of the Secretary of War for Supplying the Armies

47

President Davis's Address to the Confederate States

23

" Proclamation on the Constitution

230

" Proclamation for a National Fast Day

247

" Address to the Army

270

" Army of Tennessee

455

" Third Annual Message

548

Tax Bill, the

15

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS—

Address to Christians throughout the World

108

Correspondence relating to Confederate Agents in England

14

Correspondence between Mr. Mason and Mr. Monroe D. Conway

116

Deshler, Colonel, Letter of, on the Outrages on Confederate Prisoners in Arkansas

63

Davis, President, on Education

84

Foreign Enlistment Act, Memorial from Ship-owners on the

190

General Order announcing the Death of Stonewall Jackson to the Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute

166

Harris, Governor, Letter of, to the Winchester Bulletin

23

Hooker, General, Congratulatory Order of

70

Lincoln's Retaliation Order

269

" Letter to the Union Committee in Illinois

325

" Proclamation suspending the Habeas Corpus

358

" Proclamation, calling for Three Hundred Thousand Volunteers

439

" Amnesty Proclamation

567

" Message

565

List of Confederate Prisoners in Fort Lafayette

118

" Steamers that have run the Blockade

535

" Confederate Officers captured at Port Hudson

184

Lists of Killed and Wounded

134

" of Exiles from New Orleans

148, 199, 310, 327

" of Federal Outrages

199

Manchester Central Association, Circular of Southern Club, Memorial of, to Earl Russell

326

New Jersey Protest against the Lincoln Government

358

Proclamation of the Governor of Mississippi

262

Vice-President Stephens on the War

119

Van Dorn, the late, Card from the Staff of Vile, General, Order of, Imposing a Tax on Disloyal Citizens of Norfolk

151

Vance, Governor, Proclamation of

206

Vallandigham's Address to the People of Ohio

359

VIEWS OF THE CONFEDERATE PRESS:—

Benefits of the War (*Charleston Courier*)

22

Bread and Meat Question (*North Carolina Presbyterian*)

38

Superior: Power of the North (*Charleston Mercury*)

VIEWS OF CONFEDERATE PRESS—(continued)

British Consulate at Mobile (*Mobile Register*)

54

Dismissal of the British Consuls (*Southern Press*)

438

French in Mexico, The (*Richmond Sentinel*)

333

" " (*Richmond Enquirer*)

334

" " (*Richmond Dispatch*)

422

Maryland Elections (*Richmond Examiner*)

425

No Peace (*Lynchburg Republican*)

38

Naval Attack on Port Hudson (*Memphis Appeal*)

55

Navigation of the Mississippi (*Mobile Register*)

263

Recall of the Confederate Commissioners (*Richmond Press*)

47

Results of the Battles of Fredericksburg (*Richmond Press*)

84

Resources of the South (*Richmond Examiner*)

230

Superior Power of the North (*Charleston Mercury*)

38

Southern Reply to "Historicus" (*Charleston Courier*)

78, 126

Stonewall Jackson, Death of (*Richmond Enquirer*)

87

" " as Professor (*Richmond Sentinel*)

135

Taxes (*Richmond Enquirer*)

14

Yazoo Pass Expedition (*Vicksburg Whig*)

38

VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES PRESS:—

Northern View of Cotton Prospects (*N. Y. Economist*)

37

Federal Expectations of Getting the English Cotton Trade (*N. Y. Herald*)

87

Does the Uniform Protect the Slave (*N. Y. World*)

138

Arming the Negroes (*N. Y. Tribune*)

334

The Ukase (*N. Y. Daily News*)

358

Belligerent Rights at Sea (*Boston Courier*)

366

France, Russia, and the United States (*N. Y. Daily News*)

406

Another Terrible Argument for Peace (*N. Y. Daily News*)

407

Shall we have an Eight Year's War? (*N. Y. World*)

455

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR—

The late General J. K. Duncan

13

American Union (*Weccacoe*)

31

St. James's Hall Meeting (*U. S.*)

31

Unconstitutionality of Coercion (*Weccacoe*)

54

War Songs of the South

60

Federal Outrages on Clergymen (*Richmond*)

78

General T. J. Jackson (*M. D. H.*)

93

Recognition: The Coming Debate (*Englishman*)

141

Appeal to Christians (*R. J. Stewart*)

141

Reconstruction Farce, the (*A. B.*)

183

Richmond Enquirer, the (*Confederate*)

197

Charles Sumter (*W. G. O.*)

206

Negro of the North, the

277

Death of the Hon. J. J. Crittenden (*A Looker-on in New York*)

285

Southerner's View of Parties at the North (*A Southerner at the North*)

286

Aggressive Power of the Yankees (*J. W. Cowell*)

293

How to Extinguish Greek Fire (*An Englishman*)

343

Jackson Statue Fund (*W. H. Gregory*)

343

Postal Communication with the Confederate States (*Henry Hotze*)

364

Tribute, a (*Friend and Confederate*)

390

LETTERS—(continued)

Russian Fleet at New York (*John Bull*)

390

Southern Independence Association (*James Nield, T. M. Walker*)

411

Suggestion, a (*J. W. Cowell*)

470

Thanksgiving Entertainment at St. James's Hall (*E. Q. V.*)

508

Extraordinary Repentance (*Qui Vive*)

516

American War and the Sonderbund (*Helveticus*)

516

Cobden, Mr., and the Times (*E. Q. V.*)

534

Confederate Cotton Loan, the (*Hon. C. J. M' Rae*)

538

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—

Bahia

139

Charleston

156, 331, 411

Nassau

157

New Orleans, 53, 85, 102, 123, 139, 157, 165, 174, 189, 197, 220, 228, 244, 268, 284, 292, 317, 348, 373, 388, 420, 485.

New York, 253, 269, 364, 374, 412, 420, 444, 460, 508, 516, 572.

Paris, 69, 103, 125, 139, 158, 166, 182, 198, 214, 238, 261, 277, 301, 307, 333, 356, 374, 388, 413, 421, 445, 461, 468, 485, 509, 517, 532, 506, 573.

St. Thomas

86

Turin

140, 262

LETTERS FROM RICHMOND—

March 26, published May 14

44

April 14, " 21

59

" 29, " June 11

110

May 12, " 4

93

" 30, " July 16

188

July 4, " August 13

252

" 11, " 20

253

" 18, " 20

268

" 25, " September 3

301

August 1, " 24

341

" 8, " 24

341

October 10, " November 5

433

" 17, " 19

468

" 24 & 31, " December 17

540

November 7, " 10

524

" 14, " 17

540

" 30, " 31

572

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—

1, 17, 33, 49, 65, 81, 97, 113, 129, 145, 161, 177, 193, 209, 225, 241, 257, 273, 289, 305, 321, 337, 353, 369, 385, 401, 417, 433, 449, 465, 481, 498, 514, 529, 545, 567.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES—

4, 20, 35, 51, 83, 100, 115, 132, 147, 164, 181, 196, 213.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—

6, 21, 37, 53, 68, 117, 133, 159, 175, 191, 207, 223, 239, 255, 271, 287, 303, 319, 335, 351, 367, 383, 398, 414, 430, 446, 462, 478, 494, 510, 526, 542 559, 574.

LANCASHIRE DISTRESSES—

2, 18, 34, 50, 67, 82, 99, 114, 130, 162, 178, 211, 243, 306, 562.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—

158, 175, 190, 206, 222, 238, 254, 270, 287, 302, 318, 334, 350, 366, 381, 398, 413, 430, 445, 471, 478, 494, 510, 525, 541, 557, 574.

CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE—

278, 293, 308, 332, 342, 365, 375, 396, 406, 421, 437, 453, 469, 485, 509, 518, 532, 557, 564.



# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 53.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 30, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America .. .. .	1
England .. .. .	2
Europe .. .. .	3
Parliamentary Notes .. .. .	4
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter .. .. .	6
Manchester Letter .. .. .	7
Extracts from Private Letters .. .. .	7
Clerical Assurance .. .. .	7
LEADERS—	
Charleston .. .. .	8
Recent Parliamentary Debates .. .. .	8
The Foreign Enlistment Act .. .. .	10
Newmarket Races .. .. .	11
The Quarterly Reviews .. .. .	11
Seizure of the Peterhoff .. .. .	12
A Northern Plea for Peace .. .. .	12
Letter to the Editor .. .. .	13
Mr. Fernando Wood on Peace .. .. .	13
Confederate Agents in England .. .. .	14
The Richmond Examiner on Confederate Taxation .. .. .	14
The Confederate Tax Bill .. .. .	15
The Lincoln Catechism .. .. .	15
La Bataille des Mouchairs .. .. .	15

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

The result of the attack on Charleston is more unquestioned, though not more unquestionable, than any other operation of the American war, for in this instance it is impossible for the Federal authorities to conceal the completeness of the discomfiture. The Confederates, not knowing the extent of the damage sustained by the enemy, announced a disastrous repulse of the attacking fleet; the Federal accounts admit a crushing defeat. In the United States the contest has been watched with feverish anxiety, and the *New York Herald* no doubt represents the feeling of the North when it declares that "the repulse of the iron-clads from the gateway of Charleston, though almost bloodless in its results, may be classed among our most discouraging military disasters." When the Army of the Potomac, which the North had lavishly supplied with all the means and appliances at its command, was utterly defeated, when it was manifest that a change of Generals could not effect a change of fortune in Virginia, and when it became evident, even to the most sanguine, that the Confederate capital could not be captured, the disappointment and discontent were appeased by a promise that Charleston should be taken, and the bitter hostility of the North gratified by the utter destruction and desolation of that city. When Vicksburg and Port Hudson defied the efforts of their assailants, the people were still consoled by the assurance that Charleston should be destroyed. And the preparations for the enterprise were commensurate to its importance. A fleet of iron-clads was appointed to do the work, and success was regarded as certain. This last, or, at least, this latest, hope of the North has been signally disappointed. Charleston is not taken, and the Federals have learnt that their iron-clads are not invincible.

Europe, too, has watched this struggle with keen and unwonted interest. At Charleston was to be tried on a grand scale the question of iron-clads *versus* fortifications; and the trial has been made, and the issue is decisive. Iron-clads are not invulnerable, and their passage may be so obstructed and delayed as to bring upon them a concentrated and irresistible fire. We are not aware of the exact distance of the ships from the forts in the late engagement; it is probable we have not a correct version of the damage sustained by the fleet;

we are uncertain of the time the engagement lasted; and we have not any reliable and exact reports as to the number of guns which the Confederates brought to bear upon their assailants; but the want of authentic information as to these details does not affect the main conclusion to be derived from this engagement. Iron-clads cannot essay to pass or attack land fortifications with impunity. Perhaps the Confederate guns were twenty times as numerous as those of the Federals, but this is a disadvantage iron-clads must always anticipate. The number of guns an iron-clad can carry is strictly limited, the number of iron-clads that can enter a harbour simultaneously is limited; but the number of guns and forts on land is practically unlimited. The business of the iron-clad is, however, not to engage forts, but to pass them, and in this consists their peculiar efficacy. We have now learnt that their passage may be impeded. The Confederates were the first to demonstrate the superiority of iron over wood in naval warfare; and in so doing they revolutionised the navies of Europe. They have now taught us how to defend our cities and arsenals against the iron monsters that their skill and daring have called into existence.

After many delays, all things were declared ready, and it was determined to make the attack on Charleston, and the vessels were signalled to get under way. The fleet comprised nine iron-clads—the New Ironsides, which was the flagship of Admiral Dupont; the Weehawken, with an Ericsson raft chained to her bow; the Passaic; the Montauk; the Patapsco; the Catskill; the Nantucket; the Nahant; and the Keokuk. Besides these, there was a squadron of five vessels, which did not participate in the attack. The fleet crossed the bar without difficulty on the 6th April. The Federal expectation that the passage would be opposed by the fire of the batteries that command the first part of the channel was not realised. The Confederates did not open fire until they could do so with full effect. The morning of the 7th was misty, but the day became clear towards 10 o'clock. Still the fleet did not move until 1 in the afternoon; the object of this delay being that the fleet might go in with a low tide. At 1 o'clock the portholes were closed, and the fleet advanced to the attack in a single line. Another delay of nearly an hour took place, in consequence of the Ericsson raft attached to the Weehawken, which was intended to lift or explode torpedoes and to remove obstructions, becoming entangled. The vessels then proceeded, passing the batteries on Morris Island within easy range; but the Confederate forts were silent. At 3 o'clock, the fleet came within range of Fort Sumter, and of the batteries of Sullivan's Island; and then the long silence was broken, and Fort Sumter gave the signal with her barbette guns for the commencement of the attack on the fleet. The Federals at once understood why they had been permitted to proceed so far without molestation; they were now, as it were, surrounded by batteries, which poured upon them a concentrated and deadly fire. The New Ironsides quickly became unmanageable, and after being somewhat damaged by the Confederate batteries, and having discharged only one broadside, retired from the contest. Meanwhile, the rest of the fleet, in obedience to orders, proceeded so as, if possible, to pass to the North-west, which is supposed to be the most vulnerable side, of Fort Sumter, but they soon found themselves arrested, not only by the storm of shot and shell that was unremittably hailed upon them from the batteries, but also by three lines of floating obstructions. The vessels then essayed to make for a small channel to the left, which appeared open, but they were forced to abandon the attempt, for the Confederate batteries had already crippled at least four of the iron-clads. The affair was over, and after an abortive attack upon Fort Sumter the signal was given for

retreat from a position which threatened the destruction of the entire fleet.

The Federal account of the damage proves that the retreat was not ordered before it was necessary. The Keokuk had been struck by ninety shots, and she left the scene of action a perfect wreck, so that in spite of strenuous efforts she sank on the following morning, after being abandoned by her crew. The Keokuk was considered one of the most perfectly constructed iron-clads of the Federal navy. The Passaic was struck 58 times, her turret was bent and disabled, and 30 of the shots took effect. The Passaic is no longer fit for service. The Patapsco was struck 40 times, and amongst other injuries her 200lb. Parrot gun was disabled. The Nahant was struck 80 times, 30 of the shots were effective, and her pilot house was shattered. The New Ironsides was hit 60 times, and her port shutters were knocked away. The Weehawken was struck 59 times, and her funnel so injured that she was worked with difficulty. The Montauk was hit twenty times. The Nantucket, besides other injuries, had her turret disabled. The Catskill was severely handled; one shot going through her deck plating, and breaking a beam beneath. The Ericsson raft had to be abandoned, and was captured by the Confederates. Such is the Federal account of this disaster, and we may be sure that if it is not substantially correct, it does not exaggerate it, or the Government would not have kept back the official despatches. The North may esteem it fortunate that their commander ordered a retreat when he did, and so saved his fleet from complete destruction. The casualties are reported to be five Confederates wounded, and thirty Federals killed and wounded. The injuries sustained by Fort Sumter are slight.

Admiral Dupont informed his officers that he did not intend to renew the attack, and on the 12th of April the whole of the fleet of iron-clads departed from the neighbourhood of Charleston. So far as the attempt to take Charleston with iron-clads is concerned, the late engagement was decisive.

The position of the Federals at Washington, North Carolina, is unchanged. Up to the 11th inst. all attempts to relieve them had failed. A detachment of 7,000 men, which had been despatched to General Foster's assistance, was driven back by the Confederates, with a loss to the Federals of fifty men. The latest news is from letters from Fortress Monroe, dated the 10th inst.—not a very reliable source of information—which report, that according to despatches from General Palmer, at Newbern, "a steamer, with a regiment of soldiers, and supplies of provisions and ammunition, succeeded in passing the batteries on the Tar River, and relieved General Foster on the 14th."

Since it is no longer possible to rumour the immediate capture of Charleston, the army of the Potomac is brought into requisition. General Hooker is reported to be making "mysterious" movements, and General Lee is said to be marching upon Harper's Ferry to invade Maryland. According to a special despatch in the *Tribune*, a Federal force crossed the Rappahannock on the 17th, and occupied Gordonsville.

General Wise has driven in the Federal pickets, and occupied the town of Williamsburg.

There has been some skirmishing near Suffolk, Virginia, between the Confederates and the Federal forces under General Peck. An engagement has occurred on the Nansmond River, below Suffolk, between Federal gunboats and Confederate artillery. The latter was silenced by the gunboats, one of which, however, was disabled and towed off.

All the expeditions for the purpose of retrieving the reverses of Vicksburg have been abandoned. The Federals in their retreat from Fort Pemberton and Yazoo Pass were harassed by the Confederates.



Admiral Farragut is reported to be between two batteries, neither of which he is able to pass.

The Federals are fearing an attempt upon New Orleans. The correspondent of the *New York Times*, writing from that city under date of April 5, says: "The attitude of the Confederates at Port Hudson, Jackson, Mobile, and on the Atchafalaya justifies the apprehension of an attack upon New Orleans, which the troops under General Banks are in no condition successfully to resist."

It is reported from Louisville that 20,000 Confederates have crossed the Cumberland, near Lebanon, Tennessee, preparatory to entering Kentucky.

General Rosecranz has, it is said, been reinforced by General Grant's troops. The *Richmond Despatch* of the 10th says: "General Rosecranz has sent five regiments of infantry to Kentucky, and has ordered all the cavalry from that State to his army at Murfreesboro', and is moving his troops on his left (our right), doubtless to prevent any movement upon our post in that State."

The New York telegraphic summary of news has the following items:—

Southern journals confirm the repulse of General Van Dorn, at Franklin, Tennessee. The same papers state that two Federal gunboats and three transports were destroyed on Cumberland River by Wheeler's cavalry, who had also captured several Federal trains between Louisville and Nashville.

Southern despatches from Vicksburg to the 10th inst. state that two more Federal transports filled with troops had gone up the Mississippi, and others were preparing to follow.

Fifty-three Federal gunboats had proceeded up the Coldwater River.

A Federal iron-clad was abandoned and destroyed at the mouth of the Amite River.

A month since it was announced that Admiral Farragut had destroyed the *Indianola*. Next we were told he had "seen the wreck of the *Indianola*." The latest news is that the *Indianola* is on the Red River, ready for action.

The New York journals state that, in compliance with the request of the Confederate Congress, President Davis, on the 10th inst., issued an address to the people of the Confederate States upon the present condition and future prospects of their country. He says, in this address, that, alone and unaided, the Confederacy had defeated the most formidable military and naval combinations of its enemies, and, at the end of two years of war, could look back with pride upon all it had accomplished. Referring to the discomfiture of the Federals at Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and Charleston, he says that the forces of the Confederacy were never so numerous or efficient as at the present moment. He says:—

There is but one danger which the Government regards with apprehension, and to avert this, I appeal to the spirit and patriotism of the people. The harvest of last year was far below the average yield, especially in the northern part of the Confederacy, where supplies are most needed for the army. If, through confidence in early peace, people now plant cotton and tobacco, instead of grain and articles necessary for the subsistence of the people and the army, the consequences may prove serious, if not disastrous, especially if the present season proves as the last. The wheat harvest in more Southern States promises an abundant yield, but the difficulties of transportation will embarrass military operations, and cause suffering among the people, if the crops in the middle and northern portions of the Confederacy prove deficient. No uneasiness is felt for the mere supplies of bread for the men. It is for corn and forage to raise live stock and supplies for animals used in military operations that the deficiency of last harvest was mostly felt.

He urges the people to raise exclusively corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food for man and beast, and to sow corn broadcast for fodder in the immediate proximity of railroads and canals. The supply of meat is deficient. The deficiency is, however, only temporary, as measures have been adopted, which it is believed will soon restore full rations. The ration is now reduced sometimes to one-half the usual quantity in some of the Southern armies. The supply of meat in the country is sufficient for the support of all, but transportation is so difficult, and speculators having caused the surplus in the hands of producers to be withdrawn from sale, Government has been unable to gather full supplies. The Secretary of War has prepared a plan by which people will be enabled to assist Government officers to purchase bacon, corn, pork, and beef, known to exist in large quantities in different parts of the Confederacy. The address thus concludes:—"Entertaining no fear that the people will misconstrue the motives of this address, or fail to respond to the call of patriotism, I place the facts fully and frankly before the people. There is little doubt that if the people unite in doing their duty, the sovereignty and independence of the Confederate States will be maintained."

The agitation against England is increasing; and it is directly encouraged by the Federal Government. At a public meeting held at New York on the 11th inst., Postmaster-General Blair made a speech devoted mainly to denouncing the British aristocracy, who, he declared, aided the rebels in every way short of declared war. With the exception of the *World*, the New York press is

bitterly hostile. The *New York Herald* urges President Lincoln to call an extra session of Congress to consider what measures ought to be adopted in case of a collision with England, as it is essential that the Legislative branch of the Government should co-operate with the Executive to give the war all the moral force necessary for its success and thinks Congress should share with the President the responsibilities of a war with England, if such a course should be necessary to vindicate the honour or uphold the interests of America. The *New York Times* says it is physically certain America will exact atonement for British outrages. The only uncertain thing is the question of time. It may be next month, or next year, or ten years hence, but every dollar destroyed by English privateers will be made good by voluntary payments or reprisals; and urges the Federal Government to make no further remonstrance, but let the British rulers take their course, and America will bide her time. The same journal thinks that "the invincibility of the American seaboard is proved by the fact that the harbour obstructions can prevent the entrance into our ports of iron-clad fleets; and as the war would be entirely defensive on the part of America, with the exception that America would invade Canada and launch hundreds of privateers, there is left no room to doubt that England would get the worst of it. Seventy thousand Federal troops could march through Canada without impediment, as England could not break the blockade, as it would be protected by iron-clads, of which America has five to one of England."

The *World* ridicules the *Times'* article, and says the defences of Canada are superior to anything the Federals have met with at the South, and, backed by the greatest naval Power on earth, the conquest of Canada would not be such child's play as the *Times* supposes.

The correspondent of the *New York World* reports from Washington, that Mr. Seward's last despatch to Mr. Adams submitted to the British Government the alternative of preventing from leaving port the vessels alleged to be building in England for the Confederate service, or the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The *New York Evening Post* says that if it is true that Mr. Seward has sent a note to the British Government demanding that the encouragement given to the fitting out of privateers shall cease, then the honour of America will demand an immediate reply, and if the British Government hesitates the Federal Government can do no better than recall Mr. Adams and send Lord Lyons home. There should be no hesitation in doing this, and there will then be time enough to deliberate on further measures.

It is reported that in Washington the capture of the *Peterhoff* is considered illegal, and that Mr. Seward is in favour of her surrender. Lord Lyons has demanded the return of the mail bags unopened.

There have been several collisions between the white and coloured labourers in the North. A riot has occurred at New York. In those Northern States where the negro is admitted, he is free to starve, but not to work. A strong police force is found necessary in New York to prevent an outbreak.

The *Times'* correspondent, under date of March 16, gives the following account of the seizure of an "Alexandra" at San Francisco:—

The vessel seized is an American schooner, called the "J. M. Chapman," which arrived in this port several weeks ago from Valparaiso, with a cargo of beans shipped at the latter port for the San Francisco market. Her captain sold her here to the parties who had fitted her out. I am informed that for some time back gunpowder and other materials of war have been shipped privately at San Francisco and sent down the coast to a point, it is supposed, in Lower California, where the J. M. Chapman intended to take them on board, preparatory to her entering upon her alleged career of privateering. As she is a sailing vessel, and would not be likely to chase a steamer with much prospect of success, it is supposed the intention was to lie in wait for one of the Californian steamers en route to Panama with treasure, to capture the steamer, and to convert the latter into a privateer or Confederate cruiser, and then prey on the commerce of the Pacific Ocean between San Francisco, Panama, &c.

Notwithstanding the most unscrupulous espionage it is thought that the evidence is not sufficient for the condemnation of the ship. Let the Lincolnites be glad that the reputation of New England contractors is so bad, and that the Confederates will not give them any orders.

General Burnside has proclaimed the penalty of death upon all persons aiding the Confederates.

The Governor of New York has sent a message to the Legislature, recommending it to pass an amendment to the Constitution, giving the Legislature power to pass a law to enable absent soldiers to vote.

The Pennsylvania House of Representatives has agreed, by forty-four votes against forty, to instruct the Governor to direct the Attorney-General to institute

criminal proceedings against ex-Secretary Cameron, for attempting to obtain a seat in the Senate by bribery.

The steamer *Eagle*, from Wilmington, and the steamers *Margaret* and *Jessie*, from Charleston, on the 8th, have arrived at Nassau.

The Confederate steamer *Stonewall Jackson*, formerly the *Leopard*, being closely pursued while attempting to run the Charleston blockade, was beached and burnt by the captain of the vessel. The mail was safely landed in small boats, together with crew and passengers.

The British ship *Surprise*, and the British schooners *John Williams*, *Florence Nightingale*, and *Brothers*, have been captured.

The fluctuations in the price of gold at New York have been considerable. On the 14th it was at 56½ premium. On the 18th it was 53½ premium.

## ENGLAND.

The Poor-Law Returns, published last Saturday, show a diminution during the week of 5,600 in the number of paupers in the suffering cotton districts; and we may, perhaps, hope that this slow progress will continue for the rest of the summer; but more than this, until the Federal Government makes peace with the South or war with England, we dare not venture to anticipate. The condition of those who remain dependent on alms does not improve, and the Central Committee begin to entertain doubts whether their funds will hold out very much longer. In the meantime, idleness and poverty are rapidly doing their work; the people of Lancashire, hitherto among the most quiet, orderly, moral, and respectable of the working classes, are becoming discontented and demoralized; and if the present state of things endures for another winter, we must fear a repetition on an extended scale of the outrages which have brought disgrace on Stalybridge. The best portion of the operatives are looking to emigration for relief; but the means of emigration for even 50,000 are yet to be found, and the removal of so small a number would hardly affect the condition of those left behind.

The Parliamentary debates of this week have led to no practical result, but their interest is great, and their probable importance can hardly be overrated. There is a manifest disposition in both Houses to exercise a strict vigilance over the conduct of the Government towards the American belligerents, and a growing distrust of Lord Russell, whose speeches give rise to suspicions that he is inclined to turn the neutrality of England altogether to the advantage of the North, and to put up with almost any degree of insolence on the part of the Federal Government, rather than take measures for the protection of British interests which might prove of advantage to the Southern cause. He has shown, it is thought, a reluctance to assert our undeniable rights, and a willingness to remain patient under undeniable wrongs, which do not at all meet the wishes of Parliament. We do not pretend to say whether this view of his conduct is just or unjust; but it is certainly so prevalent as to beget a disposition on the part of both Houses to receive with some impatience the formal assurances of the Ministers that the honour of the country is safe in their hands.

In the House of Lords, the inviolability of the mails has been strenuously asserted, not merely by members of the Opposition, but by men like Lord Grey, who has strong leanings towards peace, and occupies a neutral position towards the political parties which divide the country, and like Lord Wodehouse, who was formerly Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and is a decided Liberal. It is urged that the Government ought not, by relieving British ships from liability to carry the mails, to encourage the idea that any act on the part of the Federal cruisers or Prize Courts, which could render the mail a source of danger to the carriers, would be tolerated by England. A ship carrying mails from neutral port to neutral port ought to be exempt from molestation, and, moreover, the American Prize Court which should open the mails with a view of finding evidence against her would commit an outrage which, in itself, would justify our demand for the surrender of the vessel. Lord Russell's endeavours to excuse himself confirm the idea that his object is simply to avoid a collision by any sacrifice of British rights which Federal arrogance may demand.

Lord Grey has done important service by reminding the House and the Foreign Secretary that ships trading between neutral ports have a right to carry what cargo they please, and that no "contraband of war" found on board can properly subject them to detention or condemnation. This fact has been systematically overlooked by Lord Russell in his speeches, and by Admiral Wilkes in his conduct, although most distinctly enunciated by Lord Stowell, and clearly admitted by



Mr. Seward, who states, without any exception, that ships really trading between neutral ports are not subject to interference. In order to put a stop to the strange perversions of law of which the Federal cruisers have been guilty, and of which Lord Russell seems almost to approve, it would be well if some independent and influential member of either House, Lord Grey or Mr. Walpole, for example, would put the two following questions to the Government:—1st, Do the Government acknowledge any right in the Federal cruisers to detain, or in the Federal courts to condemn, vessels trading to neutral ports on the ground that they are carrying contraband of war? 2nd, If not, will they take such measures as may prevent the seizure or condemnation of any vessels on that ground?

The capture of so many British vessels under circumstances of peculiar aggravation—the case of the *Dolphin*, seized by a Federal man-of-war which had been lying in wait for her in the neutral harbour of St. Thomas, while on her way from Liverpool to Nassau—the capture of the *Peterhoff*—and the opening of the mail bags by the Prize Court at New York—the refusal to give up the *Adela*—the detention of many ships for twelve months and more in default of evidence—the systematic character of these illegal proceedings, and the intention manifested by the appointment of Admiral Wilkes to the West Indian station—and last, not least, the astounding impertinence of Mr. Adams, have provoked a strong feeling in the country, which finds vent in the House of Commons in such speeches as those of Mr. Roebuck and Lord Robert Cecil. The latter gentleman expressed with great vigour and clearness the general feeling of the House and the public on the subject; and the favour with which his speech was received deserves the attention of the Ministry, as one symptom among many that Parliament is prepared to support them in a vigorous policy, but not to endure much longer the disgrace of a tame submission to insult and injury.

The equipment of vessels for the Confederate service has been keenly denounced by Mr. Cobden, and not vigorously defended by any one. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that every one not devoted to the Northern cause, both in and out of Parliament, feels a warm sympathy with such enterprises, and rejoices in their success. The seizure of the *Alexandra* was the subject of a very severe comment from the lawyers of the Opposition. Mr. Horsfall's statement of the facts, and the comments thereupon of Sir Hugh Cairns and Mr. Malins, show that any extraordinary efforts of the Treasury to put a stop to transactions of this kind will not be favourably regarded; and if a jury should decide that the case against the *Alexandra* is not made out, it is probable that the ultra-legal zeal of the Ministry in the Federal service will evaporate as quickly as it has arisen.

The newly-elected Conservative member for Devonport, Mr. Bousfield Ferrand, is an old and bitter enemy of the Lancashire manufacturers; and on Monday night he took occasion to make a furious onslaught upon them, quoting against them pamphlets and reports now more than thirty years old, and holding them responsible for the present distress of their people, on the ground that they had developed their trade too rapidly of late years. His denunciation was so unmeasured and absurd as to provoke frequent bursts of laughter, and it received no support from either side of the House. No one thought it necessary to offer a reply. Mr. Villiers, the President of the Poor Law Board, explained his intentions in regard to the employment of the operatives in draining lands, cleaning and improving towns, and similar works, which are much wanted in the manufacturing counties. The discussion then fell into the hands of the Lancashire members, who expressed their concurrence in the views of Mr. Villiers, and their thorough approval of his plan. Mr. Ferrand gained nothing by his intemperate harangue except the ridicule of the House.

The Church rate Abolition Bill, though supported by the Government, has been defeated on the second reading by a majority of ten—275 to 285. This result is cheering to the friends of order and religion, as evincing the great progress made by their cause during the last four or five years; but it would be unreasonable to hope that the agitation is at an end.

The infant daughter of Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice (Princess Louis of Hesse) was baptized on Monday at Windsor Castle, according to the rites of the Lutheran Church, of which her father is a member. Her Majesty was Godmother, and the child was named Victoria Alberta Elizabeth Matilda Mary.

The Prince and Princess of Wales appeared for the first time, at Covent Garden Theatre, on Tuesday night, when a "festival performance" was commanded by the Queen in honour of their marriage. They went in State, attended by their suite in five Royal carriages, with Prince Alfred and the Princess Helena. The house was filled, and the magnificence of the toilettes displayed was amazing.

## EUROPE.

A volume of correspondence on the affairs of Poland was distributed last night. It contains, *inter alia*, the first despatch of Earl Russell, dated March 2, calling upon Russia to fulfil the treaties of 1815, the terms of which have hitherto only been known by the version published in the *Courrier du Dimanche*; a despatch from Lord Napier, reporting a conversation with Prince Gortschakoff, in which the Prince replied to the despatch—he declined to give a written answer—the reply being a decided rejection of all Earl Russell's argument, although professing very benevolent intentions on the part of the Emperor towards Poland; the second despatch of Earl Russell, in which the arguments of the former despatch are repeated; the drafts of the French and Austrian notes presented at the same time; and lastly, a despatch by Earl Russell to Lord Napier, in which the Foreign Secretary criticises the amnesty and the promise of liberties by which it was accompanied, and pronounces them insufficient.

The Corps Legislatif has been engaged during the past week in the discussion of the budget, and has finally passed it by 240 to 7 votes. The chapters containing the estimates for the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and Navy have provoked debates of some little interest. In reply to M. Ollivier, who asked for some information about Mexico, M. Billault said, that news only reached France from the expedition twice a month, and that the Government at once published whatever came in the *Moniteur*. M. Ollivier also put a question concerning Poland, and with just as little result. M. Billault declared that the Government would give no explanation which would injure the success of the negotiations. It sympathized very cordially with the sufferings of Poland, but it was convinced that the question was not a French, but an European one; and it regretted that the public allowed itself to give way to foolish and unreasonable oscillations—one day believing in a general conflagration, and the next forgetting completely all the difficulties of the situation. The country should trust the Emperor. The debate upon the navy was only a replication of those which take place so often in the House of Commons. The deputies complained that the development of the navy was not sufficiently pressed on; and as Sir John Pakington or Mr. Bentinck would instance French progress, so the Count de la Tour insisted on the enormous increase in the strength of the English navy, and urged the necessity of the French Government keeping pace with the English. The representative of the Government regretted that the sum allotted to the navy was not larger. But what could the Administration do? It had to submit to the financial exigencies of the country.

The principal interest in the debate upon the budget of the Ministry of the Interior attached to an attack by M. Picard and other members upon the Government interference in the elections; an interference which was justified by M. Baroche, who declared that the Government had not the slightest intention of abandoning its system of recommending and assisting candidates.

This question of the elections is exciting much interest in France, and it is to be feared that it will create considerable irritation. Amongst the first fruits of the discussion, is a warning to the *Journal des Debats*—which is now completely at the mercy of the Minister of the Interior—for an article by M. Prevost Paradol, in which he combated the notion that the oath required from candidates offered any obstacle to the candidature of members of the "old parties." M. Paradol's interpretation of the oath was deemed by Count de Persigny an attack upon the Empire, and the *Debats* promptly received a warning. A notice in the *Moniteur* also warns the press that it must not call those candidates who oppose the Government nominees independent, as the epithet implies a want of independence in their opponents, who enjoy the confidence of the Government. Such manoeuvres, the official journal gives notice, will be severely punished.

An election to the French Academy has taken place this week, which has excited more than usual interest. There were two *fautouils* to be filled. For the one the candidates were M. Dufaure, the famous advocate and politician, and M. Jules Jamin, the as well known theatrical critic and feuilletonist of the *Journal des Debats*. This contest, which, however, was comparatively uninteresting, resulted in the signal victory of the advocate over the critic. The candidates for the second chair were M. Littré, one of the most distinguished of French men of letters—a philosophical writer of very great eminence, but still better reputed for his great philological acquirements—also a writer in the *Debats*, and M. De Carné, who has been represented to be a person destitute of ability, but who really is a very

able writer upon French history, and has enriched the *Revue des Deux Mondes* with some valuable contributions. The interest of the struggle was caused by the fact that Monseigneur Dupanloup, the eloquent Bishop of Orleans, had published a pamphlet, directed, if not nominally, yet really, against the election of M. Littré. M. Littré is the great disciple of Comte, and the leading preacher of his strange philosophy. He has accepted all the doctrines of his master, and these doctrines are regarded by most people as directly subversive of Christianity, or indeed of religion altogether. M. Dupanloup's pamphlet settled the matter, and M. de Carné was elected by a large majority.

Prince Napoleon has at last set off on his journey to the East. His departure is regarded by some people as a sign of peace. He has, however, only gone as far as Florence, and may change his mind and return to Paris, to use his influence in favour of war. The Princess Clotilde accompanies him.

Official despatches from Vera Cruz announce a victory. General Mirandol has defeated Comonfort, near Cholula. Two hundred of the Mexicans were killed, eighty were taken prisoners. The French had two men killed. A French corps has occupied the road between Puebla and Mexico. This tallies with the news *via* Washington and New York.

Nothing certain is yet known as to the reception with which the joint intervention at St. Petersburg will meet. Meanwhile rumour is very busy. Thus—to notice the less incredible ones—we are told that the English Government has sent a despatch to Lord Napier, asking for an immediate reply, and that the French Government has applied to the Government of Italy and to the different Courts of Germany for their adhesion to its policy, obtaining from Italy a general assent and a reservation of independent action, and throwing the German Governments, which, most of them, have some connexion with Russia and are much afraid of France, into a very cruel embarrassment, in which their only refuge is to try to avoid giving any reply.

There is no intelligence of importance from Poland. According to the Russian bulletins the detachments of troops are invariably successful, and disperse the insurgent bands whenever they can meet with them, killing and taking prisoners the majority. The insurgent reports tell of nothing but insurgent victories, or of wonderful "strategic movements." The Warsaw and Cracow bulletins are equally reliable or apocryphal. When they tell of a defeat sustained by their own side they may be believed. When they claim a victory we must test their claim by the internal evidence, or wait for the story of the other side, and guess at the truth from the two versions, and as the issue of the contest is not affected by these isolated victories *ce jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*. It seems, however, pretty clear that, although the Poles show no signs of surrender, and yet talk very hopefully, the immense resources of Russia are beginning to tell. Troops are steadily pouring into the ill-fated land, and the assistance from Prussian and Austrian Poland is being cut off. Sympathizers do still run the land blockade, but the watch on both sides is very strict. We learn from Prussian sources that a band of six hundred Poles, of whom one hundred were mounted, crossed the frontier between Thorn and Kulm to join the insurgents, were attacked by a Russian detachment from Lipno, and that only the horsemen escaped. According to some reports not improbable although unreliable, the insurgents in the district of Kalisz have the advantage of the services of a number of French officers. There is a considerable force of insurgents in this part of the kingdom, but they seem to make little progress. Prince Wittgenstein—the Russian prince whom the insurgents, according to their veracious telegrams, captured and wounded some time ago—a triumph which all the daily journals announced in large letters, and not one has contradicted—seems to be too clever a general for them. He has in a series of fights, most of which were reported to be insurgent victories, disposed of two of the ablest leaders. One he has killed, and the other he has driven across the frontier. A late despatch reports an engagement at Warta, to the South of Warsaw, in which the Russians were defeated with great loss. Important, if true.

An amusing illustration of the boldness with which the stories relative to the spread of the insurrection are manufactured, and the credulity or ignorance with which they are received by the English newspapers is furnished in a letter from a merchant of Mitau, in Courland, to his correspondents in the City and published in the *Morning Herald*.



An English daily paper, of some position—it would be unfair to name it, because it is not worse than its contemporaries—announced, apparently, on some special information, that the insurrection had assumed great dimensions in Samogitia and Courland, and that 3,000 insurgents had seized upon the railway from Tilsit to Mitau. The Mitau merchant denies that there is any considerable number of insurgents in Courland or even in Samogitia, and adds that the railway they are said to have seized exists at present only in the hopes of the people of Mitau.

The Revolutionary leaders still treat the amnesty with scorn. The insurgents will only accept it as a last resource. If they wait long, it may not be worth having, for a few months more of this barbarous war would leave Poland little better than a barren waste. The *Nord Deutsche Zeitung*, an organ of the Prussian Ministry, announces, however, that a majority of the Polish fugitives in Posen have declared their intention to accept it, and have applied for Russian passports accordingly. If the statement should turn out to be true, it will not so much prove that the fugitives are glad to accept the amnesty, as that they are anxious to escape Prussian surveillance. According to a telegram from Thorn, an Imperial ukase orders a general levy of 7,000 men in each of the seven Governments bordering upon the Polish provinces incorporated in the Russian Empire. The Chief of the Secret Revolutionary Government has issued an order forbidding the inhabitants to pay taxes to the Russian Government. The utility of the order is not very clear. Surely the Revolutionary Government might content itself with collecting its own taxes. The Revolution supports itself by very summary measures: a contribution is demanded from a town or an individual, and if the town does not pay, it is threatened with destruction; if the individual refuses to pay, he is, if possible, shot, or strung up on the nearest tree.

Rochebrune, the commander of the Polish Zouaves, whose gallant deeds have been so much spoken of, has written a letter, in which he severely denounces the conduct of Mieroslawski, and says that if this man should be given the supreme command he would at once abandon the cause, because certain that it must fail.

Langiewicz is said to complain very much of the proceedings of Mieroslawski. He has also taken the trouble to dispel all the romance about himself and Miss ——. According to the General, she only accompanied him in his flight because the exigencies of his passport required such a companion; and, moreover, she was not his *aide-de-camp*, but served in that capacity another General, with grey hairs and a large family, who loved her as his child and watched over her. This romance of the hero and his fair lieutenant is one which we cannot afford to lose, and it is to be hoped that this Austrian report of the General's declarations may be as incorrect as most statements about Polish matters.

It would really seem as if the Greeks are to have Prince William for their King. The difficulties are removed at the cost of England. We are to give up the Ionian Islands, and lend to the new King and his people a good round sum of money wherewith to begin their housekeeping. The matter is not, however, finally arranged. The *Moniteur* says that the English Government has proposed a conference of the three protecting Powers at London, at which, we presume, it will be declared after the fashion of the glorious revolution—Earl Russell is too good a Whig to depart from such a precedent—that Otho has abdicated—Otho protesting all the while, and the Crown will be conferred on Prince William, and guaranteed to him as it was to his luckless predecessor. The Greek deputation has arrived at Copenhagen, and has been received with considerable courtesy.

The Government of Hanover—one of the most reactionary and illiberal in Germany—has always been particularly eager to proceed to violent measures against Denmark. It has submitted to the Federal Diet some resolutions, declaring the proclamation of the 30th of March illegal, and all measures based upon it null and void; calling upon Denmark to settle the relations of Holstein and Schleswig to the Danish monarchy within six weeks, according to the views of the Diet, and instructing the Executive Committee to propose a course to be taken, in case Denmark should not comply. The Diet is also to protect the rights of the German Confederation against an incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark—a most impudent pretension, as the German Diet has no right whatever to Schleswig. The Diet may vapour as it will; it can do nothing at present, and Denmark knows it.

In the Royal speech, with which the session of the Rigsraad was opened on Wednesday, the Government admitted that the Royal proclamation of March 30 had excited the opposition of the Great Powers of Germany—the protests of Austria and Prussia have been published—and declared that it would not allow itself to be led astray by that circumstance from the intentions it had expressed.

Denmark feels that now, if ever, is her opportunity to settle once for all this question, which for fourteen years has paralysed her energies and kept her in continual apprehension of war.

The Grand Duke Michael of Russia has had a narrow escape from the Circassians. He was surprised by a large force of Circassian cavalry, and with great difficulty escaped to a fort, in which the Circassians still blockade him.

Poland and Circassia are very dear-bought possessions of Russia. They must cost her, even when nominally quiet, a great deal more than they return.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A Bill for the regulation of alkali manufactures went through Committee. Another Bill, to abolish the office of Secretary at War, now held by the Secretary of State for War, was read a second time.

The Marquis of Clanricarde put several questions to Lord Russell in regard to the treatment of British vessels by the naval officers of the United States. He referred to the case of the *Dolphin*, seized in Danish waters while on her way from Liverpool to Nassau, and also to those of the *Peterhoff* and the *Adela*. He censured, in strong terms, the behaviour of Mr. Adams, who had given a certificate to a British ship laden with arms for the Mexican Government, and attributed his subsequent letter on the subject to some remonstrance from the Foreign Office. It had come to this, that British merchants were actually advertising for French ships to load for British ports in the West Indies.—Lord Russell described the Marquis's speech as somewhat warm. The case of the *Dolphin* had been submitted to the law officers of the Crown. He reported that there was no *prima facie* case for her seizure, and that the fact of her having been watched and pursued in neutral waters by a ship which had made use of a Danish port for that purpose, and the fact that part of her crew had been taken out of her, and landed on Danish territory, afforded good ground for complaint. It was not the case that he had allowed such acts to pass with impunity. He had remonstrated in the case of the *Tuscarora*, and he should remonstrate in this case against the unnatural use of a neutral port. He had every reason to suppose that the Government of the United States would do justice. It had given to its naval officers instructions in accordance with international law, and if those instructions were disobeyed, he had no right to assume that reparation would be refused. We must wait to see whether any case would be alleged to justify the seizure of the *Dolphin*. The conduct of Mr. Adams was utterly unwarrantable, and he would bring it under the notice of the United States Government. He had declined to put a mail agent on board the *Sea Queen* in charge of the mail bags, but he had exempted vessels bound for Mexican ports from the liability to carry mail bags. The Government of the United States had promised not to open the mails. It might be that the officers of that Government had not always fulfilled its promises; it might be that they had seized vessels going to neutral ports without sufficient evidence that the cargo was of a contraband character; but in such case our duty was to make representations to the Federal Government, and feel sure that reparation would be made. We could not undertake to protect British ships without regard to their destination or the character of their cargo; we could not break, as neutrals, the laws we were wont to enforce, as belligerents. We must take care, whatever might happen, to have right and justice on our side.—The Earl of Carnarvon pointed out that the Federal cruisers had no more right to intercept our mails between London and Matamoros than between Dover and Calais.—Lord Russell said the fear of the shipowners was that it might be done in despite of right.—The Earl of Derby said that in such a case the Government would be bound to protect the vessel and protest against the wrong.—Lord Grey urged that the Foreign Secretary should have assured the shipowners that this Government would guarantee them against any injury from carrying the mail bags, and that any interference with those bags would be altogether illegal.—The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley of Alderley) said there was a great distinction between an ordinary ship taking letters and a packet which took them under contract. In the former case there was no contract either expressed or implied between the captain or owner of the ship and the Post-office, the authorities of which had no means of controlling the voyage of the vessel. There was nothing in the engagement to prevent such a ship deviating from her course, as, for instance, calling at a Confederate port before she went to Matamoros. It would therefore be no advantage to the owner of a ship to have letters on board.—Lord Wodehouse (formerly Lord Russell's Under-Secretary) thought that the answer to the shipowners should have been, "I can assure you that the American Government have given instructions to their officers to respect the rule that the seals of

letter bags shall not be removed; but if such bags are opened, and in consequence of the correspondence which is found in them the ship is illegally condemned, that is a proceeding to which this country will never submit (hear, hear); and any shipowner incurring such risk may be certain of the support of Her Majesty's Government." Firmness was as necessary as courtesy in dealing with the Americans, especially in their present temper.—Lord Granville urged that no damages that could be demanded would really compensate shipowners for the losses incurred by the detention of a vessel.—Lord Redesdale asked whether Lord Russell admitted the right of the Federals to open a mail bag in the hands of a Consul.—The answer was inaudible.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Cochrane, Lord Palmerston expressed his belief that the arrangements for the elevation of Prince William of Denmark to the throne of Greece would be satisfactory. On the motion for going into Committee of Supply, the noble Lord appealed to those who had motions standing on the paper to waive them, in order that the House might pass at once to the consideration of the sum to be voted for the Prince Consort's memorial.—Mr. Roebuck, however, insisted on asking a question of which he had given notice, in reference to the conduct of an admiral in the United States service with respect to English merchant ships going from one neutral port to another. At the outset of the contest in America his feelings were entirely in favour of the North; but by degrees he had arrived at the conviction that their whole course had not only proved them to be unfit to govern themselves, but had been such as to disentitle them to the courtesies and comity of civilised nations. (This remark elicited a loud shout of "oh" from the Radical benches.) Oh, yes (continued Mr. Roebuck, with a wave of the hand and a sneer on the lip), he knew there were degenerate Englishmen who took the part of the North against their own country, and whenever a matter came into dispute between America and England whose voices were always raised on the side of the former. He held that the conduct of the North American Disunited States had been humiliating to the people of England. We had been subjected to every species of violent language, not only of insinuation, but accusation and threats of war. An English vessel bound to a neutral port had been seized by an American cruiser and carried into an American port, and the just expectations of the English merchant in his honourable trade thereby utterly destroyed. Nay, more; the American minister in this country had taken upon himself to issue permits to English merchants to trade with the port of Matamoros. At this moment, therefore, Mr. Adams, the American minister, was the minister for commerce in England. He knew that if his views were carried out it might lead to war; but speaking the sense of the people of England he did not hesitate to declare that they were prepared for war. He begged to ask, therefore, whether the Government had formed any determination with regard to the proceedings of Admiral Wilkes; and if they intended making any remonstrance to the Government of America, or what other course they proposed to adopt.—Lord Palmerston admitted that the question was one of the greatest possible importance; but all he could say was that it was receiving due consideration on the part of the Government; and that he was not then prepared to state the conclusion at which they had arrived.—Mr. Bentinck directed attention to the statement recently published in the newspapers referring to the seizure of British vessels by the cruisers of the Northern States of America.—Mr. Crawford deprecated the discussion of a subject which was then under the consideration of the Government, as being equally inexpedient and indecorous. He had heard with distaste and disgust the sentiments of Mr. Roebuck, and he confessed that he has little admired the taste and discretion of Mr. Bentinck in introducing the matter to the House after the statement of the noble lord.—Mr. Peacock thought that before the House could enter upon a debate on the subject with any advantage, it ought to be put in possession of the correspondence. He then moved that the communications between Mr. Adams and the Foreign Office, relating to the capture of English vessels carrying mails to Matamoros, should be laid upon the table.—Mr. Newdegate also condemned the language used by Mr. Roebuck, as calculated to prejudice the negotiations between the two countries. Such reflections must be deeply offensive, not only to the Government of the United States, but to every American.—Mr. Layard declined to produce the papers in the then stage of the question, and assured the House that the honour and dignity of the country were perfectly safe in the hands of the Government.—Mr. Whiteside reminded Mr. Layard that he had once expressed his conviction that the want of promptness and decision displayed by the then Government of England, had brought on the Crimean war. Similar errors might now produce a similar result.—Sir H. Cairns observed that the course which had been pursued by her Majesty's Government appeared to leave it an open question whether an American ship of war stationed in the Channel might not, with impunity, arrest the vessels and correspondence passing between Dover and Calais.—Mr. Malins felt humiliated by the fact that the commerce of England was being carried on upon the suzerainty of a foreign Power, and that we were succumbing in a most disgraceful manner to an apprehension which had never influenced the country before.—The Solicitor-General denied that the Government had conceded to that of America the right of seizing English vessels conveying mails to neutral ports on the ground that they



might include correspondence and letters injurious to the Federal States.—Lord R. Cecil observed that whilst her Majesty's Government were delaying and thinking about what they should do, Mr. Adams was master of the field. The trade of England was now carried on by the permit of a foreigner; and it had actually come to this, that an extra premium on the insurance of ships trading between English ports, that was, between Liverpool or London and Nassau, had to be paid against the risk of being unjustifiably overhauled by American cruisers. Thus a direct tax was exacted by the British merchant for no other reason than that Admiral Wilkes had chosen to commit piratical acts on the high seas.—Mr. Osborne said that few more mischievous debates had ever occurred in the House of Commons than that which had been raised by those two warlike lawyers, Mr. Roobuck and Mr. Malins. He disclaimed altogether the sentiments which had been uttered by the former hon. gentleman, and entreated the House at once to drop the subject, and be content with leaving it in the hands of the noble lord at the head of the Government.—The motion for papers was then withdrawn.

In Committee of Supply Lord Palmerston moved a resolution granting to her Majesty the sum of £50,000 towards the expense of erecting a suitable memorial to the late Prince Consort. The noble lord explained that the estimated cost of such a monument was £110,000; that nearly £60,000 had been raised by public subscription; and that the proposed grant of £50,000 would, he believed, be sufficient to erect a memorial that would at once be worthy of the country, do honour to the memory of the Prince Consort, and be soothing to the feelings of the Queen.—Mr. Coningham briefly criticised the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, and the plan they had resolved upon adopting, and expressed a hope that they would reconsider their decision, with the view of erecting a memorial of a more useful character.—Mr. Disraeli thought that the course which had been adopted by the Government was on the whole well considered and judicious in a matter that was not altogether free from embarrassment. The suggestion of the hon. member was, in his opinion, a fallacious and narrow-minded one, and, if carried out, would not fulfil the wishes or be in accordance with the sentiments of the country. What was wanted was a monument in the metropolis which would represent as much as possible the character and career of the living man—something choice, direct, and significant.—In reply to observations from Mr. Gregory, Mr. Liddell, and Mr. Garnett, Lord Palmerston stated that the public subscriptions had been raised upon condition that the style and character of the proposed monument should be left to the decision of the Queen, and the sum he now asked the Committee to vote had the same condition attached to it.—After a few words from Sir Morton Peto and Admiral Dancombe, the vote was agreed to *nem. con.* Some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Redesdale drew attention to the instructions issued by Mr. Seward to the naval officers of the United States, that no mails should be opened when seized on board any ship, but should either be given up to the consul of the nation to which the vessel belonged, or sent to the United States Government; but that any correspondence found in them should be referred to the prize court, and used in deciding the condemnation of the vessel. He wished to know if these were the instructions with which the Foreign Secretary had expressed himself satisfied.—Earl Russell was understood to reply that this order had been modified, but that the practice was in a certain degree sanctioned by the *dictum* of Lord Stowell.—The Earl of Derby observed that nothing could be more monstrous than this claim on the part of the American Government; but what was still more astonishing was that her Majesty's Government should in any way have acquiesced in it.—The Marquis of Clanricarde urged upon the Government the propriety of taking the subject into their serious and immediate consideration.

Lord Chelmsford inquired if there were any truth in the report that four more British vessels had been seized, as stated in the evening papers.—Earl Russell said that the Government had received information that some vessels had been seized in the act of breaking the blockade. The noble lord also stated that on the representations of Lord Lyons, Mr. Seward had written a letter to Mr. Gideon Welles modifying the instructions originally issued to the Federal naval officers, and it was to this letter he had referred as satisfactory. He would, however, consult the law officers of the Crown on the subject.—In reply to the Earl of Ellenborough, Earl Russell further stated that a consul had no right to open letters, but he was instructed to say that they might be taken before the prize court.—The Earl of Hardwicke remarked that the vacillation exhibited by the Government would, as a matter of course, be attributed by the Americans to fear. He hoped the pretensions of the Federal Government were unjustifiable.—Lord Taunton could not concur in censuring the Government, which as long as it pursued the same dignified and prudent course as heretofore would, whatever the result, be supported by all classes. He deprecated these incidental discussions without the House having full information before it on the facts of the case.—Lord Russell promised to produce the opinion of the law officers on Monday, if possible.

A bill to relieve Dissenters appointed to certain offices from the necessity of taking an oath, not to use their power to the injury of the Church of England, sent up from the

Commons, was thrown out on the second reading by 69 to 52.

Some further business was transacted, and their Lordships adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to Lord A. Churchill, the Solicitor-General said that vessels sailing between neutral ports would not be justified in defending themselves by force from the visitation of Federal cruisers. In the case of a Swedish convoy which occurred during the French war, it was decided not only that such resistance would be sufficient ground for detention, but that, even if offered with the aid of convoying men of war, it would of itself subject the resisting vessels to condemnation.

A long debate then took place upon the conduct of Sir George Grey in reference to the reprieve of the Glasgow murderer, Jessie McLauchlan. The Home Secretary was charged with using the Royal prerogative of mercy to make himself a Court of Appeal in criminal cases, and he retorted that this was what his opponents were trying to do with the House of Commons.—After this discussion had dropped Mr. Horsfall, in calling attention to the recent seizure of the *Alexandra* at Liverpool, condemned the act as the deliberate infliction of a serious injury upon her respectable owners, Messrs. Fawcett, Preston, and Co. The charge was, he understood, that the *Alexandra* was furnished and fitted out with the intent of being employed in the service of the Confederate against the Federal States; but to this the owners replied with the solemn declaration that they entertained no intention of the sort. Her Majesty's Government professed to act strictly upon the principle of neutrality in the contest now going on in America: but if we were to have neutrality, why had they not stopped the shipment of arms to the Federals as well as the sailing of a ship which they suspected of being in the service of the Confederates? The fact was that at this moment we were not only supplying the Federals with gun barrels, percussion caps, and ammunition, but also the hands to use them, for the emigration of Irishmen from Liverpool during the present year was considerably greater than it had been during the corresponding period in any year since 1853. Now, he did not object to emigrants going to the United States; but surely we had a right to know by whom they were sent, and he was told that the passage of a large portion of these persons was paid for in America. He suggested, therefore, that it was the duty of the Government to have the Foreign Enlistment Act amended, so that the shipment of arms should be prevented as well as the despatch of vessels fitted out for warlike purposes. In conclusion, the hon. member complained that the owners of the *Alexandra* had not been permitted to see the evidence upon which the ship had been seized, and called upon the Government to afford facilities for enabling those gentlemen to free themselves from a charge that was utterly unfounded and had entailed upon them a great hardship and injustice.—The Attorney-General said it was impossible under the circumstances for the Government to produce the papers relating to this case. The seizure of the *Alexandra* had been made upon the advice of the law officers of the Crown, who were of opinion that it was justified by the evidence produced. With regard to the shipment of arms, and other munitions of war, it was not in the power of the Government to interfere; but if proof was furnished to them that persons on board ship destined for the United States or the Southern Confederacy, and called emigrants, were really enlisted to serve in the armies of either belligerents, he hesitated not to say that measures would be immediately adopted for putting in force the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act.—Mr. Whiteside pointed out that the Attorney-General had not answered the statements of the hon. member for Liverpool; when a person was accused of an offence, though he might be the meanest in the land, he had a right to a copy of the depositions, which ought not to be withheld or locked up in a red box. The case as between the Attorney-General and Mr. Horsfall was clearly in favour of the latter, and against the former.—Mr. Collier had heard with satisfaction the announcement that it was the intention of the Government to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act whenever a case was brought before them upon proper evidence. This was necessary alike for the assertion of our own dignity, for preventing the influx of foreign belligerents in our country, and as a measure of justice to those nations with whom we were at amity. On the grounds of international law the Americans had a right to expect from us that we should not knowingly or wilfully allow our shores to be made the seat of hostile operations against them.—Sir Hugh Cairns (formerly Conservative Solicitor-General, and the first lawyer now at the bar) asked if nothing more had been done than the law of the country warranted, why was it that for upwards of a fortnight the owners of the *Alexandra* were left in utter ignorance of the crime which was laid to their charge? He complained that the Attorney-General had not offered one word of explanation on this point, demanded to know why, after the machinery of the law had been put in motion by the American consul, a copy of the evidence had not been furnished the parties accused. He ridiculed the notice served on the owners as indicating no offence which was known to the law.—Mr. Cobden, who had given notice that he would call the attention of the House to the necessity of enforcing the Foreign Enlistment Act, began his speech by pleading for indulgence towards the Federalists, if on one or two occasions they had seized innocent British vessels. The enormous development of our trade with the West Indies during the present war was clear evidence of its

contraband character; and he was prepared, on English grounds, to justify the conduct of the Federal cruisers. Having thus aroused the passions and awakened the antagonism of his hearers, the hon. member went on to affirm that the Americans had from first to last, from the war of the French Revolution to the Canadian rebellion and the Russian war, acted with perfect good faith and loyalty towards us in passing and enforcing their Foreign Enlistment Act, and that we were bound to reciprocate their conduct; the more so, as our extended commerce would make war a most fearful calamity to us. He urged that the *Alabama* might be seized whenever she entered a British port, as she had never made a voyage, and was consequently still under British jurisdiction.—Mr. Horsman, speaking in regard to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, said his opinion was that they had with perfect integrity endeavoured to carry out the policy of a strict and undeviating neutrality. There was no doubt that we were bound to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act, by a regard to our national character; he could not, therefore, be the apologist of men who were guilty of illegal proceedings, that tended to embarrass our relations with other countries. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to review the progress of the American struggle, from the commencement to the present time, and observed that secession was now an accomplished fact, proved by the triumph in arms, the wisdom and calmness in council, and the spirit of a people determined, as one man, to die for their independence. The war on the part of the North was now not only waged against freedom, but civilization; for great as was the crime of slavery, there was yet a crime of deeper, blacker dye. And it was to be found in the proclamation of President Lincoln, which invited the negro to achieve his freedom by a carnival of crime. There was nothing more creditable in the despatch of the Foreign Secretary, than the manner in which he had laid bare the atrocious character of that proclamation, which had destroyed the last chance of English sympathy with the North. The great republic had been metamorphosed into a military tyranny. Its President was a more irresponsible despot than the Czar of Russia. Liberty of action, thought, speech, and writing had been abolished. The public press was coerced and gagged. The State prisons were filled with political suspects, as was formerly the case in Italy. In fact, the constitution of the United States was at an end. With regard to the feeling in the Northern States towards this country he did not believe that they were desirous of going to war with England; but he believed that it was the deliberate policy of the Washington Cabinet to provoke England to put an end to the blockade as the readiest means of escaping from their own domestic difficulties. Let our merchants then imitate the patience of our operatives, in the full assurance that a generous nation would not suffer them to be the martyrs of its policy. Let all parties unite and press upon the Government the solemn duty of maintaining, under every provocation, the immovable attitude of peace. Let them not by any false move—and no move could be so false as a collision at sea or a diplomatic ultimatum that might commit us to war—transfer to England the guilt of others, and associate our names in after ages with calamities prepared for generations unborn by the rash, bewildered, and desperate men in whose hands the destinies of unhappy America were now placed. Our first duty was to observe a strict neutrality, and give the North no cause of quarrel; and next, to leave no misconception with regard to the real opinion of this country with regard to the war.—The Solicitor-General said there could be no doubt that it was the duty of the Government to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act, and that those persons who did not feel the obligation of observing the laws in their commercial or other dealings were forgetful of the duty which they owed to their country. At the same time, however, the law was not to be stretched to meet the demands of any Foreign Power.—Sir F. Kelly inquired whether the Government had adopted any measures to facilitate and protect merchant vessels and the postal communication between this country and the different ports within and near to the Gulf of Mexico.—Lord Palmerston said that the security for merchant vessels was that the American Government would, it was to be hoped, observe the law of nations, and that if any vessels were captured on suspicions which might afterwards prove groundless the owners would be entitled to adequate compensation in the American prize courts. With regard to mails seized in merchant vessels, the American Government had prescribed rules to the effect that the bags should not be opened, but should be forwarded to the Consul of the nation to which they belonged, who would have power to examine them, and to give up any correspondence which might be found of a hostile character.—Mr. Monckton Milnes protested against the idea of going to war with the United States, in their present condition, as un-English and ungenerous. It was like a strong man threatening to fight a man with one arm disabled and his eyes blinded. The discussion then dropped.

Some other business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Russell stated that, in accordance with his promise on Friday, he had consulted the law officers of the Crown, but that it was not desirable then to mention what their opinion was with reference to the instructions issued by Mr. Seward for the guidance of the naval officers of the United States in the capture of British merchant vessels carrying her Majesty's mails from this country to neutral ports. With regard to the case



of the *Aries*, the result of Lord Lyons's remonstrances was that Mr. Seward had written to Mr. Gideon Welles to the effect that it was not expedient that the naval officers in charge of the blockade should open the mail-bags of a friendly Power duly authenticated by an official seal, but that they should be forwarded with all convenient despatch to their destination. No question had arisen in consequence of these instructions until very recently; and it was only that morning that he had received an official account, from which it appeared that on the 4th of April Mr. Archibald, our consul at New York, received the mails which were taken on board the *Peterhoff* under the seal of the Postmaster-General, and directed in due form. Mr. Archibald protested against breaking the seal or disturbing the bags, and required that it should be despatched to its destination. The Federal authorities insisted that the bag should be opened, and it was opened accordingly, and found to contain several packages directed to Matamoras. They did not, however, proceed further, and Mr. Archibald reported proceedings to Lord Lyons, who at once addressed Mr. Seward, declaring that this proceeding was a violation of the instructions before referred to; and Mr. Seward had requested time to consider the matter. Subsequently Mr. Archibald was told that the prize court had decided that the letters should be opened, and he was asked to do so himself, forwarding those which were *bona fide* to their addresses, and handing over those which related to the cargo to the prize court. Mr. Archibald declined to be a party to any such proceedings, but said that if the prize court insisted on the letters being opened he would be present, but only as a witness. In consequence of this declaration the proceedings seemed to have been suspended; and Mr. Seward had given directions that until orders from Washington no further steps should be taken, but at the time the mail left the United States Government had not come to any decision on the subject.—The Marquis of Clanricarde observed that the merchants ought to have been informed more fully of these instructions with regard to the mails. He hoped measures would be taken to have complete reports of the proceedings before the American prize courts.—Earl Russell said he would communicate with Lord Lyons on the point. Having disposed of the business on the paper, which was entirely of a routine character, their lordships adjourned.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 27.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The orders of the day having been postponed, Mr. Ferrand rose and moved a resolution to the effect—"That in the opinion of the House it was the duty of the Government to take into consideration, without delay, what measures might be necessary to relieve the distress which prevailed in the cotton manufacturing districts, so that the people might no longer continue unemployed." In support of his motion the hon. member replied at some length to the statements contained in a recently published letter by Mr. Potter, the member for Carlisle, and contended, in opposition to that gentleman, that the cotton manufacturers themselves were alone responsible for the present state of affairs in the manufacturing districts; that the cotton trade had always been fluctuating and unsteady, and the occupation demoralising and degrading to the operatives and fearfully destructive of human life; and that even if a fresh supply of cotton were obtained, any attempt, as suggested by Mr. Potter, to force the manufacture into the untravelling parts of India would not only be unaccompanied by the restoration of the trade to its former prosperity, but there would be another insurrection in that country. What, in these circumstances, ought the manufacturers to do? Certainly not to come to this House for a loan to relieve them from their difficulties. Let them adopt an eight hours' bill for adults and a four hours' bill for children; and let Parliament comply with the prayer of the distressed operatives, and supply them with the means of carrying their labour elsewhere. A royal commission sent down to the cotton districts to inquire into the cause of the distress was useless. The real cause was that the mills were locked up; and the adoption of the amendment of which notice had been given would only have the effect of keeping the people idle round the mills until a sufficient supply of cotton had been found to set them to work.—Mr. Potter then proposed as an amendment, that a humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the present state of the cotton manufacturing districts, and to report on the best mode of relieving the distress existing therein. In doing so the hon. member observed that upwards of two millions sterling had been raised by rates and voluntary contributions on behalf of Lancashire, where 437,000 persons were still subsisting on charity. Among these were nearly 80,000 able-bodied men, and he suggested that the Government should adopt measures for their employment on public works of a reproductive character. He believed that the legitimate relief of the operatives by a sufficient supply of cotton was merely a question of time, and that all that was requisite was to endeavour to tide over the interval, and keep up the morale of the workpeople. A royal commission would, in his opinion, tend to quiet the public mind, and he hoped the Government would not oppose so moderate a proposal.—The motion was seconded by Mr. Cobden.—Mr. Baillie recommended that emigration should be promoted, and the people at once employed upon the fortifications and other public works.—Mr. Villiers, commenting upon the speech of Mr. Ferrand, whose motion he opposed, declared that that hon. gentleman had not put any tangible issue to the House. With regard to the amendment, he did not think that Parliament would be in a better position to act upon the report of a Royal commission than it was at the present moment. The

whole of the facts were already before the country. Upwards of 400,000 persons were now dependent upon public charity, including 72,000 able-bodied men; and to find employment for the latter would, no doubt, be most desirable. But as to emigration, he did not consider that it was the duty of the Government to expend the public money in giving facilities for the exportation of valuable labour to other countries. The Poor-law department had caused inquiries to be made, and had ascertained that in Lancashire and North Cheshire alone there would be abundant employment in drainage and other works for 100,000 men for two winters. Competent persons would at once be despatched to these districts, and he entertained the sanguine hope that, at the expiration of three weeks, means would be found to provide employment in their own country for the whole of the able-bodied poor now reluctantly dependent upon alms.—Colonel W. Patten approved neither of the motion nor the amendment. Emigration, to whatever extent it might be carried, would only apply a very small measure of relief; whilst a Royal Commission would not afford more information to the House than it already possessed. There was no doubt that the resources at the command of the relief committees would not enable them to go on maintaining 400,000 people for any lengthened period, supposing the present state of things to continue; in fact the balance in hand was such as to require the immediate attention of the House and the Government to the question how employment was to be given to prevent their utter demoralisation. The total amount of subscriptions, including £680,000 raised under the poor law, amounted to £2,735,000, of which there had been expended £1,183,319; and the balance remaining to the credit of the Central Fund, the Bridgwater House and the Liverpool Funds, and in the hands of the local committees, was £755,000. For a considerable time the relief committees had been impressed with the fact that unless some employment were found for the people they must become entirely demoralised; and he was glad to learn that the Government had resolved to do what had long been desired, and send down persons to inquire into the matter with that object in view. On the whole he ventured to express the satisfaction with which he had heard the announcement made on behalf of the Government, and he would suggest that both motion and amendment should be withdrawn.—Col. Edwards made an after-dinner speech, and the discussion fell entirely into the hands of the minor Lancashire members, who generally approved the proposition of the Government. Ultimately Col. Wilson Patten's suggestion was adopted.

Some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 28.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of any public interest was transacted.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 28.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

General Lindsay moved an address to her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission might issue for an inquiry into the case of the officers raised to the rank of Colonel for distinguished services during the Crimean war.—Lord Palmerston objected to interference by the House of Commons with the details of military administration.—Mr. Disraeli thought the present subject a fit one for the attention of the House.—The motion was withdrawn.

Mr. A. Mills moved for further papers regarding the military defence of the Colonies, especially of Canada and New Zealand.—Mr. Williams, the great representative in the House of the chequesparing economists, supported the motion.—Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Under Secretary for the Colonies, said the Canadian Government had evinced a sense of the obligation that lay upon the colony to make provision for its own defence; it had raised a volunteer force, and the rural militia would in time become an efficient body of troops. On the question as to the burden of military defence it was impossible to lay down an inflexible rule. The Home Government had urged upon that of Canada a system of direct taxation, which would enable the colony to lower the duty upon imports and to put its defences upon a firmer foundation. He showed from the official correspondence the policy which had been maintained by the Colonial Secretary, and which, he said, he would continue to maintain in reference to Canada. With regard to New Zealand, he explained the position of the Imperial Government in relation to that of the colony, the responsibility which the former had acknowledged, and the policy it was pursuing. Mr. Aytoun complained of the heavy burden incurred by this country on account of its colonies, and though, considering the population and revenues of Canada, it might be expected to do a great deal for its own defence, whereas it had done little or nothing. He urged the ill effects of the present policy of the Government towards Canada.—Mr. Adelerley took a different view of the policy of the Government as disclosed in the papers. That policy was founded upon the principle that the right of self-government involved the duty of self-defence, the terms being correlative. The arguments of the Canadian Government in opposition to this policy, he maintained, were based upon fallacies. The Parliament of Canada might involve this country in a war as well as the Parliament of England involve Canada in a war. The opposition of the New Zealand Government was founded upon a similar fallacy, claiming, although in the enjoyment of complete self-government, to throw the burden of the defence of the colony upon the mother country. He hoped the House would support the Government in their present policy.—Mr. Buxton considered that it would be better for the colonies themselves that the duty of

self-defence should not be taken off their hands.—The motion was withdrawn.

Sir J. Elphinstone moved an address to her Majesty to appoint a Royal commission to consider the best mode of construction and form of the iron-clad ships which are to compose the future navy of England; to report upon the ships built and building, and the dock and basin accommodation required for their use at home and abroad. He observed that we were now entering upon a third reconstruction of our navy within his recollection—a more costly one than the others, and the whole responsibility of this enormous charge was thrown upon an office too hard worked. The object of his motion was to relieve the Admiralty of labour and afford that Board the advice of a council of able scientific men in the construction of our iron ships. He specified certain points upon a due attention to which the essential qualities of such vessels depended, and was of opinion that they should be built in Government yards. He entered into other technical details in relation to the form and class of the vessels, and to dock and basin accommodation for iron-clad ships, the deficiency of which, he said, would prove a great evil.—Lord R. Montagu moved, as an amendment, a resolution that, with a view to provide for the economical construction of ships for the Royal Navy of the most suitable form and materials, the Board of Admiralty should be empowered to introduce into the public service a class of persons equal in education and position to the military cadets at Woolwich, who (subject to certain regulations and conditions) may ultimately fulfil the duties of Royal naval architects.—Mr. Lindsay made a few remarks upon the progress attributed by Lord R. Montagu to the French in shipbuilding, and dissented from some of the opinions expressed by Sir J. Elphinstone, especially his preference of Government to private yards for the building of iron ships. He hoped the motion would not be pressed, but he thought it was desirable that the Board of Admiralty should have a council of practical men.—Lord C. Paget was of opinion that the appointment of a Royal Commission, as proposed by Sir J. Elphinstone, would be anything but advisable. Changes were continually taking place, and the probability was that, if a commission or committee were appointed, their report would turn out worthless. He could not discover in the speech of Sir J. Elphinstone any real ground of complaint against the Admiralty. He defended the employment by the Government of private ship-builders; at the same time, it was not intended to throw the construction of iron ships entirely into the hands of contractors. As to dock accommodation, which he admitted was deficient, he stated the measures taken to remedy the deficiency. He made a few observations upon the object proposed by the amendment, which he hoped would not be pressed.

The motion and amendment were withdrawn. Some unimportant discussions followed, and the House adjourned a little before 2 A.M.

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Sir John Trelawny moved the second reading of his bill to abolish church-rates, which he supported by the invariable arguments. Mr. Hardy moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The bill was defended by Sir C. Douglas, Lord A. Churchill, Mr. Walter, and Sir G. Grey (the Home Secretary). It was opposed by Mr. Whiteside, Lord J. Manners, and Mr. Newdegate; the last-named gentleman promising to introduce a compromise measure. On a division the bill was lost; ayes 275, noes 235. The announcement of the numbers was received with vociferous cheering from the opposition.

No further business of any interest was discussed, and the House adjourned at ten minutes to six.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, April 29, 1863.

The past week in the cotton markets, unlike most of its recent predecessors, has witnessed dull dragging markets from day to day with a considerable decline in prices.

At the close of our last report, under the fear of our friendly relations with America being endangered by the action of Admiral Wilkes, the market had become dull, though prices were unchanged. Till the close of the week, with a daily business of 4,000 bales, a heavy spiritless tone prevailed, and prices were rather against the seller.

On Monday, the Canada's news were to hand, reporting the complete defeat of the Federal attacking fleet at Charleston, and their abandonment of the enterprise. These accounts, taken in conjunction with the utter failure of the Vicksburg expedition, and the threatened attack on New Orleans, led to the belief, on the part of some, that the North, seeing the utter failure of their most cherished schemes, and the disastrous nature of their winter campaign, would be obliged to give in ere long in sheer disgust. This view, however, was not largely held, and it was generally thought that the same infatuation which has led them to persevere in this unhappy war, after similar defeats, would again lead them to renewed exertions to repair past disasters.

Our market, however, was adversely influenced, and the sales only reached 4,000 bales at easier prices. The receipt of India telegrams reporting a quiet market for goods and yarns in Calcutta, and accounting for an advance of one shilling per piece in Bombay by the lower range of prices previously ruling there compared with the former market, had the effect of checking business in Manchester yesterday; and to-day 4,000 bales only have been sold here, at a decline of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the



medium qualities of Surats, and 4d. to 1d. in long staples since our last quotations.

We quote Middlesboro 21 1/2d., Fair Egyptian 20 1/2d., Fair Dhollerah and Omrawatee 17 1/2d.

MANCHESTER, APRIL 28.

During the past week our market has been rather dull, no great amount of business having been done in either yarn or cloth, yet, upon the whole, there is very little to complain of, as spinners and manufacturers, who commenced running their mills again some time back, are well in order, and will not in most cases be again in the market for some time to come.

Quietness of demand has been most observable in Blackburn descriptions of yarns, say from Nos. 32's to 50's twist on pin-cops, whilst for Bolton's spinnings of Nos. 60's twist, and 70's and 80's wets, there has been a very steady inquiry all the week at firm prices.

Cloths of all kinds have been very steady in value, but as the demand has been rather quiet this week, we do not hear of any advance in quotations.

To-day has been the dullist day of the week, very little business having been transacted; nevertheless, home-trade yarns are the only articles which are affected in value; some few sales of the lower qualities having taken place at a reduction of fully 4d. per lb. on the prices of the Tuesday previous.

For the first time for many months past, there have been some inquiries for forty-five inch shirtings for India shipment, and orders for them at paying prices have been given out to make.

T-cloths and long cloths are still being bought up in small quantities for shipment to the Levant.

#### LINCOLN'S LATEST.

EXTRACT FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

Washington, 7th April, 1863.

You, no doubt, know that President Lincoln is an inveterate joker, and that he will have his joke, no matter how it may shock his company. The anecdotes related of him would already fill volumes, and he has no doubt to father a great many with which he had nothing at all to do. His sayings are not all very classical or refined, and cannot always be repeated; but I think, I may venture to relate the following, which I know to be authentic. Chase came to the President very much excited, and showed him a caricature representing a goose swallowing gold, but parting with it behind in the shape of greenbacks. Chase indignantly declared he "would at once give \$500 if he knew the author of the infamy." The President listened calmly, and then, without any change of feature, asked, "From what end would you take the Five Hundred?"

#### MORE CAPTURES.—CONFEDERATE STATES' STEAMER "FLORIDA."

Our St. Thomas correspondent writes, under date of 13th April:—

We have intelligence this morning from St. Croix of the arrival there yesterday of the Danish brig George, from Liverpool, with 31 men and one female taken by the Florida from the following vessels burned at sea, viz., brig Colcord, bark Lapwing, and brig Star of Peace. The crews are expected over to-night, and should I obtain any further particulars in time, will advise you.

The Hon. James B. Clay, of Kentucky, is here en route for Halifax.

#### FEDERAL BARBARITY IN VIRGINIA.

President Davis, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, submitted the following report in reference to the conduct of the Federal General Milroy:—

Head-quarters C.S. Troops on Shenandoah Mountains, Virginia, December 9th, 1862.

His Excellency the President:

Sir,—Day before yesterday, Mr. Job Parsons, a citizen of Tucker county, in this State, personally well known to me as a man of the highest respectability, came to this camp to enlist under my command. He was pursued by eight of the enemy's cavalry for many miles, but his superior knowledge of the mountains enabled him to elude his pursuers and escape. He handed me the enclosed original papers, which had been "served upon" him by the military authorities at St. George. A similar assessment was made on Mr. Parsons' father for \$300, and on another relative for \$700, and payment coerced under the same diabolical threats. The pretext of "robberies of Union men by bands of guerillas," is a falsehood. The fact is, that Union men have conspired to run off each other's horses to Pennsylvania, where they are secretly sold, the owners afterwards setting up a claim for reparation on the false ground that "guerillas" have robbed them.

I enclose this evidence of the atrocity of General Milroy, for such action as your Excellency may deem expedient in retaliation, either as a restraint upon this savage, or a punishment, should this horrible threat ever be carried into execution.

This is only one of a thousand barbarities practised here in these distant mountains, of which I have almost daily heard for the last four months. Oh, for a day of retribution!

JOHN D. IMBODEN, Colonel Commanding.

#### ORDERS OF GENERAL MILROY.

St. George, Tucker County, West Virginia, November 27th, 1862.

Mr. Job Parsons (son of Abraham):

You are hereby ordered to report in person or by your representative, at my head-quarters in St. George Court-house, on the 28th of November, 1862, to attend to business of vital importance to yourself. And in case of your failure to comply with the above order, you must suffer the penalty.

By order of Brigadier General R. H. Milroy.

Captain HORACE KELLOGG,  
Post-Commandant.

St. George, Tucker County, Virginia,  
November 28th, 1862.

Mr. Job Parsons (son of Abraham Parsons):

Sir,—In consequence of certain robberies which have been perpetrated upon Union citizens of Tucker county, Virginia, by bands of guerillas, you are hereby assessed to the amount of fourteen dollars and twenty-five cents (\$14.25) to make good their losses; and upon your failure to comply with the above assessment, by paying the money over to me by the first day of December, 1862, the following order will be executed, viz:—

"If they fail to pay at the end of the time you have named, their houses will be burned and themselves shot; and their property all seized; and be sure that you carry out this threat rigidly, and show them that you are not trifling or to be trifled with."

"You will inform the inhabitants for ten or fifteen miles around your camp, on all the roads approaching the town, upon which the enemy may approach, that they must dash in and give you notice, and that upon failure of any one doing so, their houses will be burned and the men shot."

By order of Brigadier-General R. H. Milroy.

Captain HORACE KELLOGG,  
Commanding Post.

**MILITARY GARDENERS.**—The Southern papers, during the whole planting season, have urged the question of provision corps for the current year with so much warmth as to lead the Northerners into the delusion that the South was on the eve of actual starvation. The very efforts made to avert scarcity, are the surest protection against it. Among these efforts the most interesting, and not the least creditable to Southern good sense, is that described below in a paragraph from the *Mobile Register*. The example there cited has been very generally followed in all stationary camps, and in the various camps of instruction:—"Colonel Wiman's 19th Regiment Louisiana Volunteers has cleared and planted a large vegetable garden, near his camp, at Pollard. The soldiers consider the working of this garden quite a recreation and relief from the eternal monotony of drill. In a few weeks this regiment will have the greatest abundance of vegetables, that cost nothing except the pleasure of growing them. Besides this garden, the Colonel is preparing to plant a large field near by with corn for roasting ears and with melons."

**THE NEW MEXICAN STEAMERS.**—The administration of the new French Transatlantic Steam Navigation Company has reported progress in reference to the line of steamers established last year between St. Nazaire and Mexico. It appears that eighteen outward and homeward voyages were successfully effected in 1862, the profits of which belong more especially to that year's "exercise." In these nine double voyages the speed of the company's steamers was materially exceeded, the scale of nine knots per hour originally provided for. Two of them, the Louisiana and the Florida have attained averages of eleven knots per hour, and accomplished remarkable passages. At three different periods these steamers traversed the 1,300 leagues which separate St. Nazaire and Martinique in thirteen days instead of sixteen. The Louisiana has even done more; it has gone out to Vera Cruz and returned in forty-four and a half days, showing a constant progress of eleven knots per hour over 3,800 leagues of sea. The perfect solidity and security of the vessels is also stated to have been efficiently and satisfactorily tested. Notwithstanding the inherent difficulties attending a service to a great extent experimental, the movement of passengers and goods for nine months of 1862 amounted to 2,081 of the former and 2,672 tons of the latter.

**FORT M'ALLISTER.**—Off the Georgia coast, and eighteen miles to the southward of the mouth of the Savannah river, is Ossabaw Sound. Into this sound flows the Ogeechee river a stream navigable some distance up—some thirty miles—its vessels of a larger class. On the Ogeechee river, four miles above the sound, is situated Fort M'Allister. The Fort stands on the main land, directly on the river bank, and commands the river for a mile and a half or two miles. The country for several miles along the Ogeechee, as is almost universally the case on the Southern coast, is but an extensive marsh, crossed and recrossed by innumerable little creeks and inlets connected with the main stream. Some of the islands formed by these creeks and inlets are large, and contain large plantations, but while there is one of these, there are hundreds of others mere marshes. To the northward of the Big Ogeechee, and connected with many numerous creeks, are two more considerable streams, called the Little Ogeechee and Vernon rivers, on each of which are said to be strong batteries.—*Richmond Examiner*.

**FORT PEMBERTON.**—A good deal of misapprehension exists in reference to the location of this post. It is so often spoken of as a barrier in the progress of the enemy to the rear of Vicksburg, that it is considered by many to be quite near the latter place. On the contrary, it is more than one hundred miles distant. Fort Pemberton is on the Yazoo river, a short distance below the confluence of the Tallahatchie and Yellobusha. The Yankees reached it through Yazoo pass, which leaves the Mississippi a few miles below Helena and Coldwater river—the latter emptying into the Yazoo, about or near the point where we suppose Fort Pemberton to be situated. Should the Yankees succeed in passing this Fort, we do not understand how they would be in the rear of Vicksburg, for they would still be in the Yazoo, which empties into the Mississippi above Vicksburg. They would, however, be able to destroy all our boats on the Yazoo and cut us off from the large extent of rich country lying between the Yazoo and Mississippi, from which our Vicksburg army is being mainly subsisted. Fort Pemberton is not more than thirty miles from the Mississippi Central Railroad, and can thus be readily reinforced from Vicksburg if necessary.—*Charleston Courier*.

**THE FEDERAL CONSCRIPTION LAW.**—It is possible that by bribery and intimidation, all resistance will be overcome. The misery of the North will be increased, not the danger of the South. We must prepare steadily and resolutely for a long war, but we need not tremble at the threat of three millions of Yankee conscripts. Not the army of Xerxes, but the army of Alexander; not the glittering horde of wealthy Persia, but the firm phalanx of Macedonia, now as thousands of years ago, conquer contested fields. God is on the side of the biggest battalions—but they must be battalions of brave and willing soldiers, not of frightened and disconcerted recruits. These laws put Lincoln into the boots of Cromwell, but these do not put Cromwell into the boots of Lincoln. The experience of this war abundantly proves the fallacy of the reliance on mere numbers. The North has tried an army of twelve hundred thousand men and found it an encumbrance; it will now find three millions only a greater encumbrance. Let the Southern

ranks be filled with all the men of the nation who are not necessary to its support; let them be made to stay there and do their duty; let the Government abide by the laws and never disunite the people by usurpations of authority; and then the South can look its unwieldy adversary in the face with the resolute assurance of victory.—*The Richmond Examiner*.

**CLERICAL ASSURANCE.**—We have heard of persons being so reduced as to sell their bodies for dissection, and though such a proceeding does not hasten their decease, it must be exceedingly unpleasant. A similar verdict will be pronounced on the treatment of the Bishop of Exeter by the Rev. R. W. Shutte. It is unpleasant and disgusting. Mr. Shutte proposes to sell the Bishop's literary remains before he dies, and intimates his intention to the Bishop, thus adding vulgar impudence to unprovoked injury. From the specimen that has appeared we do not think Mr. Shutte will succeed. His ability is not at all commensurate with his unscrupulous impertinence. His work is as devoid of literary and biographical merit, as his correspondence with the Bishop is of gentlemanly feeling. The case of "The Bishop of Exeter v. Shutte," which was tried before Vice-Chancellor Wood last week, is certainly a legal, social, and literary curiosity. The defendant, who holds a parish in the diocese of Exeter, entered into a correspondence with the Bishop in 1861, in reference to a proposed memoir of his Lordship. The Bishop replied that he considered any publication without his consent of letters written by him as "an outrageous violation of all decency," and that he should forthwith apply for an injunction to restrain such a proceeding. Mr. Shutte denied any such intention, adding that it never had formed part of his plan to publish the whole or any part of his Lordship's letters, and that, if it had, he should have asked permission. With this explanation the Bishop was satisfied, but his Lordship little imagined that the deceased Chaplain's memoir was but the precursor of his own "Life." On the 20th February, 1862, Mr. Shutte again wrote to the Bishop, saying, "Some months ago I was asked by a firm of eminent publishers to undertake the preparation of a work, to be entitled 'Life, Times, and Writings' of your Lordship. Though it was most natural that such a work should record the services of one who for so many years stood in the fore-front of the Church's battle, yet that the offer should be made to me was most unexpected; but the terms were so liberal that, after careful consideration, I could not refuse to undertake the work. I have therefore entered into an engagement to produce it." What on earth the Bishop had to do with the terms being liberal, or that a large payment excuses a conduct otherwise objectionable, we cannot understand. Mr. Shutte modestly suggests in the same letter, that "it would indeed be no small gratification to myself to know that I could have the benefit of your Lordship's judgment on doubtful and difficult points." The Bishop must have an excellent temper, for instead of throwing the letter behind the fire, he answered it by his chaplain, and contented himself by stating that, "he had no right to object to the undertaking, but that he declines to give any encouragement to it, or to have anything to do with it, and requests you to abstain from applying to him for particulars." Mr. Shutte was not abashed by this reproof, but on the 11th of July, 1862, returned to the charge with renewed vigour. He now begged to inform the Bishop that, "a great number of letters written by your Lordship between 1813 and 1858 have been placed in my hands as materials for the work on which I am engaged, and that I think it possible that selections from them will be valuable as well as interesting. I shall be happy to wait on your Lordship on your return to Devonshire, to submit the extracts which I propose to use for your Lordship's approval." This was almost too much for the temper and patience of the Bishop, and he answered the letter by return of post:—"You have an undoubted right to publish such a work, but I must add that I believe you are the only person who would announce such an intention to me without at the same time asking my consent. Be that as it may, I decline altogether communicating with you on the matter. I will, however, on seeing 'the letters,' of which you say that there is 'a great number written by me between 1813 and 1858,' and 'placed in your hands' by some one not named 'as materials on which you are engaged,' tell you whether I allow the publication of them or not." On the 18th of July Mr. Shutte wrote to the Bishop:—"I beg to submit to your Lordship that it had not occurred to me, when I wrote my letter of the 11th inst., that if on the one hand I submitted to your Lordship all letters of your Lordship in my possession, but do not receive on the other your Lordship's assistance towards supplying myself with reliable matter, I shall be in a very unfavourable position with the public, because it must appear that I am writing under your Lordship's direction, while I am not receiving from your Lordship the assistance which can alone make the book valuable. May I beg your Lordship to consider the position? As I am able to look at it, it seems to me plain, that if I cannot have your Lordship's free assistance, I have no alternative but to fulfil my engagement with the publishers in the best way I can." When "The Life, Times, and Writings of the Bishop of Exeter," by the Rev. R. Shutte, was announced, the Bishop concluding from the above correspondence that his letters were to be published without his permission, applied for and obtained an injunction. Some months later Mr. Shutte made an affidavit, in which he denied emphatically that he ever expressed an intention of publishing the Bishop's letters, or selections or extracts therefrom, or that he ever intended to publish them, unless he had previously obtained his Lordship's consent; and insisted, as a matter of law, that no portion of the correspondence showed that he ever intended to publish any letter of the plaintiff, or any extract therefrom, without his consent. Upon this affidavit the Vice-Chancellor dismissed the bill, but without costs, and in terms that would be anything but agreeable to a man of gentlemanly feeling. His Honour said, "I confess that I, for one, never thought that the correspondence was susceptible of the interpretation now given to it by the defendant's affidavit." \* \* \* No doubt, a clergyman who announced his intention of publishing the life of his diocesan, whatever might be the feelings of the diocesan on the subject, and of including in such 'Life' private letters extending over a period of forty years, was guilty of a grave offence, if not against the law, at all events against delicacy and morality. \* \* \* It was utterly impossible to justify, either in law or in morals, any one in sending a correspondence extending over forty years to another for publication. Still less could he understand how with any feelings of delicacy or honour any one could sit down, without asking leave of the writer, to read such a correspondence. He should dismiss the bill; but he did so solely on the ground of the defendant's oath, that he never intended to publish the letters." Mr. Shutte must have been very liberally paid, indeed, if it compensates him for the remarks of Vice-Chancellor Wood, and for the way in which his conduct has been discussed by the press.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 28s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1863.

## Charleston.

A year has passed away since the publication of the first number of THE INDEX, a year of great battles, of extraordinary trials, of almost marvellous triumphs, a year rich in records of gallant deeds and enduring patriotism, and replete with events which have worthily ushered in the Southern Confederacy to the family of nations. Twelve months ago the aspect of affairs was gloomy enough for the South. The Federal armies, recovered from their disasters on the Potomac, were going southward by hundreds of thousands; great fleets of gunboats traversed the rivers of the Southern States; one strong position after another had surrendered to superior force; the outer line of the Confederate defences was penetrated; and as the Northern hordes closed slowly in from the Potomac, from the Western States, from the Mississippi, and from the Atlantic seaboard, it required all our confidence in a just cause, all our faith in the devotion of Southern patriots, all our knowledge of the high courage and determined purpose of this great people struggling for its independence, to resist a natural fear of the overwhelming forces arrayed against it, and believe in its ultimate success. The tide of war was, in fact, at its lowest ebb with the Confederates a year ago. In one town and another along the Eastern sea-coast, Federal troops had gained a footing. Forts Donnelson and Henry, the defences of the State of Tennessee, had fallen; and the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers were open to the Federal gunboats. The flotillas, which had so easily swept away the garrisons of those forts, were penetrating into the very heart of the Confederacy. The Mississippi was apparently at their mercy; Nashville was taken; Kentucky overturned. McClellan, with an army of 120,000 men, had landed on the York Town Peninsula, and had marched, fighting his way step by step, to the very walls of Richmond. Ninety days was the time allowed to the rebellion by the sanguine politicians of Washington, and the New York press was already exulting in the dream of punishment to be inflicted on the rebellious cities of the South, and the prospective doom of the leaders of secession. But the tide turned; the torrent of invasion was stemmed and beaten back. McClellan's grand Army of the Potomac, decimated by disease and battle, found safety under the fire of the gunboats on the James River. The armies of the West stopped, as if paralysed, on the borders of East Tennessee. Vicksburg defied the flotillas from Cairo and New Orleans. Then came the reaction. One after another the armies of Banks, Fremont, and Pope were assailed by the Confederate generals, and hurled back upon the Northern frontier; Maryland, and even Pennsylvania were scoured by the charge of the Virginian cavalry; Washington was for months in greater danger than Richmond. Kentucky was overrun by Confederate soldiery, and the men of Cincinnati and Indianapolis trembled lest the wrongs their armies had perpetrated on Southern soil should be expiated on their own hearths. The black frost came; but this time, instead

of bringing triumph to the North, added a new disaster to the terrible list of Federal reverses in the bloody repulse of Fredericksburg. Finally, the long-awaited floods swelled the Southern water-courses, even with the margin of the river banks, and the Federal commanders started anew on their work of subjugation and devastation. And now the waters are falling, and they have achieved nothing. They have been driven back from Port Hudson. They are drawing off the wasted remnant of the beaten army from before Vicksburg. They have made their long-prepared attack upon the "doomed" Palmetto City, and have been miserably repulsed. At this moment Rosecranz holds Nashville by the most precarious of tenures, and Banks is fortifying New Orleans against an expected Confederate attack. For nearly twelve months the history of the war has been a record of uninterrupted Confederate successes. It is with gratitude to the God of battles for the past, and with renewed trust for the future that we recount the last triumph of Confederate arms, the successful defence of Charleston.

It was on the 7th inst. that the famous iron-clad squadron stood boldly in for the great duel which had been so long and anxiously expected on both sides the Atlantic. The previous day, the Federals had anchored inside the bar and buoyed out a passage almost within the range of Fort Sumter. It was ascertained that there were no obstacles in the main ship Channel to prevent them taking up positions within easy range of the Charleston batteries; and it was known on the night of the 6th throughout Charleston, and on board the Federal fleet, that the issue would be decided on the morrow. To our readers it will appear at once that only the most extravagant faith in the powers of the iron-clads could have blinded the Northern officers to the hopelessness of the contest. The number of guns which the Federal squadron could bring to bear upon the batteries could not have exceeded fifty—guns of enormous calibre, it is true, but proportionately difficult to handle. Opposed to these, Charleston could show a long succession of batteries of the most formidable construction, stretching away on either side of the bay, crowding every available point with powerful artillery, with here and there a fortress rising out of their midst armed *en barbette*, tier upon tier of heavy guns threatening to sweep the channel. Of the number of guns brought to bear in the engagement we cannot speak precisely. The Northern correspondents, in narrating their disaster, naturally deal in large figures. But we may state with some certainty that at a point a little beyond that reached by the Federal iron-clads, a concentric fire of 300 guns of enormous calibre, many of them rifled cannons of the newest pattern, could have been brought to bear upon the enemy. The iron-clads advanced in regular order at intervals of a cable's length; the Weehawken, protected by a kind of raft to remove and explode torpedoes, leading. After her, came in succession the Passaic, Montauk, Patapsco, the New Ironsides, bearing the flag of Admiral Dupont, the Catskill, the Nantucket, the Nahant, and the Keokuk. Slowly they steamed by Morris Island, within range of the Confederate batteries, but their orders are not to fire, and the Confederate batteries are equally silent. They are now in the straight channel for Charleston; right in front of them is Fort Sumter, and close to Fort Sumter the Confederate squadron, under Ingraham, which has steamed out to take its share in the day's struggle. They steam on and pass a second battery, Battery Bee—still the same silence; and now they are within range of the batteries on Sullivan's Island, of the guns of Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter. Then the silence is broken, and from the latter fort a great salvo of artillery bursts forth on the Weehawken. She returns the fire, slowly, but is evidently in difficulties. She has reached the first net-work of obstructions; her screw is fouled; for a few minutes she drifts a log upon the water at the mercy of the current, but she frees herself, and heads for the passage south of Fort Sumter. The Northern channel is barred by nets and hawsers strung, say the Yankees, with torpe-

does. They make for the Southern channel, but that too is stopped. Between Fort Sumter and Cumming's Point is a row of piles extending ten feet above the water—the Channel is impassable. So the fleet is signalled to commence firing, and the duel begins at a range of from 600 to 1,000 yards. For thirty minutes the thunder of artillery never ceases; from Sumter, from Moultrie, from Sullivan's and Morris Islands the Confederate batteries pour their iron hail upon the iron-clads. At the end of that time the fight is over. The great ship, the Ironsides, has taken no part in the attack upon Fort Sumter. She steers badly in the narrow channel, and her captain can only engage the guns of Fort Moultrie. The Keokuk drops down past the flag-ship in a sinking condition—she is completely riddled—her turrets shot through: she has engaged Fort Sumter at 500 yards, and received her death-blow. The Montauk suffers almost as much. She is pierced through and through close above the water line, and her turret is shattered. The Passaic meets no better fate; her iron covering affords no resistance to the steel-pointed projectiles from the Whitworth guns, and her turret ceases to work. A similar misfortune befalls the Nantucket; all are more or less seriously injured, and the Ironsides has her port shutter shot away, and her gun deck exposed. Under these circumstances the Admiral makes the signal for retiring, and the squadron, still firing, slowly falls back out of range, terribly mauled. The Keokuk sinks at her anchors the next morning. All the next day the fleet is busy with repairs, and one or two of the most shattered vessels are sent to Port Royal to refit. And the news goes up to the North that the long-delayed attack on Charleston has been made, that the redoubtable iron-clads are so many disabled hulks, that the repulse is complete, irreparable, and final.

The attack on Charleston is one more instance of the mismanagement which has illustrated the Northern conduct of the war. For two years the Confederates have been expending on the defences of the Palmetto City all the resources that the best engineering skill, and a superabundance of labour could apply. Yet the attack is made by a squadron of nine iron-clads, mounting, at the outside, fifty guns, unsupported by any land force, and apparently without any attempt at a reconnaissance. The fleet is arrested at a point where it is most exposed to the Confederate fire, and, at the end of half an hour, the contest is over, with a loss of five killed and wounded on the Confederate side, and less than 100 casualties amongst the Federals. What has become of that great army which, six weeks ago, expected to have landed at Hilton Head 60,000 strong? It is plain that the Federals have been defrauding the world and themselves, and that their numbers have been grossly exaggerated; and for their empty boasts the lives and reputation of gallant officers are sacrificed. The duel at Charleston is not without its interest, apart from the decisive influence it must exercise on the future of the war in America. It has shown clearly that stationary forts with well-placed water obstructions will always hold their own against a purely naval force. It has read a useful lesson to aggressors and invaders all over the world; for it proves the difficulties which a gallant people, relying on its own material resources, its own energy and courage, may place in the way of overwhelming fleets and armies, and the ease with which a successful defence may be organized.

## Recent Parliamentary Debates.

It is impossible for a newspaper report to convey the full sense and significance of a Parliamentary debate. It can give every word, or nearly every word, that falls from the leading speakers; it can give the general substance of every speech that is made; but those who have heard an important debate feel, on reading their paper next morning, that the spirit that gave life to the whole affair cannot be reproduced in print. It is not only that we miss the tones and manner that give emphasis and force to the words, so that what the hearer feels



to be eloquence seems to the reader dull and tedious prose, and what the hearer conceived to be fair blows given in a manly spirit, seem in print the expressions of malignity and ill temper. It is that we have only one side of the discussion, and that often the less important—we know what was said, but we do not know how it was received. And except in the case of a Ministerial speech, every word of which is supposed to have a meaning and to indicate an intention,—or of an Opposition harangue, intended to convey a declaration of policy, the reception of a speech which is not a statement of new facts, is more significant than the speech itself, in proportion as the feeling of Parliament is of more consequence than the opinions of any one speaker. The “cheers,” and “Hear, hear,” interspersed here and there in the reports are generally inserted with a good deal of carelessness, and however conscientious the reporter may be in this matter, it is impossible for him to convey on paper the meaning and force of those murmurs by which Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, testifies its sympathy or disapproval. This is particularly noticeable in regard to the discussions that have recently taken place on American affairs. With one or two exceptions, the speeches have been tame and certainly pacific; and those of a contrary tendency have generally provoked rebuke and remonstrance from subsequent orators. But the tone of the House of Commons is unmistakably warlike; and it is not doubtful that the news that the Ministry had determined to deal peremptorily with outrages on the British flag, or had demanded the recall of Admiral Wilkes, or had sent Mr. Adams his passports, would be received with vociferous cheering by more than three-fourths of that House. The speeches of the peace party are heard with impatient murmurs or enforced silence, except by the very few friends of the North, who sit below the gangway on the Speaker's right; the prudent language which official decorum exacts from Ministers is coldly received, and elicits cheers only from the Radical benches, except when now and then the supporters of the Government feel themselves obliged to deserve that title, and arouse themselves to a listless and perfunctory applause. On the other hand, every speech that hits the Yankees hard, or tells strongly in favour of the Confederates, is received with tumultuous cheering. Mr. Roebuck's bitter sarcasms, Mr. Horsman's cutting statement of the case against the Federal Government, Lord Robert Cecil's spirited rebukes of Ministerial supineness and indifference, are received with the same hearty sympathy, the same gratified applause, that greeted the speeches of Mr. Laird and the Solicitor-General, just before the Easter recess, on the case of the Alabama. It is beyond doubt or disguise that the Federal cause is as thoroughly unpopular in Parliament as in the country; that every argument which demands any concession to the North, whether in the name of justice or of forbearance, is obnoxious to the general sentiment; and that every plea that can be advanced to justify the equipment of the Alabama, or to aggravate the outrage involved in the capture of the Peterhoff and the Dolphin, is welcome to an audience whose feelings are enlisted on the side of the Confederates, and whose passions have been strongly excited by the unreasonableness and the insolence of the Northern States. The advocates of the Federal Government are pleading a lost cause, with the evidence, the law, and the Court against them; and their courage and resolution in that desperate situation would deserve admiration, were it possible to forget that, not in pursuance of a professional duty, but in dereliction of their duty as Englishmen, and their dignity as representatives of the English people, they have undertaken the defence of the enemies of England. Men like Mr. Bright, who have neither character nor popularity to lose, are deepening the dislike with which they are regarded; men like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Forster, with influence and credit earned by consistency and capacity, are sacrificing their authority and bringing themselves into contempt; men like Mr. Stansfeld, just entering on a political career, and men like Mr. Peter Taylor, striving hard to win

the tolerance of the House, are risking their respective personal objects in the service of clients who are always embarrassing and thwarting them by indefensible conduct, and giving them the lie direct by their official language. It is wonderful to witness such devotion to the memory of a shattered idol; such touching fidelity to the first article of the demagogic creed, that a democracy can do no wrong. But no one can question the utter hopelessness of their labours; and their own tone is that of men who feel that they are speaking in vain.

The cases of the Sea Queen and of the Alexandra have respectively given rise to the most momentous discussions of this session—momentous in regard to the disclosures of Ministerial policy which they have elicited, and in regard to the effect they are likely to produce both at home and in America. The first is beyond all comparison the more important, inasmuch as it involves the whole question of the right of British merchant ships to trade unmolested between neutral ports. The owners of the Sea Queen represented to Lord Russell that their obligation to carry what is called a ship letter-bag exposed them to considerable danger. The American cruisers might seize the ship, open the bags, and finding therein correspondence of a suspicious character, might avail themselves thereof to justify the condemnation of the ship and cargo. Now, be it observed, the Sea Queen was bound from London to Matamoras—from neutral port to neutral port. There could not, therefore, be the slightest pretence for her seizure. But the piratical capture of the Peterhoff by Admiral Wilkes has destroyed the security which ought to surround all such voyages, and it was natural, therefore, that the owners of the Sea Queen should feel uneasy. They requested that Government would place a mail agent on board in charge of the bags. His presence would have had a double effect. It would have deterred the Federal cruisers from opening the bags, and it would have served as a voucher for the *bonâ fide* character of the ship's neutral destination. And as for the objection suggested by the *Economist*, that “the worst vessels would be the most likely to apply for such protection,” we hold it to be altogether unfounded. Between vessels bound for a neutral port there is no distinction of good or bad, as regards the legality of their enterprise. They are all good. And a vessel carrying mails in charge of a mail agent to a neutral port must of necessity be bound thither; she dare not go elsewhere. It follows that the protection afforded by the presence of a mail agent could not possibly be abused. But Lord Russell refused the request; and defended his refusal in person in one House, and by his under-secretary in the other. It is admitted that the mail-bags cannot lawfully be opened; and, therefore, the task of defence was not an easy one. Lord Russell was able to show that he had saved the Sea Queen from any practical danger on account of the mails, by exempting her from the liability to carry them. But it was pertinently asked why he had not asserted the right given by law to compel her to carry the mails, and the right inherent in every Government to protect its subjects from unlawful aggression; and he had no answer to give. The true reason, probably, was that, if he had done so, Admiral Wilkes would still have seized the ship, and the seizure would inevitably lead to war; but this was a reason which could not be openly stated. But in the course of debate Lord Russell said something which argues either singular carelessness, or great ignorance on his part. He said, “It may be that vessels have been seized that were really going to Matamoras, or some other neutral port, without sufficient evidence that the cargo was really of a contraband character.” Now this implies admission of the right to seize cargoes “of a contraband character” on their way to neutral ports, or it is sheer nonsense. But there can be no such thing as contraband of war between neutral ports. In the eye of the law, the trade between London and Matamoras stands in just the same position as the trade between Dover and Calais; and the seizure of a cargo of arms and munitions of war between the two former ports, is an outrage as great as would be the seizure of similar

wares on board the Dover packets. It is time that Lord Russell should be called to account on this subject. It is time, too, that he should be taught that his cowardly concessions to American bluster are not merely a breach of neutrality, but are actual treason to England. He has, at the demand of Mr. Seward, given orders that the mails (probably those captured on board British ships) shall be opened by British consuls, and all treasonable correspondence (that is, correspondence between the enemies of the United States) given up to the Federal Government. This is not only not the conduct of a high-minded English statesman—it is not the conduct of an English gentleman. It is the conduct of an American spy. Further, it is clear that no British mail can lawfully fall into the hands of Federal cruisers. For they have no right to meddle with any vessel not bound directly for a Confederate port; and on board vessels so bound there are, of course, no mails. Therefore, Lord Russell's concession is not only an act of cowardice, a breach of neutrality, and an insult to England, but it also involves a permission to the Americans to seize British vessels upon a lawful voyage—a permission little less than treasonable.

Next to the feebleness of the Ministerial defence against the censures of the Opposition, the most remarkable feature in the late discussion was the passionate anxiety of the Federalizing Radicals, to prevent a war with America by putting down the building of gunboats for the Confederate States. At their urgent instigation, the Government has already taken a very extraordinary step. It has seized the Alexandra, an unarmed and unfinished screw yacht, building for a respectable Liverpool firm, on suspicion that she is intended for the Confederate service; and has refused to furnish her owners with any intimation of the nature of the evidence, or even with a formal statement of the charge against her. This is certainly a stretch of authority which it is hard for Englishmen to bear; but it does not satisfy the Radicals, whose love of freedom was never more than lip-deep, and whose love of New England is the strongest passion of their natures. Mr. Collier vehemently urged that we should give the Americans no ground of complaint—ignoring the fact that they complain of the shipment of arms and ammunition to the South, and would complain whatever we did. But Mr. Collier is known to have given professional assistance to Mr. Adams against our Government, while acting as the professional agent of the Admiralty; and no one pays much attention, in England, to men guilty of such conduct as this. Mr. Cobden's personal character is clear; and if he could feel an English indignation against the outrages offered to the English flag, his masterly pleading against the alleged wrongs offered by England to America might have had great effect. But he damaged his cause hopelessly at the beginning by an apology for “one or two captures of innocent vessels” by the Federal cruisers; a phrase under which he wished to veil the systematic interruption of our trade with the Bahamas and with Mexico. He seems to labour, like Lord Russell, under a delusion as to the rights of belligerents; and to fancy that a trade in arms and munitions of war, intended to supply a contraband trade, is itself contraband and liable to confiscation. We must remind him that the Federals have no more right to intercept, on their way to Matamoras, munitions of war intended to be smuggled thence into Texas, than our revenue cruisers have to interrupt the supply of tobacco to a French port on suspicion that it will be smuggled into England. His unfairness in this matter prejudiced against him the audience which fully appreciates the meaning conveyed by the appointment of Captain Wilkes, and the certificate of Mr. Adams; and he completed the ruin of his cause by citing as a favourite contrast with the case of the Alabama, the conduct of the American Government in regard to the Canadian rebellion. Now the fact is that that rebellion was chiefly due to American intrigues, and was sustained chiefly by aid from the United States. The Government of those States made laws against the interference of its citizens in the struggle, but that interference went on



notwithstanding; they did, in fact, precisely what Mr. Adams accuses our Government of doing in the case of the Alabama. Their intention was very intelligible. They wished, by promising and pretending to do right, to keep on good terms with us, and prevent us from interfering vigorously with their means of doing wrong. Exactly in the same spirit are they now acting in regard to the seizure of British ships. Mr. Seward admits all Lord Lyons's remonstrances, founded on the acknowledged law of nations, and requests Mr. Welles to put a stop to unlawful seizures; but still those seizures go on; still Prize Courts, erected *ad hoc* by Mr. Lincoln, condemn vessels captured in neutral waters or on their way to neutral ports, and threaten to open our mail bags; and still the Secretary of State promises fair play, while the Secretary of the Navy countenances foul. Diplomacy may be baffled by these artifices; but national indignation outruns diplomacy, and is apt to insist on a recourse to arguments against which specious promises and legal evasions are of little value or effect. It would be well if the Peace party would cease to delude those who are forcing us to war, with the idea that we are not prepared for it; well if, while there is yet time, our Government would let that of the Northern States understand that its choice lies between obedience to law and submission to the armed force of England.

### The Foreign Enlistment Act.

There is, perhaps, no law on the statute book of England of which the construction is so uncertain, and of which the interpretation varies so much according to the prejudices, interests, and idiosyncrasies of those who are called on to explain or administer it, as the Foreign Enlistment Act. Intended to provide for the more effectual observance of the rules of international law, it seems to partake of the doubtful character which attaches to most of those rules, and to be susceptible, like them, of meaning much or little according to the circumstances under which and the cases in which it is applied. It is interpreted in one way by the Opposition, and in another way by the Government; in one sense by Mr. Cobden, and in a very different sense by Mr. Laird; the friends of one belligerent strain it to the uttermost, those of another would reduce it almost to a nullity. According to Mr. Adams, it ought to prevent the exportation of arms to Charleston, and even to Nassau, while it should leave free and uninterrupted the shipment not only of munitions of war, but actually of Irish recruits for the Federal army to Boston and New York. Mr. Laird considers that it permits the building of Alabamas; and we have reason to believe that men holding a very high position in the administrative service of the country agree with him; while the Counsel for the Admiralty, accepting a fee from the American Minister, declares that the Alabama ought to have been seized long before her equipment was complete; and the law officers of the Crown, while they are understood to have given a similar opinion, stand up in their place in Parliament to vindicate the non-interference of the Ministry in that case, and their interference in the case of the Alexandria. Nay, in the latter instance it appears to be held by the Attorney-General,—who, though far from being one of the first lawyers of the day, in point of repute and authority, is still officially at the head of the bar—that the Foreign Enlistment Act is stringent enough to overrule the first principles of the common and statute law of the realm, and to justify the Treasury not merely in inflicting a grievous injury without cause stated and before trial on respectable British merchants, but actually in refusing to the accused a statement of the charge against them, and an account of the evidence on which that charge is grounded. Will our readers believe that to this day the owners of the Alexandria—who are Liverpool merchants—have received no notification of the charges on which their vessel has been seized, and the works upon her suspended; that no accusation has yet been formally

recorded against her; and that the "cause of seizure" stated on the record of appraisement, is simply that the Alexandria is built and intended for the service of the Government, or assumed Government, of a foreign State—which constitutes no offence whatever, either against the law of nations or the law of England? It would really seem that the curious Act means just whatever the Treasury wishes it to mean; and there is some reason to fear that the interpretation put upon it by the Treasury varies not according to the facts of the case, the sympathies, or even the interests of England, but according to the strength and urgency of the Power which demands the application of the law, or according to the degree of alarm inspired by the Parliamentary and platform denunciations of such degenerate Englishmen as are capable of constituting themselves the advocates and apologists, against their own countrymen, and against the advisers of their Queen, of a foreign, a despised, and an unfriendly Government.

Let us look back a little, and ask ourselves how this law has been hitherto administered. It was originally enacted to prevent Englishmen and English ships from taking part in the war between Spain and her colonies. Yet those colonies owed the final completion of their deliverance in no small measure to English crews, sailing, we believe, in English built ships, and commanded by an English officer, whose terrible misfortunes and heroic achievements have seldom been rivalled—the late Earl of Dundonald, known formerly as Lord Cochrane. The Foreign Enlistment Act did not prevent him from lending his services to Chili and Peru; nor do we remember that Spain made any complaint on that score. Again, it pleased Brazil to shake off her allegiance to Portugal—"our ancient and faithful ally;" and Lord Cochrane accepted the rank of Admiral from the Emperor Pedro I., and fought under the new flag against a Power with whom England was at peace—once more with English seamen and, we suspect, with ships built in England. The Emperor's Government proved ungrateful, and the modern Viking transferred his services to the cause of Greece, and ships were built for him in English yards, and armed in English docks, and sent forth from English harbours to assist the persons exercising or claiming to exercise the powers of Government in Greece against his Britannic Majesty's ally, the Sultan. The Greek war came to an end; the freedom of Spanish America was established, and, except in Spain and Portugal, where their interference was licensed by their own Government, Englishmen had for a quarter of a century no opportunity of gratifying their pugnacious propensities in the service of a foreign Power. But then there came the war between France and Austria; and it happened that the French Government chartered an English vessel, then in an English port, as a transport. Austria complained; the Customs authorities refused to seize the vessel, and she departed. The Crown lawyers were on the side of Austria; but the official parties concerned maintained that as the vessel was not built, equipped or fitted out for the French service, but simply chartered and sent as she stood, the owner had done nothing in violation of the law. This precedent is surely worth remembering. Then came Garibaldi's expedition; and recruits by hundreds were enlisted in England to assist a private citizen of Nice, a subject of either the King of Sardinia or the Emperor of France, in waging war on his own account against the Government of Naples. These recruits were enlisted without interference; they were shipped without interference; they were not even molested when they entered the port of Gibraltar, notoriously and avowedly bound for the territories of the King of Naples, to carry on hostilities against a potentate with whom her Majesty was at peace. After this, the Papal Government also thought that it might fairly claim the right of levying recruits within the Queen's dominions; and it did so; and those recruits affirm that they fought against the troops of a Sovereign with whom her Majesty was in amity; others say that they simply surrendered to those troops; but we presume that this difference is of no importance

to any other person than Major O'Reilly and his comrades. This is the manner in which we have been wont to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act, and in which we are now enforcing it as against the agents of the Federal Government; why is a different measure to be used, and a different policy adopted, in order to serve the ends of that Government as against the Confederate States?

If we look from England to America, we find both judicial decisions and official precedents still stronger in favour of a lax interpretation of a law like this. We find that it is pronounced no offence, at least, against international law, for an American crew and captain to take an armed vessel to Buenos Ayres, and there enlist themselves and their vessel in the service of the Government of that country to wage war against Spain, with which Power the United States were at peace. We find that it is lawful for an American citizen to build a privateer, partially equip her, and send her out to a foreign port, there to take out a letter of marque and complete her equipment, in order to cruise against a Power with which the United States are not at war. Coupling these decisions of the Supreme Court with the precedent above quoted, in the case of a vessel chartered by the French Government in the Austrian war, we think that the lawfulness of the enterprise undertaken by the builders of the Alabama, the Japan, and the Florida is sufficiently vindicated. They built and equipped a vessel of a certain character; they did not arm her or send her forth to cruise against American commerce. They sold their vessels to foreigners; perhaps to a foreign Government; and still the transaction is perfectly legal. Some one else sent out arms and ammunition to the same parties; still the transaction is legal. The ships quitted British waters unarmed, and elsewhere obtained their armaments, and commenced their service under the Confederate flag. We wish to be informed at what point an infraction of British law was committed; or of what part of the transaction, looking to their own decisions, Americans could complain?

The general meaning of the Foreign Enlistment Act, as we understand it, may be comprised in two sentences. It was intended to prevent British subjects from waging war on their own account, or the account of foreigners, against a Power with which their Sovereign is at peace. It was not intended to interfere with the supply of arms and munitions of war, or other contraband goods, to a belligerent Power. Now the equipment and despatch of privateers from this country to make war on either of the American belligerents, or the enlistment of Englishmen in the service of either belligerent, is clearly a violation at once of public and of municipal law, a breach of neutrality, and of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The latter offence, however, when committed by a few individuals, is generally overlooked. But the sale of arms, or munitions of war, or ships capable of becoming ships of war, to a belligerent Power, is not a breach either of neutrality or of the Foreign Enlistment Act. And inasmuch as the seller does not know, and the Customs authorities do not know, whether a vessel so purchased is not intended to run into a Confederate port, and there to be armed and fitted out for war, we cannot see that the former can be blamed for selling or the latter for allowing her to pass.

There are two further points which seem to deserve a few words of comment. The first is Mr. Cobden's plea for favour towards the United States, on the ground that they themselves, on several occasions, and notably during the Canadian rebellion, faithfully enforced their Foreign Enlistment Act. The answer to that allegation is contained in the following confession of a Yankee "sympathizer," to which we direct our readers' attention:—

Confession of the captured American General Sutherland, made a few minutes before he attempted self-destruction:—

AFFIDAVIT.

Garrison Toronto, March 22, 1868.

While visiting the prisoner Thomas Jefferson Sutherland on the evening of the 13th, with the officers of the guard, I was requested by Sutherland to sit a short time and converse with him. Having ascertained that I did not belong to the



militia, nor was connected with the court-martial then sitting for his trial, he entered freely into conversation, but chiefly on the politics of the country, and stated his own views, and, as he said, those of his Government, for the line of conduct lately pursued by them.

He said it was their determination, at all hazards, to obtain the Canadas as they had Texas, and then they would have the seaboard from the Gulf of Florida to the Northern Ocean.

I asked him, when he said "they," did he mean the people of the United States or the Government? His answer was that the people of the States were the Government, and the will of the people was the law by which their rulers must abide; that in the acts of the Americans in favour of the insurrection in this province, and in the proclamations of the President and General Scott to put down the meetings and disarm the patriots, the Government had acted with duplicity, for it was not their wish or their intention to suppress them. "In fact," said he, "it is a piece of humbug on their part, and as a proof of it, I will now tell you that none of the arsenals were robbed of the arms, but the doors were opened, and we were told to help ourselves.

WILLIAM SPRING, Lieutenant,  
Adjutant, 24th Regiment.

Sworn before me this 23d of March, 1838,

GEORGE GURMET, Alderman and Justice  
of the Peace.

The second point is that, if we suddenly enforce with harshness against one belligerent Power an Act which hitherto we have forbore to enforce at the instance of the other belligerent, we are guilty of a virtual breach of neutrality; and that, in this case, such a display of partisanship would be peculiarly discreditable. For the sake of peace, and of our own security, we have so interpreted our neutral obligations as to confer great advantages on the stronger of the two parties to this deplorable war. It would be wrong, unseemly, and dishonourable to render any further aid; and most especially to do so in deference to menaces of present or future vengeance.

## Newmarket Races.

The worship of animate and inanimate nature has prevailed, in all ages, both among civilized and barbarous nations, and the variety of objects deemed worthy of adoration has been surpassed only by the eccentricity with which the idols have been selected. To fall down before the Host of Heaven, and to praise the Sun as the life-giving element, is at least more intelligible than to curse that luminary with morning and evening imprecations, as one of the tribes of Africa, scorched with his vertical rays, is said to have done; but that nations should have venerated the bull, the dog, the ape, and even the pig, can only be comprehended by a diligent inquiry into the wants and habits of the people, or the peculiarities of the country in which they dwell. The Roman Satirist was amazed when he contemplated—

"Qualia demens  
Ægyptus portenta colat, crocodilon adorat  
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin;"

or when he assumed the perfection of his own religion, and in contempt of the madness of animal worship, exclaimed—

"Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."

But his own countrymen and the polished Greeks, whom the former so loved to imitate, had for centuries known, appreciated, and even more than admired the horse, and the contests in which his true excellence is developed. Alcibiades had ruined himself by the magnificence of his racing stud; kings had thought a victory in the chariot-race the highest earthly glory; and Rome, while the Satirist wrote, was rapidly developing that frantic emulation in the races of the circus which eventually split her citizens into factions and filled her streets with blood. Our enthusiastic love for the quadruped has not yet run to such madness; but it is an axiom that no nation has expended so much time, money, and talent, as the English, in attempts to make the horse perfect. That animal is our delight in the road and in the field, but on the race-course he is an object of national pride.

Now we are not of the number of those who believe that the English race-horse is degenerating; nor, again, do we pay heed to the alarmists who preach the downfall of the Turf. In our opinion the healthy condition of the latter is demonstrated by the increase of the prizes, the number of spectators, and the anxiety displayed by the authorities to remove the existing abuses, while that of the former appeals to the honest attention of a connoisseur, or the conclusive authority of Admiral Rous. To see racing to perfection, and the race-horse at his best, it is absolutely necessary to visit Newmarket. There it is not considered that the purpose of the meeting is to make a mere holiday: stern faces, such as are seen in Lombard Street and the Exchange, combined with a total absence of music, dancing bears, and raree shows, prove that the business demands the most rigid attention and absorbs the mental faculties. The Heath, too, must be seen to be appreciated; it contains innumerable courses; a round course bounded by, or rather encircling, cultivated lands for a distance of three and a half miles; a straight course of four miles divided at

the second mile by an easy but decided turn, the last two miles of which form the arena of the majority of the contests. The ground is marked off with posts, and admits of any number of horses running abreast. It undulates only in a moderate degree, and is neither deformed by the narrow enclosures, the sharp turns or abrupt inclines, which render accidents probable, injure the temper and impede the sweeping action of the horse, and eminently prejudice the most accurate calculations. It would be difficult to conceive, and impossible to find, a course better adapted for securing the victory to the fastest and stoutest horse. Here six meetings are annually held, two in the Spring, one in July, and three in the Autumn, and they occupy in all twenty-nine days. On the average, eight races are run on each day, and the stakes range from £100 up to nearly £5,000. The contests principally consist of sweepstakes, in which horses carry weight according to their respective ages; sweepstakes confined to horses of a particular age, and handicaps in which weights are imposed upon the horses in a sliding scale so regulated as to give to each horse, good, bad, or indifferent, so far as any device can, an equal chance of success. These handicaps form the principal feature of the autumnal displays, while the spring is occupied mainly in testing the powers of the three-year-old colts, and the summer in trying the recruits of the age of two years.

Last week was, according to immemorial custom, signalized by two great events, the results of which are not merely of great importance from the intrinsic value of the prizes, but are justly considered to throw considerable light on the more famous races for the Derby and Oaks stakes at Epsom. These sweepstakes are commonly called, respectively, the Two Thousand and the One Thousand Guinea Stakes. The former is open to colts and fillies of the age of three years, the latter is confined to fillies of that age. Horses are entered for these races when yearlings, the contribution required is £100 for the animals who eventually start for the race, and £50 for those who decline. or from accident, or other circumstances, become incapacitated from taking part in the struggle. The subscriptions this year for the Two Thousand Guineas amounted to the enormous sum of £4,500, and those for the One Thousand Guineas to £3,600. The length of the course is, in both races, about one mile. For the former race, which took place on the 21st of April, only nine horses out of the eighty-five entered took part in the race; and the public mind was so thoroughly preoccupied with the assurance that the victory of Hospodar, the property of Count de Lagrange, was certain, that it was difficult to obtain even the smallest odds against him. Patriots were alarmed at the probability of the French adding this great prize to their former gains, and trembled when they thought with what ease the French mare Stradella had defeated the Marquis, the Pride of Yorkshire, and the winner of the Two Thousand Guineas, and Great St. Leger of 1862. Perhaps Hospodar was trained to excess, perhaps it is impossible for any horse with his fore-legs placed at an angle of nearly forty degrees, to gallop, except up hill; but whatever save the supporters of Hospodar may apply to their wounded hopes, it is certain that he was beaten at the end of half-a-mile, and finished on suzerance "a very bad fourth." The winner, Maccaroni, and the second horse, Saccharometer, are the sons of the same sire, Sweetmeat, the descendant of Diomed, Hambletonian, and Eclipse. Both are small and neat horses, but in our opinion are not quite the best of their age in England. Of the remaining competitors, two deserve notice: the Rapid Rhone as the beau ideal of a hunter; and the King of the Vale, who is sprung of a race which combines speed and size in an unparalleled degree, has placed many large stakes at the disposal of Baron Rothschild, and only needs better fore-legs to ensure universal admiration. The struggle was an exciting one, and the verdict of the Judge was three parts of a length between the first and second horse, the King of the Vale being third, one length from Saccharometer.

Two days afterwards the sporting public was interested to an inferior yet considerable degree by the contest for the One Thousand Guineas; and here again the prize was considered to be within the grasp of a foreigner—Mr. Ten Broeck, the American—though perhaps, from his long residence in this country, we may at least call that gentleman a naturalised Englishman. The fact that his mare Tornado is own sister to Avalanche and Hurricane, all daughters of the famous Wild Dayrell,—the recollection of the manner in which Hurricane galloped away with this stake last year, and a very justifiable confidence in the owner's judgment, combined to make Tornado the favourite. Certainly the mare is good-looking and has excellent action; but compared with the creature that won the race she sinks into absolute insignificance. The winner, by name Lady Augusta, the daughter of Stockwell, and boasting Touchstone for her maternal grandfather, is, without any exception, the most beautiful animal seen on Newmarket Heath within the last ten years; and it is impossible to say whether she is the most exquisite when standing, walking, or galloping. She belongs to Lord Stamford, who has about forty horses in training, and the expenses of whose racing establishment alone, exclusive of purchases, entrance fees, and travelling, amount to at least £10,000 a-year. The same nobleman, whose success is always hailed with delight, had the good fortune to be second also for this race with the Flying Fish, whose paternal grandfather is also Touchstone, and who on the mother's side is sister to the renowned Fisherman. The race is told in a few words. After the first half-mile Lord Stamford's pair took the lead, and, increasing

their command at every stride, galloped in some lengths in front of the rest of the field. With regard to the remaining races, it will perhaps be sufficient to state that forty-three prizes were won during the five days, and that the total sum gained by the successful owners was £14,370. We must confess to a disappointment in not witnessing the race for the whip between Asteroid and Tim Whiffler. The course for that race is four miles in length, and the weight to be carried is 10 stone. These two horses are undeniably the best in England. The former, now five years old, is a son of Stockwell, and was bequeathed by the late Duke of Bedford to his friend Admiral Rous, who sold the horse to the well-known Sir Joseph Hawley, his present owner. Tim Whiffler is a grandson of Van Tromp, and last year won the Chester, Goodwood, and Doncaster Cup. The extreme hardness of the ground, arising from the present drought, alone prevented the meeting of these mighty antagonists, who, doubtless, however, will, in the course of the summer, join in a struggle as interesting as the great match between Voligeur and the Flying Dutchman.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to imagine any piece of sight-seeing that would more amply repay a foreigner than a visit to Newmarket. At least 400 race-horses are at all times to be found there, under the care of twenty-four trainers, many of whom are most courteous in displaying to strangers the various marvels of their establishments. The stranger will see there the noblest specimens of nature's finest work in the brute creation. He will gaze at that wonderful combination of beauty, symmetry, and vast strength exhibited in the English race-horse. He will learn that all these animals boast a pedigree more pure than the proudest families in Europe, and are valued by their owners at fabulous sums. He will call to mind that he is in the town where James I., and where the "Merry Monarch" held high holiday, hunting, racing, and gambling; and he will dwell on the tensity with which Englishmen cling to, and increase their love for the old amusements and institutions of their forefathers.

The poet Pindar had a peculiar method of celebrating the victories of his great contemporaries in the chariot race; and his system differed widely from that which we have pursued. It never struck him that the horse, who at least might be considered the principal agent in achieving victory, deserved particular mention; he reserved all his eulogies for the owner, and instead of declaring the pedigree of the animals, he invariably dilated at immense length on the lineage of the gentlemen who pocketed the prize. Probably this plan was highly agreeable to the munificent patrons to whom he dedicated his triumphal ode; but we are not sure that we should in all cases equally delight the present owners of race-horses if we were to adopt Pindar's plan, and accurately explain who gentlemen are, and whence they are sprung. But we think it right to remark that, perhaps, at no time have English noblemen and gentlemen of high rank taken more interest in or expended larger sums upon horse-racing, and we are convinced that if the Turf is to flourish, it must not lose its aristocratic character. On the other hand, the amusement is by far the most popular yet known to modern civilization, and its best hopes and interests lie in a successful combination of those two elements.

## THE QUARTERLY REVIEWS.\*

The quarterly representatives of the two great parties in the State have each, in their current issues, essays on "Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea," "British India," and the "Colenso Controversy." With regard to the first there is complete unanimity; the second is treated from different points of view, and in the third there is a marked diversity of opinion. That the same topics should simultaneously engage the attention of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* is an evidence of their importance, and of the interest they excite in the public mind.

When Mr. Kinglake's "Invasion of the Crimea" appeared we did not hesitate to denounce it in terms that happily are seldom necessary in literary criticism. We did not wait to compare the author's assertions with authenticated facts, but we judged him from the character of his own evidence, and from the manner in which that evidence is given. When the English Ministry were portrayed as dupes and sots, our French allies as inferior soldiers, and the French Emperor and his Ministers as a set of cowardly, half-witted reprobates, it was evident that Mr. Kinglake, under pretence of writing history, was giving vent to personal spite, or perhaps, manifesting one great talent he possesses, that of throwing large quantities of mud, that will stick to nobody but himself. Since we reviewed this book Mr. Kinglake has been confronted with a multitude of witnesses who have convicted him of misrepresentation. The verdict we pronounced has been confirmed. Only one respectable journal has defended Mr. Kinglake, and now the leading quarterlies add their condemnation to that of the rest of the press. If Mr. Kinglake had produced such a work soon after the war, and on his own account, we might have called him "the English Bazancourt," and that would have sufficiently excused his folly to the French nation. But Mr. Kinglake has, in reference to

\* The *Edinburgh* (No. 240) April. (Longman and Co.)  
The *Quarterly* (No. 220) April. (John Murray.)



this book, occupied a public position and betrayed a public trust. He was permitted to use the papers of Lord Raglan, and, as far as possible, the archives of the country were placed at his disposal. Englishmen are no more responsible for Mr. Kinglake's conduct, than they were for the conduct of those who used the asylum of this country for the purpose of hatching infamous plots against the life of a foreign prince. Since Mr. Kinglake has been so generally exposed and condemned, no one can care much for his offence. He is venomous, but toothless. Like a bad marksman, he hits nobody, hurts nobody, though he himself suffers from the recoil and bursting of his overcharged piece. Most unintentionally, he has done good unto those whom he hates. Instead of weakening, he has strengthened the alliance between England and France. He has given us an opportunity of frankly telling the French people that, hidden beneath our insular coldness and prejudice, is a sentiment of profound respect for their valour and military genius. The vulgar and stupid attacks upon the wise Prince who now sits upon the throne of France, have done much to increase the popularity of Napoleon III. in England. The Emperor will not heed the ludicrously untrue charges. "On a hundred occasions," says the *Edinburgh*, "Louis Napoleon has shown courage of a high order, and courage of a higher order than that 'fiery quality' which Mr. Kinglake mistakes for it. He has stood unmoved by the assassins who have sought to take away his life with violence, and against the writers who have sought to destroy his name by invective. Fortunately for France and for Europe, his temperament is so cool and collected, that things which would have excited his uncle to frenzy, leave him calm; and his dignified composure has served him so well, that not long ago a philosopher, who is certainly no Imperialist, observed in Paris, 'Perhaps, after all, it was not the First Napoleon who was Napoleon the Great!'" We presume that, sooner or later, a fair history of the Crimean war will be written; and it is the bounden duty of those to whom the reputation of the late Lord Raglan is dear to see that he is vindicated from Mr. Kinglake's scandals. Such a book would be less attractive to novel readers, but it would be infinitely more valuable than Mr. Kinglake's highly-flavoured sensation story.

The *Edinburgh* reviews at some length the Indian Administration of Lord Canning, and gives a fair and lucid explanation of the rise and progress of that mutiny, which seemed at the time to threaten the loss of our dominion. Yet then we knew not how dangerous and wide-spread was the disaffection. It seems now that the mutineers were sincere in their plea of religion, and that they believed, although there was not the slightest ground for such belief, that the English intended to interfere with their religious rites, and to force them to embrace Christianity. Since the mutineers were animated by such a motive, it is wonderful that we should have so quickly triumphed over them, and much credit is due to the firmness of Lord Canning, the heroism of our officers, and, above all, to our general rule in India, for it was to the respect inspired by that we owe it that the whole of the native people did not rise against us. Lord Canning was our Viceroy at a grand and momentous crisis, and he was equal to the exigencies of the occasion.

The article in the *Quarterly* relates to the industrial resources of British India. Tea, coffee, sugar, silk, jute, opium, indigo, and a long list of commodities can be produced profitably; and under a liberal and wise administration we may expect to see British India exceedingly rich and prosperous. What about cotton? Many experiments have been made under the most favourable circumstances, but hitherto India has not been able to compete with America. The *Quarterly* Reviewer observes: "But if we insist that the possibility of cotton being profitably grown by Englishmen in India is not disproved by anything that experience has recorded, we must also admit that there is little to advance in favour of the other side of the question. Further experiment is absolutely indispensable before it can be considered as determined what varieties of the plant are best suited to each soil and climate." Still the Reviewer has "perfect confidence that India can very soon (say in the second year) send abundance of cotton to Liverpool of the required quality." At present, we are not aware of any system of cultivation that will be an equivalent for the peculiar climate of the cotton States of America. But, putting aside the quality, it is necessary that the American competition should be permanently at an end, and that the now abnormal high price should rule, if India is to supply Manchester with the cotton formerly obtained from America. Any one can judge how likely or not it is that these conditions will be complied with. Better for us to endeavour to develop the natural resources of India, than to attempt to favour any particular industry.

We may be sure that if cotton pays it will be grown, and if it does not pay the planter to grow it, it will not pay us to foster its production.

The *Edinburgh* treats the "Colenso Controversy" cautiously and with hesitation. The defence of the Bishop of Natal is not openly avowed, but it is urged that Christianity does not depend upon the verbal inspiration of the Bible. How the Reviewer reconciles his theory with the concluding paragraph of his essay, we cannot understand. He says, "The Bible and the Church then mutually support and bear witness to each other,—the one, as the living agent, thankfully recognising as God's gift what His living Spirit within her has shaped and His providence preserved; the other, like some vital organism, bearing unconscious testimony to a long foreseen design, and revealing the history of a gradually accomplished plan. Together they must stand or fall, or rather, together they will stand for ever, unshaken by the worst assaults which either scepticism or dogmatism may inflict upon them." Does the Church bear witness to a book that is partly false and that was written by impostors? Or, who is to tell us what is truth and what is error? Dr. Colenso? We prefer the testimony of the Christian Church. The *Quarterly* is thoroughly explicit. It considers the objections of Dr. Colenso, and refutes many of them by the internal evidence of the authorship of the Pentateuch. If we believe the Bishop of Natal, we are in a difficulty that is eloquently set forth by the Reviewer:—

Across the gloom of near three thousand years one beam from the first fountain of light has been transmitted to us through the great lawgiver of the Jews. But for that single ray of light, all history, until a very late period of the world, would be a perfect blank. That ray of light has revealed to us the origin of man and his religious training under the hand of God. The book in which this record of our race is kept contains a series of documents which close almost before profane history begins. There is a unity in the history which cannot escape our notice—it is the history throughout of God's dealings with man. There is nothing besides like it in the world. That history has been the moral and religious teaching of the world; it has been the source of the national life of the most remarkable people on the face of the earth—a people which has maintained an existence, separate from all nations, for upwards of three thousand years, and which still dwells in mysterious isolation, awaiting some final act of God's providence commensurate with such a career. The history of that people, traced for eighteen centuries before the birth of Christ, is one harmonious message to the world. Amidst the sickening impurity of the heathen world, that volume taught the utmost purity of morals; amidst polytheism and idolatry, it taught the Unity and the Majesty of God. And yet this is the volume which modern illumination would teach us to regard as the production of rank impostors and obscure compilers! The very statement of such a theory would seem sufficient to condemn it; but its advocates perpetually complain that their arguments are never met, and raise a cry of victory and triumph to which they really possess no claim.

We agree with the *Quarterly*, that the answer of Dr. Colenso to the remonstrance of forty of his brethren, in which he states they are all wrong, and he is right, is not only very impudent, but manifests an arrogant assumption of infallibility that fully accounts for the dogmatism and errors of his work. We also quite concur with the *Quarterly*, that the Bishop of Natal cannot honestly retain his office. "He acknowledges that he has abandoned the principles which he 'voluntarily professed to believe, as the indispensable condition of his being intrusted with his present office,' but he refuses to resign that office! \* \* \* \* For the present he can only be regarded as one eminently lacking wisdom and knowledge, one whom no formularies can bind, and in whose sight the most solemn vows may be broken with impunity."

The *Quarterly* contains an able paper on the American war. It directs attention to some general and grave mistakes as to the extent of Southern resources, and gives a well-digested and readable summary of warlike operations from the fall of Fort Sumter to the battle of Fredericksburg. The writer of this article has carefully studied the authorities within his reach, and the result is an effective and instructive narrative. The differences between the constitution of the contending armies are explained. The differences between the Governments of Richmond and Washington are not less conspicuous:—

And as with her generals, so also with her statesmen, the irresistible force of national character gave the advantage to the South. The military genius of Lee and Johnson, and Jackson and Beauregard, does not more conspicuously transcend that of McClellan and Burnside, and McDowell and Pope, than does the administrative talent of President Davis and the Southern Cabinet the pettifoggery and incapacity of President Lincoln and the attorney Ministers of the North. The Southern leaders were not the mere mediocre tools and puppets of trading politicians; they were men selected for those very qualities of talent and command most dreaded and disliked by the "wirepullers" of the North. And when the crisis came the difference was felt. It was felt in economized resources and energies exerted to the full; in an unity of design and action by which every element of power was made to tell with multiplied force.

The *Quarterly* does not think the termination of the present contest will lead to the return of peace. "The South, indeed, has nobly conquered her freedom, and

may fairly look to a period of rest," but the North is likely to be torn by dissension. "We have," says the Reviewer, "traced out the story of a nation's birth. It is a story full of interest and instruction; and whilst it may perhaps lessen in some degree the marvel with which our ignorance of her resources has hitherto invested her success, it will assuredly not diminish our respect for her valour and her constancy."

The *Quarterly* also contains essays on the history of Cyclopælias, on Poland, on Sensation Novels, and on Salmon rearing, fishing, and protection. Respecting Poland, the *Quarterly* is of opinion that national independence is impossible, because the Polish leaders are divided. "A nation which, even in its deepest woe, is still torn by factions is not likely to make head against the forces of the largest empire in the world." Is it not possible that the present fiery ordeal may put an end to faction? May not the extent of the Russian Empire prove a source of weakness to her?

Amongst the articles in the *Edinburgh* is one on "Tithe Impropropriation." A certain portion of the fruits of the earth are set apart for the use of the Church, but they have been diverted from their original destination, and are in the hands of laymen, colleges, and Church dignitaries. Nearly 40 per cent. of the rent-charge collected throughout the country never reaches the incumbents. The *Edinburgh* advocates the restitution of the tithes to the use of the Church in the parish from which they are derived; but this can only be done by slow degrees and at a considerable cost.

"The Black Country" is a well-considered paper, on our mining population, and suggests many important reforms and improvements. This article will also do good by reminding those who read it, that the rough exterior of the miner conceals from the casual observer many noble qualities.

\* THIS pamphlet gives an excellent *resumé* of the case of the Peterhoff. It includes a statement of the facts, the reason of the outrage, the law applicable to it, and the consequences of tolerating such violation of neutral rights. The following conclusions are, we think, indisputable:—

Once admit the act to be a wrong—an illegal seizure, barely excused even momentarily by a pretended suspicion—an act which could only have been committed to obtain, by the unfair straining of a questionable discretionary power, an advantage to which the law gives no claim—once admit that no amount of good faith could protect against such pretended suspicion—and it is no longer a mere question of £70,000 to be restored to English owners, with such damages as may be obtainable, but an insult and an outrage on our national flag, and a blow at that power which is supposed to shield us and our fellow-subjects from wrong and injustice.

This is not an isolated case: we have had twenty such, equally illegal, equally insulting, and showing an equal disregard of right and authority.

If we consent to leave in the hands of belligerents the right of capture and detention on mere alleged suspicion until the decision of its Prize Courts on neutral vessels going to neutral ports, we give them the power to dictate to us what commerce we shall and shall not carry on while their quarrel lasts; and it is easy to imagine cases in which this power could be exerted so to harass and disturb any particular trade, to deprive the neutral of any profit in its pursuit, and thus to obtain for the subjects of the belligerent a monopoly of such trade. It would be quite worth the while of a belligerent to pay damages for the few adventurous vessels willing to incur the risk of capture, and the delay of months, or even years, before the wrong might be atoned for, only to obtain a chance, if successful, of competing with the merchants instead of the cruisers of the belligerent, and at almost as great a disadvantage.

Since vessels are daily advertised in the New York papers for Matamoros, while British ships are intercepted and detained, it is just possible some such notion as that suggested may not have been quite foreign to the proceedings of the Federal cruisers, in respect of British vessels proceeding to the Gulf of Mexico.

† THIS is a reprint of an Address of the Hon. W. B. Reed, of Pennsylvania, to the Democratic Central Committee at Philadelphia. Those who read the pamphlet by that gentleman which, some time since, appeared in THE INDEX, will not need any assurance that the speech which has just been published is an able document, and worthy of an attentive perusal. This address in "A Northern Plea for Peace" is introduced by a brief but vigorous exposition of Northern brutality, and is followed by an appendix in reference to the production of food in the South. Amongst other actions of the Lincoln Government denounced by Mr. Reed is the raising of negro regiments. On this head he observes:—

I left America for the far East in the summer of 1857, and returned in 1859. When I left my own country, the whole world, except one spot in China, was at peace; but as I reached that continent about whose breed the fanatics of our day care so much (for I heard of it at the Cape of Good Hope), there came up a wall of agony from the Eastern world of white men and women, murdered and mutilated and ravished by black men in uniforms—from Cawnpore and Delhi, that lingers yet in my ears and haunts my dreams. And such is, or will be, the negro army, which is to supersede our regular soldiers, and

\* The Seizure of the Peterhoff. London: E. F. Mackintosh.

† A Northern Plea for Peace. London: H. F. Mackintosh.



to aid to conquer the South. This is the army which Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State and his major-general thinks is to subjugate our brethren. I saw a printed letter a day or two ago from Mr. W. D. Kelley to a Blockley negro, in which he says:—

"The field of operations for this class of troops (negroes) will be chiefly in the Gulf States, where they will in a few months constitute the great bulk, if not the whole of our army."

And this is conquest—this is the deadly nightshade that is to bind our soldiers' brows—this is the awful success which the Administration promise us, if we will only give them money and men enough to carry on this war.

But I am mistaken. They don't ask us to give them money and men. They find the good old rule more convenient,—

— The simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.

Such is the testimony of a Northern Statesman.

## THE LATE GENERAL J. K. DUNCAN, C.S.A.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

NEW ORLEANS, March 13.

Sir,—In the *Belfast News Letter* of the 27th December last, there was published an anonymous letter, dated "New Orleans, — 1862," which contained slanderous and absurd aspersions on the character of the late Brigadier General J. K. Duncan. The writer asserts that he was present at a Court Martial, held in Richmond, on General Duncan, on the charge of allowing the passage of the United States' fleet by Forts Jackson and St. Philip without resistance, for a bribe of \$475,000. The General was not tried by Court Martial, and no such charge was ever made against him, except in the *Belfast News Letter*.

General Duncan was never out of the Confederacy, or out of the Confederate service. Immediately on his exchange he was appointed to General Bragg's army in Tennessee. He made the advance into Kentucky, was present at the victory of Perryville, and performed a conspicuous part in conducting the subsequent retreat into Tennessee. His great personal exposure and exertions in that campaign, acting on a constitution previously debilitated by frequent attacks of typhoid fever, put an end to his career. He died at Knoxville, after a few weeks' illness, to the deep regret of all who knew him.

I trust, sir, you will find space for these few lines to vindicate the memory of a brave soldier. It is true that few will give any heed to such a ridiculous calumny; but the friends of General Duncan are very jealous of his good name, and wish to place on record a denial and refutation of an infamous slander.

I am, &c.,

"ONE WHO MOURNS."

## MR. FERNANDO WOOD ON PEACE.

At the peace demonstration, held on the 7th of April, at the Cooper Institute, New York, resolutions denouncing the Administration having been passed, Mr. Fernando Wood was introduced to the meeting, and spoke as follows:—

The public man who fails to meet the responsibilities which the crisis demands is either too timid for his position, or recreant to the people. He is either a coward or something worse, and in either case unfit for public confidence. In ordinary times non-committalism may serve the purpose of politicians, but not now. We are in the midst of a revolution—a revolution the object of which is to overthrow the Government. Indeed, at this moment there are two revolutions against the Government, one at the South with the sword, and the other at the North by executive and legislative usurpations. Thus, two great powers are at work. That in military array is open and defiant, whilst the other, equally dangerous, aims at the same object by a more stealthy process. This latter enemy is unfortunately in possession of the Government. This possession has given it great power. It creates its own means of continuance. Like Shakespeare's jealousy, "it makes the meat it feeds on." It gains in strength the power to do injury as the power of resistance in the people becomes lessened. Taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm in behalf of the Union, it has, under the pretext of furthering this holy object, gradually fastened the chains of slavery upon the people. The most influential interests known to the country have thus become its aiders and abettors.

These are many and powerful, comprising nearly all the various elements which, in peaceful times, govern the country. Let us refer to them in detail. The war is supported by—

1. The whole banking interest of the country. The Administration first borrowed their capital, and then, by legislation and the subversion of State banking authority, it has since monopolized the currency by substituting its credits for the constitutional legal standard. Thus the banks, to secure their own capitals, mostly now invested in Government credits, and in apprehension of further encroachments, are bound to sustain the Administration in any policy it may adopt, right or wrong.

2. New England favours the war, because, having lost a valuable customer in the South, she finds a profitable substitute in army contracts and government disbursements.

3. The railroad interests are materially advantaged by its continuance. The great central roads of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York have had unexampled prosperity in consequence. The closing of the Mississippi and tributary arteries has forced western products into an unnatural channel to find a market in the East. To meet this market, these roads offer the chief avenue.

4. The debtor class add their mighty voice for a vigorous prosecution of the war. War makes expenditures—these create public debts and promote private speculations. These causes inflation—which in turn operates as a commercial stimulant, and produces imaginary wealth. In the general conse-

quent intoxications, the [debtor class hope to liquidate their liabilities.

5. The Abolition fanatics, who think they see in the war an opportunity to free the slaves and punish the slaveholders.

6. The many hundred thousand office-holders, contractors, and Government employés, of all grades and classes, who, of themselves, compose a greater army than has yet been in the field.

7. The members of the Administration themselves, who hope, by the continuance of the war and the excuse it offers for an assumption of power which overrides all other departments, interests, and classes, to perpetuate their authority for another term, if not for life.

8. The Republican partisans, who love political dominion, and who sustain the Administration as partisans in all things—especially to crush out a section of the country to which they have always been hostile.

9. The War Democrats, who, tired of waiting for the spoils under a Democratic Administration, are willing to avail themselves of any pretence by which to join a party in possession of the "sinews of war."

10. Some honest and patriotic men, who really believe that by fighting we can restore the Union.

11. The army, as a branch of the Executive power, with its thousands of retainers. The chief officers of this now ruling element are appointed by the Administration, and being under military discipline, have no resource but to become its instruments.

These are the interests which unite for the war, and in a support of the policy of the Administration as a consequence. Though differing in motive, they converge to the same object. Is it not an immense auxiliary?—and is it not a terrific combination to confront? But great as it is, the power of the people is greater. So long as the ballot shall be permitted, let us fear not. In that palladium of our liberties rest all our hopes. We must bear calumny and reproach—hazard life, liberty, and property. But let us go forth in the discharge of our duties with manly hearts and a determined spirit. We must stand ready to give up everything but the cause—with that we must live or perish.

We are for the maintenance of the Constitution, and the full enjoyment of the reserved rights of the States and the people. We stand immovably on this rock. It is the last hope of the Republic. We are this day the only men who firmly occupy this position. We resist every sophistry and subterfuge to draw us from it. The selfish aims of party leaders, whose history teaches that they can alter their principles to suit their interests, cannot move us; nor shall the party in power, who find pretexts for all required authority in the public necessities, swerve us from our allegiance to the Constitution. We are familiar with American liberty since its establishment on this Continent. Through the various phases which Government has ever assumed here, self-control has always been vouchsafed to the people. In the several leagues, Confederacies, and Unions which, at different periods, have existed in America, this home spirit of fireside rule has never been given up. Even England granted this to her dependent colonies. Let me refer to the several compacts which have existed, in none of which even the sovereignty of the colonies yielded.

In 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, formed a league, offensive and defensive, which they declared should be perpetual, and distinguished by the name of the United Colonies of New England. This Confederacy subsisted for forty years under a regular form of government in which the principle of a delegated Congress was a prominent feature. The people of these colonies retained and exercised all their home rights.

In 1754, a Congress of Commissioners, representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, was held at Albany, in this State. This convention unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for their protection. Protection from what?—not from themselves nor from each other, but protection from external danger. The plan proposed for a Federal Government, however, was not adopted. In October, 1765, a Congress of Delegates from nine States assembled in this city, and digested a bill of rights on the subject of taxation by the English Government, which began to be oppressive and unjust. In September, 1774, an association of twelve States was formed, and delegates authorised to meet and consult for the common welfare. In May, 1775, the first Congress of the Thirteen States assembled at Philadelphia, and in July, 1776, issued the Declaration of Independence. In this declaration and in the antecedent Conferences and Congresses, no State, and, indeed, no public man or party suggested the thought or intention of a parting with State sovereignty. In November, 1777, Congress agreed upon the articles of Confederation, which was during the Revolution, and answered the public emergencies at the moment. We had war then, yet State rights and the independence of the people were not infringed. This was the first formation of a general government of all the States. It continued until 1788. A different condition of public affairs now existed, and a convention was called, not to make a consolidated national government, but to make "a more perfect Union." The articles of Confederation were found to be defective, as applicable to the existence and magnitude of a new State among the powers of the earth, and it became necessary to remedy these defects by the incorporation of additional authority for the "general welfare."

This convention met in Philadelphia in 1787—Washington President. It was the most august assemblage of men which ever met together for any purpose, civil or religious. It formed the present Constitution of the United States. This Constitution was submitted to the people of the States for ratification. Though the instrument itself did not impair the personal liberty of the people, nor infringe upon the rights of the States to the enjoyment of their ancient sovereignty, yet so jealous were the people of these inherent powers, that they insisted upon certain amendments before they would yield their sanction to it.

In these several conventions of delegates, as well as in the articles of Confederation, and in the Constitution, neither colony, province, nor State yielded a particle of local self-government. However great the external danger and the necessity of compact for defence, everything of a domestic political character was expressly reserved. Though coming together for certain specified purposes, they possess all the powers belonging to separate and distinctive political communities. They have parted with nothing not "set down in the bond."

There is no difficulty in ascertaining what these reservations are. It is only necessary to ascertain whether they are to be found among the enumerated or not. If not found, they are, of course, reserved.

But it is not necessary to leave anything to inference. The amendments insisted on by the States and the people as con-

ditions precedent to the adoption of the Constitution, are plain and unequivocal. I quote from these amendments so much of their substance as bears directly upon the present condition of the States and the people, in their relations to the Federal Government:—

Article I.—Congress shall make no law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble," &c.

Art. II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Art. IV.—"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

Art. IX.—"The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Art. X.—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Now, we demand the exercise of all these rights. They have been shamefully violated.—With the administration "might has made right." In the possession of the physical power, each of these conditions precedent to the existence of a central power, has been taken from us. But I am assured that these restrictions have been necessary for the maintenance of the Government itself—that the war must be prosecuted—and that every interest must be subdued, which offers opposition to the Administration which prosecutes the war. Without stopping to show the fallacy of such an absurd position, which require the annihilation of the system itself in order to maintain it, I go on to consider the great question whether the war, even if desirable, can be successfully prosecuted by the present Administration, and whether it will secure the return of the Southern States, even if successful, and if not, how the Union can be restored. And do not let me be misunderstood. I do not sympathize with the attitude of the South. Her conduct is, in my opinion, indefensible.

She was not justifiable in her attempts at withdrawal from the Union. Admitting, as she claims, that the Constitutional or legal right was on her side, she had no moral right, at that time, on the grounds she assumed. She had participated in the election for President, and hence could not repudiate it or refuse to remain in the Union because Lincoln was elected. Her representatives remained in both Houses of Congress until after that election. In my judgment, these acts bound her as an honourable people. She had taken her share in the national lottery, and it became too late to back out because she had drawn a blank. Every principle of honour should have held her to have been bound by the result. We are now in the midst of a fearful war. It has been waged with unprecedented fury and inhumanity on both sides. We are convulsed by a threatened upheaval of every form of government, general or local.

When it commenced, the Administration met it at the threshold. It was met boldly and promptly. The whole of the American people, not in revolt, sustained this action. No government ever received such a support. It came up with such unanimity and enthusiasm, that if the Administration before doubted the correctness of its aggressive position or its ability to sustain it, it could not after this unprecedented exhibition of sympathy and practical co-operation. Thus emboldened by the popular voice, the Administration prepared for the conflict—a conflict as was supposed to sustain the national integrity. Two-thirds of the whole people of the Union thus committed itself to coercion. I will not stop here to inquire whether two-thirds, or indeed nineteen-twentieths of the States are authorized, under the Constitution, to forcibly retain the dissenting one-third or one-twentieth in the Union. It is not necessary, nor is it indeed just, to stop now to discuss the abstract right of States to secede at pleasure. The Administration did not take its position of military force until the universal sentiment of the country demanded it. It was not until, in the wild enthusiasm of an indignant people, they rushed to the rescue of their country's honour and their country's existence, that the agents of the people prepared for the conflict which has ensued. I hold, therefore, that the people committed themselves, not to the war as it has been waged, nor for the objects now avowed by the Government, but to a war for the Union.

In this spirit and with these great and patriotic purposes, the people gave up their lives and treasure to the cause. No Government ever had lavished upon it such popular confidence and such enormous resources of men and money. Historians will refer with wonder to the stupendous power conferred upon a ruler, who, either unconscious of, or indifferent to, its possession, has frittered it away before a far inferior opposition. I leave to others to say whether this surprise of future generations will be the greater because of its voluntary gift, or because of its shameful abuse and dissipation without equivalent return. It is not necessary to refer in detail to the armies raised—the expeditions fitted out—the power conferred, or the hundreds of millions lavished. They are all so recent that they must be familiar as household words. Nor is it necessary to refer to the conceded fact that the war is prosecuted for unwarrantable and unconstitutional purposes. I will take the position, for the argument, that the war is for reunion and to whip the Southern States into submission, leaving them all their rights, if they will yield.

Well, the war has gone on! It has been prosecuted with variable success. It has been bloody, devastating, often barbarous, and at times inhuman. Who can describe its horrors? Where is the tongue that can recount the wails and lamentations, the groans and sighs of bereaved and broken hearts ascending from almost every village and hamlet in the Union? Family altars have been desecrated, their hearthstones reddened with the life-blood of mothers, innocent children and old men. Whole regions of country, but yesterday smiling with a joyous and thriving population, have been laid desolate and waste. In short, whole States and communities of American citizens, breaking all the ties that bind men together, have been carrying on a relentless, destructive, and devastating war against each other. Should not this be enough to satisfy the vengeance of those who have cried out for more blood! And should it not satisfy the whole American people, South and North, that a continuation of such a war cannot restore the Union of these States?

Now, shall this continue? and if continued, will it accomplish the object? I answer, that it will not. Sooner or later there must be an end of it. Mere exhaustion will of itself produce a final quiet. Somebody has recently said that he was for "a vigorous prosecution of peace; but the uncharitable world immediately concluded that he was for a vigorous prosecution of peace, even unto separation,



I am not of this opinion. I am for a vigorous prosecution of peace, even unto restoration; and I believe that it is not even now too late to accomplish it. I believe that now is the time to make the effort to accomplish this great necessity. For two years we have waged a relentless war without proposing or listening to terms or quarter. Fighting has not produced the desired result. Let us try some other method. What shall that be?

As strong as was this sentiment in favour of a vigorous military effort, it is to me now apparent that an equally universal sentiment will soon exist in favour of some other mode of accomplishing the same end. Nor should we be surprised at the change. It has been produced by the many causes existing among ourselves, and with those intrusted with the management of public affairs, rather than by any fear of our entire ability to sustain ourselves in arms against the South. Admitting this change of sentiment, therefore, which of itself is gradually impairing our power of aggression, is it not wise to look in time for some other mode of success than that which relies solely upon military force? I hold that no Republican Government founded upon our theory can ever sustain itself without popular sympathy. Indeed, no Government can be Republican which maintains itself against the prejudices of the people. When it can, it ceases to be Republican. Now, if the Administration cannot even sustain itself, it certainly cannot wage war when the armies and the means of supporting them are to be procured from the people themselves. Nor will Conscription Acts supply the deficiency of popular fervour.

I do not know that it is possible to restore the Union at all, but I do know that it is worthy of every effort and the adoption of every conceivable course, whether of force, stratagem, or negotiation. I would do any and everything to bring back the South. Nor would I interfere with this sole object by the inquiry what caused the estrangement—who was right in the origin—whether our arms had failed, and if so, the causes of the failure. Criminations and recriminations among ourselves should be ignored, and all of us, men of all parties, the civilian and the warrior, should combine in one common effort to re-unite the Confederacy. And my friends, do not suppose that peace by other methods than fighting is not attainable. It is true, it may cost some self-esteem. But what of that? If this Union is worth anything, it is worth the sacrifice of a little national dignity. Better suffer in self-pride than hazard national dismemberment.

Let us avoid the example of the South American Republics, which become the more inflated, pretentious and jealous in proportion as their real greatness and power become diminished by internal feud. I am asked whether a reunion by peaceful efforts is attainable, and what should be done to accomplish it. This is a proper question. I do not believe in the doctrine that the Democratic party shall reach power merely by appeals to the people in opposition to the existing rulers. Those in power may be wicked and incompetent, but when we ask for their places, it seems to me some policy different from the present policy must be developed. If the so-called War Democrats should succeed this Administration, of course, so far as the war is concerned, there would be no change. It would simply be the exchange of one set of men for another with like policies, purposes, and principles. Therefore, when I am asked what a Democratic President would do, if such an one should succeed Mr. Lincoln, I answer that it depends upon the kind of Democrat. If he should be of the timid, weak-backed kind, great on paper or on the stump in finding fault, but vacillating or faint-hearted in execution, there would be no change—certainly not for the better. But if he should be an independent man, with nerve and brain, and the principles of peace in his heart, a very different state of things would soon be produced. Such a man would restore the Union without further loss of blood, if such a blessing were within the range of possibilities. And I am asked what he would do. I answer that, whilst for others I cannot speak, I can say what, in my opinion, he should do. He should cease hostilities, and take a step towards the ascertainment whether a conference could be obtained. This could be done either openly and officially, or privately and unofficially. I do not say that there should be a convention. What shape or form the procedure should assume would be a matter of argument after a conference had been agreed upon. Negotiations thus obtained might lead to a convention of all the States, or to some action of Congress, or to some other mode of arrangement. The details, of course, would be matters of easy determination after the principle was amicably determined. If, however, I am told that the South would not listen to negotiations looking to re-union, but would insist upon a negotiation for her independence, I answer, who can say what the South would or would not do under the then existing circumstances? With the Federal Government in the hands of men who had come into power upon the principles of peace and declared opposition to the abolitionists and other enemies of the South—and with an approach under the aegis of the olive-branch and not of the sword—with the language of love and not of hate—why should we conclude that profers so merciful and liberal, coming from such a spirit, should be met by refusal and scorn? God, in the infinitude of His wisdom, has His own way of working out great national ends. Who dare say that the calamities which have befallen these two peoples, the last two years, are not the punishment for national sins? We have been unmindful and unappreciative of the blessings He has dispensed; and might it not have been deemed necessary for our future good that the sore afflictions with which we have been visited should have fallen upon us? That we have deserved punishment, none will deny; that we have received it, all will admit; and that the same Almighty Power which originally established us as a great, happy, and prosperous people, will extend His mercy to us, we have a right to expect.

But I am asked what would be proposed in case of an absolute refusal of the South to treat on other terms than unconditional independence? I am ready to answer:—In such a contingency, the President should ask Congress or the States to submit the question directly to the people whether the war should be resumed, or whether a final separation, looking to a future reconstruction, should be granted. And that decision should govern the conduct of the Administration. The people are the source of all authority. Their decision must govern. Under our system, they are the final arbiters of all political questions. Against their will, no war should be, or could be, successfully prosecuted. Sooner or later, they must adjudicate upon this momentous question, finally and for ever.

#### CONFEDERATE AGENTS IN ENGLAND.

A correspondence has been issued with regard to the remonstrances of Mr. Adams, on the subject of Confederate agents in England.

Mr. Adams, on the 9th of February, 1863, sends a copy of

the "intercepted correspondence," emanating from persons well known to be high officers of the "so-called Confederate States," and says:—

Taken as a whole, these papers serve most conclusively to show that no respect whatever has been paid in her own realm by these parties, to the neutrality declared by her Majesty at the outset of these hostilities, and that so far as may be in their power, they are bent on making her kingdom subservient to their purpose of conducting hostilities against a nation with which she is at peace. I trust I may be permitted to add, that if my Government could have been induced in any way to initiate similar operations within the limits of this kingdom, I should have regarded it as very justly subject to the remonstrances which your Lordship has been pleased to address to me on account of acts of incomparably smaller significance.

On March 9, 1863, Earl Russell replies to Mr. Adams, that the intercepted correspondence had been considered by the law officers of the Crown, and adds:—

I have now to state to you that this correspondence does not appear to her Majesty's Government to contain any sufficient evidence, of "a system of action in direct hostility to the United States," on the part of any of her Majesty's subjects. It goes merely to show that agents of the so-called Confederate States, resident in this country, have received instructions from their own Government to endeavour to raise money on securities of that Government in England, and to enter into contracts for the purchase of munitions of war and for the building of iron-clad vessels. But there is no proof in these papers that the agents referred to have as yet brought themselves within the reach of any criminal law of the United Kingdom. For even supposing that they have acted on their instructions, it is not contrary to law for her Majesty's subjects to lend money on securities, or otherwise, to "the persons administering the Government of the Confederate States," nor to sell to that Government ordinary munitions of war. With respect to the building of iron-clad steamers for either belligerent Government, although this is clearly prohibited by the Foreign Enlistment Act, her Majesty's Government do not find, in this correspondence, sufficient information that anything of that kind has actually been done within this country which could form matter for criminal prosecution.

Mr. Adams, on March 14, expresses his profound regret at having to transmit to Mr. Seward Earl Russell's reply, maintaining that the acts referred to in the correspondence, the appointment of agents in this country to fit out ships and raise money for the purpose, with the appointment of officers to superintend the construction, showed a "deliberate attempt to establish within the limits of the kingdom a system of action in direct hostility to the Government of the United States."

Earl Russell, in reply, on April 2, refers to American precedents:—

No longer ago than the 20th of last November, in answer to the remonstrances of Mexico against an alleged organised system in the United States of aiding France in the war in which she is engaged with that Republic, but in which the United States are neutral, Mr. Seward replied by this among other citations (Mr. Webster to Mr. Thompson):—"As to advances, loans, or donations of money to the Government of Texas, or its citizens, the Mexican Government hardly needs to be informed that there is nothing unlawful in this, so long as Texas is at peace with the United States, and these are things which no Government undertakes to restrain."

You are, without doubt, perfectly aware that many decisions of tribunals in the United States fully establish that a like exposition of the law as to munitions of war and the sale of armed vessels has been always maintained in the United States when they were neutrals.

You do not state that the information which you have communicated to me as to alleged contracts for constructing war steamers, or the proposed establishment of naval officers to superintend them, would be sufficient to found a criminal prosecution in the United States; you are probably aware that it would not suffice for that purpose, and there is, therefore, no reason why you should complain of my statement that the information which you had furnished would not suffice for the like purpose in England.

You are not ignorant that agents have been employed, and munitions of war have been purchased, and that it is now again asserted that her Majesty's subjects are being recruited for the purpose of aiding the United States against the so-called Confederate States. And so far, it might be urged, in vague and popular language, by the Confederate States, as well as by the United States as the other belligerent, as it was substantially urged by Mexico against the United States last year, "that there is evidence of a deliberate attempt to establish within the limits of this kingdom a system of action in direct hostility to their Government;" but the question really is, has there been any act done in England both contrary to the obligations of neutrality as recognised by Great Britain and the United States, and capable of being made the subject of a criminal prosecution? I can only repeat that, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, no such act is specified in the papers which you have submitted to me.

Other precedents are also cited by Earl Russell in the above despatch.

Mr. Adams replies on April 6th, also enters into the subject, and admits that the sale of arms by the subjects of a neutral is not unlawful, but maintains that the cases go not a step further:—

The case is changed when a belligerent is shown to be taking measures to establish a system of operations in a neutral country, with the intent to carry on a war from its ports, much in the same way that it would do, if it could, from its own territory; when it appoints agents, residing in that country, for the purpose of borrowing money to be applied to the fitting out of hostile armaments in those very ports; and when it appoints and sends out agents to superintend in those ports, the constructing, equipping, and arming ships of war, as well as the enlisting of the subjects of the neutral country, to issue forth for the purpose of carrying on hostilities on the ocean.

These are the points to which I desire to call your Lordship's attention in the intercepted despatches. I affirmed that they went to show a system of operations to the extent thus designated. I did not affirm that they absolutely proved the facts; but I did mean to be understood as affirming them to furnish strong corroborative evidence to sustain all the other proof which I have been in the practice of laying before your Lordship for a long time past of the abuses made of her Majesty's neutral territory for the conduct of the war directly

from her ports, without the intervention of time even for the vessels to gain the semblance of a national character.

Earl Russell replies, on April 22, that he was unable to perceive that the principles maintained by Mr. Adams applied to facts within the cognizance of Her Majesty's Government; and on April 20 he writes as follows on a collateral subject:—

Foreign Office, April 20, 1863.

Sir,—With regard to the complaints which you have made from time to time of British sailors who have entered the Confederate service, I have to remark that no steps have hitherto been taken by the United States' authorities to prevent British subjects from entering the military or naval service of the United States.

Mr. Seward has, on the contrary, justified the means used, provided they were not bribery or intimidation, to induce British sailors to enter the Federal service.

You will readily perceive the justice of the request I am about to make, namely, that before you repeat your complaints that British sailors have entered the service of the so-called Confederate States, you will furnish me with proofs that all British subjects serving in the Federal army or navy have been discharged, and that orders have been given not to enlist or engage such persons to serve in arms contrary to the tenor of Her Majesty's Proclamation."

#### TAXES.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, March 24.)

Did ever nation before crave and pray to be heavily and immediately taxed as this people is craving now? The newspapers from all parts of the Confederacy bring us the same cry every morning. For God's sake tax us! Here is the money ready. We never were so well able to pay as now. Never had nation such need of creating and strengthening the great sinew of war—a full national treasury. You have got our fighting men, they say, now take our money. Take all—only get us through and out of this blinding, throttling war, out again into the fresh air and daylight of blessed peace, where we can breathe once more and see our way, and go on with our quiet work.

Though this outcry to be taxed may, for the present, harry and worry Congress a little, it is a sound and healthy symptom because it indicates these several things:

1st. It shows that our people have the good sense to perceive that this enormous flood of engraved paper is not money in itself, is not even the representative of money or value, save in so far as it is in some measure limited within the amount needful for exchanging the commodities of the country.—That the immense indebtedness of the Confederacy is itself a tax, and the heaviest of taxes; and that no time should be lost in contracting its amount (or at any rate arresting its further expansion) and in placing it upon the only sound basis of a large and just taxation.

2nd. It shows that the people have not only apprehended and laid to heart that principle of political economy, but also the higher and greater principle, that our debts must be paid and our national honour kept untarnished. This cry to be taxed, then, means no repudiation! It means that, albeit some wretches may have gone about whispering the base word, the heart of the country would revolt at it, and is even now filled with an eager and honourable anxiety to provide at all events against that last and worst disgrace.

3rd. It means, not only no repudiation, but also, no compromise! Those who loudly call on Congress to tax them in order to enable the President to carry on the war, are evidently not those same poor creatures who ask the President to make peace; not the same who plot for a reconstruction with the North-west, which would end in a general hotchpot of debts (debt of war for union, and debt of war against it,) and thus lead to a grand brotherly bankruptcy, and a noble participation in the infamy, share and share alike. And thus—

4th. It proves the confidence of the Confederate people in the future of the Confederacy; and by proving that confidence it assures that future, indeed. When a nation of our breed and blood has got to that point where it will offer freely both life and land, both blood and treasure, in vindication of its sovereignty and its self-respect, then it cannot be conquered; cannot be even seriously and permanently hurt. It is sure, with a rational and quiet certainty, of a glorious destiny, and has only to provide the means to pay the price of that inestimable blessing.

5th. It proves a very general confidence in the government of the country, by seeking to furnish that government with the means to carry on the great common business of defence. Whatever partial discontents, or personal or State grudges may exist here and there, amongst people who have stayed at home from the war—(for in the army there is nothing of all this)—evidently the mass is but little tainted by that canker of suspicion and disaffection. It is a reasonable and tractable people, on the whole, as well as proud, self-reliant, and jealous of power. Once convinced that those whom it has set over it, as the representatives of its sovereignty and depositories of its power, are diligently and honestly endeavouring to do their high duties, with life and honour pledged to success, and covetous of nothing but an honest fame, it will trust to all lengths, and the clamour of the disappointed and the serpent whispers of the traitor will pass unheeded.

Therefore, upon all these grounds we are glad to observe the anxious desire to be taxed. Congress has a tax bill before it; and the House is labouring upon its details each day in secret session. Why in secret session? We can understand why the plans now under discussion to arrange the currency question may require to be debated with closed doors; because to reveal the embarrassment of our finance would be useful information to the enemy. But the reason of laying and apportioning taxes in private is not so obvious. We care not who knows how heavy a taxation we are willing to submit to rather than touch the Yankees again; and on the other hand, the Confederate public is deeply interested in seeing how its representatives approach that subject, and how they deal with it. They even wish to know how individual members and Senators may vote upon the various items of taxation. We wish to see whether those who represent, or are interested in the great staples of the country are willing to take cheerfully their own large share of the burden—a burden, be it remembered, created and undergone mainly and especially to vindicate and confirm those great interests and the industrial system and social policy on which they depend.

In short, while the people are honest, patriotic and resolute in this matter of taxation, one would like to know and see that the Congress is fully abreast of the people, equal to the occasion and up to the mark. We shall return to this tomorrow.



## THE CONFEDERATE TAX BILL.

We copy from the *Charleston Courier* of the 31st March, a synopsis of the Tax Bill now before the Confederate Congress. The Bill may be altered and amended in various ways before becoming a law, but as an evidence of the resolute earnestness with which the Southerners, in this, as in all other cases, meet their difficulties, it is not without considerable interest:—

The Bill, as reported from the Committee, proposes a tax of one per centum on the value of all real and personal property, moneys and credits, held on the 11th day of January, 1863, and on the 11th day of January of each succeeding year thereafter, except on such property, money or credit, as may be employed in a licensed business, or the profits of which are by the Bill especially taxed; prescribes the mode of taking out licenses, and taxes businesses as follows:

Bankers, \$3,000 for each license, and ten per centum upon the gross amount of profits realised during the year ending on the 31st of December, 1863.

Auctioneers, \$25 for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Wholesale dealers in liquors, \$100 for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Retail dealers in liquors, fifty dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Retail dealers (in groceries, merchandise, &c.) twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Wholesale dealers, one hundred dollars and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Pawnbrokers, one hundred dollars for each license and ten per centum on the gross amount of profits.

Distillers, one hundred dollars for each license and ten per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Brewers, fifty dollars for each license and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Keepers of hotels, inns, and taverns, twenty dollars for each license, and ten per centum on the gross amount of the profits realized.

Keepers of eating-houses, and boarding-houses, where there are six boarders or more, the same.

Brokers, one hundred dollars for each license and ten per centum on the gross amount of profits realized.

Commercial brokers, one hundred dollars for each license, and one per centum upon all sales.

Tobaccoists, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on gross amount of sales.

Any person whose business it is to retail cigars, snuff, and tobacco, in any form, shall be deemed a tobaccoist under this act, but wholesale and retail dealers, having taken out a license therefor, shall not be required to take out a license as a tobaccoist, anything in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Theatres, three hundred dollars for each license. Every edifice used for the purpose of dramatic or operatic representations, plays, or performances, and not including halls rented or used occasionally for concerts or theatrical representations, shall be regarded as theatres under this act.

Circuses, one hundred dollars for each circus.

Jugglers and other persons exhibiting shows, twenty-five dollars.

Bowling alleys and billiard rooms, twenty dollars for each alley or billiard table.

Livery stable keepers, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on gross profits.

Cattle brokers, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on gross amount of sales.

Butchers and bakers, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Pollars, fifty dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross sales.

Apothecaries, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of sales.

Photographers, the same.

Lawyers, physicians, surgeons, and dentists, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on the gross amount of receipts from practice.

Confectioners, twenty-five dollars for each license, and one per centum on gross amount of sales.

Salaries not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars, taxed one per centum, and any excess of that amount, two per centum.

There are also provisions proposing to tax railroad and steam navigation companies; banks, trust companies, savings institutions, gas companies, insurance companies, and telegraph and manufacturing companies. It further proposes to levy a tax of one per centum upon any person or persons, firm or company, publishing any newspaper, magazine, review, or other literary, scientific, or news publication, issued periodically on the gross receipts for all advertisements, or all matters for the insertion of which in said newspaper or other publication, as aforesaid, or in extras, supplements, sheets, or fly leaves, accompanying the same, pay is required or received.

## THE LINCOLN CATECHISM.

The subjoined extracts from a very clever satire will not be the less appreciated by the reader, from the fact that they are taken from a New York periodical, the "Old Guard devoted to the Principles of 1776 and 1787," and which appears to be the very ably conducted organ of the Peace Party of the North.

Question. What is the Constitution?

Answer. "A compact with hell"—now obsolete.

Q. What is the Government?

A. Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, and Owen Lovejoy.

Q. What is an army?

A. A provost guard to arrest white men.

Q. Whom are members of Congress supposed to represent?

A. The President and his Cabinet.

Q. What is understood by "coining money?"

A. Printing green paper.

Q. What does the Constitution mean by "freedom of the press?"

A. The suppression of democratic newspapers.

Q. What is the meaning of the word "liberty?"

A. Incarceration in a bastille.

Q. What is a Secretary of War?

A. A man who arrests people by telegraph.

Q. What are the duties of a Secretary of the Navy?

A. To build and sink gunboats.

Q. What is the business of a Secretary of Treasury?

A. To destroy the State banks, and fill the pockets of the people with irredeemable U. S. shipplasters.

Q. What is the meaning of the word "traitor?"

A. One who is a stickler for the Constitution and the laws.

Q. What is the meaning of the word "law?"

A. The will of the President.

Q. How were the States formed?

A. By the United States.

Q. Is the United States Government older than the States which made it?

A. It is.

Q. Have the States any rights?

A. None whatever, except what the general Government bestows.

Q. Have the people any rights?

A. None, except what the President gives.

Q. What is the *Habeas corpus*?

A. It is the power of the President to imprison whom he pleases as long as he pleases.

Q. Who is the greatest martyr of history?

A. John Brown.

Q. Who is the wisest man?

A. Abraham Lincoln.

Q. Who is Jeff Davis?

A. The Devil.

THE KEOKUK.—The Keokuk was designed by Mr. C. W. Whitney, of New York, and was built at the yard of J. S. Underhill and Co., Dry Dock Iron Works.

She was launched in the early part of last winter, and sailed from New York on the 11th of March, arriving at Port Royal on the 26th. The following is a description of the vessel:—The Keokuk was not only a two-turreted vessel, but was also a ram.

She was smaller than the Ericsson Monitors, being 139ft. 6in. over all, including the ram, which was 5 feet long. She had a beam of 36ft., with a depth of hold of 13ft. 6in., and drew 9ft. of water.

Her sides sloped inward at an angle of 37 degrees, to shed the enemy's shot. She was built of iron, and her armour extended nearly 4ft. below the water line.

The horizontal deck was 5ft. above the water line. Her propulsive power was furnished by two propellers and two engines of 300-horse power.

The hull of the vessel was constructed of half-inch rolled iron. She had three keelsons running the whole length of the vessel, and two fore and aft bulkheads, leaving on each side a space and forming an inner skin, which would probably keep out the water in the event of the outer skin being pierced by shot.

In addition to these she had two bulkheads—one forward and one aft—which could be filled with water so as to settle the vessel down while in action.

These could be filled in fifteen minutes and pumped out in forty minutes. In using the ram, should the vessel be wrenched so as to cause leakage, the compartment alluded to was to preserve the vessel from sinking.

The vessel was submerged one foot by the appliance of these water tanks. The turrets were immovable, the gun revolving to the three ports pierced in each turret.

They weighed each forty tons, and were built of a groundwork of half-inch rolled plates, like the hull, covered with bars of iron four inches thick, standing edgewise, placed one and a quarter inch apart, the interstices being filled with yellow pine.

Over all this were three plates, each five-eighths of an inch thick—the whole structure bolted together with one and one-eighth inch bolts, with countersunk heads one foot apart.

The turrets, therefore, were 6½ inches thick. Each turret had three ports, with heavy shutters working in two halves—one port on each side, and one forward and aft.

Each turret contained an 11-inch gun, carrying 180lb shot. These guns moved on revolving slides, which were placed on a floor 20 inches below the level of the deck, thus giving a greater height to the turrets, which were 20 feet in diameter at the base, 14 feet at the top—being cone shaped—and 8 feet 8 inches high.

The turrets were additionally supported within by bars of 5-inch by 1-inch iron set edgewise 15 inches apart, and the ports were made sufficiently large to give the guns ten degrees vertical and eight degrees lateral range.

The rudder and propeller were guarded by an overhanging structure, and a wrought guard on the after part. This little vessel carried 100 men all told, and had capacity in her two magazines for 200 11-inch shot, 150 11-inch shell, with shrapnel and canister, small ammunition, and powder in proportion.

She appeared admirably calculated for river work, her light draught and easy guidance by means of two propellers fitting her especially for intricate navigation.

Her builder was confident that, though in some respects novel in construction, she would be found as shot-proof and serviceable as any; and the care and completeness with which he applied every precaution and multiplied means for offence and defence gave hopes of a most efficient boat.

Mr. Whitney was one of the earliest to urge the propriety of building a shotproof fleet, and his studies in the question as well as his knowledge of the qualities of iron gave his opinions weight.

The ventilation of the vessel had been carefully attended to, and the accommodations for the officers and crew were of an excellent character.

In many points the details of this vessel were new and interesting. For instance, the entire lower portion of the sides of the turrets could be thrown open to admit light and air, and of course to effect the expulsion of foul air; and, there being a passage on each side of the vessel communicating from one turret to the other, a constant circulation of air was kept up without artificial means, although such means were provided, and which would, in the opinion of many, have rendered the vessel in point of ventilation second to none.—*Times*.

The first number of the *Mirror*, a weekly newspaper, was published last Saturday. The object of this journal is twofold. It is intended to give a full account of the home and foreign news of the week, and also leaders, essays, and reviews.

It aims to combine the features of the modern review, with the information of the newspaper. The parliamentary summary is very well executed, and the getting up of the "news" part of the paper is altogether creditable, although in some of the articles there are too many words for the matter; and prolixity in a narrative of facts is very objectionable.

The *Mirror* assumes an air of judicial impartiality on the American question, but its neutrality is of the kind Mr. Bright approves of—exceedingly pro-Northern.

It remarks, for example, that the battles have not been decisive for peace and war, and for "such a result both sides have exhausted their strength and strained their credit in the vast preparations which have astonished this generation."

The writer does not take into account that the North is the invading power, and that the South has been fighting for independence and "to be let alone." Our contemporary is evidently suffering from the colour blindness that afflicts all the partisans of New England.

## LA BATAILLE DES MOUCHOIRS.

Our readers will remember that on the occasion of 382 paroled prisoners leaving New Orleans, there was a farewell demonstration which greatly irritated the authorities. The ladies of New Orleans assembled in great numbers, insisted upon waving their handkerchiefs, and, at last, were charged and dispersed by the Union soldiers under the command of the "gallant" General Banks. About 400 women and children had stationed themselves on a river boat (the *Laura Hill*) to witness the departure. The boat was pushed off from the wharf, and these "contumacious females" and "infant rebels" were kept, without food or change of raiment, the whole night on the river. This was done by the direction of Admiral Farragut. The following lines have been published in the Confederacy to celebrate "this Union Victory:"—

"LA BATAILLE DES MOUCHOIRS," FOUGHT FRIDAY, 20TH OF FEBRUARY, 1863.

Of all the battles, modern or old,  
By Poet sung or historian told;  
Of all the routs that ever were seen  
From the days of Saladin to Marshal Turenne,  
Or all the victories later yet won,  
From Waterloo's field to that of Bull Run;  
All, all must hide their fading light,  
In the radiant glow of the handkerchief fight;  
And a Pean of joy must thrill the land,  
When they hear of the deeds of Banks's band.

'Twas on the Levee, where the tide  
Of "Father Mississippi" flows;  
Our gallant lads, their country's pride,  
Won this great victory o'er her foes.  
Four hundred Rebels were to leave  
That morning for Secessia's shades,  
When down there came (you'd scarce believe),  
A troop of children, wives and maids,  
To wave farewells, to bid God speed,  
To shed for them the parting tear,  
To waft them kisses as the meed  
Of praise to soldiers' hearts most dear.  
They came in hundreds—thousands lined  
The streets, the roofs, the shipping too,  
Their ribbons dancing in the wind,  
Their bright eyes flashing love's adieu.

'Twas then to danger we awoke,  
But nobly faced the unarmed throng,  
And beat them back with hearty stroke,  
Till reinforcements came along.  
We waited long, our aching sight  
Was strained in eager, anxious gaze;  
At last we saw the bayonets bright  
Flash in the sun-light's welcome blaze.  
The cannon's dull and heavy roll  
Fell greeting on our gladdened ear;  
'Then fired each eye, then glowed each soul,  
For well we knew the strife was near.

Charge! rang the cry, and on we dashed  
Upon our female foes,  
As seas in stormy fury lashed,  
Where'er the tempest blows:  
Like chaff their parasols went down,  
As on our gallants rushed;  
And many a bonnet, robe, and gown  
Was torn to shreds or crushed.  
Though well we pled the bayonet,  
Still some our efforts braved;  
Defiant both of blow and threat,  
Their handkerchiefs still waved.  
Thick grew the fight, loud rolled the din,  
When *Charge!* rang out again,  
And then the cannon thundered in,  
And scoured o'er the plain.  
Down, 'neath th' unyielding iron heels  
Of horses children sank,  
While through the crowd the cannon wheels  
Mowed roads on either flank;  
One startled shriek, one hollow groan,  
One headlong rush, and then  
Huzza! the field was all our own,  
For we were Banks's men.

That night, released from all our toils,  
Our dangers past and gone,  
We gladly gathered up the spoils  
Our chivalry had won!  
Five hundred 'kerchiefs we had snatched  
From rebel ladies' hands,  
Ten parasols, two shoes (not matched),  
Some ribbons, belts and bands,  
And other things that I forgot;  
But then you'll find them all  
As trophies in that hallowed spot—  
The credle—Fanieul Hall!

And long on Massachusetts' shore,  
And on Green Mountains' side,  
Or where Long Island's breakers roar,  
And by the Hudson's tide,  
In times to come, when lamps are lit,  
And fires brightly blaze,  
While round the knees of heroes sit  
The young of happier days,  
Who listen to their storied deeds,  
To them sublimely grand—  
Then glory shall award its meed  
Of praise to Banks's band,  
And fame proclaim that they alone  
(In triumph's loudest note)  
May wear henceforth, for valour shown,  
A woman's petticoat!

ECOGNIE.

MONSTER FEDERAL LOAN.—We understand that Mr. Walker, a confidential agent of Mr. Chase, has arrived in this country from Washington with full powers to negotiate a sterling loan for £50,000,000, on behalf of the Federal Government. The stock is to bear 7 per cent. interest, payable half yearly in sterling in London. Possibly, as a further inducement and security to British capitalists, the confiscated cotton plantations and other property of the Southern rebels may be hypothecated to the loan contractors. Mr. Waller has proceeded to Manchester, where his proposals are more likely to be entertained than in Lombard-street.—*Standard*.



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19 ditto ..... 3 7 8	6 ditto ..... 1 1 2
18 ditto ..... 3 3 8	5 ditto ..... 0 17 8
17 ditto ..... 3 0 2	4 ditto ..... 0 14 2
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## THE INDEX

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THE INDEX has already obtained an extensive and still rapidly increasing circulation in Great Britain, the Continent, the West Indies, and the Northern and Southern States of America. It goes into the hands of all who, through business interests, political pursuits, or personal sympathy, are concerned in the great Transatlantic questions now in process of solution.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 54.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1863.

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America .. .. .	17
England .. .. .	18
Europe .. .. .	18
Parliamentary Notes .. .. .	20
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter .. .. .	21
Manchester Letter .. .. .	21
Southern War News .. .. .	21
General Beauregard's Orders before the Battle ..	21
Southern Accounts of the Battle of Charleston ..	22
Some of the Benefits of the War .. .. .	22
Address of President Davis to the Confederate States .. .. .	23
LEADERS—	
Historic v. Historians .. .. .	24
The Confederate Army .. .. .	25
Ministers in Congress .. .. .	25
The Address of President Davis to the People of the Confederate States .. .. .	27
A Practical Mercantile View of Southern Wealth and Resources .. .. .	27
A Northern Democrat's Advice to his Country ..	29
The Magazines for May .. .. .	29
"The South as it is" .. .. .	30
Letter to the Editor .. .. .	31

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

ACCORDING to the advices from New York, seven gunboats, one ram, and three transports, from Admiral Porter's fleet, essayed on the 16th of April to run the Vicksburg blockade, and to join Admiral Farragut. The operation, so far as the gunboats and rams were concerned, was completely successful; the only damage reported being a shot through the hull of the Benton, the flag-ship of Admiral Porter. Of the transports, one, the Henry Clay, was burnt, and another, the Forest Queen, was disabled, and had to return. The Federal report says:—"The 'rebel' fire was far less effective than was anticipated." The movement of the Federal fleet was not a surprise, for the same account states that some houses were fired in order that "the artillerists might get a good view of our steamers as they went down within range of their guns." We may be sure the transports were not placed in the most exposed situation, and yet out of three one was burnt and one disabled, whilst the seven gunboats and the ram passed with one casualty. It would appear that the Confederates directed their fire on the transports and not on the war vessels. It would be useless to speculate on the reason of the Federal fleet passing so easily, or what is likely to be the effect of the movement. All we know at present is that eleven Federal gunboats, including three under Admiral Farragut, are between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

It is rumoured that the Confederate battery at Warrenton was destroyed by the Federal gunboats on the 17th of April, that five transports had run the blockade of the Yazoo and were above Haines's Bluff, and that the siege of Vicksburg will immediately be recommenced. It is also said that another attempt is being made to turn the obstinate Mississippi, and to capture Vicksburg by digging a canal.

The accounts from Washington, North Carolina, are not very clear. It appears that General Foster left his army and arrived at Newbern on the 16th of April, making his escape in the vessel which brought him supplies and reinforcements on the 14th. Next we hear that the siege is given up, that the Confederates have abandoned their batteries on the Tar River, and that the Federals are in "hot pursuit." Finally we are informed that "the pursuit of the Confederates, who retired from Washington, North Carolina, is abandoned." It is curious that the Federals should have been in such

difficulty that General Foster should have deemed it prudent to leave his command, and that immediately afterwards the siege should have been abandoned. We are evidently not in possession of all the facts.

The Confederate ram Queen of the West has been destroyed. She was aground in Grand Lake, and in that condition blown up by a shell from the gunboat Calhoun, belonging to the expedition of General Banks. Her crew, consisting of 113 officers and men, was captured. The steamer Diana, lately captured from the Federals, has been burnt in the Archafalaya River, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Confederate movements in Missouri are causing considerable anxiety in the North. The number of the Confederate forces under Generals Sterling Price and Marmaduke are variously estimated from 20,000 to 40,000. There was a report, since contradicted, that the Confederates had captured the town of Cape Girardeau, and that they were in a position to blockade the Mississippi at that point. It is now stated that they have taken possession of Fredericktown in that State.

The Federal General Blunt has issued a savage order to his forces, in which he tells them that "guerillas" in uniform are, if captured, to suffer death. He recommends that, as far as possible, the Confederates should be killed and not taken prisoners; and when they are captured they are to be hung or shot without delay. Does General Blunt think that he can carry on war in such an inhuman fashion with impunity? Does he not know that there is such a thing as retribution?

The special despatch of the *Tribune*, announcing that the Federals, under General Stoneman, had crossed the Rappahannock and occupied Gordonsville, was not quite correct. Gordonsville has not been captured. Five attempts to cross the river were repulsed; and then General Stoneman discovered that the condition of the roads rendered it impossible for him to proceed.

The Federal gunboats have captured a Confederate battery of six guns, on the Nasemond River, Virginia. It is reported that the Federals made 200 prisoners, but the loss in killed and wounded on either side is not stated.

It is asserted that General Banks has advanced into the Bayou Teché country, and that he is opposed by a Confederate force of 8,000, under General Sibley. A special despatch to the *New York Herald* reports that the Confederates have abandoned their works near Brashear City. The special despatches of the *New York press* are so often wrong, that without denying this report, we may observe that it requires confirmation.

The news from Tennessee is still made up of rumours of preparations for a great battle. The rapid falling of the Cumberland River, by which General Rosecranz receives his supplies, will, it is supposed, induce him to risk an engagement. It is again said that he has been reinforced by a portion of Grant's army. If all the accounts of what has become of General Grant's army are true, it must have been divided into very small bodies.

Nashville, or rather the Federal authorities at Nashville, were alarmed by a rumour that General Van Dorn was advancing to attack that city.

The Federals have taken the town of Minnville, Tennessee. They are reported to have captured 300 prisoners, and to have destroyed a cotton factory, two mills, and a large quantity of stores.

Severe fighting has taken place in the neighbourhood of Corinth. "The Confederates were driven from Bear Creek to Crane Creek."

"A Federal expedition has destroyed Celina, Kentucky, with immense quantities of Confederate stores."

We must remind our readers that all the above items are derived exclusively from Northern information.

At Norfolk the Federal authorities have been considerably agitated. On the 11th of April, a railroad bridge was accidentally damaged, and a Federal captain was ordered to remove some planks from it, but mistaking his instructions he destroyed the bridge, and a train came to grief. Upon this a cry was raised that the enemy was coming. Stores were collected and carried to the boats, and the following order, which we copy from the *Norfolk Union* of the 15th of April, was issued:—

Head-quarters, Department of Virginia, Norfolk, Virginia, April 12.

The proximity of the Confederate forces, renders it proper, by virtue of the military and naval authority of the United States, to give the following notice:—

All foreign consuls and their families; all women and children, and all other persons not in the service of the United States, who prefer safety to the conflicts of war, are notified that on the approach of the enemy to any town or village, within this department, and the range of the Union guns, such town or village will be fired on without further consideration.

E. D. KERS,  
Major-General Commanding Department of Virginia.

Amongst the other war intelligence there is a report that the Federals, numbering 4,000, have been repulsed upon Coldwater River, and that the Confederates were pursuing them. The correspondent of the *New York Times* asserts that a Federal force has gone from Greenville, Mississippi, up Deer Creek, and "during six days destroyed property on various plantations estimated at three million dollars, consisting of cotton-mills, cotton-gins, and 700,000 bushels of corn, and that they brought away immense quantities of stores."

The case of the Peterhoff has been brought before Judge Betts, in the United States District Court. The first point raised was in reference to the mail bag. An application was made by Mr. E. D. Smith, the United States District Attorney, for the delivery of the mail unopened to the British authorities. He said that an external view of the sealed packages revealed no ground to suspect that they were spurious or simulated. Are we to understand from this that the mail bag has been opened, and the several letters critically examined? He declares that he has examined "all the authorities," and that he can find no precedent to justify the violation of a public mail in order to secure a chance to discover evidence against a vessel. This is equivalent to an admission that the detention of the mail was unlawful. He concluded his address by saying: "Representing the Government, as I do, I ask that my consent may be entered upon the minutes of the Court, and that an order may be granted to release this mail and put it on its way to its original destination." Mr. Upton, on behalf of the captors contended that the mail might be searched for evidence, and though the District Attorney might, of his own motion, discontinue a prize proceeding (which Mr. Upton did not admit), still it did not follow that the District Attorney had the further right, after announcing his determination, to proceed with the adjudication, to determine capriciously and arbitrarily what evidence should be admitted and what should be excluded, what should be filed on the registry of the Court, and what should be abandoned or destroyed, or surrendered to the possession of the claimants. In his reply, Mr. E. D. Smith said the application was insisted on as a matter of "public law and international comity." He also observed that "suspicious attaching to the vessel or cargo cannot be extended to a public mail which is thrown on board. It must be judged by itself, and if it presents nothing to impeach its integrity it must be released, unless there exists independent and positive testimony to impeach it. The evidence here is quite the other way." We confess we do not understand how the integrity of a mail is to be judged unless it is opened; or what evidence Mr. Smith could have about the mail, unless it had been tampered with. The learned



gentleman concluded by reading "an extract from a communication to some officer of the Government, written by the Secretary of State, and approved by the President." After this we are not surprised that, when a few days afterwards the case was resumed, "the Court decided, in compliance with the obvious wish of the Government, to deliver up the mails unopened." This manifestation of Government influence proves the correctness of an observation that appeared in our issue of the 2nd of April, in an article on the capture of the Peterhoff—that the decisions of the United States' Prize Courts "will not be based upon evidence, but will be framed to suit the views of the United States' Government." The mail of the Peterhoff was not given up because it was unlawful to detain it, but because it did not suit the Government to instruct the Prize Court to act unlawfully.

The New Yorkers are pleased with Earl Russell's letter of April 3, concerning the right of British vessels to trade with Matamoros, presuming, no doubt, that it will give them a monopoly of that trade. The action of the British Government with respect to the Alexandra has also given satisfaction. The satisfaction arises from the conviction that we are afraid of the North. The *New York Herald* says, "We do not know that we have any great reason to be grateful for this change of policy on the part of the English Government. It has been dictated by its fears rather than its sense of justice."

There are many indications that the North is anything but a "united, happy family." James L. Addison, chief clerk in the Adjutant-General's office, and his brother, Anthony Addison, chief clerk in the Pension Bureau at Washington, have been arrested on the charge of corresponding with the enemy. They have since been released. The Rev. John Martin and his daughter had previously been arrested upon the same charge, and ordered to be sent beyond the Federal lines. This is a strange proceeding on the part of the Government professing to be engaged in putting down "a rebellion."

On the 18th April the towns of Danville and Martinsville, Indiana, were the scenes of serious riots between the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Unionists. Pistols and rifles were freely used. One man was killed and several wounded.

A serious disturbance occurred in Cincinnati in consequence of a negro knocking down a crippled soldier in the street. Several negroes were severely beaten in retaliation.

Two of the members of the assembly at Albany have been arrested upon charges of bribery and corruption.

"A loyal monster mass meeting" has been held, at which General Scott presided, wrapped up "in a United States' flag." After the "usual war speeches," an ode was recited, in which the following stanza was introduced in honour of General Scott:—

Keep step with the music of Union!  
So Scott, the great lion-souled, cries,  
The flames of the patriot flashing,  
Like lightning of Heaven from his eyes.  
Red wrath on all Copperhead villains  
Who dare trail their blasphemous slime  
On Loyalty's thrice sacred flowers  
That Washington sowed in our clime.

We expect the "Copperhead villains" will not care much for the threatened "red wrath" of the "great lion-souled."

The cruel murder of Colonel Kimball excites much attention. General Corcoran asserts that the murdered man insulted him. Dead men tell no tales, and it is thought that General Corcoran will escape punishment, as he is useful with the Irish Brigade.

President Lincoln has proclaimed that Western Virginia will become a State of the Union in sixty days from the present date.

The Governor of New York vetoed the bill allowing soldiers and sailors to vote by proxy. The Senate passed the bill over the Governor's veto, but it failed in the House.

The Alabama is reported to have chased two vessels ashore in Turk's Island Passage on March 26th. A Danish brig has landed at St. Croix the crews of the Lapwing and the Concord, captured by the Florida on the 27th and 28th March, as well as the crew of the Star of Peace, also captured by the Florida.

The Confederate steamer Barrose, loaded with cotton, from St. Mary's to Nassau, has been abandoned at sea. The British prize steamer Gertrude, captured off Harbour Island by the Vanderbilt, has arrived at New York. She was returning after an ineffectual attempt to enter Charleston harbour, and was caught whilst attempting to run the Federal blockade of Nassau.

The British gunboat Cygnet was fired at, on April 4, in the Bahama Channel, by the Federal steamer Connecticut. The captain of the Cygnet went on board the Connecticut, and the Federal captain said he had mis-

taken the British gunboat for the Alabama, and the excuse was accepted. The captain of the Connecticut may be glad he was mistaken, for the Alabama would have given him a warm reply.

The fluctuations in the price of gold at New York continue. On the 21st April it was 43 per cent. prem.; on the 25th April it was 53½ per cent.

## ENGLAND.

The Poor-law returns of last week report a diminution of 4,780 in the number of paupers in the cotton manufacturing districts. It is probable that this sort of reduction in the pauperism of those districts may go on during the whole summer; and it is necessary that we should not misconceive its significance. It does not necessarily imply a proportionate diminution of distress; for many of those who have ceased to be paupers are as ill off as while they were dependent on parochial relief. It does not imply a corresponding improvement in trade. Very few mills have been re-opened, and in these there are scant wages to be earned by the operatives, and no profits for the masters. Many of those who have disappeared from the pauper-roll have gone "on the tramp" into other districts, to find work how and where they can, and with the approach of winter it is probable that they will come back, without work, and no better off than when they started. Some few have emigrated; and these, with all the hardships and difficulties of a life for which they are wholly unfitted before them, are the most fortunate of all. Some have been assisted to temporary work by the kindness of their wealthier neighbours, or have found employment on the works undertaken, expressly for their benefit, by neighbouring landowners. But these resources are eminently precarious, because they are artificial; and only Government can furnish artificial employment for any length of time to a population of half a million.

A correspondence has taken place between the Foreign-office and Mr. Grazebrook, the owner of the Dolphin, in which Mr. Hammond announces that Lord Russell will endeavour to obtain the rendition of the ship, unless some cause for taking her before a Prize Court be alleged; and refuses to give any protection to another ship which Mr. Grazebrook is about to send out; concluding with a meaningless flourish about the protection always extended by Government to legitimate British commerce. Inasmuch as legitimate British commerce has been systematically plundered by American cruisers, and left without redress by her Majesty's Government, this is only adding insult to injury.

A deputation of Trades' Unionists, under the patronage of Mr. Bright, and of one Professor Bessly, of the University College, waited upon the American Minister, on Saturday, to assure him of their profound devotion to the Federal cause, their intense admiration of Mr. Lincoln and General Butler, and their determination not to allow any foolish indignation against Federal outrages on our flag, or any regard for the rights of neutral commerce, to embroil this country in war with the United States. Mr. Bessly, who is notorious for the violence of his sentiments and the abusiveness of his language, took up his parable, after the Trades' delegates had had their say, and prophesied judgments against Southern sympathisers in high places. Mr. Adams kept his countenance, and neither laughed nor yawned as these men—not one of whom has either character, influence, or authority, and several of whom are very well known in connection with divers disgraceful strikes and other proceedings in which the folly of workmen has been turned to the profits of professional incendiaries—delivered their respective messages of mischief and nonsense; and made them a reply better suited to the consequence which he would like to attribute to them than to their real and utter insignificance.

On Saturday the Royal Academy held its annual dinner, in the rooms in which the pictures are hung for exhibition. The meeting possessed peculiar attractions, in the presence of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, and of his Serene Highness Prince Louis of Hesse. In responding to his own health, drunk after that of the Queen, and the "Memory of the great and good Prince Consort," the Prince of Wales said:—

Sir Charles Eastlake, your Royal Highnesses, my Lords, and Gentlemen,—It is with the most contending feelings of pleasure, pride and sorrow that I rise to return you thanks in the name of myself and the Royal Family for the kind terms in which you, Sir Charles, have proposed our health, and for the very cordial way in which this distinguished assembly has received it. (Cheers.) I cannot on this occasion divest my mind of the associations connected with my beloved and lamented father. His bright example cannot fail to stimulate my efforts to tread in his footsteps (loud cheers); and, whatever my shortcomings may be, I may at least presume to participate in the interest which he took in every in-

stitution which tended to encourage art and science in this country (cheers), but more especially in the prosperity of the Royal Academy. (Loud cheers.) Adverting to my marriage, I beg you to believe how grateful I feel for, and I may be permitted to add how sincerely I appreciate, the sentiments you have expressed with reference to the Princess. (Loud cheers.) I know that I am only speaking her mind in joining her thoughts to mine on this occasion. (Loud cheers.) We neither of us can ever forget the manner in which our union has been celebrated throughout the nation (cheers); and I should be more than ungrateful if I did not retain the most lasting as well as most pleasing recollection of the kind expressions and reception which my attendance at your anniversary meeting has evoked this evening. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Subsequent toasts called up Prince Louis of Hesse, the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Palmerston, and other gentlemen of note. The speech of the Prime Minister was, as usual, the happiest and most apposite of all.

The chief, we might say the sole political event of the week, has been the withdrawal of the Ministerial proposal to extend the income tax to the revenues of charitable corporations, arising out of property—not of course including their receipts from voluntary contributions. The measure would have brought in only about £100,000 a year, and it would have been exceedingly unpopular throughout the country. Mr. Gladstone was assailed on Monday afternoon by a deputation which, though composed almost entirely either of men of the highest social standing, or of the permanent officers (Secretaries, Treasurers, and so forth) of London charities, occupied the whole of the room in which he received it, and overflowed into the passages and waiting rooms of the Treasury Department. This deputation was introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Cambridge. Such a pressure, on a point of so little moment, to the Exchequer and of so much interest to the country was practically decisive. But Mr. Gladstone could not allow his measure to fall to the ground in silence; he went down to the House that evening, and defended it in one of the most telling speeches he ever delivered. The arguments in favour of the proposed tax were, as stated by him:—1st. That charitable endowments were chiefly created by death-bed bequests, which hardly deserve the name of charity, and which the State ought not to encourage. 2nd. That many charities, so called by law, are either useless, noxious, or scandalous—particularly those which provide small doles for the poor of particular parishes, and thereby attract into those parishes a population of paupers seeking a share in these doles. 3rd. That all charitable estates have benefited greatly by the commercial legislation which has been rendered possible by the imposition of the income-tax and that therefore they should share the burden. 4th. That an exemption from taxation is a virtual grant of State money, which these charitable institutions ought not promiscuously to receive. In answer, it was urged that this last reason was altogether fallacious; that to abstain from taking away money is not to bestow it; that the exemption of charities from the income-tax had no tendency to encourage death-bed bequests to charities; that the badness of some existing charities, so far as it proved anything, proved not that they should be taxed, but that they should be confiscated; that the recipients of charities were almost invariably persons having less than £100 a year, and therefore entitled to exemption; and finally—and this was the argument which proved most conclusive—it was shown most clearly that the effect of the tax on many most deserving charities would be to compel the reduction of pensions already miserably small, or the dismissal of pensioners to absolute starvation; that it would force orphan schools to reduce the number of their scholars, almshouses to turn out poor widows destitute upon the world, and hospitals to close their doors on hundreds of patients every year. The feeling of the House was evident; not a single member rose to support Mr. Gladstone, and he reluctantly withdrew the clauses of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, by which the income-tax was to be imposed on charities.

## EUROPE.

The *Moniteur* has published the replies of Prince Gortschakoff to the French and English notes, introducing them with the comment, that "they open a path to projects of conciliation, and contain the bases of negotiations likely to lead to a common understanding between the different Courts now seeking the means of upholding the legitimate interests of Poland." As the *Moniteur* may be presumed to speak for the French Government, it is very satisfactory to have this assurance that the Russian notes open the way for an understanding. The ordinary public, which does not read between the lines, and must take the plain words of the documents as the materials for its judgment, would hardly arrive at the conclusion. Prince Gortschakoff is, no doubt, conciliatory enough, and as he had much provocation to a sharp answer, and a sharp answer might have led to



war, his courtesy is a matter for great satisfaction. Further, he practically, if not in terms, admits the right of France and England to interfere between the Czar and the Poles with counsel and warning, and that is a concession which may be used for the profit of Poland. Perhaps it is this admission which the *Moniteur* takes as the basis of negotiations.

The Czar has derived from the French despatch the conviction that the views of the Emperor Napoleon are entirely in accordance with his own. He admits the just interest which the bordering Powers and those concerned in the regulation of the fate of Europe must naturally devote to complications which may tend to trouble its peace. But the interest of Russia cannot, surely, be less profound; and her desire to bring back tranquillity cannot be less sincere. The Czar appreciates the feelings of the French Government when it points out the opportuneness of considering the means of placing Poland in the condition of permanent peace. Nothing could better respond to the views of the Czar, but it is precisely on the choice of the means which can produce this result that it is desirable to come to an understanding. The French Minister points out the powerlessness of the combinations hitherto imagined to reconcile Poland to the position assigned to her. That is an additional reason for not recommencing experiments which have been a source of misfortune for Poland and for Russia, a cause of trouble for Europe, and, in all probability, will end again by producing the same results. The evil from which the kingdom at present suffers, is not an isolated fact. Revolutionary tendencies, the scourge of our epoch, concentrate in that country. But the Czar has undertaken the mission to make all parts of his empire enter on the path of regular progress. The French Minister will find in the despatch to the Russian Ambassador at London, what part the Emperor Napoleon can take, according to the Russian idea, to accelerate the realization of the wish which he expresses to us in the name of humanity and the permanent interests of Europe. The Russian Government feels authorized to hope that the Emperor Napoleon will not refuse the moral concurrence which may depend upon himself to facilitate to the Czar the task traced out by his solicitude for the kingdom of Poland, his duties towards Russia, and his international relations with his neighbours and the great Powers of Europe. Thus, Prince Gortschakoff to Baron Budberg.

What is it that the Emperor Napoleon is to do? We turn with eagerness to the despatch to Baron Brunnow. It is much longer, as courteous, although not quite so friendly, and rather more indefinite. After devoting some paragraphs to the question of the treaty rights of Poland, and vindicating the former contentions of the Russian Government, the Prince observes that a prolongation of the discussion on this ground would be sterile labour, declares that the intention of the Czar is to arrive at a practical solution, and presumes that such is the desire of the British Government. As the common aim is the repose and wellbeing of the kingdom of Poland, it is difficult not to arrive at an understanding. The difference of appreciation arises from the apparent belief of the English Government, that the constitution of 1815 is the sole panacea for the present agitation in Poland. But the British Government and the British nation, with their practical good sense will not pretend that there is only one form of Government for all peoples, whatever their history and development. The Czar has entered resolutely on the path of reform, he has accomplished a social transformation. The national institutions, for the most part elective, with which Poland has been endowed, have not been understood in Europe. The system inaugurated by the Czar contains a germ which time and experience must develop. It is destined to end in an administrative autonomy on the basis of the provincial and municipal institutions, which in England were the point of departure and the foundation of the grandeur and prosperity of the country. But the party of disorder, which understood that the peaceable majority of the kingdom would enter on the path of regular progress, has not permitted the execution of the new institutions. The Manifesto of March 31st, Russian style, indicates the views of the Czar. He has determined to maintain the institutions already granted; the future depends upon the confidence which his intention meets with in the kingdom. Lord Russell invites Russia to fulfil the duties of propriety towards other States. Russia is but too anxious to do so. But she has not been fairly treated herself. The conspiracy is armed from abroad. It has the direct concurrence of foreigners. The British Government asks us to cause the kingdom to return into the conditions of a desirable peace, and justifies the expression of its desire by the stipulations of 1815. These wishes are entirely in accord with those of the Government. His Majesty admits that the troubles of Poland

may affect the tranquillity of the border states, and that these may interest the Powers who signed the general treaty. *The Emperor believes that some explanation on these bases would, and in the spirit of the communications which have been addressed to us may, conduce to a result consonant to the general interests.* The Prince then draws the earnest attention of the English Government to the true cause of the present situation in the persistent instigations of the party of universal revolution, and to the true remedy, an effort of the governments who desire the return of Poland to durable peace, to appease the disorders, moral and material, which these parties labour to propagate over Europe, and thus far stop the principal source of those agitations by which their foresight is alarmed. It would seem from this that the part the Emperor Napoleon is to take—to give Poland durable peace—is to enter into a crusade against the revolution. The passage we have italicised is, however, the important one. Prince Gortschakoff seems to invite England and France to discuss with him the measures to be taken to pacify Poland.

The war news from Poland this week is fuller, but not a whit clearer than usual. It would serve no good purpose to give a list of victories claimed by the Russians and the Poles respectively, the actual value of which can only be ascertained some three weeks after the telegraph has done its work. It would appear, however, that for the moment, the insurgents have rather the advantage. The Russians seem to be waiting until the 13th inst., when the offer of the amnesty expires, before taking any very active steps. At present they seem to be acting upon the defensive. General Von Berg is an able man, and is not disposed to begin his work until he is quite ready to carry it through. He has discovered what has been the great error of the Russians throughout—the attempt to suppress the insurrection with an insufficient number of troops, and is waiting for the reinforcements promised him. Then the struggle will begin in earnest, and we fear that the tendency of the news will then be continually unfavourable to the cause of Poland. The Central Revolutionary Government has, it is said, ordered all the functionaries in the Russian service to resign, and General Von Berg, for better reasons, has adopted the same measures. He has found out that the Polish officials have played into the hands of their countrymen. The General is also credited with a plan for the suppression of the rebellion, likely enough to be efficacious, if only he can get the means to carry it out. Poland is to be divided into some 200 military districts, in each of which the troops are to go systematically to work, to root out the rebels. Another scheme attributed to the Government is, the confiscation of the property of insurgent landowners; but this would only be an extension to Congress Poland of a measure already adopted in Lithuania, and announced about the same time as the amnesty.

Meanwhile the spirit of nationality is rising in Russia. The birth-day of the Emperor was the occasion for numerous manifestoes of patriotic feeling, and of a passionate determination to submit to no curtailment of the territory of Russia. Some of these addresses have a very warlike and enthusiastic character. In his reply to an address from St. Petersburg, the Czar said, "The only object of my life is the welfare of our dear Fatherland, and the gradual development of its civic institutions." The official journal which records this expression, publishes a fitting accompaniment in a ukase, directing that for the future corporal punishment shall only be employed in exceptional cases.

Langiewicz has been removed from Tischnowitz to the Bohemian fortress of Josephstadt. The cause of his removal was an attempt to escape. He had withdrawn his parole, and was consequently closely guarded. The guards he attempted to bribe, they took his money and carried it to their commandant, and the result was the removal of the General to a safer place.

An anecdote is given by some of the German papers of the Chief Rabbi of the Polish Jews, of which it may certainly be said, *se non è vero è ben trovato*. The Grand Duke Constantine asked the Rabbi how it was that the Jews did not give their aid to the Government of the Czar, who had been a father to them—Alexander II. has relieved the Jews of the degrading inferiority which, as well under the old Polish system as under the Russian rule, has attached to them.—"True, your Royal Highness," replied the Rabbi, "the Czar Alexander is our father; but Poland is our mother; and if the father beats the mother the children always take the mother's part."

There is great agitation in Posen, and, indeed, in Prussian Poland generally. In spite of the vigilant watch of the frontiers large parties of sympathizers join

the insurgents, and supplies of arms and provisions are carried to them. In fact, a frontier of 500 miles can hardly be guarded when the population on both sides is hostile to the guards. The Prussian Government is, therefore, compelled to adopt very severe measures to prevent the emigration, and indeed to prevent an outbreak in Posen itself. According to the Prussian semi-official journal, the police seized in the palace of Count Dziulinski the plan of an intended revolution in Posen. The Count, who is one of the members for Posen in the Prussian Parliament, escaped and has joined the insurgents. The Prussian Government has a very difficult part to play in its Polish provinces; it has to deal with a mixed population of Germans and Poles, and the measures which may be absolutely necessary to keep the Poles in order cannot fail to affect and irritate the Germans, who are conscious of their own loyalty.

A Committee of the Prussian House of Deputies has unanimously adopted a resolution, declaring the cartel Convention of the 8th of May, 1857, invalid, inasmuch as it was entered into without the assent of the Landtag, as required—according to the Committee—by the Constitution. The Committee would, no doubt, have declared the Convention of the 8th of February of this year equally invalid; but at present, it has no certain knowledge of the terms of that agreement. The resolution, of which Herr von Ronne, formerly Prussian Ambassador at Washington, was the author, will doubtless be adopted by the House, and be completely disregarded by the Ministry. The reply given on Monday by Count von Eulenbergh, Minister of the Interior, to a question of Von Carlowitz shows how the convention works. Russian troops, defeated by the insurgents, took refuge on Prussian territory, and were billeted on the inhabitants. They were not disarmed, inasmuch as the law did not require it, and there was nothing extraordinary, according to the Minister, in the whole proceeding.

The Swedish Diet has passed resolutions, expressing sympathy with Poland, and confidence in the Swedish Government. Two of the four Chambers—those of the nobles and clergy—expressed the hope that the Government, whilst doing all in its power for Poland, would have regard to the maintenance of peace; but the citizens and peasants made no reference to peace, and left everything to the Government. In the debate Count Manderstrom, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced that the Government had twice appealed to the Russian Government on behalf of Poland. The *Nord* announces that the relations between the Cabinets of Stockholm and St. Petersburg are most satisfactory. The source is a somewhat tainted one, but, in the main, the statement is probably correct. Sweden will not commit herself to a hostile position towards Russia until well assured that hostilities are intended by France.

The approaching elections to the *Corps Legislatif* continue to divide with Poland the interest of Frenchmen, and the nearer the event approaches—*La France* assigns the 31st of May to it—the greater, we regret to say, is the bitterness of feeling evinced on both sides.

The *Moniteur* publishes a notice which is calculated to seriously embarrass the opposition candidates. It says: Several journals announce that the representatives of the sub-electoral committees will shortly assemble in order to elect a central committee.

The Government reminds the public that the law forbids associations of more than twenty persons meeting without the consent of the public authorities, even should those associations be subdivided into sections comprising a less number; and further, that the journals would expose themselves to legal penalties, if they published the resolutions or manifestoes of such associations.

The "opposition," however, is not disposed to accept these threats of the *Moniteur* as law. An opinion has been published, signed by M. Dufaure and many other eminent lawyers, declaring that the articles of the law cited by the *Moniteur* do not apply to election meetings. The Government will, therefore, in all probability, be defied, and compelled to maintain its opinion in the law courts. M. de Montalembert is one of the "Independent" candidates; his device is "political and religious liberty." Indeed, a Belgian newspaper announces that the Committees have already met, and have not been molested by the police.

Father Passaglia—the well-known Jesuit, author who may term him of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the great achievement in a religious sense of the Pontificate of *Pio Nono*, and at the same time the chief rebel against the Papal authority—has brought a bill into the Italian Chamber of Deputies, of which he has lately been elected a member, to compel all priests to take an oath of allegiance to the civil power, and has been refuted in the name of liberty by Pisanelli, the Minister of Justice. Passaglia is on the wrong track. Penalties will not produce the reformation which he desires.



King Victor Emmanuel has returned to Turin. Whilst in Tuscany he visited Ricasoli, and the rumour has spread of a return to power of the proud Florentine patriot, whose unbending integrity and independence were found by the King so much in the way of his *menus plaisirs*. There may be some foundation for the report, especially if the statement that the King has contracted a morganatic marriage with a lady who has long reigned sovereign over his heart be correct. For years the pleasure-loving King, whose curious fortune it is to be elevated, in spite of all the protests of his life to the contrary, to the title of *re galantuomo*, has been anxious to marry this favourite mistress, but his Ministers, Cavour, Ricasoli, and even Rattazzi have prevented him. The present Government possessing no man of influence have had to yield. In that case, as the mischief is done, and the King has attained his end, Ricasoli may, perhaps, return to power.

Farini, whose case was considered hopeless, has revived. When the Italian Parliament passed the bill granting him a pension, it was assumed that he would not live to enjoy it. Now, there seems to be some chance of his recovery. It is proverbial that there is no *elixir vite* like an annuity.

The acceptance of the throne of Greece by Prince William cannot yet be announced. The *Dagbladet* declares the statement of the *Berlingske Tidende*, that the difficulties had been removed, incorrect, and asserts that there is a difference of opinion upon the subject between the King of Denmark and Prince Christian. The *Moniteur*, however, announces that the representatives of the protecting Powers will assemble in Conference at London on the 25th of May. Some foreign journals assert that the Conference has already commenced, and we may therefore assume that the English Government, which has summoned the meeting, has good reasons to believe that it can propose a king for its confirmation. We shall believe in the kingship of king George I. when we hear that he has been crowned at Athens—which, by the way, seems to sadly need a King, or some stable government. The latest telegrams report that everything was at sixes-and-sevens; the Ministers were resigning, whilst an agitation was being got up against the election of any king.

The Sultan has returned to Constantinople, and the city has been illuminated in honour of the event. A budget, showing very favourable features, is to be published, to smoothe the way for another loan. The Turkish Ministers really take too much trouble. English and French capitalists are only too happy to lend their money to the Sultan, whether his purpose be to build barracks or replenish his *harem*; and if any doubts should present themselves, Mr. Layard is at hand to dispel them.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

### THURSDAY, APRIL 30.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

In a voice almost inaudible—Lord Russell was understood to say:—As the question of the Peterhoff and the detention of Her Majesty's mails was recently the subject of discussion in this House, it may be convenient to your lordships that I should state the substance of the information I have received this day from Lord Lyons. In his despatches Lord Lyons states that in answer to his application with respect to the Peterhoff and the mail-bags, Mr. Seward informed him that the Executive Committee of America had decided not to release the vessel, but to send her before the Prize Court. As for the mails, the American Government had determined, in conformity with the letter of the 31st of October, to send them to their destination; and the same procedure is to be adopted in all similar cases. Mr. Seward also expressed the hope that some satisfactory arrangement might be arrived at between the two Governments. The law of nations, he said, did not lay down any precise or clear rule with respect to the practice, which is somewhat novel, of sending so many mail-bags by private ships, and, therefore, he wished to make a communication to Her Majesty's Government on the subject. He did not state what the nature of the communication would be, and, of course, it will be matter for subsequent consideration.—Shortly afterwards his lordship moved the second reading of a bill, sent up from the Commons, to combine and amend the law against bribery in Parliamentary elections.—Lord Lyveden (formerly Mr. Vernon Smith) objected to the clause which throws the cost of a Commission of Inquiry upon the Constituency in which bribery is alleged to have occurred.—Earl Grey supported the objection; and further stated his general disbelief in the possibility of putting down bribery by measures of this sort so long as it was not severely condemned by public opinion.—Earl Russell recommended that discussion of the clauses should be postponed till the bill went into Committee, and it was accordingly read a second time.

The Earl of Hardwicke questioned the Government concerning the construction of the promised fort at Spithead, saying that forts had in all times had the advantage over ships, and that the recent occurrences at Charleston showed that modern science had not altered that relation.—The Duke of Somerset explained that Parliament had not yet voted the funds required for the construction of the forts; but a sum of money would, before long, be asked for on that account. In regard to what had occurred at Charleston it was a curious thing that if the American Government had intended to carry out an experiment for our benefit in connexion with this subject they could not have done anything more to the point. The distance between our forts on the mainland and the sand-bank was exactly two thousand yards, and measuring on the

charts the distance between Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie it would be found to be two thousand yards also. In both cases there was a strong current, and in both cases certain facilities in approaching. In both cases the same means of obstructing the attack by means of fishing nets and other similar contrivances were talked of. Therefore, if we had asked them to try the experiment they could not have selected a place more suitable than Charleston for that purpose. With regard to the vessels employed in the attack it might be remembered that fourteen months ago we were told that they had built the Monitor by way of warning to the British Admiralty. It certainly was a great warning, for the first moment she met with a gale she went to the bottom. (Hear, hear.) They built more Monitors, and had they built them more strongly and of a better class we should have had a more interesting experiment, and should have known better what iron-plated vessels could do against forts. The experiment, therefore, was not quite satisfactory. We did not know exactly the sort of guns that were used—a very important thing in forming an opinion upon that experiment. It was quite clear, however, that those vessels were completely defeated, and that another Monitor was sunk. So far it had been very decidedly in favour of the forts.—The Earl of Derby said he understood the noble Duke to say that the circumstances at Charleston and Spithead were precisely similar, and to speak of the distance as 2,000 yards. But he (the Earl of Derby) thought the injury which had been inflicted on the iron-plated vessels was inflicted after they entered the harbour at a distance from the forts, varying from 300 to 500 yards. That was an important element in considering the subject.—The Duke of Somerset said as far as the charts went, and as far as he could make out, the vessels at the nearest point must have been very nearly 600 yards from Fort Sumter, and the other forts must have been at a much greater distance. When he spoke of 2,000 yards he meant the distance from one fort to another.—Earl Grey said he believed the iron-plated ships employed at Charleston were by all accounts inferior vessels, and yet they so far protected the men that scarcely any one on board was injured by the tremendous fire. Was not that the case? Was it not true that Charleston was six or seven miles from the place where the action took place; and, if the iron-plated vessels had been at Portsmouth instead of Charleston, would they not have been quite within range of the dockyard, so as to shell it while allowing the forts to play on them?—The Duke of Somerset said he did not know exactly the amount of damage that had been done. His impression was that the ships were too far from the town to enable them to do much harm. Any one who looked at the chart would see that the town was six or seven miles distant. The position of the ships with regard to the forts would, he thought, make it very disagreeable for any vessels to have stayed to shell the town.

The subject dropped, and the House adjourned a little before six.

### THURSDAY, APRIL 30.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. W. Forster inquired if the rumour were true that the Foreign Office had that afternoon received a satisfactory despatch from America relative to the seizure of mail-bags.—Mr. Layard had the pleasure of being able to state that by a despatch from Lord Lyons the Government were informed that the mail-bags taken from the Peterhoff had been ordered by the Government of the United States to be forwarded to their destination without being opened. (The announcement was received with cheers from all parts of the House.)

On the order for reading the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill a second time, Lord R. Cecil directed attention to the fact that the third section of the bill imposed a new charge upon the people in the shape of an income tax upon charities, and that such proposal had not been referred to a committee of the whole House as the custom and order of the House required.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, alluding to the observations of Lord R. Cecil, said that the income upon which St. Bartholomew's Hospital would be taxed was £36,000 a year, and that the sum it would have to pay was about £700 a year more than at present. He denied that in the course he had adopted he was departing from the custom and order of the House and the general form of proceeding. The ground upon which the Government were prepared to stand in regard to the proposals to which objections had been urged was simply the ground of justice. If they were just to the community at large let the House adopt them; if they were not just let them be rejected. The right hon. gentleman also went into a variety of explanations relative to the operation of the income tax upon the several interests concerned.

### FRIDAY, MAY 1.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speaker took the chair at a quarter to four. At four o'clock, there not being forty members present, he declared the House adjourned.

### MONDAY, MAY 4.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Princess of Wales, with the ladies in attendance upon her, took their places in the glazed apartment called the Ladies' Gallery, immediately behind and above the reporters. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, with Lord Alfred Paget, took his seat in the diplomatic gallery opposite.

Lord R. Montagu called the attention of the House to the fact that no House had been made on Friday. There were 37 members inside; there were upwards of 50 in the lobby; but by "gentle pressure" Ministers prevented their coming in, and the House was counted out. Some other members held similar language. Lord Palmerston denied that the Ministry had done anything to prevent members coming in, and promised that the thing should not recur.—Mr. Disraeli expressed a hope that Ministers would, in future, observe the understanding which they had admitted to exist; and the subject dropped.

The Speaker then left the chair; and the House went into Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill.

On the third and fourth clauses, imposing the income tax on charities, Mr. Gladstone rose to make the explanatory statement he had promised. After referring in no very respectful terms to the great deputation which had waited upon him that afternoon, he proceeded to remark that he did not propose to tax subscriptions to charities, but merely charitable endowments. Now, nineteen-twentieths of our charitable endowments were provided by death-bed bequests, which could not properly be called charity. There was no charity in giving away what a man could no longer keep. Death-bed bequests to charitable uses were made from a variety of unworthy motives; from ostentation, from a morbid desire of posthumous notoriety, or from hatred to a man's relatives. Such bequests should not be encouraged by the State, as they were now encouraged, by an exemption from taxation, which amounted to a virtual gift of public money. No one would dare formally to propose such a gift. A vast multitude of the institutions which the law considered as charities were entitled to no favour whatever. There were the local charities—

of which he cited several instances—which pauperised and demoralized the neighbourhood for whose benefit they were intended, attracting the idle and dissipated from the neighbouring localities, that they might have a share in the doles. There were other charities like the Clergy Orphan Society, which were generally beneficial—but the classes whom these were intended to relieve had benefited too much by the commercial and fiscal legislation of late years that they need not complain of the very light taxation he proposed to inflict upon them. He applied the same reasoning to the great London Hospitals, which he admitted to be the best of all charities. Finally, he declared that he considered the measure just and salutary, and that it would have approved itself, as it had approved itself to his other colleagues, to him whom they had recently lost.

Justissimus unus

Qui fuit in Teucris et servatissimus equi.

Sir Stafford Northcote said that if Mr. Gladstone's inventive against large classes of charities proved anything, it proved not that their incomes should be taxed, but that they should be confiscated. He denied altogether that an exemption from a tax was equivalent to a grant of public money. Mr. Gladstone seemed to think that if he met a man with £100, and took from him by taxation only £5, he had made him a present of £95. He went into a multitude of details to prove the extremely unfair and oppressive character of the measure, and strongly counselled its withdrawal.—The Chairman having put the question,—The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said it was not his intention to take the sense of the Committee upon the clause.—The remaining clauses, with a few alterations, were then passed.—Some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned.

### TUESDAY, MAY 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No discussion of public interest took place.

### TUESDAY, MAY 5.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Colonel Sykes, Lord C. Paget said that strict orders had been issued that no officer of her Majesty's ships should, under any circumstances, be employed beyond the thirty mile radius from any treaty port in China.

Colonel Dunne inquired what steps had been taken to obtain redress for the cruelties inflicted by the Peruvian Government on Captain White Nutville, a British subject.—Mr. Layard replied that there was no doubt Captain White Nutville had been treated with great brutality, and that the course adopted in the Peruvian courts of justice had been a disgrace to them. The law officers of the Crown having taken the matter into their consideration, had recommended that the sum of £4,500 be demanded as compensation for the injuries this gentleman had sustained; but it appeared that he was not satisfied with this amount, and had sent in a claim for £292,104 to the Foreign Office. The Government had made an offer to submit the matter to arbitration, and it was to be hoped that a result would be arrived at which would be satisfactory to him and his friends.

Mr. Walter moved two resolutions to the effect that the sums voted by Parliament for education ought to be applicable to all poorer schools, not private schools, or carried on for profit, in which the attendance and examination exhibit the results required under the revised code; and that to require the employment of certificated or of pupil-teachers by school managers as indispensable to their participation in the capitation grant is inexpedient, and unjust to the managers of such schools. Stated in few words, the proposition of the hon. member was in substance to extend the grant of 8s. to all children in the schools referred to in his motion who should pass an examination to the satisfaction of the inspectors.—The motion was seconded by Mr. Buxton.—Mr. Lowe said he did not intend to raise any objection to the proposal on the ground of the vested rights of the certificated teachers, but because he believed that if it were agreed to the whole system of national education would degenerate into a mere scramble for public money. He argued that the Government ought not to make a grant to any school where it had not tested the capacity and qualifications of the teacher, and that the advantage of supplying schools with efficient teachers was proved by the experience of the ten years during which the practice had been followed. Moreover, the new revised code was as yet untried; and the employment of uncertificated, that was unknown, teachers would be a premium upon ignorance, and an injustice at once to the public and to the children themselves. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman called upon the House to give the educational department a period of rest and tranquillity; to wait and see the result of the changes already made, and not to unsettle the minds of men upon this important question.—Mr. Dutton supported the motion.—Mr. F. Powell opposed it, but admitted that the standard of education would have to be lowered.—Mr. Salt, as the manager of a school, was prepared notwithstanding the specious arguments of Mr. Walter, to give the revised code a fair trial, and not to hamper the Government in dealing with that which at present was an experimental system.—Mr. Adderley also contended that the existing system should be adhered to, and that no school which did not submit to the three tests now in force, namely, the elementary instruction test, the inspection test, and the test of certified tutorship, ought to receive aid in the shape of a grant of public money. He objected to the motion that it would abolish altogether the two latter tests, and open the Treasury to all schools on the single test of their giving elementary education. It would be the introduction of an exception, and any such exception in the distribution of public grants would prove most mischievous. The right hon. gentleman moved as an amendment that the votes for education ought to be made applicable to schools only of the working classes, but to all of them alike, in the way of proportionate aid to voluntary support, subject to the favourable report of the inspector, and to tests of at least elementary instruction being given in them by teachers in all respects qualified. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Cochrane.—Mr. Henley declared his intention to vote for the motion, believing it to be a simple act of justice that the districts in which the poorer class of schools existed, and which had for the last sixteen or seventeen years contributed their quota to the education grant without complaining, should be allowed to participate in the advantages of that grant. After some observations from Mr. Fuller, Sir M. Farquhar, and Mr. D. Griffith, and explanations by Mr. Walter and Mr. Lowe, the amendment of Mr. Adderley and the first resolution proposed by Mr. Walter were withdrawn. The House then divided on the second resolution, which was negatived by 152 to 117.

Mr. E. P. Bouvier moved for a committee of the whole House upon that portion of the Act of Uniformity which required deans, canons, and prebendaries of chapters, professors and masters of colleges, and others to make a declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England. (Measures relating to religion, trade, or finance must be dealt with



first in Committee of the whole House.) His object was to propose a resolution on which to found a bill for the repeal of that requirement in the case of fellowships, and he asked the House to concur in his motion at the instance of the resident fellows of the University of Cambridge.—Mr. Walpole urged as objections to the proposal of Mr. Bouverie that if it were sanctioned by Parliament the government of the colleges and their endowments might be acquired by those who were not members of the Church of England. Already the Legislature had on two occasions in recent years determined that for the purposes of education the universities should be opened, but that the government of the colleges and the right of receiving endowments ought to be confined to those who professed the religion of the founders; and he hoped the House would not now depart from that principle.—Lord Stanley supported the motion, which he observed not only recognised, but extended the right of self-government on the part of the colleges. It was not likely that the larger colleges would make any change in their regulations for a considerable time, but cases might arise in which men of great ability and eminence would be unable to subscribe the declaration required of them, and it might be very desirable that the smaller colleges should have the power of making an alteration.—Mr. G. Duff supported the motion, which was opposed by Lord R. Cecil, who declared that its effect would be to reduce the discipline and theology of the English universities to the level of that of the universities of Germany.—Lord Palmerston gave his support to the motion, reserving to himself the right of dealing with the proposed bill as might hereafter appear to him expedient. He added that there was a fundamental distinction between admitting persons to the educational advantage of a university and admitting them to form a part of the governing body.—Mr. Bouverie said the bill was intended to deal only with fellowships—not headships.—On a division the motion for going into committee was carried by 157 to 135. The House then went into committee, and leave was given to bring in a bill.

The other business was also disposed of, and the House adjourned at two o'clock.

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 6.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Newdegate moved the second reading of the compromise measure of which he had given notice—a Bill for the Commutation of Church rates. It was opposed by the Dissenting faction, and numbers of the Conservatives walked out of the House to avoid the vote. It was therefore lost—56 to 94. A Bill, of which the second reading was moved by Mr. Alcock, to permit the redemption of Church rates, was lost by 72 to 81.

The Bill for flogging garroters was considered in committee, and several divisions took place, in all of which the opponents of the measure were beaten by great majorities. The bill passed through committee, and the House soon afterwards adjourned.

### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, May 6, 1863.

Our last report closed on a very stagnant market, with much pressure to sell: Fair Dholleras 17½d.

On Thursday, the lowering of the Bank rate to 3 per cent. produced a more cheerful feeling; the sales reached 5,000 bales, and Egyptian, which had been forced off at very low prices the previous day, improved ½d. per lb.

On Friday a more hopeful view was taken of the relations at present existing between this country and the Northern States, and the conviction became stronger that danger of a rupture had passed for the present. Our market accordingly began again to show tokens of life, and the sales reached 7,000 bales, at hardening prices.

On Saturday, with an excellent trade demand, the business reached 10,000 bales, at ½d. advance, and on Monday, with a little excitement, all classes again buying very freely, the sales were run up to 15,000 bales at higher prices.

Yesterday and to-day the demand has continued on a liberal scale, the sales each day 10,000 bales, at steady prices. The nature and extent of the business done in Manchester yesterday was, however, sufficient to prevent a further rise here, and we close steady, at ½d. to ¾d. advance on the depressed sales of last week, except Egyptian, which are 1½d. dearer. We quote Middling Orleans, 22d.; Fair Egyptian, 21½d.; Fair Dhollera and Omrawatte, 17½d. to 17¾d.

In cotton to arrive, a considerable business has been done, and 17½d. has been paid for April and May Dhollera and Omrawattees.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, May 5, 1863.

Business has been a little more cheerful, and of a more satisfactory character during the past week than has been the case during the two previous weeks. The Indian demand continues to increase for cloth more especially, and, as a consequence, more manufacturers are commencing work again and to order.

Home trade yarns have been in steady demand, and those qualities suitable for the manufacture of India shirtings, jaconets, and mulls, have been most in request.

There is no alteration to quote in the prices of Nos. 40s, 50s, and 60s mule for India shipment, spinners being well under contract, and delivering from day to day, as the yarn comes off the spindles.

For cloth there has also been a steady demand, and where such makes as 5½s, 6½s, and 7½s. shirting, also Jaconets and Mulls could be met with in stock, extreme prices were offered.

To-day there has been a good demand for all kinds of Indian fabrics, and an advance of 3d. per piece has been obtained for the lighter makes of India shirtings. 39 in. and 44 in. Jaconets have realized an advance of 1½d. per piece, whilst 44 in. green end Mulls have fetched 3d. per piece advance on last week's quotations.

Madapollams are inquired for, and orders are placed with manufacturers to make at 2s. 3d. per lb., a price that will just about pay.

T-cloths and some particular description of printers are also being bought up in small quantities at full rates.

Home trade yarns, from Nos. 32s to 60s twist and pincoys, have been sold at an advance of ½d. per lb. on last Friday's quotations; but, as many spinners held out for a greater advance, not quite so much business has resulted as might have, had their pretensions been not quite so extreme.

The Continental shippers continue to buy small quantities of water twist, in Nos. 16s to 24s bundles; throstle warps, from 24s to 28s; also No. 30s pincoys in casks; but in most cases their clients still limit them in price to such a degree, that it is difficult for them to place the orders in hand.

### SOUTHERN WAR NEWS.

MOBILE, March 21.—The schooner Relief, from Havana, grounded on the South shore, under the guns of Fort Morgan, on Saturday last. Her cargo will be saved.

VICKSBURG, March 25.—At 5 o'clock this morning four boats were seen advancing towards the upper batteries. A vigorous fire was opened upon them, driving back two, when the other two passed under a raking fire, almost every shot taking effect. One received a shot in the steam chest, compelling the crew to desert her; in fifteen minutes she filled and sank. Part of her crew escaped to the opposite shore. The boat that escaped is supposed to be the Benton. She was badly disabled—one shot penetrating her steam-drum and disabling her so badly that the Albatross came up to tow her out of danger of our gunboats.

PANOLA, March 24.—A copy of the *Memphis Bulletin* has been received. Louisville is to be fortified, and the citizens sympathising with the Confederacy paroled.

The steamer Hetty Gilmore and crew was captured by the Confederates on Green river. The Confederates had occupied Oretion, Kentucky.

A despatch states that Fort Pemberton cannot be attacked by infantry. The Confederate force is estimated at 6,000. It is stated that if the fort was once passed, no danger is apprehended between there and Yazoo City. The next news, it was supposed, would be flattering.

The sale of fire-arms has been prohibited in Indianapolis.

Five small boats have arrived in the Cold Water with reinforcements. The position of the enemy is unknown. The Mississippi is falling at Memphis. The *Appeal* says the intelligence that the enemy has appeared again in front of Fort Pemberton is confirmed. On Monday afternoon firing took place; the result is unknown.

CHATTANOOGA, March 26.—Passengers from Wartrace report that the enemy has burned the railroad and turnpike bridges across the Tennessee River, three and a-half miles this side of Murfreesboro'. It is now evident the enemy intends making a flank movement, extending his line from Columbia towards the Tennessee River.

CHATTANOOGA, March 27.—The *Daily Rebel* has received the following despatch:—"Columbia, Tennessee, March 26.—General Forrest captured yesterday at Brentwood, nine miles in the rear of Franklin, 800 prisoners, arms, ammunition, &c., destroying a large house filled with commissary stores, burnt the railroad bridge, tore up the track, and captured seventeen loaded wagons."

The official report of General Morgan of his late fight states that it lasted six hours, and that he drove the enemy two miles. The enemy were afterwards heavily reinforced and held their position. General Morgan says his loss in officers was heavy.

A special to the *Register* from Wartrace, March 27, says: "Daily skirmishing takes place on the Shelbyville turnpike between the enemy's videttes, four and a-half miles from Murfreesboro', and our pickets at Stone's River. It is believed that the enemy is moving a heavy force on our left flank in the direction of Columbia. His object is doubtless to form a junction with Grant, and cause the Confederates to fall back to Bridgeport."

The enemy are devastating the country, burning fences, killing stock, forcing off negroes, and stealing generally.

RICHMOND, March 28.—The following official despatch was received by the War Department this morning:

TULLAHOMA, Tennessee, March 27.—To General S. Cooper:—General Van Dorn reports that General Forrest made a successful visit to Brentwood with his division, burnt the bridge, destroyed and took all the property and arms, and captured 800 prisoners, including thirty-five officers. He lost three killed and five wounded. (Signed) BRAXTON BRAGG.

M'INNIVILLE, March 28.—Captain Lawrence Jones, of General Morgan's command, last week crossed the Cumberland river, and captured a train of cars near Bowling Green, Kentucky, with a large number of Federal officers. He also succeeded in getting \$25,000 in funds.

MOBILE, March 28.—Despatches from Ponchatula, the 28th, state that our forces fell back on the 26th, and the enemy entered the town. On the 27th we drove them out three miles. The Yankees burnt the depot, and fired several houses. The flames were extinguished to-day. Our pickets are drawn in, and a fight is imminent.

A special despatch to the *Appeal*, from Panola, the 26th, says that a gentleman just from Memphis brings information of the permanent occupation of North-Western Mississippi, and the erection of fortifications at Hernando has been determined upon by the enemy. They are repairing the railroad, and their purpose may be considered fixed. Fifteen boats, carrying reinforcements, met the retreating fleet in the Tallahatchie River, near Leopolis, when both fleets together descended the river. The reinforcing boats have ambulances, field artillery, and other appliances, indicating a purpose to attempt land operations. One gunboat is at the mouth of the Coldwater, repairing damages. The weather is becoming settled.

Major Blythe has just sent in a batch of prisoners. MOBILE, March 30.—Advices from Okalona say the enemy are marching south in Tennessee, devastating farms—their supposed aim to be on Northern Alabama.

PANOLA, MISSISSIPPI, March 30.—Hurst's Yankee cavalry continue their depredations near Ripley, Mississippi. The report of the burning of a portion of the town has been confirmed.

VICKSBURG, April 2.—The enemy made a reconnaissance up the Yazoo River yesterday, and threw a few shells at Snyder's Bluff.

There is nothing in sight below.

In the storm of Saturday night last, March 29th, the steamer Vicksburg, lying at the Vicksburg landing, broke from her moorings, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The Vicksburg was one of the finest boats on the river, although her machinery had been taken out, and she will consequently be of but little use to the Yankees.

It is reported that the disabled Yankee boat *Monarch*, which passed our batteries and got below, had up steam yesterday, but nothing certain is known, though it is believed that the enemy is trying to work in behind the levee. She unfortunately happens to lie beyond the reach of our guns.

CHATTANOOGA, April 4.—Nothing additional has been received from the front this evening. Skirmishers with the enemy's pickets are of daily occurrence, but a general engagement is not considered imminent. The enemy's freight train ran off the track near Cumberland Mountain, on the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, to-day. No lives were lost. Bob Johnson, son of Andrew Johnson, is reported captured by our cavalry.

PORT HUDSON, April 4.—Banks's army has fallen back. One division is at Bat in Rouge; the rest have gone down the river.

Chicago dates of the 27th state that great consternation prevails in Kentucky, in consequence of the reported advance of the Confederates on Lexington, Kentucky. Troops were reaching Cincinnati freely. Burnside is commanding, but is too sick to take the field.

SENATORIA, April 4.—Richardson's guerrillas fought a regiment of Yankees at Summerville, killing and wounding eighty. Five thousand troops were shipped from Memphis, ostensibly to Vicksburg. After nightfall, however, they went North.

VICKSBURG, April 4.—Everything is quiet to-day; but few boats are in sight. There is nothing new from Yazoo. A flag of truce was sent down to-day by the enemy. Its mission has not yet been published.

CHATTANOOGA, April 5.—The enemy's column of 15,000, that was approaching M'Innville, has fallen back; our troops having outflanked them. Another column of the enemy is reported approaching Columbia. Our sick and baggage have been ordered to the rear, preparatory for a battle. A battle is considered imminent before the week closes.

RICHMOND, April 5.—Captain Mosby, with fifty men, was attacked by 150 Yankees at Dranesville, Virginia, on the 1st of April. Captain Mosby's first fire brought down some thirty of the enemy. The rest fled. Mosby pursued and captured seventy-nine, who arrived here last evening. They belong to the 1st Vermont Cavalry.

CHATTANOOGA, April 6.—General John H. Morgan was attacked by the Federals at Liberty, on Friday, and driven back to Snow's Hill, where he held his position and the enemy retired. Our troops, under Colonel Smith, were repulsed at Woodbury, on Saturday, and fell back to within twelve miles of M'Innville, with a loss of one killed and eight wounded.

KNOXVILLE, April 6.—Parties from Kentucky report that Pegram's command was attacked two miles beyond Somerset, on Monday, 23d ult., by an overwhelming force of infantry and cavalry. After a desperate hand-to-hand fight Pegram fell back six miles, the enemy not pursuing. The Confederate Government agents brought out a large lot of cattle.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, April 6.—General Chalmers, on Friday last, drove the enemy's pickets within five miles of Memphis, killing two and capturing one.

FORT PEMBERTON, April 5.—The enemy commenced embarking last night, and this morning are in rapid retreat. We shelled their camps and transports, and made a reconnaissance in force from the left flank, alarming them much. We also fired into a transport crowded with troops, and disabled the boat.

SENATORIA, MISSISSIPPI, April 6.—The enemy was out in strong force yesterday, but all have gone back.

New Orleans reports of the 1st inst. say that Banks crossed with ten thousand men at Donaldsonville, and has gone down Bayou Plaquemine to reinforce Weitzel in an attack on the Tchec country.

OKALONA, MISSISSIPPI, April 6.—The Yankees at Corinth are preparing for a movement of some kind, either a raid or an evacuation. Sutlers are selling their entire stock to Southern men and leaving.

### YANKEE GUNBOATS REPULSED ON THE TENNESSEE.

CHATTANOOGA, April 2.—The Yankee gunboats on the Tennessee River have been driven back by our sharpshooters. Two iron-clads endeavoured to land at Tusculum this morning at daylight, and were attacked by our cavalry outposts. Heavy cannonading ensued, but it was ineffectual, and the effort to land the party was unsuccessful. The iron-clads then backed down the river and retired.

No battle in front. Heavy skirmishing at Unionville to-day. Passengers by the afternoon train report the capture of several wagons and prisoners on Wednesday.

Seven hundred and fifty-two prisoners, captured by Forrest at Brentwood, reached here this evening.

CHATTANOOGA, April 3, 5 P.M.—Major Dick M'Cann, with 100 men, attacked a Federal train on the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad, within nine miles of Nashville, and killed forty-two, and wounded sixty-seven of the enemy. The loss on our side was one killed and three wounded. The party also captured a number of wagons, &c., and returned in safety.

### CAPTURE OF THE YANKEE GUNBOAT DIANA.

RICHMOND, April 4.—The following official despatch was received here this morning:—

Head-quarters near Berwick Bay,

March 28th, via Natchez, April 31st.

To General Cooper,—I have the honour to report the capture of the Federal gunboat *Diana*, at this point, to-day. She mounts five heavy guns. The boat is not seriously injured, and will be immediately put in service. The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is 150.

(Signed) R. TAYLOR, Brigadier-General.

### GENERAL BEAUREGARD'S ORDERS BEFORE THE BATTLE.

Head-quarters Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Charleston, South Carolina, April 5.

General Orders, No. 53.

I. Field and company officers are specially enjoined to instruct their men, under all circumstances, to fire with deliberation at the feet of the enemy; they will thus avoid over-shooting, and besides, wounded men give more trouble to our adversary than his dead, as they have to be taken from the field.

II. Officers in command must be cool and collected, in action hold their men in hand, and caution them against useless, aimless firing. The men must be instructed and required each one to single out his mark. It was the deliberate sharp-shooting of our forefathers in the Revolution of 1776, and at New Orleans in 1815, which made them so formidable against the odds with which they were engaged.

III. In the beginning of a battle, except by troops deployed as skirmishers, the fire by file will be avoided; it excites the men, and renders their subsequent control difficult; fire by wing or company should be resorted to instead. During the battle the officers and non-commissioned officers must keep the men in the ranks, enforce obedience, and encourage and stimulate them if necessary.

IV. Soldiers must not be permitted to quit the ranks to strip or rob the dead, nor even to assist in removing our own dead, unless by special permission, which shall only be given



when the action has been decided. The surest way to protect our wounded is to drive the enemy from the field; the most pressing, highest duty is to win the victory.

V. Before the battle, the quarter-master of the division will make all the necessary arrangements for the immediate transportation of the wounded from the field. After consultation with the medical officers, he will establish the Ambulance Depot in the rear, and give his assistants the necessary instructions for the efficient service of the ambulance waggon and other means of transportation.

VI. The ambulance depot, to which the wounded are to be carried or directed for immediate treatment, should be established at the most convenient building nearest the field of battle. A red flag marks the place and way to it.

VII. Before and immediately after the battle the roll of each company will be called, and absentees must strictly account for their absence from the ranks. To quit their standard on the battlefield, under fire, under the pretence of removing or aiding the wounded, will not be permitted; any one persisting in it will be shot on the spot, and whosoever shall be found to have quitted the field, or his regiment or company, without authority, will be regarded and proclaimed as a coward, and dealt with accordingly.

VIII. The active ambulances will follow the troops to succour the wounded, and to remove them to the depots. Before the engagement Infantry detachments will also be detailed and organised of three men (the least effective under arms,) from each Company, whose duties will be hereinafter prescribed.—These men must not loiter about the depots, but will return promptly to the field as soon as possible.

IX. The Infantry detachments will be under the immediate orders of the medical officers on the field. This corps is to go upon the field unarmed, except the non-commissioned officers, who are to protect the corps against stragglers and marauders. The members will be provided with one litter to every two men, and each with a badge by which he can be easily distinguished from the rest of the command; also with leather shoulder straps, a canteen of water, a tin cup, a haversack—containing one half pound of lint, twenty-four bandages, two long and two short splints of wood, sponges and tourniquets, and a pint bottle of alcoholic stimulants.

X. It shall be the duty of this corps, under the immediate direction of the Assistant-Surgeon of the Regiment, accompanied by the ambulances or waggons, to follow up promptly the action, administering to the immediate wants of the wounded, by giving stimulants, checking hemorrhage, and the temporary splinting of fractures.

XI. Those who are too much disabled to walk will be removed to some ambulance depots, previously agreed upon, where they will be left in charge of the Surgeon of the Regiment. The removal of the wounded from the field will devolve upon the Infantry Corps, and all men straggling from the ranks under pretext of aiding this corps will be summarily dealt with; to which end, the medical officers, in charge, and the non-commissioned officers are specially required to report to the regimental commanders of the stragglers—their names, and the company to which they may belong.

XII. The Assistant-Surgeon in charge of the Infantry Corps should provide himself with a pocket case, ligatures, needles, pins, chloroform, morphia, brandy or whisky, tourniquets, bandages, lint, and splints. To obviate the shock to the nervous system, to suppress hemorrhage, to put fractures in some temporary apparatus, so as to facilitate the removal of the wounded, should be his first care. This last is best accomplished by placing under the fractured limb a piece of old linen or cotton, of the form of a pocket-handkerchief, on the opposite and outer edges of this are placed the splints, which are rolled up in it, towards the limb, on each side, until the fracture is snugly supported in the intervening space; the whole to be secured by two or three bands of tape or of bandage.

XIII. The Regimental Surgeon should, before an action, satisfy himself, by personal inspection, that all the means and appliances for carrying the wounded are at hand; give instruction to the Infantry Corps as to the application of a tourniquet to restrain dangerous hemorrhage; establish depots for the wounded, under the supervision of the Medical Director, and render to the men of his regiment all necessary surgical aid—performing there all operations that are required; and he will be held responsible that he has at his disposition all the means, supplies, and appliances for the proper performance of the service enjoined, or has taken all proper measures to secure them. He will instruct all detailed to assist him; not to allow ambulances to be monopolized by wounded officers, to the exclusion of others. He will forbid any of the Infantry Corps to hold officers' horses on the field, or to do anything but what strictly appertains to their duty. The Surgeon should not devote himself exclusively to a wounded officer, nor leave his post to accompany him to the rear.

XIV. Wounds will be dressed and operations performed, as far as practicable, on the field, and patients made as comfortable as circumstances will admit, for transportation to hospitals in the interior.

XV. Surgeons will supply themselves with hospital flags, and will have them attached to their ambulances and placed conspicuously over the field infirmaries and hospitals.

XVI. As soon as possible after an action, Surgeons will transmit to the Medical Director a return of casualties.

XVII. The material for the badges and for the ambulance flags, prescribed in Paragraph VI. of this order, will be provided by the Quartermaster's Department.

By Command of General Beauregard.

(Signed)

THOMAS JORDAN,

Chief of Staff.

April 6.

## SOUTHERN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF CHARLESTON.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, April 8.)

The day of trial for Charleston has at length arrived. The battle, so long threatened, was begun on Tuesday afternoon. The result of that conflict has increased the confidence felt in our ability to frustrate the devices of the foe, and protect our fair city from the pollution of his presence. As no mind was disquieted with apprehension by the boastful threats and formidable preparations of the enemy, so now, after the repulse of his first attempt, every heart is sanguine of complete and brilliant success.

We have so often been disappointed—the enemy has so often and persistently failed to redeem his promise concerning the nest of the rebellion—that the booming of the signal gun, and the announcement that the battle had actually begun, was a relief to the suspense under which our community had so long suffered. The cheerful manner in which the military had uniformly spoken of the conflict between our batteries and the

turreted monsters, had emboldened the hearts of the people to such a degree that, when it was positively known that the engagement was opened, there came a thrill of joy to every heart, and the countenance of all declared plainly that a signal victory over the mailed vessels was reckoned upon without doubt or misgiving.

Information received from mysterious sources caused the General in command of this district to expect an attack at an early day. And that intelligence received confirmation on Sunday morning. On that day four Monitors, the Ironsides, and thirty vessels of various sizes, were seen off the bar. Four Monitors and thirty-five wooden vessels were added to the fleet on the following day; thirty-five vessels, for the most part transports, appeared in the Stono, and the enemy landed a force of about 6,000 men on Coles' and Battery Islands. These facts, with other indications, led General Beauregard to count upon an attack on Tuesday, and the expectations of that sagacious and watchful General were realised.

The atmosphere early on Tuesday morning was misty, but as the day advanced the haze lightened, and the Monitors and the Ironsides were seen lying off Morris' Island. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon a despatch from Colonel Rhett, commandant of Fort Sumter, informed General Beauregard that five Monitors and the Ironsides were approaching the Fort. The fleet were seen rounding the point of Morris' Island, the Keokuk in the advance. When the double-turreted monster, the most formidable of its class, came within range, Fort Sumter opened upon her with a broadside. They kept on their way and formed in line of battle off the Fort, at a distance of about 2,000 yards.

At three p.m. the action was opened by Fort Moultrie firing the first gun. Fort Sumter opened ten minutes later. Battery Bee, Forts Wagner and Beauregard, and the Battery at Cummins' Point, also opened, firing by battery. The fleet fired with great rapidity; our forts and batteries replied with spirit and singular accuracy. The Ironsides took position to the left of Fort Sumter, directing all her guns at that fort, and throwing shells exclusively.

It was manifest that the Ironsides was appointed to test the strength of the fort, whose reduction was the inauguration of the terrific contest now going on. Fort Sumter acknowledged the compliment of the preference by pouring the contents of her biggest guns into the sides of that pride of the Yankee navy, and she was not treated with contempt by the other forts and batteries.

About forty-five minutes after the engagement began, steam was seen issuing, in dense volumes, from the Ironsides, and she withdrew from the action, taking position to the south of Fort Sumter, but remaining a silent spectator of the exciting scene. It is believed she was seriously damaged.

The firing from our forts became more and more accurate as the engagement proceeded. The shot and shell fell thickly in the midst of the hostile fleet, and the smoke stacks of every one of them were struck several times. Fort Sumter now appeared to be the chief aim of all the enemy's iron-clads.

The Keokuk, a double-turreted iron-clad, and considered by the Yankees the most formidable of their terrible monsters, received a large share of attention from our gallant gunners. She occupied the post of honour, and in accordance with the custom of war it was made the post of danger. She paid dearly for her reputation, having been hit several times. At about five o'clock she followed the example of the Ironsides, and withdrew, evidently seriously crippled.

The other Monitors continued the fight, till forty-five minutes past five o'clock, when they steamed away, and came to anchor off Morris' Island.

During the battle a drummer boy, named Ahrens, was killed at Fort Sumter, and five men wounded, two severely in the head, the others slightly. One man came to his death from the falling of the flag-staff of Fort Moultrie. Two houses on Sullivan's Island, on the back beach, were struck, one of which was demolished. A shot passed through Fort Sumter's flag.

Colonel Rhett was in command of Fort Sumter, Colonel Butler of Fort Moultrie, Captain Sitgraves of Fort Beauregard, Lieut.-Colonel Sinkins of Battery Bee, Major Huger of Battery Wagner, and Lieutenant Lesene, with a detachment from Fort Sumter, of the Battery on Cummins' Point.

Fort Sumter was hit thirty-four times, but received no damage.

We learn that six men belonging to Captain Mathews' Artillery Company, stationed at Battery Wagner, were wounded. Two of these have since died. Two were very seriously wounded, and it was thought one would die before morning. The other two, including an officer, were but slightly wounded.

The last gun was fired by the enemy at half-past five p.m. Three iron-clads, one supposed to be the Keokuk, were seen about six o'clock going South, apparently in tow of a large steamer. The others were all outside the bar. The Ironsides was struck in the stern by a rifled shot from Battery Wagner.

There were no casualties at Cummins' Point Battery.

The practice was admirable, and reflects great credit upon officers and men. All who took part in the battle performed their duties with ardour, skill, and fidelity. Their behaviour and the accuracy with which they used their guns, assure us that they are sufficient for the important work assigned them, and furnish us with strong grounds upon which to bottom our hope of a decisive and glorious victory. When they come again, and nearer, the iron-sheathed vessels will fare worse.

It is expected the enemy will renew the attack to-day.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, April 8th.)

At last the long period of doubt and delay is at an end, and this goodly city, girdled with the fiery circle of its batteries, stands confronting the most formidable Armada that the hands of men have ever put afloat.

The first scene in the novel drama of the war, which we trust is to add new lustre to the fame of Charleston, has closed. Let us render thanks to the Lord of Hosts that the result thus far has been one of proud triumph to our country. As yet, however, we have but entered upon the ordeal. It will be for the next few days to tell the tale of our sad disaster or complete success.

In view of the reticence which (for reasons of military policy) have heretofore marked our allusions to the presence of the iron-clad fleet, a brief review of the events of the week will not be out of place. About noon on Sunday last the first intelligence was flashed to the city from Fort Sumter, that the turrets of the far-famed Monitor gunboats were looming up against the south-eastern horizon. During the afternoon the entire fleet hove in sight. Eight Monitors, besides the frigate Ironsides, and twenty-seven wooden war vessels took up their position just beyond the bar. As the news became bruited about the city very many of our non-combatant population (previously incredulous of danger) made hasty preparations to

depart, and every train that has left the city has gone heavily laden with the eleventh hour refugees and their effects.

Sunday night passed quietly by. Monday morning brought us reports of the movements of transports on the Stono river, and the debarkation of a considerable force of Yankee troops on Coles' Island. But throughout Monday and Monday night the armoured fleet held its position beyond the bar. On Tuesday morning it was observed that another Monitor had arrived, making a force of no less than ten iron-clad vessels, including the Ironsides.

At 2 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, a despatch from Fort Sumter announced that these ten vessels had crossed the bar, and were cautiously steaming inward—the foremost one having at that time reached a point about 3,000 yards from the Fort. The next news was brought to us, an hour later, by the dull detonation of the first gun from Fort Moultrie, which was immediately answered by a heavy report and a cloud of white smoke from the turret of one of the Monitors. At ten minutes after 3, the enemy having come within range, Fort Sumter opened her batteries, and, almost simultaneously, the white smoke could be seen puffing from the low sand-hills of Morris and Sullivan's Islands, indicating that the Beauregard Battery on the left, and Battery Wagner on the extreme right, had become engaged. Five of the iron-clads, forming in line of battle in front of Fort Sumter, maintained a very rapid return fire, occasionally hurling their 15-inch shot and shell against Fort Moultrie and the minor batteries, but all directing their chief efforts against the east face of Fort Sumter. Gradually, but visibly, the distance between the attacking vessels and the Fort was lessened, and as the enemy drew nearer the firing became hot and almost continuous.

About half-past 4 o'clock the battle became fierce and general. The scene at that hour, as viewed from the battery promenade, was truly grand. Battery Bee had now mingled the hoarse thunder of its guns in the universal din, and the whole expanse of the harbour entrance, from Sullivan's Island to Cummings' Point, became enveloped in the smoke and constant flashes of the conflict. The iron-clads kept constantly shifting their position; but, whichever way they went, their ports, always turned towards the battlements of Sumter, poured forth their terrible projectiles against the walls of that famous stronghold. Ever and anon, as the huge shot went ricocheting towards the mark, the water was dashed up in vast sheets of spray, towering far above the parapet of the fort, while the wreaths of smoke constantly ascending from the barbette guns showed how actively the artillerymen of the post were discharging their duties. In the foreground our own staunch little iron-clads—the Palmetto State and Chicora—could be seen steaming energetically up and down their chosen fighting position, evidently impatient to participate in the fray.

Up to this time the frigate Ironsides had borne a very conspicuous part in the fight. Her long hull lay at the distance, apparently, of a mile from our batteries, and her tremendous broadsides were more than once fitly answered by broadsides from the fort. It soon became apparent that she was unable to stand the severe fire directed against her. Steaming rapidly southward she gave Fort Sumter a few parting shots and withdrew from the action. The Keokuk, a double-turreted Monitor, soon followed her example, and before five o'clock the fire had evidently begun to slacken. The remaining Monitors, however, still kept up the bombardment, and our forts and batteries replied with undiminished alacrity. At a quarter after five p.m. the Monitors began to retire, and at half-past five the enemy fired the last shot of the engagement.

Gratifying as were the general results of the fight, the late hour at which it closed precluded the possibility of our receiving the full details from the forts. A despatch from Fort Sumter informs us that the Ironsides and Keokuk were both very roughly handled and retired seriously injured. The Keokuk had her flag shot down, her boat shot away, three holes in her smokestack and a portion of her bow shot off. The practice of our gunners was most creditable. Nearly every shot struck some one of the iron-clads, but with what effect is not known. Fort Sumter was struck thirty-four times. One of our guns was dismounted, but otherwise the fort is in good condition. Fort Moultrie was uninjured. The casualties at Fort Sumter were a drummer boy, named Ahrens, mortally wounded, two men severely wounded, and three others slightly injured. At Fort Moultrie one man was accidentally hurt by a fall from the flagstaff, on which he was replacing our flag, which had been shot away. We learn that he afterwards died. Two small houses on the back beach of Sullivan's Island were demolished by the enemy's fire.

After their withdrawal from the action the enemy's iron-clads anchored off Morris Island, where they now lie. Many think that the fight will be renewed at daybreak this morning; but up to the time at which we write (3 a.m.) all is quiet. The reports we get from Stono river say that the enemy's transports still remain in the stream. Doubtless the Yankee generals intend, before venturing upon a land attack, to await the issue of the struggle between their ships and our batteries.

## SOME OF THE BENEFITS OF THE WAR.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, April 3.)

Every heart breathes a fervent prayer for peace. The signs that furnish grounds for the hope that the night of our tribulation will shortly give place to the morning of joy, are scanned with eager and intent gaze. And so ardent is our desire for relief from the burden of woes under which we have been groaning through so many months, that we do not always take the pains to examine the nature of those acts and events that animate our hopes.

We are no longer subject to the annoyance arising from the expectation of receiving aid from any European Power. That expectation has been so often disappointed, and has mortified, angered and injured us to so great a degree that we are not moved by the most plausible reports concerning the action of foreign nations in regard to our Confederacy.

We are at last awake to the fact that we have to depend upon the means and instruments which Heaven has conferred upon us for the achievement of our independence. In the course of this conflict it has been demonstrated that, with the blessing of God, we are equal to the work in which we are engaged. Our sufficiency for the momentous undertaking has been shown to the satisfaction both of ourselves and of communities across the water, and our enemies have been forced to admit the indisputable fact.

The most pure, intelligent, unselfish and resolute patriot of us all would have rejoiced with exceeding great joy over the peaceable adjustment of our difficulties, or over the return of peace, a short time after hostilities broke out. This conflict has been accompanied with evils of dire magnitude. No war that ever crimsoned the soil with human blood produced more suffering, in so large an extent of territory, than has followed



the march of this terrific contest. But it has not been without large benefits, which could only be attained through the instrumentality of precisely such a war as the one whose miseries we are now enduring—whose dangers we are now confronting.

Even at the present time, with the power of our foe undiminished, and his heart all on fire with devilish hatred, while he is developing with gigantic energy and unconquerable will, stupendous schemes whose successful accomplishment involves the infliction of more horrible calamities than any we have yet been called upon to suffer, so manifest are some of the good fruits of this bloody struggle, that in spite of grievous hardships, trying sacrifices, heavy losses, overwhelming sorrows, we do not regret that the war has not come to an end.

It was necessary that we should make good our claim to the high position among national powers our character, our abilities, the race we belong to, and the mission we, as a people, are ordained to fulfil, entitle us to occupy. We have vindicated that right, and although we have not been formally admitted into the family of nations, the most mighty States feel that we are a power that they must some day recognise and respect. When those nations do extend the right hand of fellowship to the Southern Confederacy the occasion will not be marred by any feeling of obligation, and we shall have the proud satisfaction of knowing that we are a member of the family of nations not by suzerainty, or by privilege, but that we raised ourselves to that place of dignity and honour by our wisdom, valour, fortitude, and energy.

No other agency than the war in progress could have produced a final and complete separation from the United States. The simple establishment of another Government could never have accomplished that end. We should have been a distinct and independent Confederacy only in name. The yoke of bondage to the Yankee race would have remained unbroken. The enterprise which is moving on grandly to its consummation would have ended in a miserable failure, and we, who have won the praise and admiration of the world, should be objects of derision and contempt. The wickedness, baseness, and cruelty of our enemies, have caused us to loath and abhor them, and we would rather be blotted out from existence than sit with them again under the same vine and figtree, while the victories that have illustrated our generalship and courage, give us abundant assurance that we shall eventually be gloriously triumphant.

Other apprehensions may haunt the bosom of the timid and the desponding, but no heart in this Southern land, no matter how sordid and craven, ever indulges for a moment the desire of putting an end to our troubles by re-uniting the ties that bound us to the hated Yankee. Our enemies themselves admit that the Union is dissolved for ever, and they are urging this war, not with the expectation of compelling us to be confederate with them again, but to gratify their hatred, malice, and revenge.

These two objects are among those incalculably important ends which the war has enabled us to accomplish, and which we could not have attained by any other means. The contemplation of these will yield us consolation and comfort, and render us the better able to bear the woes that are the unavoidable accompaniments of the struggle, and to do the work to which we are appointed by Heaven.

#### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

The following is the text of the Address issued by President Jefferson Davis, to the people of the Confederate States, a summary of which we gave in our last issue:—

In compliance with the request of Congress, contained in the resolutions (requesting the President to issue an address) passed on the fourth day of the present month, I invoke your attention to the present condition and future prospects of our country, and to the duties which patriotism imposes on us all during this great struggle for our homes and our liberties.

Fully concurring in the views thus expressed by Congress, I confidently appeal to your love of country for aid in carrying into effect the recommendations of your senators and representatives. We have reached the close of the second year of the war, and may point with just pride to the history of our young Confederacy. Alone, unaided, we have met and overthrown the most formidable combinations of naval and military armaments that the lust of conquest ever gathered together for the conquest of a free people. We began this struggle without a single gun afloat, while the resources of our enemy enabled them to gather fleets which, according to their official list, published in August last, consisted of 437 vessels, measuring 840,086 tons, and carrying 3,026 guns, yet we have captured, sunk, or destroyed a number of these vessels, including two large frigates and one steam sloop of war, while four of her captured steam gunboats are now in our possession, adding to the strength of our little navy, which is rapidly gaining in numbers and efficiency.

To oppose invading forces composed of levies which have already exceeded 1,300,000 men, we had no resources but the unconquerable valour of a people determined to be free; and we were so destitute of military supplies that tens of thousands of our citizens were reluctantly refused admission into the service from our inability to furnish them arms, while for many months the continuation of some of our strongholds owed their safety chiefly to a careful concealment of the fact that we were without a supply of powder for our cannon.

Your devotion and patriotism have triumphed over all these obstacles, and called into existence the munitions of war, the clothing and the subsistence which have enabled our soldiers to illustrate their valour on numerous battle-fields, and to inflict crushing defeats on successive armies, each of which our arrogant foe fondly imagined to be invincible. The contrast between our past and present condition is well calculated to inspire full confidence in the triumph of our arms. At no previous period of the war have our forces been so numerous, so well organized, and so thoroughly disciplined, armed, and equipped as at present. The season of high water, on which our enemies relied to enable their fleets of gunboats to penetrate into our country and devastate our homes, is fast passing away; yet our strongholds on the Mississippi still bid defiance to the foe, and months of costly preparations for their reduction have been spent in vain. Disaster has been the result of their every effort to turn or storm Vicksburg and Fort Hudson, as well as every attack on our batteries on the Red River, the Tallahatchie, and other navigable streams. Within a few weeks the falling waters and the increasing heats of summer will complete their discomfiture, and compel their baffled and defeated forces to the abandonment of expeditions on which was based their chief hope of success in effecting our subjugation.

We must not forget, however, that the war is not yet ended, and that we are still confronted by powerful armies and

threatened by numerous fleets, and that the Government that controls those fleets and armies is driven to the most desperate effort to effect the unholy purpose in which it has thus far been defeated. It will use its utmost energy to avert this impending doom, so fully merited by the atrocities it has committed, the savage barbarities which it has encouraged, and the crowning attempt to excite a servile population to the massacre of our wives, our daughters, and our helpless children. With such a contest before us there is but one danger which the Government of your choice regards with apprehension; and to avert this danger it appeals to the never-failing patriotism and spirit which you have exhibited since the beginning of the war.

The very unfavourable season, the protracted droughts of last year, reduced the harvests on which we depend far below an average yield, and the deficiency was, unfortunately, still more marked in the northern part of our Confederacy, where supplies were specially needed for the army. If, through a confidence in an early peace, which may prove delusive, our fields should now be devoted to the production of cotton and tobacco, instead of grain and live stock, and other articles necessary for the subsistence of the people and army, the consequences may prove serious, if not disastrous, especially should this present season prove as unfavourable as the last. Your country, therefore, appeals to you to lay aside all thought of gain, and to devote yourselves to securing your liberties, without which these gains would be valueless. It is true that the wheat harvest in the more southern States, which will be gathered next month, promises an abundant yield; but, even if this promise be fulfilled, the difficulty of transportation, enhanced as it has been by an unusually rainy winter, will cause embarrassments in military operations and sufferings among the people, should the crops in the middle and northern portions of the Confederacy prove deficient. But no uneasiness may be felt in regard to a mere supply of bread for men. It is for the large amount of corn and forage required in the raising of live stock, and the supplies of the animals used in military operations, too bulky for distant transportation; and in them the deficiency of the last harvest was mostly felt. Let your fields be devoted exclusively to the production of corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food for man and beast; let corn be sown broadcast for fodder in immediate proximity to railroads, rivers, and canals, and let all your efforts be directed to the prompt supply of these articles in the districts where our armies are operating. You will thus add greatly to their efficiency, and furnish the means without which it is impracticable to make those prompt and active movements which have hitherto stricken terror into our enemies and secured our most brilliant triumphs.

Having thus placed before you, my countrymen, the reasons for the call made on you for aid in supplying the wants of the coming year, I add a few words of appeal in behalf of the brave soldiers now confronting your enemies, and to whom your Government is unable to furnish all the comforts they so richly merit. The supply of meat for the army is deficient. This deficiency is only temporary, for measures have been adopted which will, it is believed, soon enable us to restore the full rations; but that ration is now reduced at times to one-half the usual quantity in some of our armies. It is known that the supply of meat throughout the country is sufficient for the support of all; but the distances are so great, the condition of the roads has been so bad during the five months of winter weather through which we have just passed, and the attempts of grovelling speculators to forestall the market and make money out of the lifeblood of our defenders have so much influenced the withdrawal from sale of the surplus in the hands of the producers, that the Government has been unable to gather full supplies. The Secretary of War has prepared a plan, which is appended to this address, by the aid of which, or some similar means, to be adopted by yourselves, you can assist the officers of the Government in the purchase of the corn, the bacon, the pork, and the beef known to exist in large quantities in different parts of the country. Even if the surplus be less than believed, is it not a bitter and humiliating reflection that those who remain at home, secure from hardship and protected from danger, should be in the enjoyment of abundance, and that their slaves also should have a full supply of food, while their sons, brothers, husbands, and fathers are stinted in the rations on which their health and efficiency depend?

Entertaining no fear that you will either misconstrue the motives of this address, or fail to respond to respond to the call of patriotism, I have placed the facts fully and frankly before you. Let us all unite in the performances of our duty, each in his sphere, and with concerted, persistent, and well-directed effort there seems little reason to doubt that, under the blessings of Him to whom we look for guidance, and who has been to us our shield and strength, we shall maintain the sovereignty and independence of the Confederate States, and transmit to our posterity the heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Executive-office, Richmond, April 10, 1863.

THE CAPTURE OF THE DIANA.—The Federals give the following account of the capture of the steamer Diana, which has, according to telegraph advices, been destroyed by the Confederates:—Port Hudson, April 4. The *New Orleans Era* of the 2nd inst. contains the particulars of the capture of the Federal gunboat Diana, on Sunday last, a few miles above Brashear City, on Atchafalaya Bayou, by a portion of Sibley's command. It says: "The Diana was commanded by Captain Peterson, and had aboard Company A, 12th Connecticut, and Company F, 16th New York—in all one hundred and twenty officers, privates and sailors, all of whom fell into the hands of the Confederates, together with the boat. She mounted one thirty-four pound Parrott, two thirty-two smooth bores, and two twelve pounder guns. The boat was badly damaged. The report of the engagement at Atchafalaya was distinctly heard at Brashear City. General Weitzel commanding immediately sent the gunboat Calhoun to assist the Diana, but having no pilot, the Calhoun grounded and came near sharing the same fate. A south wind raised the water and released the Calhoun. The Confederate loss was unknown. The Federals lost three officers and two privates killed.

ONE of the greatest wants of the Confederate Medical Department is opium and its various preparations. The Southern papers abound in paragraphs, appealing to the ladies and others to cultivate the garden poppy to supply the want. The mode of preparation is to slice the capsules and collect the juice on plates or glass, dry it, and forward it to the nearest medical purveyor, for conversion into the required medicine.

THE author of the celebrated lines "All Quiet Along the Potomac," which have been so extensively reproduced in English newspapers, is Lamar Fontaine.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

March 31.—The Senate to-day passed the Senate Bills—increasing the pay of Chaplains in the Army; increasing the compensation of route agents and special agents of the Post-office Department; the Bill to provide and organize a general staff for armies in the field; to prevent the absence of officers and soldiers without leave, and the Bill to authorise newspapers to be mailed to soldiers free of charge.

The House agreed to substitute its own Exemption Bill for that of the Senate, but adjourned without coming to a vote on its passage.

April 1.—In the Senate, the House Bill to abolish flogging in the army passed, with an amendment; also, the House Bill to reorganize the navy; also, the Senate Bill to increase the number of military courts to attend the army in the field.

April 2.—In the Senate, the Bill to establish the proposed mail across the Mississippi River, was passed. Several other unimportant bills were passed.

In the House of Representatives the Bill from the Senate to repeal the laws allowing of substitutes was rejected.

A joint resolution was adopted to adjourn to the 20th of April.

April 3.—Neither House of Congress was in session to-day, having adjourned on account of the observance of Good Friday.

April 4.—The Act to convert the First Regiment of South Carolina Infantry, now stationed at Fort Sumter, into the Second Regiment of Artillery, recently vetoed by the President, was again passed by a two-thirds vote in favour of the bill.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Mr. Foote introduced a resolution proposing to change the seat of government. The resolution was rejected by an almost unanimous vote.

The bill increasing the pay of soldiers four dollars per month was passed.

#### THE ELECTIONS IN TENNESSEE.

The following letter from Governor Harris, of Tennessee, explains itself:—

To the Editor of the *Winchester (Tennessee) Bulletin*.

Tullahoma, Tennessee, April 3, 1863.

My attention has been called to the following paragraph in your issue of the 21st ultimo:—

It has been settled that there will be no election for Governor in Tennessee, in August next, if the Federal army continue to hold the middle and west sections of that State. By virtue of the constitution, Governor Harris holds his office until his successor is elected.

A similar paragraph appeared in the *Memphis Appeal* of the 27th ult.

Allow me to suggest that it is settled by the constitution of Tennessee that there shall be an election for Governor, Senators, and Representatives, on the first Thursday in August, and there is no power in or out of the State which can change or annul this constitutional requirement.

The election should by all means, and certainly will be held at the time fixed by the constitution. We should, therefore, at the proper time, take all necessary preparatory steps.

Forgetting all the differences of opinion upon minor questions of the past, we should select a good and true man for each position, in whose support all true patriots can cordially unite.

If we will present one, and but one, such candidate in each elective district throughout the State, Federal bayonets cannot prevent the election of sound Southern rights men to the positions of Governor, representatives in Congress and the General Assembly.

The people of that portion of Tennessee within the enemy's lines present the proudest spectacle of heroic firmness in their patriotic devotion to our cause. We may confidently rely upon their cordial co-operation so far as they may be permitted to vote or take part in the election.

But long before August the rivers will have fallen to low water mark, giving us an open field in which to meet the enemy. I feel that I hazard very little in expressing the confident belief that, before the election day, we will have crushed or driven from our State the miserable mercenaries and vandals who have so long plundered and oppressed a brave, true, and patriotic people, leaving every portion of the State free and untrammelled in the exercise of the elective franchise.

Very respectfully,  
ISHAM G. HARRIS.

A FEW gentlemen of Nassau, New Providence, having contributed to the soldiers in Virginia 1,200 Bibles and Testaments, the following is the response of the Board of Managers of the Bible Society of Virginia to their communication:—

Richmond, Virginia, March 2.

To certain Gentlemen of Nassau, Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Gentlemen, your munificent donation of 1,200 Bibles and Testaments to the soldiers in the service of the Confederate States of America, now in Virginia, has been received. They have come most opportunely. Our destitution is very great. Our soldiers, who have been taught under the parental roof to reverence and value the Word of God, and to make it the guide of their life, have exhausted the supply on hand. We had been accustomed to depend upon the American Bible Society for our Bibles, and when this supply was withheld, and we could no longer obtain them, we felt our destitution more keenly than words can describe. For the first time we experienced a famine of the Word of God. It is true, our Confederate Bible Society is actively engaged in endeavouring to supply us. But the want of men and the materials for the work is a serious obstacle in the way. Gentlemen, the sympathy you have manifested for the cause of the South; the kind, generous, Christian spirit which prompted the gift; the seasonable and opportune moment in which they were received; the wants they will relieve, have called forth the warmest acknowledgments and the heartfelt thanks of the Board of Managers of the Bible Society of Virginia. And we, the undersigned, a Committee appointed by the Board of Managers of the Bible Society of Virginia to convey their thanks to you, do in their name express to you our grateful sense of your kindness and Christian sympathy. With sentiments of high consideration,

GEO. WOODBRIDGE,  
CHS. H. READ,  
JAS. A. DUNCAN.

Nassau Guardian.

THE Legislature of Virginia has passed a law prohibiting the cultivation of tobacco in a proportion greater than twenty-five hundred plants for each field hand between the ages of 16 and 55 years, regularly employed as a field hand in such cultivation; and prohibiting any planter from growing a crop of more than 80,000 plants.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C. Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1863.

*Historicus versus Historians.*

ONLY two weeks ago, in commenting upon the deliberate outrages of Admiral Wilkes in the seizures of the Peterhoff and Dolphin, we quoted some very strong language peculiarly applicable to those cases, from the earlier letters of "Historicus." Whatever might be thought of the candour or authority of this writer, his undisguised partiality for the Federal cause, and his notorious advocacy of the policy of a certain section of the Ministry, appeared to us to make him, at least against his own friends, a most unimpeachable witness. Our witness, however, feeling the damaging force of his testimony on a former occasion, and regardless of any other consistency than that of devotion to Mr. Lincoln and Earl Russell, forthwith returns to the box, and makes a fresh deposition. On Thursday last another letter appears in the *Times* over the familiar signature; the last revelation of the inspired prophet of international law is made.

"The pitcher goes to the spring till it breaks," is a homely old adage, illustrated in this instance. This time "Historicus" has gone just the one time too often. Whatever credit may have been allowed him thus far for sincerity of conviction, he has irretrievably lost. Heretofore he navigated boldly and successfully on the varying but impetuous currents of public opinion; last Thursday he was wrecked in his first attempt to stem a tide running counter to his friends' desires. His last letter is in sad contrast to its predecessors. It lacks, *necessitate rei*, the dexterity of reasoning, the conclusiveness of quotation, even the brilliancy of style, which cannot be denied to his former efforts. Instead of the sharp weapons of dialectic gladiatorship, in which "Historicus" must be considered a master, he is forced to resort to the blunt and vulgar ones of personal abuse. The speakers who in both Houses of Parliament gave vent to the public indignation are not refuted, but called bullies and other hard names. On the other hand, "Historicus" cannot be charged with a lack of gratitude, especially that gratitude which is said to consist in "a lively sense of favours to come." He has acknowledged Lord Derby's adoption of some of his views by a complimentary, as well as self-congratulatory, notice in the published volume of his letters, and he has reciprocated in kind Lord Russell's quotation from him in the House of Lords. Evidently, our Ministerial advocate has become emboldened by this twofold but delusive success. His letters on recognition found the public mind in a fusible and plastic state, pleased with the fortunes of the Confederates, which were thought past serious danger, but anxious for any plausible pretext or excuse for avoiding unpleasant and hazardous complications. In this state of the public mind both of the great parties in the State were not sorry to avail themselves, partially and temporarily, of the mode of escape from a pressing necessity, which "Historicus" opportunely presented. He flattered himself that he had converted both to a fixed policy, which if through some evil star were ever adopted as such, would mark the period of the

decline of British prestige and power. Under this delusion, behold what he has dared to propose to the English nation.

"The instructions issued by Mr. Seward," writes "Historicus" in April, 1863, "are strictly in accordance with the law of nations as understood and practised by Great Britain." In January, 1862, when all Europe still thrilled under the astounding impudence of the Trent outrage, he danced to a different tune. "The great maritime nations of England and France," he said then, "cannot afford to have the leading principles of international law confounded by the loose inaccuracies of Mr. Seward. They cannot suffer their trade to be embarrassed and their interests compromised by the American navy acting under instructions of which every line is a blunder." This scarcely seems the language of the same man. Mr. Seward's professions may have been amended; the practice of the Admiral, promoted to that rank for his distinguished services in the Trent affair, and of other subordinates of the Federal Government, assuredly has not. "Historicus" himself seems to have foreseen this, for in 1862 he wrote, "With Seward's for teachers and Wilkeses for pupils, there is no saying how soon we may have another 'Trent affair' on our hands." And when the prophecy is fulfilled, and the apt pupil Wilkes obeys the spirit and not the letter of his teacher Seward's instructions, "Historicus" writes, "I must confess that I see no distinct evidence that even the Federal cruisers have exceeded the ordinary exercise of belligerent rights," and he adds, "still less can I find any proof that, if any such excess has taken place by negligence or design, the Government of America is prepared to justify or to maintain it, or that their Prize Courts are not disposed to do justice to the injured parties." In 1862 "Historicus" had a different conception of belligerent rights, and less implicit faith in the integrity of the Prize Courts created by Mr. Lincoln. "It is only in doubtful or suspicious cases," he said then, "that a captain of a man of war can be justified in the detention and capture of a vessel, *even though he should afterwards submit the question to the adjudication of a Prize Court.* The compensation which such a Court can award may be very inadequate to the mischief which has been done by an act of *vexatious and causeless molestation.*" Again, "If Captain Wilkes had taken the Trent to New York for adjudication without being able to show that he had any grounds for suspecting that she had only colourably assumed a neutral destination, *the act of detention would in itself have been so wanton and unjustifiable an invasion of the immunity of neutral ships trading to neutral ports, that the English Government would have been entitled to complain of it as a vexatious and unwarranted proceeding.*" And, relative to Prize Courts: "If, which it is impossible to conceive, an American Prize Court should have exhibited an ignorance or a contempt of law equal to that displayed in Mr. Seward's despatch, and condemned the vessel, *so gross a violation of the settled principles of the law of nations by the tribunal appointed to guard its sanctions, would have been in itself a justifiable cause of war.*"

"Historicus's" great forte is to cloud or altogether change the issue. This he has attempted to do in his desperate pleading on behalf of Messrs. Seward and Wilkes, by making it appear that the true issue involved in the recent insults upon the British flag was the right of search, and the concomitant right of bringing in suspicious vessels "for a more deliberate inquiry than could possibly be conducted at sea," rights which no one in England has disputed in connection with these cases. What has roused the indignation of the British people, is the glaring and deliberate abuse of those rights, an abuse which, as we have seen, no modern writer has condemned more forcibly than "Historicus" when it suited his purpose; an abuse, also, for which we have his own authority that the award of a Prize Court affords no adequate reparation. So conscious is he of the weakness of his defence, that he has thrown up a sort of inner citadel whereon to fall back in the last resort. In constructing this second line of defence, he does not proceed with his usual boldness, and contents himself for the pre-

sent with throwing out a doubt for the benefit of his clients. He says:

A point has been raised in the recent discussions which is of great importance, viz., whether a neutral vessel, with an immediate neutral destination, can be condemned because the cargo may have an ultimately hostile consignment. I am very much disposed to think that such a doctrine cannot be maintained, and that as far as breach of blockade, at all events, is concerned, nothing can be looked to but the immediate destination, which must be regarded for this purpose as the termination of the voyage. But in this respect there is probably a distinction between the ship and the cargo, for the ultimate would be probably regarded as the true destination of the ship itself. I think the reasoning of Lord Stowell in the case of the *Jonge Pieter* (Rob. Rep. iii., p. 79.) points to this conclusion. But we are not to assume this question as one that is clearly decided. If the American captors choose to raise it at their own risk in a Prize Court, we are bound to await its adjudication. It is impossible to conceive any question which more exclusively appertains to the domain of judicial decision.

In 1862, our subtle and pliant pleader had no such doubt. Then he laid down the law and ruled the practice in these emphatic words:—

England and France must make it clearly and immediately known that persons and things on board a neutral ship on its journey from one neutral port to another, are not only not subject to capture without the intervention of a Prize Court, but that, if brought before such a court, they cannot be made the object of legitimate condemnation.

With these words recorded against him, not only in letters written by him a year ago, but in a volume revised and published by him not many weeks since, we cannot but admire the cool effrontery of his hint to the captors (Admiral Wilkes) and the Court (the equally notorious Judge Betts) to raise a new point, and to draw a distinction between the ship and the cargo. And what must we think of the lawyer who, evidently knowing better, gravely tells us that "it is impossible to conceive any question which more exclusively appertains to the domain of judicial decision"—a question which never existed, save as the *arrière pensée* of an unconscientious partisan. A new principle is to be foisted upon international law, not by the ascertained consent of interested nations, but by a Court of Justice, whose duty it is to administer existing laws, not to make new ones; and that court, one created by Mr. Lincoln, who has suspended the functions of the highest tribunal of his country, and caused judges to be torn from their bench in open court, and personally assaulted; and of all Mr. Lincoln's courts, the Prize Court of New York, presided over by a man whose name has become a byword of venality.

After such an oblivion of self-respect, we are not surprised at "Historicus" daring to openly defend and justify the spy system of the Federal Government in this country:—

I have seen a great deal of complaint of the "spy system," as it is called, which is supposed to be carried on in this country by the agents of the American Government. These complaints appear to me both childish and unjust. If, as must be admitted, the American Government are entitled to capture all vessels contemplating a breach of blockade, or freighted with contraband, they are clearly entitled to obtain such information as they can which may be useful to enable them to exercise their right. It is important for them to know which ship it is worth their while to watch and pursue and which they may safely leave unmolested. Does any one suppose that, if this country were at war, the English Government would not use every possible effort to obtain reliable information on such points? What is the object of diplomatic missions except to obtain information (and that often secret information) on points material to the interests of their own Governments? Even in time of peace every prudent Government takes pains to make itself acquainted with what is going on in its neighbour's dockyards and arsenals. So far from such information being prejudicial to the innocent English shipper, it is exactly the reverse. If the American cruisers are well informed as to the real character of vessels, they will be less disposed to confound the innocent with the guilty, and they will be more likely to allow those who are not justly objects of suspicion to pass unmolested, than if, in the absence of all information, they were compelled to suspect, and therefore search and detain all alike.

This is bold language for the recognised champion of a British Cabinet; bold not because the writer is himself deaf to that honest instinct which causes English-born men to abhor what he justifies, but bold because it defies the universal sentiment of the nation, always expressed, and on some memorable occasions acted upon. Information, even secret information, may and must be obtained for every public service, especially in seasons of



peril and great emergency. But the conscience of men and of States prescribes that such information must be *honourably* obtained, and the reverse of this is what is stigmatized as the spy system. Few European diplomatists would now venture to pattern after the envoys of Venice, who rendered the diplomacy of their republic infamous.

In his zeal for Mr. Seward and his official patrons, "Historicus" has at last gone a step too far. Henceforth, his advocacy, however clever and ingenious, will damage any cause. But he, and men like him, do a greater and a public harm. By their constant deprecations of the "unspeakable disaster of war," they bring about precisely what they profess to be so anxious to avoid. It is only human—not merely Federal American—nature to make aggressions, especially where a strong self-interest prompts, upon those who disclaim the will or the spirit to resist. A few words of honest indignation uttered in Parliament have restored the British mail-bags, unopened, into the custody of British officials. The Americans will stop precisely at the point where England shows signs of resisting. Yet the men who speak such honest words are denounced by "Historicus" as "advocates of democracy who have become panegyrist of despotism." These gentlemen need not our vindication of their "position and character," which "Historicus" assails; but we ask, when in modern times has the world seen a more abhorrent despotism than that which now sways the shipwrecked destinies of the late American Union, and who are more bold, more unscrupulous panegyrist of that despotism than Mr. Bright and "Historicus"?

### The Confederate Army.

THE war between the United States and the Southern Confederacy is something unique in history. Strategic writers will, of course, prove that the scientific rules and accredited laws by which the movements of armies are ordered, have in every field of battle that has illustrated the contest, received their ordinary application and produced their inevitable results. There is, of course, a theory of war which may no more be disregarded by a general than precedents by a Chancery barrister. But the struggle in the New World presents so many peculiar phenomena—its enormous distances; its desultory fighting; the character of the men engaged in it; the *impromptu* soldiers and officers who are fighting the battles; the diversified nature of the operations, conducted by means of steam transports and railroads over an area such as never before has been made the theatre of hostilities—that it bids fair to provide the military historian with new starting points for the development of fresh theories of attack and defence, and to constitute for the great Transatlantic communities upon whom, according to an English statesman, is opening a phase of diplomatic intrigue, of jealous rivalries, and of standing armies, a complete text-book of all that relates to the military art.

There is nothing more surprising, nothing more interesting, amongst the many remarkable features that the war presents, than the rapidity and ease with which great bodies of citizens have been armed, equipped, organized, and marched hundreds of miles to the scene of conflict. The Americans are not a military people. The passion for glory, which has developed itself into, on the other side of the channel, perhaps the most perfect military machinery the world has ever seen since the days of Old Rome, is wanting in both North and South. Federals and Confederates belong to a practical race, not likely to plunge into a war for an idea, unless it offered them a tangible gain. The military profession was with them, as it is with us, the resort of the Upper Ten Thousand. The wealthy merchants and the rich landowners of the North looked down upon it. The professional classes saw no chance of promotion or profit arising from it. Political adventurers saw in the discipline and gentlemanly bearing of the army, a bar to their progress, and disliked it accordingly. Perhaps it was more popular in the South. The Southern States,

representing the country party, would naturally send a larger proportion of their sons into the army, than the populations of the great cities of the North and the thriving plains of the West, absorbed in creating the wealth of which the South have had hereditary enjoyment for a century. But even in the South military feeling languished for want of an object. Outpost duties amongst the Indians, border forays with the Mexicans, were not exactly calculated to engender great ardour for an officer's life. The prizes were few, the promotions slow. When the war broke out, it found, we believe, very few officers holding higher rank than lieutenant-colonel. When we add that the regular army was composed principally of foreigners, Germans, Irish, deserters from Canada, and very few native Americans, it will be readily seen that the formation of a military class was next to an impossibility. On the other hand, if the Americans are not a military people, they are essentially a fighting people; they have the combative organs quite as largely developed, as the home branch of the Anglo-Saxon race; and in the short space of two years, they have displayed sufficient military aptitude and tact for war to warn us that American history is turning over a new leaf; that the moral and social aspect of a continent and a people is changed; that the age of material progress and peaceful enterprise has passed; and that American fleets and armies will, hereafter, be a Power in the world.

That the North should have raised with comparative ease a million of men, is not so much a matter of wonder, as that the South should have succeeded in repelling and defeating them. The North, with its money power and floating population, ready food for powder, its high bounties, and its constant influx of emigrants, had such an immediate supply of the raw material as no nation before possessed. But that the South, with small means, with no immigration, relying on the patriotic devotion of its sons, on the union and common self-exposure of all classes of the community, should have made head so long, and should be still making head, against the Northern millions, is little short of marvellous. For, be it remembered, the loss of one Southern soldier is hardly balanced by the destruction of two of the invaders. The Northern citizen fights vicariously in his war of conquest. The Southern patriot suffers, fights, and dies, in person. There are Irish and German recruits to take the place of the dead Northerner. There is no one to fill up the blanks in Southern homes that may be caused by Northern bullets. Yet battle after battle is fought with enduring devotion, and the ranks are still serried, and the gaps are still filled up, and on the day of conflict the Southern chivalry still hurls back the invader from its soil. That much of this unflinching devotion, and this continued success, is to be ascribed to a moral superiority, and to the composition of the Southern army, we doubt not; but much too is due to the men who have had its lead and organization—men like Lee, Jackson, Stewart, Johnstone and Beauregard. In this respect the Confederates have had an undoubted advantage from the first. The Southern Generals have possessed, in the highest degree, the confidence of their soldiers, not less from their character and position, than from proved military capacity. Their troops have felt, in a hundred fights, that the men to whom their conduct was intrusted, were worthy of their trust; that there would be no needless sacrifice of life, like that of Fredericksburg, no shameful humiliations, like those of Bull Run and Manassas; and the result has been an unvarying success which has rarely, if ever, marked a war of two years' duration.

We publish, in another column, an order of the day from General Beauregard, on the eve of the fight against Charleston, which illustrates in a remarkable manner the care and prevision of the Confederate General for his soldiers. To the officers of our European armies the instructions may appear almost unnecessarily minute. But in an army composed in a great degree of volunteers, without the strict discipline and the traditions of regular armies, General Beauregard's instructions must have been invaluable. They are a *vade mecum*, which the lowest

private in the ranks can readily understand and appreciate. So concise and complete are they, indeed, that they might be read with advantage to the troops of any army in the world, and give to the private as well as the company officers all the knowledge, confidence, and presence of mind required for the actual conflict. Nothing is wanting in this general order. How to treat the enemy, how to care for the wounded, what is the duty of the private, what the responsibility of the officer; where the ambulance is to be found; how, in the heat of battle, wounds are to be treated and fractures bound, all this is to be found in the order of the day. It is impossible that men feeling themselves thus cared for and counselled should go into battle without full confidence in themselves and their leader. It is not surprising that, with anything like equal numbers, they should always regard a battle with the Yankees as a certain victory. General Beauregard had long ago established his claim to stand in the very foremost rank of the military leaders of the South. His successful and scientific defence of Charleston has added to his laurels. His order for the 5th of April shows that with his professional qualifications he combines a power of organization, and an appreciation of the highest duties of a commander, which may well entitle him to the honours conferred, and to the confidence reposed in him, by the men of Louisiana and South Carolina.

### Ministers in Congress.

WE cannot but regret that the debate in the Confederate Senate on the proposal to admit the President's Ministers to a seat "on the floor"—*i.e.*, an *ex officio* seat without a vote—resulted in a virtual negative. It is true that the matter is one of more importance than may seem to careless observers; and that a measure likely to lead to changes so important in the practical working of the Constitution ought not to be adopted hastily. Nevertheless, it appears that the proposition was rejected, rather through an instinctive prejudice against the adoption of a European precedent, and through a strangely misapplied jealousy of the Executive power, than from any aversion to the consequences which, as we believe, it would really entail. The presence of the advisers of the Crown in the Parliament of England has, in the opinion of the wisest and most impartial critics of English institutions, been of paramount use in bringing about and preserving that peculiar harmony and—to use an untranslatable Gallicism—solidarity between the different branches of the Government, which are to be found in no other country; and has done much to enable us to combine those two principles which have never been combined elsewhere—a really effective strength in the administration with the widest personal and political freedom of the people. Here, and here only, has the great experiment of modern politics—how to secure to a free and self-governing people a strong government, strong enough to preserve order at home and command respect abroad—been successfully carried out. And inasmuch as there is no nation so likely as the people of the Confederate States to achieve for themselves an equally happy result, it would be a cause of deep regret to all their well-wishers if they should miss any of the means within their reach by which the present fortunate condition of their mother country has been attained. It is quite true that the mere fact of an institution having done good service in England is not a proof that it is adapted to the circumstances of the English race in the Southern States. But where there is nothing in those circumstances to exclude it, its suitability to England is a *prima facie* evidence of its probable usefulness to a nation which in character and instincts is as English as in blood, and language, and religion. Hereditary monarchy cannot be transplanted; an hereditary aristocracy is impossible to a new country; an Established Church can only co-exist with monarchical and aristocratic institutions. But, apart from such things as these, institutions must grow, and cannot be made. We have a right



to believe, till cause be shown to the contrary, that those political contrivances which are found to work well in this country are not unlikely to be of service to a people so like ourselves as are our kinsmen of the South. And the whole history and working of the Ministerial system in England tends to prove that the presence of Ministers in Parliament is essential to the maintenance at once of Parliamentary control and of Executive authority. The original practice of the Sovereign was to select his Ministers almost exclusively from the House of Lords. The growing power of the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles I., compelled him to admit members of that House to a share in his councils; and from that time the number and rank of Commons in the Cabinet has grown with, at the same time that it has enhanced, the power and preponderance of the Lower House. It is now felt both as an inconvenience to the Government and as a check on the House of Commons, that the three chief executive departments—the War-Office, the Admiralty, and the Foreign-Office—are represented there only by under-secretaries. The House feels that it has some difficulty in controlling and bringing to order a Minister who sits among the Peers, and who therefore cannot be called before it to account in person for his measures; the Ministry feels that it lacks something of that support which is given by the personal influence of a Minister of the first rank in matters concerning his own department, as well as in general debate. No one in this country dreams of doubting the essential importance of having the Cabinet efficiently represented in both Houses, unless there be any one who desires that the Crown should resume something of its old attitude of independence and quasi-antagonism towards the House of Commons. At the Revolution, some of the Radical thinkers of the day proposed to exclude Ministers altogether from that House. The proposal was nearly succeeding; and Lord Macaulay's remark upon it—a remark which would be endorsed by every statesman of the present day—is that its effect would have been to reduce the House of Commons to practical insignificance, and to render the Peers—who alone would be able to demand explanations and enforce attention to their remonstrances, and who moreover would attract into their body every man capable of Ministerial duties—virtually the ruling House of Parliament.

No one who has carefully followed and compared the course of English and of American politics can have failed to observe that the greatest distinction between the administrative systems of the two countries is this: that in England the Government—that is, her Majesty's advisers—are responsible to Parliament; and that the American Government is not responsible to Congress. In both countries the theoretic responsibility is the same—a Minister may be impeached; and if Ministers committed treason, or crimes approaching to treason, in either country they would be impeached. But impeachment is a sword of justice, not a weapon of political warfare; a means of punishing a criminal, not of correcting a blunder. Therefore, in neither country does liability to impeachment constitute effective "responsibility"—that is, liability to control, rebuke, or ejection by the Legislature. In England, this effective responsibility is secured, because Ministers have to answer for their conduct, individually and collectively, in their place in Parliament; and if they fail to answer to the satisfaction of Parliament, they must resign. But a Ministry which cannot answer questions or take part in debate can hardly be called upon to resign when the debate leads to a hostile vote. Consequently, under the system which prevails in America, the President's Government is virtually irresponsible. The Executive is almost independent of Congress and of public opinion. If its conduct was very intolerable, the supplies might be stopped by the House, or the Senate might check its public appointments, and bring it to terms in that manner; but either of these courses would involve extreme inconvenience to the public service. English feeling would hardly tolerate the power bestowed by the American Constitution upon the Executive, of carrying on affairs for several years in a manner which

public opinion may distinctly disapprove; but until Ministers are allowed a seat in Congress, with full liberty to defend and explain their policy, it is hardly possible for Congress to take upon itself to compel a change of Ministry. Therefore, *Ministerial representation in the Legislature is essential to effective Ministerial responsibility.*

Again, by the English system, the best talent of the country is employed both in Parliament and in the service of the Crown. The administrative ability of the statesman is employed in the executive business of his department; his calm sagacity is employed in the discussions of the Executive Council; his political wisdom, his eloquence, his authority, are at the service of his country and of his party in Parliament. In America, Congress and the Executive divide the political talent of the country between them; and what is, perhaps, worse, while the Executive loses the benefit of Parliamentary counsel and popular influence, Congress cannot have, as our Parliament has, the advantage of ministerial knowledge and experience. The want of this advantage has a most unfortunate effect on the character of Congressional debates. In the first place, the absence of the responsible advisers of the President gives to every debate on the conduct of the Executive Government, an air of aimlessness and want of power and purpose which deprives it of the interest and influence it ought to possess. Secondly, the absence of those who speak under the grave sense of responsibility which attaches to those who have to act, allows the discussion to assume a tone of exaggerated vehemence, and often of unworthy extravagance, which would be checked and counteracted by the presence of men who, wielding the power intrusted to them by a great nation, would feel that they spoke not only to the House, but, like the Popes, *ubi et orbi*—to their country and to the world. Had Mr. Seward had a seat in the House of Representatives, we hardly think that a vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes would have disgraced their records; for the Secretary of State could not have remained silent, and he would have known that to speak in favour of such a vote was to declare war. The fact that the Ministers had no seats there enabled them to apologize and make reparation for an act which the representatives of the people had thought worthy of their thanks. It was fortunate that they could do so, but that such a thing could be done shows how very low is the position of the Federal House of Representatives as compared with that of the English House of Commons. Finally, debating in the absence of ministers, Congress debates in the absence of information and explanation; and by excluding those whose conduct it should examine, and whose advice and knowledge it should demand and use, it lowers the importance of its discussions, and brings down its authority far below its proper level. *The exclusion of ministers from the Legislature is, in the first place, a waste of political talent, and, in the second place, a damaging blow to the character and authority of the Legislative body.*

It is said that, in this country, the choice of the Crown is inconveniently limited by the necessity that its Ministers should either have seats by election in the House of Commons, or be able and willing to accept a peerage. But this objection could not apply to the Confederate States; where a provision, the propriety of which we will not now discuss, embodied in the Constitution itself, prevents the simultaneous enjoyment of a Ministerial office and that of senator or representative. And it is probable that the limitation placed on the choice of the President by the admission of his Ministers to *ex officio* seats on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives—a limitation of that choice, namely, to men who could be safely trusted to represent him there, might be wholesome in America, where there has sometimes been observable a tendency to select men for high offices who are not the fittest persons to be placed therein; and further, a tendency on the part of the President to insist too much on his own authority, and to treat his Ministers too much as mere chief clerks of their respective departments. If the Ministers were charged, in addition to their administrative func-

tions, with the duty of defending the conduct of the Executive in Congress, it would be necessary for the President, in the first place, to choose men who could perform that duty with ability, dignity, and authority, and, in the next place, to guide himself very much by their advice in regard to acts which they, and not he, would be called upon to justify.

Some apprehension appeared to be entertained by those who opposed the admission of Ministers to the Confederate Senate, that their authority there would be greater than it should be, if to their present means of exercising influence were added those which the right to speak in person and take part in debate would give them. This fear seems to us altogether unfounded. Ministerial speakers do, of course, derive a certain authority from their position, as knowing more and speaking under a heavier and more direct responsibility than others. But this authority belongs almost as much to their acts as to their speeches; and it belongs to all their acts, wise or foolish, while it would only attach to such of their speeches as were in themselves reasonable and apparently just. A speaker of the Opposition in Congress at present lies under the double disadvantage (with an English-born audience), first that he is attacking an absent man; and secondly, that he is censuring with imperfect knowledge the acts of a man who acts with full knowledge. But when the Minister appears in the House he loses the unfair part of this advantage. He is there to hear and answer what is said; and if he has no answer to give, this at once becomes apparent. While, therefore, his authority is increased where he is right, because he is enabled to show the House that he is right, and to exercise that influence which always belongs to the presence and voice of a respected and trusted citizen, he loses when he is wrong the presumption in his favour which is derived from his inability to speak on his own behalf. It is said that in the Provisional Congress, where Ministers were admitted, the measures they recommended were almost invariably passed. To us this seems a strong argument in favour of their admission. A Ministry whose chief measures are not approved by Congress ought not, especially in time of national danger, to be in power. Being present at the debates, Ministers were enabled to state to Congress the reasons for the measures they recommended—reasons derived from official knowledge and experience; and if, under such circumstances, Congress had not generally agreed with them, the disagreement would have been strong presumptive evidence that either the Ministry was wanting in competence or credit, or that Congress was unreasonably obstinate and self-willed.

A second objection is that Ministers would attend to their executive functions, and decline to pay Congress the respect of appearing at its debates, on the plea that they were too busy. This fear appears to us very far-fetched indeed. Surely a high-spirited assembly of Southern gentlemen will scarcely allow itself to be treated à la Bismarck, like a Prussian Chamber of Deputies, and would know how to bring a Minister capable of such impertinence to a sense of his own insignificance? Confederate Ministers can hardly be busier than those of England; and the busiest of English Ministers, in the busiest times, are regular in their attendance in Parliament.

We may remark, for the benefit of those of our English readers who are not well acquainted with American political language, that there is a wide difference between the English practice and that which the Confederate Senate has for the moment declined to adopt. In this country constitutional practice requires that a Minister shall be either an elected member of the House of Commons, or a Peer; and no person not a member of either House can have an *ex officio* seat there, except the Lord Chancellor, who—when not a Peer—is Speaker of the Upper House without the right to vote or take part in the debates. But the Confederate Constitution expressly forbids that a man should be at once a Senator (or Representative) and a Minister of the President; and the proposal recently rejected was to remedy the exclusion of Ministers from Congress by this rule, by giving to them a "seat on the floor of the Senate with the right to discuss measures



relating to their own department"—that is, a place in the Senate with a limited right to speak, but without a vote.

## The Address of President Davis to the People of the Confederate States.

IN accordance with some Resolutions passed by the Confederate Congress on the 4th of April last, President Davis, on the 10th of the same month, issued an address on the present condition and future prospects of the country. Accustomed as Europe is to the chaste eloquence, and the absence of all boasting that have from the first distinguished the official communications of the Confederate President, yet it is, we think, impossible for any one to read the document which we publish in another page, without being deeply impressed with its calm and statesmanlike tone, and with the singular humility with which events are referred to that are sufficiently momentous and glorious to have excused almost any excess of congratulation and triumph. While this address was being written the news of the defeat of the Federal iron-clads was telegraphed to Richmond, yet it betrays no trace of excitement. Not that there is any want of feeling, or any cold formality about it; but the sympathy of the Chief Magistrate in a victory that diffuses joy throughout the length and breadth of the land, finds its truest expression in modest reticence.

The review of the past history of the young Confederacy is, indeed, as this address avers, calculated to beget confidence as to the future. President Davis reminds the people of the position in which they were placed at the outbreak of hostilities, and how they are now situated. A more striking contrast cannot be conceived. The Confederates were so ill prepared for war that tens of thousands who offered themselves to defend their country could not be enrolled for the want of arms. Important strongholds were undefended, and the enemy was kept at bay by mock embrasures, by Quaker guns, and by cannon that could not be served for the lack of gunpowder. But the weakness was effectually concealed from the foe, for in the South there was not a traitor to betray it. Two years have elapsed, and devoted patriotism has furnished all things necessary for the purposes of war. The army, which is officially stated to be 400,000 strong, is completely equipped, fortifications bristle with cannon, and gunpowder and shot are abundant. Two years ago the Confederates had not a single gun afloat, yet their nascent navy has covered itself with glory, has given lessons to the maritime Powers of Europe, and on the high seas has defied the vaunted naval power of the United States. The Confederate navy is still small, but it has the prestige of victory—it is already a terror to the enemy, and it is daily increasing. Taken unawares, and unprepared for the struggle, the South has triumphed. Now she is ready to wage a protracted war. The Confederates may well feel confident of the issue.

But President Davis does not recal past triumphs, or set forth the present strength of the Confederacy for the purpose of encouraging the people to pause in their efforts, and to rest awhile on their hardly earned laurels. Having, in a few brief sentences, glanced at what has been done, he bids his fellow citizens remember what remains for them to do. The moment has not come for putting off the armour and singing the song of triumph. The war still rages. Still great armies and powerful fleets are engaged in the unholy work of seeking to desolate the South; to stir up a servile war; to excite the docile negroes to massacre white women and children; to rob the Confederates of their independence, and to hold them in bondage. So, even whilst church bells are celebrating the crowning victory of Charleston, President Davis calls upon the people to make fresh sacrifices so as to prepare the way for future triumphs.

It is thought, and we may be sure not without reason, that serious, and even disastrous consequences may ensue to the army from the scarcity of food. The President, in view of this

danger, asks the planters not to cultivate cotton and tobacco, which, in the event of an early peace, will yield them an enormous profit, but to plant corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food for man and beast. President Davis does not mean that even with the deficient harvest of 1862, the fertile soil of the South did not yield enough for the support of the population. He says emphatically: "But no uneasiness can be felt in regard to a mere supply of bread for men." We shall not trouble our readers with statistics as to the productiveness of the Confederate States; for we have done so on more than one occasion, and proved conclusively that, as far as food is concerned, no people on the face of the earth are more independent than the people of the Confederate States.

But what better evidence can we require than this Presidential appeal, and the urgent appeals that have appeared in Southern papers for months past? The thoughtless partisans of the North cite this address and this urgency as proofs that food is so scarce in the South as to render famine inevitable. Now we submit that the very necessity of this solemn appeal to the patriotism of the planters, arises because the scarcity is relative and local only, and there is not the slightest apprehension of a famine. If food were everywhere scarce its production would be everywhere profitable, and self-interest would most assuredly induce the planters to give up the culture of cotton and tobacco, and to sow corn. It would be vastly more profitable for the planter to relieve a corn famine in the South, than the cotton famine in Lancashire.

It is for the sake of the army that President Davis asks the people to disregard the promptings of self-interest. So difficult is transportation that the superabundance of one State cannot be made to minister to the deficiency of another State, and much less to the wants of armies. We had some experience of the difficulty of supplying the commissariat of our army in the Crimea; but how much greater must it be to feed an army of 400,000? It has thus happened that whilst the civilians, and even the slaves, have not been stinted in meat and bread, the troops have been on half-rations. If the President's appeal is cordially responded to, as it doubtless will be, if every available acre is sown with food for man and beast, this privation, which, however cheerfully borne, is sure to some extent to impair the efficiency of an army, will be provided against, and the troops will be able to operate on any threatened point without anxiety as to necessary provisions and provender. The army itself has set a good example in doing what is possible to make the supply of food abundant. At the stationary camps, soldiers' gardens have been laid out, and from them the troops have procured enough fresh vegetables for their use. It is likely that henceforth bad roads will not so greatly hinder military operations, or be a cause of suffering to the troops by forcing them to subsist on half-rations.

In concluding his address, the President says he has no fear that the motives of it will be misconstrued. It is only the heated partisans of the North that can misconstrue such a document. They think that to confess and prepare to meet a danger indicates an intention of giving up the contest. They console themselves with the idea that the prolific South will be starved, because the Confederates are using every effort to secure superabundance to meet the extraordinary demands of an army of 400,000, portions of which, in the defence of an immense frontier, have to be rapidly marched from place to place. These partisans are so accustomed to Northern declarations of invincibility, and to hearing the might of Heaven pledged in the pulpit, in Congress, and in the press, to the success of the Northern cause, that they regard the exhortation of the Confederate President to the people to do their duty, and then to humbly seek the guidance and blessing of the Lord of Hosts, as despondency and despair. When President Lincoln addresses the Northerners, he conceals difficulties and disasters, calls defeat victory, and tells them they can and do command success. When President Davis addresses the Southerners he says very little about their triumphs, very much

about their dangers and difficulties, and tells them to do their duty bravely and unflinchingly, and seek to deserve the success which they cannot command. The world has seen, and will see, which is the better and more acceptable policy.

## A PRACTICAL MERCANTILE VIEW OF SOUTHERN WEALTH AND RESOURCES.\*

WE have seldom met with such a genuine book of travels as is this brief account of a two months' tour in the Confederate States. "An English Merchant" did not go South for literary, but for commercial purposes, and herein he had an immense advantage over those who travel under contract to a publisher. The anxiety of gathering materials for copy distracts the attention, and a traveller so circumstanced does not look at things as they are, but through the spectacles of the public, for whose pleasure and instruction he is to write. Then there is no end to the tricks on travellers who are known to be authors; at every turn they are flattered and deceived. An English authoress, celebrated for her scepticism, abolitionism, and radicalism, was the victim of some practical joking, when she was "doing" the Southern States for a literary object, that mainly tended to confirm her in a false impression of the manners of the people. It was well known that this lady had been taught by the New Englanders that the negroes were whipped twice a day, and at certain seasons roasted alive; and that Southerners were perpetually duelling. Her faith in the duelling was fixed for ever by some foolish young men who were passengers with her on a steamboat. They pretended to quarrel, and for two mornings the lady was horrified by hearing that there had been hostile meetings before breakfast, and that the fighting was to be continued until one of the combatants was killed. The English authoress swallowed the joke, and was firmly persuaded of the truth of all that her New England friends had told her.

Moreover, "An English Merchant" is perfectly innocent of the art of bookmaking. The style is as careless and unadorned as commercial correspondence. Instead of making the most of his facts, the author has made the least of them. His small volume in the hands of a bookmaker would have produced three bulky tomes, and even then we should have had a complaint about the limited space and the abundance of material. No pains has been taken to refer to authorities; not an almanack, guide book, or newspaper has been consulted. When at Richmond in December last "An English Merchant" visited the localities of the Seven Days' Fight. He says, "I had an opportunity of going over the celebrated battle-fields which were the scene of the utter overthrow of the Federal army under General McClellan, in June and July, 1861." We thought the date was a typographical error; but further on he says, "Approaching Mechanicsville traces are soon seen, even yet, after seventeen months have elapsed, of the desperate fight which took place there on June 26th, 1861." And again: "All these and a thousand other little evidences remain here yet, in spite of the sun, wind, and rain of eighteen months, to show how desperate had been the resistance, and how furious and relentless the pursuit." The wonder is that the printer's reader should have passed such a palpable blunder; but we must in fairness observe, that the description of the battle fields, of the new-made graves, &c., would be ridiculous after eighteen months, whilst it is probably exact and graphic as it refers to six months after the fight. Perhaps the author has very little time for the study of current history or for revising proof sheets. He seems to us to take no other than a commercial interest in the struggle. This we may gather from his declared motive in undertaking the journey. "My own object in visiting the South is soon explained. The firm of which I was a member has for years dealt with many Southern merchants, from or of whom we had heard almost nothing since the commencement of the civil war. I was anxious, if possible, to ascertain whether our old friends were living or dead, and solvent or ruined." His partners have no cause to complain of his giving heed to anything but the business in hand, and if, as we suspect, this book is made up of the letters he sent home, they may congratulate themselves on being associated with a pre-eminently shrewd and far-seeing correspondent.

Wherever "An English Merchant" went, he made diligent inquiries as to the willingness of the Confederates to pay their foreign, including their Northern, creditors. He might have been satisfied on this head without going South, for during the war, and under pressing difficulties, the States have paid their foreign creditors; or he might

\* Two Months in the Confederate States, including a Visit to New Orleans under the Domination of General Butler. By An English Merchant. [London: Richard Bentley.]



have learnt in New York that the Southerners were noted for their honourable dealings; but he chose to especially inform himself. His investigation was satisfactory. At New Orleans, he says: "I could not hear of a solitary instance where the slightest disposition was manifested to repudiate, or even compromise either a Northern or a foreign debt." At Mobile he remarks: "The greatest anxiety existed here that the foreign and even Northern creditors should know that they had not repudiated, and did not intend to repudiate, a single debt, but could and would pay every cent and interest. This I firmly believe is within their power, and is their intention." When at Charleston he says: "I took good care to ask the question often enough, whether the Charleston people considered themselves absolved from paying their European and Northern debts; but the notion that they would ever be repudiated was scouted universally. 'We will never have it said that we owe the Yankee one cent when we can once get a chance to pay him,' they said, 'We will pay him and let him go.'" So far as willingness to pay is concerned, there could be no question. But willingness does not prove solvency. Honour without means will not redeem a promise to pay. Accordingly, our merchant proceeded to inquire as to the ability of the Confederates to pay their debts.

This involved two considerations. First, would the South succeed in maintaining her independence? If not, if the Northern dream of conquest should be realized, the Southern debts would remain unpaid. New England would help herself, but the rest of the Southern creditors would not get a cent. Secondly, assuming the final triumph of the South, would the ravages of war leave the Confederates with sufficient property to pay their creditors? Our merchant did not speculate about the future prosperity and wealth of the South, but confined his attention to the point whether peace would be the immediate precursor of the payment of her debts.

"An English Merchant" not only found the whole people—men and women—determined to die rather than submit to the hated rule of the Yankee, but what is more important, he observed that their determination was not a sentiment, but was being acted on, energetically and continually. The luxuries of life have been resigned without a sigh, and the privations incident to war borne without a murmur:—

I defy any man to repress his admiration of the enthusiasm, patience, and good-tempered endurance of inevitable, though self-inflicted evils, which these people exhibited. Committed to a course, and in a cause which they believed just, it was plain that they had counted the cost, and were prepared for death or victory.

The spirit of the people is shown by the spirit of the press. No number of victories can lull the South into security. The clamour for more vigorous efforts is incessant. The editors, he thought, "seemed to delight in putting the worst side of the Confederate cause outside, especially the clever, sparkling *Examiner*; and some startling assertions about the wants of the army, or the Federals outmatching them in the West, were applied like a succession of blisters, to keep the public and the departments on the *qui vive*. But nothing that could be said could provoke a reply from the reticent President and his advisers. I was told that things were put right, or looked into without any fuss, and nothing said." Our author elsewhere tells us that, although the acts of the President are so freely criticised, nothing can exceed the trust and confidence reposed in him. Whatever the President orders is performed with zeal and alacrity; and his judgment is relied on as the final arbitrament in all disputes. The nation is content to leave full administrative power to the President, though every citizen claims to be his frank and fearless adviser, and the Executive is not on any pretence to violate the Constitution or the laws.

Can the South hold out till the end? Her soldiers clad in homespun, sometimes shoeless and tentless, yet in all instances carrying an excellent, well-cleaned rifle, are not likely to be overcome by the Northern hordes. But can the South be blockaded and starved into submission?

In the North there are sometimes rumours of peace, but in the South nothing is seen but earnest preparations for a long war. Take the case of the railroads. Upon their working order greatly depends the power of the Confederates to defend their soil from the armies of the invader. But railroads wear out; and how are they to be replaced? Every precaution has been taken. The speed of the trains has been reduced to ten miles an hour—except on military emergencies—because the lower rate of speed so diminishes the wear of the rails that they will last two years. At the end of that time "it was calculated that the companies would be able entirely to relay those lines essential to their military operations, from the new rails in stock, those being made in the Confederacy, those taken from unimportant lines in the interior, and those

taken from the horse railroads in the streets of the various cities." As for the rolling-stock, that was being replaced as it was worn out. "I saw in the South many hundreds of Southern-made cars, for both freight and passengers, and very useful things they seemed."

The ammunitions of war are now abundant. "The quantity and quality of the cannon manufactured in the Confederacy have amazed both the North and Europe, and every day increases the supply." The Tredgar Iron Works at Richmond are celebrated for the excellence of their guns. Lead and the ingredients for making gunpowder are no longer scarce. "There are many extensive manufactories of gunpowder and bullets in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, &c., and there seems no lack of ammunition for war purposes."

Clothing, too, is being produced in sufficient quantities to bring down the prices. Women and children's dresses are made of a mixture of cotton and wool. "Augusta drills," "Graniteville sheetings," and "Atlanta shirtings," are as well known now by purchasers at auctions, and command as high a price, as the productions of Lowell or Manchester." Neatly made shoes, with thin wooden soles, are being produced in large quantities. "These shoes, which would outwear at least two pairs of the ugly brown-paper abominations with which New England formerly supplied the South, were offered at about a third the price of the imported shoe, and a large reduction in price promised." Altogether our author adduces a mass of evidence that justifies him in concluding that the South can clothe and arm her entire population, independently of foreign aid. The Confederates possess exhaustless supplies of the raw materials, and they are not wanting in mechanical ability. In the spring of 1862, when they resigned all hope of an early peace, they set about, under every disadvantage, to become a manufacturing nation. "They have been compelled to become shoemakers, tailors, cotton-spinners, mechanics, and so on; and, whether they consider it a compliment or not, it is a fact that there is enough of the Yankee about them to invent and make machines, and look uncommonly sharp after making them pay well too." Some of the minor articles of use are not, at present, very well executed; but a nation can get on for twenty years if needs be, with bad soap, bad lucifer matches, and ugly envelopes. The author gives an account of some purchases he made at Jackson, the capital of Mississippi:—

I paid thirty-five cents (one shilling and fourpence) for a square of "Confederate" made soap, about the size of a small billiard ball, the colour of clay, and the consistency of stiff curds; fifty cents (two shillings) for two small boxes of "Confederate" matches, of which the seller candidly told me not one in five would light ("but," he added, "we shall improve gradually, sir!"); and five cents (twopence) for an envelope made out of a sort of slate-coloured grocer's paper (also a Confederate production), with the words printed on it—

"Stand firmly by your cannon,  
Let ball and grape-shot fly;  
Trust in God and Davis,  
And keep your powder dry!"

We have so often had occasion to show the resources of the South in the way of food, that we shall not refer to the many reasons assigned by the author for saying that "the South cannot be starved out." Yet "An English Merchant," on one occasion, could not procure food in the Confederate States, although his pocket was lined with dollars. The train in which he was travelling had unexpectedly to halt at a small village, and food was not to be obtained for love or money. Those who have travelled in the Southern States in the fall, when the extra long train of cars has from some accident been obliged to stop at a small town, will remember suffering from the same inconvenience. But the mishap very well illustrates the difficulty with which the Confederates have had to contend. There was abundance of food in the Confederacy, but in many cases the food was at one place and the mouths at another. To obviate this difficulty, and to ensure abundance, the Government and press have called on the planters to give up the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, and to sow corn. Our author suggests, incidentally, why it is planters are, in some instances, loath to follow this advice:—

Half-a-crown per pound for American cotton in Liverpool said more plainly to them (the planters) than mountains of books and figures could gainsay: "We can get no supply of cotton unless the South can send her crop; whenever she can send it, we will buy it in preference to any other, take all she can send, and pay her in gold for it if she will have nothing else." Of course this tended daily to make them care more for their cotton, and I believe will cause it to be planted in 1863 extensively, even if the war goes on for twelve months more.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that it should require the declaration of the President, that there is a patriotic necessity for planting corn and abandoning the cultivation of cotton before the planters consent to the sacrifice.

We now come to the next and what, to "An English Merchant," was not the least unimportant point. The

Confederates are willing and fully resolved to pay all their foreign creditors, including those in the United States; and, however the war may be protracted, there does not seem the most distant prospect of the North obtaining any ascendancy over the South. But will the war deprive the Confederates of their all, and compel them to begin the world afresh, or will it leave them property enough to discharge their present obligations? Our author has no doubt about it. On every side he saw produce that only needed peace to find a profitable market. Irrespective of what would be done by the harvest that succeeds the termination of hostilities, there is already a stock of cotton, which the author frequently heard estimated at 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 bales.

The merchants and store-keepers at Charleston, Mobile, and other places, who have closed their businesses have not done so from insolvency, but having sold out their stocks at enormous profits, and not being able to replace them, they are obliged to give up trading. "An English Merchant" is convinced that the Confederates are willing and able to pay all they owe, and with interest. This is particularly pleasant, as Europe will have henceforth to do a large direct trade with the South. The monopoly of New England and Pennsylvania being broken down, "England, France, and Germany will, for the first time, have full and free play at a trade from three to five times greater than that done thus far with the whole Continent before."

Our author refers to the absurd fallacy of the rate of exchange and the consequent price of gold being a criterion of the resources of the Confederacy. Foreign commerce is not suspended at New York; there is the same competition between drawers of bills, and this "keeps the price of gold and exchange down to just that point, where the inflation of the currency begins to operate, and, as a rule, probably rather under than over that point." With the Confederate States it is altogether different:—

At the South there are, to begin with, no drawers of bills except those few far-seeing people who, in anticipation of trouble after the November elections in 1860, had for many months before been sending cotton, tobacco, exchange, gold, &c., or in fact any valuable property, easily realizable, to England. While the blockade continues, of course any further exports are almost impossible, and consequently no new exchange can be created. What chance any person would have of inducing people who had so invested property for their own and their family's safe support, and how the struggle might, to draw bills against that property and sell them, any one may easily guess. I met with numbers of persons in this position, and am confident that scarcely any premium would tempt them to disturb their investments. At any rate, the price asked would be about in the same proportion to the real value of the bill, as the sum which a retired millionaire would demand for the mansion he had just built and finished to his liking; which in fact would very likely amount to saying in other words that he would not sell at any price which any sane man would give.

The Southern merchants have shown the most patriotic self-sacrifice and liberality. Until the wants of the Government were supplied at the current rates, no price could tempt the importer to dispose of his goods:—

I was told, for instance, of a very large lot of strong army shoes being sold by a house to the Confederate Government at fifteen or sixteen dollars per pair, which could have been sold outside easily at twenty to thirty dollars per pair. These shoes, it was said, went to Bragg's army in Kentucky, and really enabled his men to accomplish the long and rapid marches which characterised that arduous though indecisive campaign. I saw instances of similar liberality in smaller matters fifty times with my own eyes while in the Confederacy.

This patriotism and the freedom of the Government purchases from the rapacity of contractors is so great a saving, that "the war is not costing the Confederate Government \$5, where it does the Federal Government \$20 at least." There is no restriction placed on the export of cotton by the vessels which bring in cargoes of merchandise. It is the North and not the South that is starving Lancashire and the cotton operatives of France.

We must now conclude our notice of this valuable work. We have presented our readers with a bare outline of a book that bristles with useful facts and shrewd deductions. To those who wish for an insight into the condition and prospects of the South we commend "Two Months in the Confederate States" as a trusty and intelligent informant. Even the partisans of the North will find that naught is set down in malice. The author tells us how the ladies of the South abhor the invader, but how, nevertheless, they minister to the necessities of the wounded Yankee:—

The hot coffee, iced water, lemonade, food, and other happily-selected luxuries, which every family daily prepared, and sent or took down to the depots, were indifferently distributed to the man most in need. Every church was stripped of its carpets, cushions, and hassocks, to make pillows and mattresses, and have never been replaced; ladies laboured like Hood's poor sewing-girl, making lint, bandages, splinters; and the gentlemen and boys with their own hands lifted the fainting heads, eased the shattered limb, moistened the parched throat, or fed the craving mouth. But in all this, I am assured, Federal and Confederate fared alike.

Meanwhile the North is causing great suffering by



making medicine contraband of war; yet an English merchant does not go out of his way to denounce Northern barbarity. He witnesses the effects of Butler's brutal rule, but suffers a slight element of pity to mingle with his scorn of the execrable Yankee Nana Sahib. His business in the South was to study the commercial and monetary prospects of the country; he kept this object steadily in view, and has produced an able and valuable report.

#### A NORTHERN DEMOCRAT'S ADVICE TO HIS COUNTRY.\*

WE have before us a letter, addressed by Hon. J. L. O'Sullivan (late United States' Minister to Portugal), to Professor S. F. B. Morse, just published in pamphlet form. Mr. O'Sullivan had, previous to the outbreak of the present war, acquired the reputation of being one of the ablest and most effective political writers in America, as well as one of the most accomplished men in the diplomatic service of the United States. Since the revolution, his pen has not been idle. About a year ago, he contributed to the pamphlet literature of the period, an elaborate essay, which attracted considerable attention, under the title of "Union, Disunion, and Reunion." Of course, Mr. O'Sullivan, being a Northern man by birth and connections, clings to the hope of reunion; and, although in the interval between his former and his more recent pamphlet, that hope seems to have been essentially modified and impaired, it is not abandoned altogether. Even when he arrives at the conclusion that the recognition of the Confederate nationality is an inevitable necessity of the North, he still fondly imagines that in some not very remote future, a new and improved Federal tie may again unite the dissevered sections. As the veterans of Napoleon's Old Guard, when forced to take the eagles from their standards, hid them away in their drumheads, so Mr. O'Sullivan, when lowering the "Stars and Stripes," furls the cherished flag up in the innermost corner of his heart, ready to be displayed in better fortunes. But this very devotion to a desperate cause gives to his words a genuine value, for they present to us the manifestation of sober Northern thought, now drowned in the din of fierce and reckless passions. Mr. O'Sullivan, besides moving much in European society, has had the paramount advantage of being far removed from the scene of angry strife which preceded the conflict of arms, and of having since watched the progress of events as a distant, though not a disinterested, spectator. Himself a prominent member of the Democratic party of the North, which has during the war gone through so many phases, he now stands where the party stood on the eve of Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation in April, 1861, and where the party, he hopes, will soon stand again.

His first appeal to former party friends is to convince them of the hopelessness of the struggle:—

At the outset, two years ago, there was indeed some excuse for the war on the part of the North; an excuse of which no vestige now remains. The country was led into it insensibly, being at first summoned merely to the defence of the Capitol against menaced attack; the army collected on the pretext of that sole purpose having been then afterwards wickedly led forward, by executive command, into that fatal invasion of Virginia which was repulsed at Bull Run; justly and deservedly indeed repulsed, but under such circumstances as to awaken all the natural fighting instinct of the North for another trial for the recovery of the honour lost, or apparently lost, in its flight from that fatal field. There was, moreover, then a great Unionist party at the South and throughout the South. Experiment could alone, as it then seemed to many, determine whether or not it was the true and real mind of the South to separate. (They forgot, or did not heed or believe, that *that dread experiment* itself could not but produce in the process that very adverse unity of the Southern mind and the Southern passion, whose existence it was to test!) Possibly Mr. Seward's "ninety days" might break down the assumed violent ascendancy of a minority Secessionist faction, and might develop into local power at the South this supposed, nay, this then real Unionist spirit and party. This was a plausible and seductive argument. No wonder it misled thousands of honest minds at the North. A patriotic enthusiasm of nationality, thrilling to the name of the Union, and rallying to the symbol of the flag, co-operated powerfully and naturally with these influences, urged as they were by the Government, by a majority party at the North, and by an eloquent and omnipresent press.

Whatever may have been the case two years ago, it is very certain that the South, with a degree of exasperated unanimity rarely, if ever, before witnessed in the history of any people, is now *against* Reunion and *for* Independence. Southern Unionism has utterly evaporated out of the land. Those who once cherished it, with a lingering love all the more honourable because locally unpopular, have now become all the more vehement in reaction in the opposite direction. No pretext of a Unionist party at the South now survives to justify the further prosecution of the war. The rights and the duties of now depend upon the facts of now. If anything in human politics is true and certain, it is that the Confederate States can now never be brought back into the old Union by force of arms, except as a conquered and subjugated country.

He next indignantly protests against the injustice of the war:—

To continue the war now purely vindictive and tyrannical in its character, for their mere overthrow and conquest, becomes therefore, now at least, the utter nullification of the very cardinal idea of our whole political theory and system. The attempt to do so is to stultify our own revolution; to blaspheme our very Declaration of Independence; to repudiate all our own history; to cancel all our Constitutions, State and Federal; to sanction all the despotisms, all the alien dominations, of other ages and countries; to justify the tenure of writhing and bleeding Poland by Russia at this very moment, and all the brutal means by which that tenure will, too probably, be enforced in spite of the sorrowful protest of the heart and conscience of the whole civilized world. Even though, through some superhuman prescience, he were perfectly assured of a triumphant issue of conquest and subjugation, no American has now any longer a right to prosecute further a contest whose very success can bring nothing else or better than this.

Of the Southern people, and their capacity for resistance, he speaks thus:—

Armies little inferior in numbers, while far superior in that *morale* derived from a cause and a motive, have hitherto repulsed every attempt by those of the North to penetrate to the vital points of the Southern self-defence. These armies can never be extinguished, while every day perfects their discipline, increases their efficiency, invigorates their military fibre, intensifies their resolve, and elevates their *morale*. Every year must bring forward its fresh contingent of growing youth to more than make good all the losses of successive campaigns. In case of need there remain unexhausted and inexhaustible resources of men of all ages and professions, ready to fly to arms when war should approach nearer to the vast interior of the Southern country. Far greater Northern armies than those which have hitherto waged a warfare so little successful along the mere frontier, and on a few water courses of the Confederacy, will be insufficient to overrun and to maintain a footing in the interior of a country for half the year impregnable, from the mere influences of climate, to Northern invasion. Arms they have already in abundance; they are able to manufacture, and they must continue to import, in spite of all possibilities of blockade. Of gunpowder the same is to be said. Of the military genius of their generals it is superfluous to speak. Their past successes, especially those of the past year, have animated them to that confidence in themselves, their cause, and their commanders, which in war is more than half of victory in advance. As for the pressure of the hardships and impoverishment of war upon Southern families and homes, no amount of such suffering pressing upon such a people can produce any other effect than to embitter their exasperation and to nerve their determination. They have already learned how easy it is after all, when a nation is animated with a great passion of patriotism, to bear cheerfully, nay, even exultingly, the extremest of personal privations. Tens of thousands of the best gentlemen of the land carry muskets in the ranks, and march to eager battle with the bare soles of their feet hardened by use into insensibility; while hundreds of thousands of delicate ladies submit, proudly and without a murmur, to every form of domestic hardship. All the women of the South weave and work for the soldiers in the field. Inexhaustible supplies of Indian meal, rice, and bacon, where other food is inaccessible, suffice, and must continue amply to suffice, for such sustenance as they are more than satisfied with. To *wish* to subjugate such a people is almost impious. To hope it is insanity.

But the most striking portion is that referring to the repudiation of the national debt. It is particularly applicable at this moment, when New York is buoyed up with the hope of the foreign loan, the negotiation of which is actually being attempted by the Northern agent for that purpose, Mr. R. J. Walker:—

The Republican party which has provoked and made the war, like the man who had the wolf by the ears, cannot now let go of it, without absolute and total party ruin. It will have to come to that in the end, but they hope to tide over the interval of eighteen months to the next Presidential election, still afloat on the bloody wave of war, with the aid of the deceived Democracy. To stave off the dread day of reckoning which inevitably awaits them, they urge and drag along the more than half dissatisfied Democratic party to support them in this prosecution of their mere party interest, with a desperate hope in the chapter of accidents, but with a fearful recklessness of all the aggregated ruin and woe they are accumulating upon the country. The public debt they are piling up, these unprincipled party leaders care in truth little about. 'After us the deluge.' They well know it will be repudiated in the indignant hour of the great popular reaction. For the future honour and credit of my country I rejoice that not a dollar of that debt has been taken abroad. A sagacious instinct of the truth of this whole business has preserved the lenders of Europe from touching it. The Government has not even dared to offer it to them. This whole war of coercion has been radically unconstitutional from the outset. A hundred acts of the most flagrant unconstitutionality have accompanied and still further characterised its prosecution. The War Debt partakes of that pervading and irremediable unconstitutionality. Held almost entirely by the contractors, the republicans, or the other supporters and abettors of the war, it will be repudiated, not alone on this ground of essential unconstitutionality, but also on the further one of that high public justice which will declare the repudiation of that wicked debt to be but a small measure of punishment to fall upon those who will stand collectively responsible (next to the Administration) for the war in which and for which it was created. They have not yet dared, to any extent, even in the midst of the deluded public enthusiasm in favour of the war, to support it by any real taxation upon the body of the people. What chance will there be of its payment by such taxation, a taxation to run, like that of England, through indefinite generations, after the war shall have failed, after the separation of the Union shall have become a fact not only accomplished, but on all hands recognised? Dissolved by the accomplished secession of nearly half the States, the Union and the Constitution will be at an end; legally and *de facto* at an end. This debt was to have been paid by the Union, through the collective national resources which it was to have commanded (such will be the plea of the great agricultural North West); we, a fragmentary residuum of it, are neither able, nor can we be properly called upon to pay it. The "United States" against whose name it will stand on every green-back and every bond, will then exist no longer. The debtor will be dead, and the

debt dead with him. Moreover, all minds will then be turned to the one great aim and hope of persuading the South to a reconstruction of a new confederation; and the first manifestly indispensable means towards that end will be to throw overboard this huge and crushing weight of the War Debt, whose every cent will but represent an unforgotten drop of Southern blood.

The hope of negotiating a loan for a Government so utterly and hopelessly bankrupt as the fragmentary Union, is said to be based upon a pledge of the Customs Revenue to foreign creditors. On this subject Mr. O'Sullivan says:—

The customs! Why if anything could aggravate the swift-coming indignation of the public reaction, it would be the national disgrace of a specific pledge of the customs of New York, as poor despised Mexico has been wont to galvanize her dead and putrid credit by hypothecation of those of Vera Cruz and Tampico. The day of large customs revenues is over in America. With the exception of the manufacturers of New England, and a few coal and iron proprietors of Pennsylvania, the Free Trade idea is at this day dominant throughout the minds of the North. The agricultural North-West, and commercial New York are, I rejoice to say, not less thoroughly Free Trade, in both sentiment and interest, than the South has ever been. The day is past when those petty local interests, through their wealth, their shrewdness, and their adroit play upon the machinery of national parties, could levy a broad universal tribute in the form of high tariff taxation over a continent. It is they, jointly with the Abolitionist fanatics, and the party politicians of the Seward school, who have driven the South into revolution and broken up the Union, and they have killed for ever their goose with the golden egg. Let not those who have made this wicked and fatal war, and who now see the ground of the future sinking beneath them into the abyss, imagine that they can now perpetuate their Protective Tariffs through any form or mode of pledge of the customs for a foreign loan, designed to bind the faith of the future. Fortunately they do not possess the power commensurate with the greedy will. Even the last Congress, when it was exhausting itself in the prostitution of its apparent or usurped legal powers to abrogate the Constitution and all the public liberties, for the purpose of investing the Administration with a complete dictatorship for the salvation of their Party, gave no authority to pledge the customs. They had no pretext of power, indeed, to do so, but it is a wonder they did not. They forgot this, and this alone, in their scheme of powers designed to counteract for another twelve months the great ground-swell of public opinion already surging up against them and it. The next Congress will be Democratic, and even if it should be capable of ratifying such a national disgrace, and of riveting such an attempted perpetual fetter upon the freedom of future legislation and future generations, the day is swiftly coming when the people will indignantly and righteously repudiate it all.

We have quoted sufficiently from this pamphlet to show that it contains many correct views forcibly expressed. From the fundamental idea, or rather hope, which it expresses, we need not reiterate our dissent. But we agree with Mr. O'Sullivan, that, if there were any possibility of eventually bringing the South back into any closer relations to the North than treaties of peace and amity can effect, it would undoubtedly be by such tardy reparation for past wrongs as an immediate and penitent abandonment of a wicked enterprise might be considered to be. We agree also with him that it would be worse than absurd for the North to expect a community, which has actually achieved its independence, to return to share the burdens of taxation accumulated in the effort at its own subjugation; and that repudiation of the Northern war debt would, for that reason alone, if not for others, be inevitable. But not peace, instantaneous and complete; not repudiation; not humiliation; not amendments of the Constitution; not the impeachment of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers for high treason, and their execution as felons—not these, nor ought the North can do or promise, will ever bring these two now historically distinct societies into any species of political partnership whatever.

#### THE MAGAZINES FOR MAY.

*Blackwood* opens with a chatty review of Daniel Wilson's, LL.D., "Prehistoric Man." Mr. Wilson is Professor of History in University College, Toronto, and his knowledge of the New World lends a special interest to his book. He is often able to illustrate his speculations by a reference to the ethnological phenomena of the Continent on which he lives, and there is no doubt that America is a most interesting field of research for the ethnologist. He dilates at length on the remains found in the valley of the Mississippi and in the forests of Central America, which are evidences of civilization before Columbus revealed the existence of the New World. In reference to the extinction of the red races, Mr. Wilson says that it is not due altogether to the dying out of the Indians, but to their absorption into the white race. This idea will not, Mr. Wilson thinks, obtain ready acceptance, but he points to facts in support of his assertion. He observes that: "At all the white settlements near those of the Indians, the evidence of admixture is abundant, from the pure half-breed to the slightly-marked remoter descendant of Indian maternity, discernible only by the straight black hair, and a singular watery glaze in the eye, not unlike that of the English gipsy. There they are to be seen, not only as fishers, trappers, and hunters, but engaged on equal terms with the whites in the

\* Peace the Sole Chance now Left for Reunion. A Letter to Professor S. F. B. Morse, LL.D., President of the New York "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge," from John L. O. Sullivan, late Minister of the United States to Portugal. (London: William Brown and Co., 40 and 41, Old Broad Street. 1863.)



trade and business of the place. In this condition the population of all the frontier settlements exists; if, as new settlers come in, the mixed element disappears, it does so purely by absorption." The offspring of these mixed races is marked by excellent physical and mental development. It must be remembered that only by those who ignorantly suppose all the American Indians black, and all black men are negroes, has the Indian race been thought inferior. It has never been a servile race. There is nothing repulsive in this absorption, and it will never lead to the disastrous consequences that have attended the admixture of the white and negro races.

The ethnological review is followed by an ingenious essay "on certain principles of art in works of imagination," by Sir E. B. Lytton. The novelist as well as the dramatist has need of art if his work is to live. Sir Edward mentions "Ivanhoe," "Kenilworth," and "Quentin Durward," as masterpieces in historical fiction, and he might have added to the list his own historical romances, which are altogether worthy the reputation of their distinguished author—we cannot well bestow upon them higher praise. He contends that a work of genius must be a work of art. "For just as virtue consists in a voluntary obedience to moral law, so genius consists in a voluntary obedience to artistic law." It would, perhaps, be the shortest way of expressing the connection between genius and art to say that art is the offspring of genius.

Amongst the light reading in *Blackwood* we must include a paper on the Federal diplomatic correspondence, for it is impossible to write an essay on Mr. Seward's despatches that is not irresistibly humorous. It is curious to note, not only how all Mr. Seward's prophecies have been falsified by events, but also how coolly he has eaten his own words and changed his principles. On the 10th of April, 1861, he was of opinion that secession was a mere conspiracy, and he rejected the notion of subjugating the South. He writes: "Only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State." He must, by this time, have learnt that the task is impossible, although the Government of which he is a prominent member is thoroughly despotic. *Blackwood* strings together a number of his prognostications, and observes: "Compared with these prophecies the ravings of Mother Shipton become respectable oracles. Yet on them was founded the entire foreign policy of the Federal Government." It is passing strange that any persons in Europe should have been duped by them, but the dupes are few, and Mother Shipton had her followers.

"My Investment in the Far West" is a well-told story of the way in which Colonel Coriolanus Sling and Dr. Titus A. C. Bett got up a bubble company to construct the "Great Nauvoo and Nebraska Railway."

*Fraser* has a paper on "The Future of the National Church," which is a frank exposition of the opinions of those who think that Bishop Colenso is not unfitted for his office because he doubts the historical truth of the Pentateuch, and that the phase of scepticism which is called neology ought to be no bar to the ministry of the Church. It is assumed that the Anglican theory was "that nationalism was in any case to be preserved, as something absolute; that truth was, in one sense, secondary, namely, inasmuch as it is something relative." This is the theory of the Essayists, but we deny that it was the theory of the founders of the English Church. We did not separate from Rome because the Romish Church is not national, for perhaps there is no communion that is more adapted to become a national church. We left the Romish Church on the ground that her doctrine was faulty, and we set forth in our Articles what we believe to be her errors. At the time of the Reformation it was supposed that the whole nation would accept the doctrines of the Church; and there has been, indeed, little dissent from them. It is not to the doctrines, but to the formularies and State connection of the Church that Nonconformists object. If, for the sake of keeping sceptics within the pale of the Establishment, we make those doctrines a secondary consideration, the days of the Church will be numbered. We venture to say that ninety-nine out of every hundred communicants, and three-fourths of the rest of the members of the Establishment would at once secede from a Church that was declared to be a mere political organization.

"The Principles of Currency" is a valuable essay for those who want to learn with ease something about an abstruse and rather uninteresting subject. The writer discusses the effects of an inflation of the currency; but this, he contends, cannot arise so long as promises to pay are known to be payable on demand. When the solvency of the issuer of the notes is questionable they are at a discount, and commerce is injuriously affected. It is, then, unnecessary to place any restric-

tion on the issue of bank-notes that fulfil the conditions of currency—that is, pass from hand to hand without discount—for people will not use more bank notes than they want, any more than they will use more gold than their business needs; and no one suggests that there is any danger of an over-issue of sovereigns. The writer shows clearly that a commercial crisis is the result of an inflated credit, but not of an inflated currency. It may be said that an abundant supply of bank-notes encourages credit; but the same objection applies to an abundant supply of gold, and yet no one will argue that it is a bad sign when the coffers of the Bank are full. The truth is that the love of gain is insatiable, and that much would have more, so that a season of prosperity induces undue speculation, and excessive greed is punished by a monetary and commercial panic.

The narrative of "a Fortnight in Ireland, in the Lent of 1863," has nothing to do with Irish politics, and will be a pleasant surprise to those who think that Ireland is a den of misery. No doubt, there is much suffering, as there is much suffering in Lancashire, but there is plenty in Dublin as there is in London.

The first number of "The New Review," which is published in Dublin, is to some extent an experiment, but one which we think will succeed. Though issued monthly, it is modelled after the Quarterly Reviews. Fiction and poetry are excluded, and the subjects treated are mostly, though not entirely, political. We have, for example, in the present number, articles on "Sensation Pictures," and "Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," as well as a comprehensive notice of some new books. The principles of "The New Review" are Conservative, and they are very fully and frankly explained in an admirably written article, entitled "The Conservative Party." Toryism no longer exists, even in name, and Whiggery, according to the writer of "The New Review," exists only in name. The Whigs are no longer aggressive, and not one whit more liberal than the Conservatives, but they refuse to join the Conservative party, because by coquetting with the Radicals they are able to keep in office. "The New Review" warns them of the danger of their policy, and insists that they ought forthwith to renounce a name that is no longer significant of their political principles, and to ally themselves with the Conservative party in order to resist the encroachments of Radicalism. The Conservatives may congratulate themselves on their new and able representative in the Fourth Estate.

The *Dublin University Magazine* manifests its loyalty by the first article in the present number, "The Land of the Princess—The Isles of Denmark and their People." The writer displays an intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Danes. There seems to be much time given to meals, and the hospitality of Scandinavia appears exuberant. We must confess that we think the custom of visiting without an invitation is rather a nuisance. The Danes have been so interested in the English language, that there is even a Danish version of the nursery story of "Little Jack," and an Englishman in Copenhagen can get on remarkably well without the aid of an interpreter or that fruitful source of ridiculous blunders—a conversation lexicon. The only other contribution that calls for special notice is "Slavery and Secession—Our Answer to Professor Cairnes." The answer is unquestionably conclusive, but it will not convince any one who has read the "Slave Power," and believes its statements and arguments. If a man is fool enough to think the moon is made of green cheese, and that the stars are old moons chopped up, he will not be persuaded of his error. In like manner any one who is idiotic enough to accept Professor Cairnes's assertion, that the 4,000,000 slaves in the South are cruelly used, and that seven tenths of the white population are desperate lawless vagabonds, is incorrigibly stupid. In the interest of his clients the learned professor should remember that there is a limit to credulity, and that it is sometimes necessary for the advocate to put a check on a too ardent imagination. Any Old Bailey lawyer could tell him of many promising causes which have been lost through a too willing witness swearing to too much.

Besides the usual quantity of fiction the *Cornhill* has several amusing papers. The contribution on chess playing gives the student some very sage advice. Parents generally, and particularly mothers, will be pleased with the essay on "The Mental Condition of Babies." It is a comfort to have an assurance that the dear pets have rather more capacity than crying dolls or playful kittens.

"Revelations of Prison Life" is very lively, and dispels the notion that criminals are reformed by our present discipline. The kind of punishment we give them, as well as the care we take of their physical comforts, have a hardening effect. The solitary system seems a complete failure:—

Rogues sequestered in solitary cells ought to occupy their thoughts with repentance, no doubt; but, in ninety nine cases out of a hundred, their cogitations take a directly opposite course. Here is the written testimony of one of them. He says the thoughts of the prisoner "are always occupied with, what he has been, and what he may be, in his career of crime."

He runs over his past life, thoroughly examines his mistakes, guards and strengthens his weak points, and resolves to be more skillful next time. What college is to the student, that prison is to the thief. His prison days are his thief-making days. Most new dodges are invented and planned in prison. At night he dreams of trials, successes, flying over the prison walls, and perdition. He lies upon his bed for hours together, thinking and dreaming of what he will do when he gets at large. He reads only to kill time; his thoughts are rummaging among his past blunders, and elaborating plans for the future.

Mr. F. Marshall must be a bold man, for he contributes a paper to *Bentley's* on "False Hair," and avows the authorship thereof. According to this gentleman's testimony the luxuriant tresses worn by ladies are almost always false. It is really too bad thus to destroy a pleasing delusion. "Cardinal Pole," an historical romance, by Mr. W. H. Ainsworth, will, we think, meet with success at the circulating libraries after it has duly run its course in *Bentley's*.

In *Macmillan's* there is a novelty which is likely to prove attractive and useful. We refer to the first of a series of letters from "A Competition Wallah," which presents a graphic view of the life led by the members of our Indian Service. We may hereafter find that the competitive system, from which so much was expected, does not benefit the country, but only those mediocrities who can be readily crammed for an examination. Civil Service examination tutors find that the less brains a man has the easier he is crammed, and that clever pupils are very often plucked. "Physicians and Surgeons of the Last Generation," is a gossiping contribution about a class of men who have the knowledge, but not the time, to keep biographical diaries. A physician in full practice sees more variety of character than a barrister, but he is always too busy to impart his knowledge.

The *Victoria* is a new magazine, brought out under distinguished patronage, by Miss Emily Faithfull.

\*THE civil war in America has been accompanied, very naturally, by a conflict of the pen. Each side has its advocates or defenders, of whom some have written with a passionate warmth, more appropriate in the field than the library. To contrast with these, it is gratifying to read the opinions of a calm spectator, of one who, in the midst of exciting scenes remains unexcited, and so is able to place the simple truth before us, free from the exaggeration by which it is so frequently distorted. Such works as that of Mr. Ozanne are of special value at a time like this. What the intelligent reader requires is neither declamation nor subtle argument, but plain statements of the facts as they really exist, that, being unable to see them with his own eyes, he may have, so to speak, a photograph placed before him, an unimpassioned and truthful image of the reality.

Recollecting the deplorable cant and nonsense lately brayed at Exeter Hall and other kindred assemblages, it is of value to have before us the testimony of an eye-witness as to the actual condition of the negro. We have here the thoughtful views, not only of a spectator, but of one competent to judge, and on whose veracity all can rely. If there be any one who recollects the ravings that recently insulted the common sense of this country, let him turn to these pages and see the difference between fiction and fact, between the South as caricatured by calumniators, and the same country as it really exists.

We are here reminded of a fact that must have struck many readers. It is the singular unanimity of feeling in favour of the South which we find in the works of all who have really been there. This is the more remarkable in the case of those who entered the country with strong prejudices against it. There are few more eloquent writers or truthful spirits to be found than Frederica Bremer—far more able or high-principled than the Hon. Augusta Murray. Both arrived in the South under the strongest influences of literary association and friendship with the Abolitionists of New England. Both entered it with feelings of distrust, not, indeed, to say of aversion. Yet where are to be found in our language more beautiful and glowing pictures of a contented, happy peasantry—of a social life free from poverty, care, anxiety—of a land where the sunshine that gilds the soil sparkles with the gaiety of the people. Here is another witness to the truth. May it not be said, indeed, that the whole course of the war bears witness to it? What would have been the effect of Northern armies, emissaries, proclamations, incitements, if the negro had really been the ill-used race, if he had been impelled by that craving for escape from his position which Yankee veracity has described? Has not the world beheld fidelity in the midst of temptation, quiet in the midst of turmoil, contentment in the midst of privations? When was ever a country exposed to such an earthquake? When was ever a labouring class exposed to such a shock? What was in comparison the stimulus to our own trusted and petted Sepoys? And yet, throughout the whole of that vast area of the South, there is not one district, a single spot, in which any man can put his finger on so much as a social disturbance.

The personal narrative of Mr. Ozanne is of peculiar interest, as the scenes he visits are those of the present hostile operations. The same district around Vicksburg has just been described in the pages of the *Cornhill Magazine* by an officer of high rank; and we find the man of the sword and the minister of peace agree in their descriptions and their conclusions. This testimony of a character that commends itself to the thoughtful mind. And there is much that bears upon questions of great interest; for instance, the conduct of Butler, the cunning, cruel, corrupt, vulgar trickster, whom the people of the North are not ashamed to accept as a representative man. We find, too, inquiries into the unjust fiscal system which has filled the North with palaces built out of the tribute extracted from the Southern people. We have also placed before us the resources of the South,



a subject on which the delusions, not to say the ignorance of the North, have been truly remarkable. Throughout the work there is constant evidence of that spirit of self-sacrifice and stern resolve which have defeated and set at naught great fleets and armies, and which will render this struggle, when recorded in future history, the nobles' effort ever made by a people to resist subjugation and vindicate their right to liberty and self-government. Having said so much, we need not add that we cordially recommend the work of Mr. Ozaune to our readers.

### THE AMERICAN UNION.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Notwithstanding so much has been written on the American question, one important link in the chain of transatlantic history has been overlooked, namely, the PEACEABLE REVOLUTION that was effected by Washington, and the other "Secessionists" who framed the Federal Constitution, with closed doors, at Philadelphia in 1787, and completely overthrew the then existing Government under the "Articles of Confederation," which they had been commissioned merely to revise. Two of the delegates from New York withdrew from the Convention, and others from Virginia and Massachusetts refused to acquiesce in its proceedings in consequence of the *corp d'édit*. Rhode Island did not even desire the "Articles" amended; she refused to send delegates to the Convention, and would have prevented any change being made, if her rights had been regarded, as will be seen by the 13th Article of the Confederation, which reads:—

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

Yet in spite of this emphatic and unmistakeable language, the "Articles" were abrogated by a portion of the States, and the "Constitution" adopted containing the following clause:—

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.

And no provision was made for the payment of the public debt, the division of the public property, or, in reference to the "Crown lands," that were ceded to the "Confederation" for the benefit of all the States. It was a violation of a solemn compact—an infringement of the rights of four sovereign States that might have refused to give their concurrence. The Articles of Confederation, unlike the Constitution, did not permit of the implied right of secession, contained in the following words in the "amendments" to the latter document, adopted shortly after the organization of the new Government:—

Preamble. The Conventions of a number of States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the beneficial ends of its institutions, therefore, Resolved, &c.

Article 10. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The old Congress, too, without any authority under the "Articles" which gave them power, dismissed the "Committee of States," and adjourned on the 3rd of March, 1789, after having called a new Congress of the members from the eleven States, that after much debate, had been called into confirming the action of the "Secessionists" of 1789, to meet on the following day. No quorum, however, of Representatives was present until the 1st of April, and of Senators until the 6th. Washington was not notified of his election as President until the 14th, and his inauguration did not take place until the 30th of April, when the proceedings of the Constitutional Government of the United States of America commenced. The Executive and Legislative branches being installed, possessed from that day the power to make laws, and appoint all the officers necessary to constitute the Judiciary as well as the Executive departments, and subordinate offices both civil and military. From the 3rd of March to the 30th of April, no "union" whatever existed, and during that period of fifty-eight days, each State might have sent a separate Ambassador to the several European Courts. France had acknowledged the independence of the States even before the "Articles of Confederation" were entered into; the treaty bears date the 6th of February, 1778. During the existence of the "Articles," other powers followed her example, viz., "The United Netherlands and the United States of America; to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." On the 8th of October, 1782, "the King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c., &c., &c., and the Thirteen United States of America," on the 3rd of April, 1783. "His Britannic Majesty acknowledged the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be free, sovereign and independent States," on the 3rd of September, 1783. "His Majesty the King of Prussia, his heirs, successors, and subjects, on the one part, and the United States of America and their citizens on the other," on the 9th of July, 1785. With Morocco in 1789. And a Convention with France in 1788.

John Adams was appointed the first Minister to Great Britain after peace was restored; he arrived in London

in February, 1785, and returned to America in May, 1788, in consequence of the "mother country" not having honoured the States with a diplomatic representation, although she had sent Mr. Temple to act in the capacity of Consul for the "Eastern States," who "was admitted at a time when hopes were entertained of a commercial treaty;" but Mr. Bond, who was subsequently despatched to reside in the "middle States," was not received. Several years afterwards he was accepted as the Consul for the "Middle and Southern States."

It does not seem that any notice was given to the European Governments of the change that had taken place in the external arrangements of the States. Washington, however, as the chief magistrate of eleven States, despatched Governor Morris, of New Jersey, to England, as their "commissioner," on the 13th of October, 1789. Can it be doubted that North Carolina and Rhode Island had a right at that time to likewise send a representative separately or conjointly? The one not having united herself to the new league until the 21st of November, 1789, and the other till the 29th of May, 1790. These two States are maritime States, remote from each other, and held commercial intercourse with Great Britain during the period they were "left out in the cold." And on the same principle are not the States comprising the Southern Confederacy entitled to have an ambassador at this court, in accordance with the treaty of 1783, in which Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia are mentioned by name, and Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi were included, they being at that time portions of those States? The Treaty of 1840, between Great Britain and Texas, strengthens this position. The Southern States withdrew from the second "Union" under all the forms of law—there was no "rebellion" about their procedure. Secession is a right expressly mentioned in nearly all their ordinances in accepting the Constitution, and was never questioned until a comparatively few years since, and then only by a portion of the Northerners, who desired to control the commerce of the South. It is true that the Southerners opposed the course of the New England States when they threatened to retire from the Union, in the midst of the war with England, 1812-15: and this has been adduced as an argument against the action of the Confederates at the present time. But what right has a partner in a commercial firm to "back out" when his house is in difficulties? None whatever. A political copartnership is held together by the same tenure.

Although the action of the Constitutionalists of 1789 was a clear breach of faith with those who opposed the movement to peaceable revolution, no sound thinker can deny that the States had the power to alter their form of Government. To be sure, the "Articles of Confederation" were called a perpetual Union, and were framed from a draft submitted by Franklin, which Mr. Madison, in an introduction to his "Debates in the Convention," refers to in the following language:—

It appears that as early as the 21st of July, 1775, a plan entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union of the Colonies," had been sketched by Dr. Franklin—the plan being on that day submitted by him to Congress, and, though not copied into their journals, remaining on their files in his handwriting. But, notwithstanding the term "perpetual" observed in the title, the articles provided expressly for this event of a return of the colonies to a connection with Great Britain.

The words, "We, the people," and more "perfect" union used in the preamble to the Constitution, have been productive of mischief, in consequence of their not having been properly understood by the masses, who have been led astray by designing politicians taking advantage of these expressions without explaining their true intent and meaning. History settles all difficulties on this subject. On the 6th of August, 1787, the committee appointed for that purpose reported the first draft of a Constitution. The preamble was in these words:—"We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, do ordain, declare, and establish the following Constitution, for the government of ourselves and our posterity." On the next day this preamble was unanimously adopted. The draft of the Constitution was discussed, and various alterations made until the 8th of September, 1787, when the following resolution was passed:—"It was moved and seconded to appoint a committee of five, to revise the style of, and arrange the articles agreed to, by the House; which passed in the affirmative." This committee had no power to change the meaning of anything which had been adopted, but were authorized merely to "revise the style" and arrange the matter in proper order. On the 12th of the same month, they made their report. The preamble read:—"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." On the next day (13th September) "it was moved and seconded to proceed to comparing of the report from the committee of revision, with the articles that were agreed to by the House, and to them referred for arrangement, which passed in the affirmative, and the same was read by paragraphs, compared, and in some places corrected and amended." The only change which was made in the preamble was striking out the word "to" before the words "establish justice," and no other change was made in any of the articles, except such as would make the "report of the committee of revision correspond with the article agreed to by the House." There is a perfectly conclusive reason for the change of phraseology in the preamble, from the States by name, to the more general expression "the United States," and this

too without supposing that it was to convey a different idea as to the parties to the Constitution. The revised draft contained a proviso that the Constitution should go into operation when adopted and ratified by nine States. It was, of course, uncertain whether more than nine States would adopt it, or not, and if they should not, it would be altogether improper to name them as parties to that instrument. As to one of them, Rhode Island, not being represented in the Convention, it would be altogether improper to insert her as a party. Hence it became necessary to adopt a form of expression which would apply to those who should ratify the Constitution, and not to those who should refuse to do so. And it simply means, "We, the people of those States who have united for that purpose, do ordain," &c. This construction corresponds with the historical fact, and reconciles the language employed with the circumstances of the case. The word "people" was plural as well as singular at that period; indeed, it was so used up to the year 1847, when the expression "peoples" was suggested by Kossuth, who said that the Austrians and Hungarians were two peoples.

The Government under the Articles of Confederation, having only been in existence six years at the time of the framing of the Constitution, it would have been an absurdity to repeat the word "perpetual" on the latter document, and a less permanent term was inserted—a "more perfect" union. Now, this language is quite moderate in its character. The Government was only to be "perfect" as long as it lasted. The work of human hands can never be so "perfect" as to be "perpetual;" "perpetual" motion has not yet been discovered.

In the opinion of many sound lawyers, each one of the Northern States has now a right under the existing treaties to despatch Ministers to Europe. The bond of Union between them—the Constitution—has been broken by the Lincoln Administration, and they are only held together by the inertia of a large military force. Mr. Madison, in his inaugural address, declared the duties of the Federal Government to be: "to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitation as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States, and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to, the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; in behalf of private and personal rights, and the freedom of the press," &c., &c.

The Lincoln Government is as revolutionary in its character as that of its neighbours in the South-West—the Mexican States. Indeed, there is a striking similarity between them. The difficulties that have existed in the latter country for the last thirty years, have been altogether owing to the interference by the Central authorities with the rights of the individual States, and the constant effort to form a consolidated power.

Your obedient Servant,

LONDON, May 2nd.

WECCACOE.

### THE ST. JAMES'S HALL MEETING.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—In one of your recent numbers some remarks appeared upon a meeting in St. James's Hall of persons who professed to be Trades Unionists. On last Saturday evening, Mr. Bright and a deputation presented an address, and a copy of resolutions, from that meeting to Mr. Adams, the representative here of the Northern States. Mr. Bright described this meeting on that evening as one of Trades Unionists, and intimated to Mr. Adams that the Trades Unions now were moving in favour of the Morrill tariff on British goods and the Butler tax on Confederate cotton—not indeed in so many words, but by the assertion of their sympathy with the North in this struggle—the Butler tax and the Morrill tariff being both items of Federal policy as consistent with Mr. Bright's political principles as the war encouraged by him is with his religious professions.

In these circumstances, that is to say in reference to your notice and Mr. Bright's misrepresentations, perhaps you will allow me to say that the meeting in St. James's Hall had no more to do with Trades Unions than with secular societies, and probably not so much. The meeting was not attended by delegates from any Trades Union. It was not confined to members of Trades Unions. It was not paid for from the funds of Trades Unions. The orators were not all members of Trades Unions. Mr. Bright, the chairman, certainly is not a member of one of these societies; and the affair has been repudiated by the representatives of some Trades Unions. Others have not interfered in the matter from a conviction that the non-political character of their societies is well known. As the St. James's Hall Meeting was not one of Trades Societies, you may not object to know its real character. It was addressed by persons who talk frequently in the meetings for political and secular discussions among the working classes and the classes who assemble in taverns. Its expenses were paid by a donation of £20 or £25 from the new Emancipation Society; and by the gifts of some of that union's supporters. The "new" Emancipation Society should be distinguished from the "old;" for the members of the older body never proposed to be generous at other people's expense alone, but always carried with them the idea of compensation. They never proposed to confiscate.

Mr. Bright has thus attempted to deceive Mr. Adams, President Lincoln, and every other remote person interested in the question, by representing a gathering of his own Emancipation Society, devised by its office-bearers, addressed chiefly by an able, acute, but ruined, and experienced opponent of Trades Societies, and paid for from the funds of that Emancipation Society, as a meeting of the Trades Unions.

Yours respectfully,

N. S.



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19 ditto.....3 7 3		6 ditto.....1 1 2	
18 ditto.....3 3 8		5 ditto.....0 17 8	
17 ditto.....3 0 2		4 ditto.....0 14 2	
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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 55.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 14, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America .. .. .	33
England .. .. .	34
Europe .. .. .	34
Parliamentary Notes .. .. .	35
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter .. .. .	36
Manchester Letter .. .. .	36
LEADERS—	
A Long War .. .. .	40
The New Star of the North .. .. .	40
International Law and American Practice .. .. .	41
A Glance at Southern Newspapers .. .. .	42
Forthcoming Books .. .. .	44
Letter from Richmond .. .. .	44
Further Accounts of the Battle of Charleston .. .. .	46
No Peace .. .. .	38
The Yazoo Pass Expedition .. .. .	38
Confederate Treasury Notes .. .. .	39
The Bread and Meat Question .. .. .	38
The Superior Power of the North .. .. .	33

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

On the 30th of April, at sunrise, the Federal forces commenced the passage of the Rappahannock, and it is alleged that the bulk of the army has crossed the river. Having stated thus much, we have given all that is known about the latest attempt of the Federals to march on to Richmond. The intelligence is accompanied by the usual prognostics of the speedy triumph of the invincible Northern army, and congratulations on the easy way in which the Confederate Commander has been outgeneralled.

The news of the advance was known in New York in time to have forwarded it to Europe, *via* Halifax, by the Arabia, but the military superintendent had imperative orders to permit no information relative to the army of General Hooker to be given to the public. The movement was intended to be a grand surprise, but since it was known in New York, it seems to us that no detriment to the service could have ensued from its transmission to Europe. The movement has, in a certain sense, been a surprise to Europe, and very possibly to the South, but it cannot be supposed that the Confederates were taken unawares and at a disadvantage. The heights of Fredericksburg are too near the scene of the movements of General Hooker for them to have been effected without detection. The assumption of the Confederates being surprised is founded on the unopposed passage of the river, but it seems to us that General Lee may have good reason for rejoicing at this movement.

The programme of the North is, that General Lee will be outflanked, and that he has no alternative but to march out and fight, "with the certainty that, if defeated, his whole army will be destroyed or captured." Suppose General Lee refuses to march out. What then? Either General Hooker must attack the Confederate position on the heights of Fredericksburg, or proceed on his way to Richmond, leaving General Lee at his leisure to march out and fall upon his rear. We do not presume to prophesy the issue of the new campaign, but we submit there is nothing to justify arrogant confidence and preliminary rejoicings on the part of the Federals. We know the Confederates will do their best, and that the military position of the Confederates in Virginia was never stronger or less assailable than it is at present. General Hooker was obliged to advance or resign, for an advance was necessary to the Lincoln Government. He has chosen the former alternative. If he succeeds, the plea of necessity will be needless; if he fails, the plea of necessity will not save him from popular denunciation. In a few days we shall learn whether Hooker

has attacked the heights of Fredericksburg, or gone "on to Richmond," leaving a powerful enemy in his rear.

The Confederate advance in Western Virginia and Maryland has caused considerable excitement. It is supposed that the object is to break up the Baltimore and Ohio railroads. It is said that the Confederates have only small bodies of troops engaged in this expedition. General Stonewall Jackson is reported to be at the head of these forces. The latest advices state, "There is a large Confederate force at Morgantown, Western Virginia, on the Pennsylvania State line of railway. They have repulsed Colonel Mulligan at Fairmount, and destroyed the Baltimore and Ohio bridges at Fairmount and Cheat River."

On the 26th of April it was officially announced at Washington that twelve more transports had passed Vicksburg on the 23rd, without serious damage, except to one, which was sunk. It was next stated that "four Federal transports, which attempted to pass Vicksburg on the 23rd, were sunk, and two others badly damaged;" and now we are again assured that only one transport was sunk. What are we to believe?

General Banks is said to have made a successful expedition into the Bayou Teche country, and that he has taken 1,500 prisoners, and a large amount of stores. It is also reported that he has taken possession of the Opelousas railroad, and communicated with Admiral Farragut. General Banks in two engagements has lost 7,000 men killed and wounded.

The reports from Missouri are contradictory. A body of 3,000 Confederates, under General Marmaduke, are said to have been defeated at Cape Girardeau, and, of course, "hotly pursued by the Federals." Another report says, it was only a part of General Marmaduke's forces that were engaged at Cape Girardeau. In the meantime, we are informed that General Price is at Little Rock, Arkansas, preparing for the campaign in Missouri.

In St. Louis 200 Confederates seized, during the night, the fastest steamer at the levee, and escaped with her. A still more dashing adventure is reported from Mobile. Eighteen men from that city proceeded to the mouth of the Mississippi, and captured a Federal tugboat, which they ran through the blockading fleet into Mobile. An account of this enterprise will be found in another part of our impression.

The New York papers state that the second Federal expedition to Yazoo River has proved a failure. Also that the Federal pickets have been driven in, and skirmishing has recommenced upon the Nasemonde River.

The report of the committee appointed by the Federal Congress to inquire into the conduct of the war has been published, and the *New York Herald* says that the revelations "are of a scandalous character, calculated to damage the President and his Cabinet, and to throw a wet blanket on the national enthusiasm for the war, so as to prepare the way to bring it to a close as soon as possible, with a divided Union and two Independent Governments." There is, at all events, enough in the report to justify angry comments. The object of the committee was, evidently, to damage General McClellan. The first question put to General Hooker was, "To what do you attribute the failure of the peninsular campaign?" And to this he replied, "I do not hesitate to say that it is to be attributed to the want of generalship on the part of our commander." Hooker's plan, when he arrived at York Town, has the merit of extreme simplicity. He says he should have got to the rear of the Confederates. "They would run the moment we got to their rear, and we could have picked up the prisoners." A charming arrangement, we admit; but it might have been frustrated by the obsti-

nate Confederates not allowing Hooker to get in their rear. Hooker could have taken Richmond half a dozen times. He knew no reason why General McClellan did not throw his army between York Town and Williamsburg, and capture and destroy the enemy's army. After the Battle of Williamsburg, he thinks "we could have moved right on, and got into Richmond by the second day after the battle without another gun being fired." And here let us bear testimony to the unscrupulous accuracy of General Hooker. Speaking of the battle of Williamsburg, he says, "I have since learned from most reliable sources that when the news of that battle reached Richmond, Jefferson Davis and Governor Letcher moved their families out of Richmond, removed the archives and their libraries; and every citizen who could command a vehicle had his goods piled on waggons and prepared to abandon the city. They only returned—those who had left—when they found that the pursuit ceased—I might almost say was abandoned." How kind to inform the Committee that those who did not leave did not return! After the battle of Fair Oaks he was equally sure of getting into Richmond. In answer to Mr. Chandler, he said, "I would say that at no time during the whole of that campaign did I feel that we could not go to Richmond." Judging of General Hooker's military capacity, from his examination before the Committee, we are inclined to think that if he had been in command of the Army of the Potomac, he and a considerable portion of his forces would have speedily found their way to Richmond under an escort. Hooker went to McClellan (so he says) and pressed him to take Richmond, and when he returned to his camp he found an order from his commander to prepare himself with three days' rations and the usual amount of ammunition. "I firmly believed that order meant Richmond. I had said to General McClellan that if we were unsuccessful it would probably cost him his head; but that he might as well die for an old sheep as for a lamb." This was a curious way to encourage his Commander to advance. It seems that McClellan declined to die for Hooker or any other old sheep. In reference to the battle of Malvern, Hooker was asked, "Could you have gone into Richmond after that fight?" and he promptly replied, "I have no doubt we could." When interrogated about the treatment of Pope, he said, "I myself felt as though Pope was not supported. But it was a matter of feeling. I had no opportunity of knowing the facts in the case." No one who reads the testimony of the feeling Joseph Hooker can be surprised that he should sympathize with the invincible John Pope. Hooker's comments on the battle of Antietam are poetical and affecting. He tells us before the battle began the soldiers "almost rent the skies with their cheers." He says, "I felt as though there would be troops enough with me to drive the rebel army into the Potomac, or to destroy it; and I expected to be able to do that by 3 o'clock that day." He was wounded, and had to leave the field; but if he could not fight he could feel. "As an evidence of my feeling when I left the field, I telegraphed to my brother-in-law—supposing they would be anxious about me—that we had won a great battle. I did not suppose that anything could happen by which any drawn battle could be made of it. I telegraphed that we had won a great battle, which had been severely contested on both sides." This was a cool proceeding, especially as he admits that before leaving the field "I had lost about 4,000 men myself." Perhaps this mistake about the result of the battle of Antietam made Hooker rather reckless of life, for in his testimony about the campaign under General Burnside—whom he does not like better than McClellan—he says he did not hesitate to make the attack at Fredericksburg, though he knew it to be useless, because "it made no difference what became of me." This humility is touching. If he had been killed at the battle of Fredericksburg the



world would not have been favoured with this comic version of the history of the war in Virginia. Mr. Lincoln loves a joke and we presume a joker, and if he had been called upon to attend the funeral obsequies of "fighting Joe," he would no doubt have paraphrased, in his own West County vernacular, the exclamation of Prince Henry when he thought Falstaff dead, "I could better have spared a better man."

General McClellan's examination proves him to be a gentleman, for it does not abound in charges brought against his comrades, and it displays admirable temper. He seems to have answered all the questions addressed to him for the purpose of proving that he was a coward, with the utmost coolness. It is unnecessary for us to criticize General McClellan's tactics. His failure is a sufficient criticism.

The Alabama has captured the Federal ship Morning Star, which was released on giving bonds for \$60,000.

The Confederate steamer St. John, bound for Nassau, has been captured off Cape Roman. The crew escaped.

The Prize Court has ordered the cargo of the Peterhoff to be landed and examined, to ascertain if there is contraband of war on board. This is merely done to make the proceedings as vexatious as possible to the English owners. Unless the Peterhoff was engaged in an unlawful voyage—that is, was not going from a neutral port to a neutral port—her cargo cannot be contraband. Is her cargo to be adduced as evidence of her destination? Suppose the Peterhoff had guns on board, would that prove that she did not intend to deliver the mail with which she was charged? The Federals call medicine contraband. Will a box of quinine, if found amongst the cargo of the Peterhoff, be sufficient to condemn her? Once admit the principle that the cargo and not the destination of a vessel is to be the test of the lawfulness of a voyage—or that the cargo is to be a proof of destination, and we must forthwith give up our trade with all the neutral ports that the Federals choose to blockade.

It is stated that arrears of pay to the Federal army amounting to nearly \$60,000,000, have been liquidated, but that the arrears due to the widows of soldiers have not been paid. The Federal Government wants the soldiers and does not want the widows, and it pays those who can render it a service.

There is some talk of taking California out of the Union and establishing a Pacific Republic. The *New York Herald* says, "If California ever throws off the Federal control, it will be the work of Northern men, who will refuse to pay crushing taxation, or to regard the Constitution laws."

The price of gold at New York, on the 1st of May was 50½ per cent. premium.

**CONFEDERATE ARRIVALS.**—The Hon. C. J. McRae, of Alabama, whose arrival on an important financial mission in connection with the Confederate Loan has been for some time expected, arrived at Southampton by the last West India steamer. He has at once proceeded by the Havre packet to Paris. We also learn the arrival, by same steamer, of Charles Walsh, Esq. President of the Bank of Mobile.

#### ENGLAND.

There is a decrease in the number of persons receiving parochial relief in Lancashire of 5450. We have already explained that this does not imply a proportionate diminution or relaxation of the severity of the misery resulting from the cotton famine. There is, however, a very slight increase in the amount of employment given by the factories: arising, however, rather from a resumption of full work by those who were only working half-time, than from the opening of mills hitherto closed. It is important to notice [this distinction, which has a considerable bearing on the condition of the trade. Half-time can never pay, for the expenses of working half-time are more than half those of working full time, while the produce is only one-half. If, therefore, it pay a millowner to work at all, it pays him best to work as long hours as the law allows. But when to work at all involves loss, it may easily occur that the loss is less on working half-time; and this is generally the case when, as now, the loss is caused by a rise in the price of the raw material. Hence, while the reopening of a few mills for half-time would suggest that the proprietors were influenced either by feelings of compunction, or by a desire to keep their work-people together, or by some other motive altogether irrespective of the prospects of trade, the change from half-time to full-time of mills already open gives us reason to ask whether it may not have been found that, even at present prices, particular kinds of calico may, under special circumstances, be woven at a profit? If so, there is *pro tanto* an improvement, however trivial, in the home prospects of the factory folk.

The circular of Messrs. Neill Brothers and Co. contains some important facts and suggestions in regard to the cotton supply. It appears that the increased imports of cotton from the East Indies, of which we have heard so much, are, in fact, non-existent, while the minor sources of supply, though some of them have greatly increased their exports, still send us so little that their crops hardly deserve to be enumerated. "Comparing the imports of 1862 with those of 1861, we find that India has given us an increase of 6½ per cent., Egypt 44 per cent., and Brazil 35 per cent. We have heard a great deal of the West Coast of Africa, but the yield has been only 3,300 cwts., against 1,300 in 1861; and of the West Indies, but they have only given 10,400 cwts., against 9,400 the previous year. In 1861 the imports from Turkey were 633 cwts.; in 1862, 41,212 cwts.; but the crop now coming in is estimated by competent authorities at 100,000 bales, or 300,000 cwts." This firm expects a further reduction of stocks, and probably a rise in price during the next few months. From May to September, inclusive, according to their estimates, the balance of supply and consumption will be somewhat as follows:—

SUPPLY.		CONSUMPTION.	
	Bales.		Bales.
Indian .....	275,000	Home (21 weeks)	
Other .....	165,000	at 23,000 .....	483,000
Stock in Liverpool..	369,000	Foreign demand ..	210,000
		Balance in hand at	
		close of September	116,000
Total ....	809,000	Total ....	809,000

This estimate would reduce the stock in Liverpool, at the close of September, so low as to ensure a rise even above the present high prices. Nevertheless, if the estimate of 23,000 bales for home consumption be realized, it will at least imply a certain improvement in the labour market of Lancashire, where recently the demand did not exceed 15,000 bales per week.

It should be borne in mind that the factory operatives are paid by the piece; that Surats take much more care, and give much more trouble to both spinners and weavers than American cotton; and that consequently at the same ratio of pay a worker earns far less now in the same time than was the case before June, 1861. In fact, before that time, a married couple could earn enough in two days' work for the bare subsistence of themselves and a child; a small family could maintain themselves by half-work; whereas, now full work barely furnishes a sufficient maintenance. With experience, and improvements in machinery, this evil will diminish; but Surats will always be so liable to break, and give so much trouble, that the operatives must earn much less, or the purchaser give much more for inferior wares than heretofore, until the cultivation of cotton in the Confederate States is sufficiently recovered to drive Surats once more out of the market, except for the purpose of admixture with low American cotton in the most inferior class of goods.

A curious and not very creditable correspondence has been published in the *Times*, relative to a matter which engaged the attention of the House of Commons on Thursday night. It seems that the American Minister at Rio, one General Webb, whose connection with the New York Press is more notorious than the services which have procured him his military rank or his diplomatic position, had a quarrel over the whist-table with Mr. Christie, whose want of temper, diplomatic reserve, and gentlemanly feeling contributed in no small degree to produce the recent misunderstanding between this country and Brazil. So far as we can understand the merits of the quarrel (both parties to which liberally accuse one another of lying, while neither can be held entitled to implicit credence from others), it appears that Mr. Christie and General Webb were partners; that the General complained of Mr. Christie's play, and the latter retorted by a somewhat petulant remark upon his colleague's talkativeness; that General Webb thereupon threatened to inflict personal chastisement on Mr. Christie; that threats were used on both sides, and that the matter did not end in a duel. Mr. Christie was no doubt placed in a difficult position, when once he had come to high words with a person of General Webb's character; and it seems that the latter behaved like a ruffian and a bully. But we know too much of the previous history of the British Envoy—of his disgraceful quarrels with his own attachés, of his insolence to them, of his squabbles with his diplomatic colleagues, of his outrageous impertinence to the very courteous Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the intemperate language of his despatches to Lord Russell in vituperation of that courteous Minister—to believe that he was blameless in the matter. It is a pity that personal friendship for a diplomatist so utterly unworthy to represent a great country should have led so many gentlemen in the House of Commons to uplift their voices in Mr. Christie's behalf. As for General Webb, Lord Russell, no doubt, did right to treat his letter in

accusation of Mr. Christie with the contempt which it merited; but Lord Russell's successor will do better still to recall Mr. Christie from a post which he is utterly incompetent to fill. His antagonist is, we do not doubt, a fit representative of the present Government of the United States; and while that Government remains in office, he will naturally continue to do its bidding at Rio de Janeiro. For the rest, the English public is likely to take a very impartial view of this disgraceful quarrel, and to sum up its judgment by classing both the brawlers together as "Arcades ambo"—according to the Byronic translation of that phrase.

The conduct of the Piedmontese Government in the Neapolitan provinces has furnished both Houses of Parliament with matter for somewhat angry discussion. That of the House of Lords may be briefly dismissed. Mr. Bishop is an amiable gentleman, of weak judgment and Legitimist principles, who allowed himself to be made certainly the letter-carrier and probably the accomplice of the reactionary conspirators in Naples. He was guilty of treason, we have no doubt; and if he had been at once put on his trial for treason, fairly tried, convicted, and hanged, nothing could have been said. The difficulty which exists in the way of English intervention on his behalf is simply this: that he ought to have been tried, not for conspiracy, but for treason, and that his sentence should have been, not ten years at the galleys, but death. As it is, Lord Russell has obtained a promise of his eventual pardon; and this would have satisfied everybody, if Lord Russell would have refrained from defending the entire proceedings of the Piedmontese authorities. It would be wiser to admit frankly the extreme severity of the Italian Government in its Neapolitan provinces; to rebuke and protest against its errors; and having thus secured their own reputation for candour, to point out that, after all, the present condition and prospects of Italy are better than they could have been had Naples and Sicily not fallen under Sardinian rule. It is in vain to deny a fact so patent as the badness and unpopularity of the present Administration of the Neapolitan provinces: it is absurd to deprecate discussion of the conduct of the Italian Government, and at the same time to take credit for having used the power of England to create and aggrandise that Government. We trust that the exposure of their faults in the English Parliament may do something to bring the rulers of Italy to amendment: for their present career is painful and discouraging to their well-wishers.

The Anglo-Saxon steamer, from Liverpool and Londonderry, for Portland or Quebec, with 360 passengers, and a crew of eighty-four men, was shipwrecked off Cape Race, in a dense fog, on the 27th ult. About 180 persons have been saved; the fate of a few is uncertain; but there is every reason to believe that nearly 250 must have perished. The telegrams received at Boston state that the ship went ashore about four miles east of Cape Race, at noon, on the 27th; that seventy-three persons escaped by means of ropes and spars, and upwards of one hundred in different boats, but that the deck broke up about an hour after the vessel struck, and it would seem that all who were then on board perished. The *New York journals* say:—"The terrible disaster to the Anglo-Saxon would, undoubtedly, have been avoided but for the unaccountable refusal of the British Government to permit the Associated Press, the New York underwriters, the Transatlantic Steam Companies, and other parties in New York, to place one of Daboll's powerful air trumpets at Cape Race, which could be distinctly heard in foggy weather from six to ten miles at sea, and would save millions of property and hundreds of lives."

#### EUROPE.

THE session of the Corps Legislatif was closed on Friday by a speech from the Duke de Morny, in which he thanked the members for the confidence and kindness they had shown him, and expressed the wish that they might all meet again. M. de Morny said:—"A Government without control and without criticism is like a vessel without ballast. The absence of contradiction blinds and sometimes misleads the Government, and does not tranquillise the country. Our discussions have done more to increase security than a deceitful silence could have effected. \* \* \* Political daily contact has brought you to esteem and honour one another. In spite of the warmest discussions you must admit that the most opposite opinions have softened down and yielded a little towards each other. How many prejudices have been removed, and how much mistrust has vanished?"

M. de Persigny has written a circular to the prefects, in which he points out the course they are to pursue



in the elections, which are definitely fixed for the 31st of May, with reference to the several candidates.

"If," he says, "there were in France as in England only parties divided as to the conduct of affairs, but equally attached to all fundamental institutions, the Government might confine itself in the elections to watching the struggle of the different opinions; but in France there are parties which are only factions. Formed of the wrecks of fallen governments, though weakened every day by time, they only seek to insinuate themselves into the heart of our institutions in order to vitiate their principles, and only invoke liberty to turn it against the State." "In presence of a coalition of rancour, hostilities, and disappointment, the duty of the Prefect is to leave full liberty for candidates to come forward for the publication and distribution of professions of faith and balloting papers; but at the same time to openly designate the candidates in whom the Government has confidence, that the populations may know who are the friends and who the adversaries more or less disguised of the Empire."

A telegram from Halifax announces that Puebla was invested on the 23rd of March, that the bombardment opened on the 27th, that a breach was made on the 31st, and the assault at once given. The Plaza de Armas and the cathedral, which had been fortified, were captured, and nothing remained to the Mexicans, who fought with great courage and determination, but Forts Guadalupe and Loreto. The success cost the French 150 killed and 500 wounded. The announcement is likely enough to prove correct, but the authority is not a reliable one.

We are sorry to say that the Empress is unwell; an evening party at the Tuileries had, on that account, to be postponed. Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde have arrived in Egypt.

The Russian Government has published the notes it has received from Sweden, Spain, and Italy, together with its replies. Neither applications nor answers contain anything important. Prince Gortschakoff is civil, only allowing himself a polished sneer at the Italian Government. The Swiss Federal Council has, as a matter of course, declined to take any part in the intervention. The wonder is that Earl Russell should have asked it to do so. A State whose neutrality is guaranteed by Europe, has no business to interfere in European quarrels. The English and French Governments are believed to be engaged in negotiations, having for their object the attainment of an understanding as to the further steps to be taken.

The rumour that the question will be referred to a Congress acquires consistency. *La France* says that Russia accepts the principle of a Congress, and the *Kreuz Zeitung* of Berlin, which is more likely to know what are the views of the Russian Government, thinks that it is favourable to the scheme.

There has been much hard fighting in Poland during the last few days, the general result being rather in favour of the Russians. The principal scenes of conflict have been the neighbourhood of Kalisch, where very strong bands of insurgents, continually reinforced from Posen, have for some time made head against the Russians and the Galician frontier, round about Sandomir. Our space will not allow us to array the telegraph triumphs on each side, and appreciate the credit to be given to each, and it would be labour lost, for before the result reached our readers fresh telegrams would, in all probability, have arrived, giving a totally fresh character to the struggle. Great devastations have been committed, it is said, in Livonia, in the neighbourhood of Dunaberg, by a body of fanatics whom the Russian Government, hitherto barely tolerating, has called to its aid. They have attacked the houses of the nobility, stripped them of their valuables, and grossly maltreated the inmates; several ladies are said to have sustained horrible outrages at their hands. A London newspaper, which has already made some terrible blunders about Livonia and Courland, describes these outrages in evidently very exaggerated terms, and goes so far as to pretend that the perpetrators were Russian soldiers disguised as these dissidents. That, however, is too gross an experiment upon the credulity even of the British public, prepared as it is to believe everything bad of the Russians. The Russian Government cannot afford to disperse its soldiers in such a way, and certainly if it did allow them to pillage and murder, it would not take the trouble to disguise them. The Polish accounts speak of these dissidents—Raskolniks they are called—as the criminals. If they were Russians in disguise, the journals of the insurrection would take care to blazon the abomination.

The agitation in Polish Prussia seems to augment. The Government has redoubled its vigilance. The police have made many domiciliary visits and arrested a large number of persons. The Government had serious

thoughts of proclaiming the state of siege, but the provincial authorities have reported that they can maintain order without its adoption.

The Minister of Justice has applied to the House of Deputies for permission to prosecute two of the Polish members of the House for high treason,—Count Dzialinski and Herr Guttry—the prosecution being probably based upon information obtained by the seizure of papers made at the house of Count Dzialinski. The Count is said to be with the insurgents in the Government of Kalisch. Herr Guttry is reported to be in Brussels. Two more members of the House will probably be prosecuted—one, Bentkowski, was aide-de-camp to Langiewicz, and was arrested by the Austrian Government at Cracow; the other, Niegolowski, is said to be with one of the insurgent bands on the Wartha.

The Prussian House of Deputies has commenced the discussion of the law for the reorganization of the army. It has to choose between the proposition of the Government, which retains the three years' service with the augmentation of the *cadres*, and the other alterations to which the country is so much opposed; the proposition of the Committee, which, insisting on the two years' service, allows a yearly levy of 60,000 men, and the resolution of the extreme Liberal party, which, proceeding from the principle that the present Government can be trusted with nothing, declares that not more than 40,000 men should be levied in each year. A host of amendments have been presented, offering compromises between these different views, and it is probable that if the proposal of the Committee is not accepted, one of these mediating proposals approaching pretty nearly to it, will be successful.

The discussion has been broken off by the recurrence of an old difficulty. None of the Ministers are members of the House, and they are present at its sittings only in their ministerial capacity. On that ground the present ministry, as did that of Van der Heydt, deny the right of the President of the House to limit a Minister's freedom of speech by calling him to order. They deny that they are in the slightest degree subject to his authority. Our readers will remember that a few weeks since Herr von Bismark Schonhausen flatly told the Vice-President presiding, that he could pay no regard to his authority. The present squabble has arisen from an expression employed by Herr von Roon, the Minister at War. He described a remark of Herr von Sybel as an "unwarrantable assumption," and was interrupted by the President. The Minister disputed the powers of the latter, who put on his hat, and adjourned the House.

The dispute was thus brought to a crisis. At the sitting of the following morning the President had to read a letter signed by the Ministers, stating that so long as the House supports the assumption made by the President, of a right to limit the Ministerial freedom of speech, the Cabinet will no longer attend the sittings of the House.

The letter was referred to a special committee, which has already made its report, recommending the House not to assent to the Ministerial demand; and until this great privilege question is settled, the debates upon the army re-organization will necessarily be suspended. We confess that, with all our sympathy for the cause which the House of Deputies is maintaining, we are inclined to consider that the Ministers have some justification for their pretention. They form no part of the House, and they certainly do not attend its meetings for their own pleasure. Our readers will remember that upon several occasions the House has complained loudly of their absence, and summoned them to attend. The only object which the deputies have in enforcing that attendance is, that they may have the pleasure of abusing Herr von Bismarck or Von Roon to their faces. The breach between the House and the Ministry is so wide that no explanation or discussion can close it, and the Ministers naturally have an objection to sit like so many criminals in the dock before a succession of vituperative orators, whose violent denunciations and bitter gibes are rapturously received by the House, which interrupts the Ministers at every sentence with laughter and other noises. The members put no curb upon their tongues; and the Presidents, who are all active members of the Liberal party, take little trouble to restrain them; whilst, on the other hand, they are very quick to call out against a strong expression which falls from the Ministerial table. We speak of what we have ourselves seen, and for that reason we are not disposed to condemn the proceedings of Herr von Bismarck and his colleagues.

The question once raised so distinctly, it cannot be settled easily. Either the Ministers or the House must give way—that is to say, suffer a great humiliation, or the House will be left to carry on its debates without the Ministers, and then they will lose half their interest and effect.

The Danish Rigsraad—the Legislative Assembly originally established for the whole Monarchy, including Holstein and Lauenburg, but, since the revocation in 1838 of the common constitution for the two German duchies, representing only Denmark proper and Schleswig—is now engaged in discussing an address in answer to the speech from the throne. Although the great majority of the Assembly are disposed to sustain the King and his ministers in their recent action with respect to Holstein, the measure does not escape criticism. If the Danes are desirous to maintain their national independence, they are equally determined to defend their constitutional privileges. And although they accept the ordinance of the 30th March as the best solution of the difficulty, they cannot exactly stomach the determination of so weighty a step by the King's good pleasure, and without the previous assent of the Rigsraad. Meanwhile the Germans are gnashing their teeth, and vowing a terrible vengeance upon Denmark, as soon as they are in a position to take it. The leading Prussian journals, for instance, are quite beside themselves with rage. They feel the utter inability of Prussia to do anything now, and they can only console themselves by reviving the absurd pretensions to Schleswig, which they may make themselves quite certain Europe will, under no circumstances, allow them to establish. The Diet is deliberating what it shall do in the matter. The Austrian Government is said to have recommended the seizure of Holstein as a "material guarantee;" but Austria herself is not now in a position to carry the recommendation into effect.

From Madrid we learn that the sittings of the Cortes have been suspended, whether with a view to a dissolution we are not informed. From Lisbon we have the announcement that the King of Portugal has left his dominions, on a foreign tour, intended to have some two months' duration, having first ascertained from the Chambers that the country could do without his presence so long.

The state of Greece—whose chance of getting a king has declined again—is very unsatisfactory. Telegrams from Trieste confirm the announcement of the resignation of Ministers, and speak of an agitation hostile to the King designate; whilst Otho has made the—in the present state of the Greek Treasury crushing—demand of six million drachmas for his private property.

A telegram announces that an earthquake at Rhodes on the 22nd, occasioned the destruction of 2,000 houses and a proportionate loss—a most ambiguous phrase—of human life. It is strange that fuller particulars should not have reached us before this.

The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Aali Pasha, has addressed a circular to the Representatives of the Sublime Port at Paris and London, in which he declares that the Sultan cannot allow any further prosecution of the works of the Suez Canal except upon the fulfilment of certain conditions which he specifies.

In the first place, an international agreement must guarantee the neutrality of the canal in the same way as the neutrality of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles is secured; secondly, the freed labour by which the canal has hitherto been constructed must be abolished. 60,000 men, the Pasha says, are now kept from their families and callings by the canal. And lastly, the Company must abandon the clause in the contract which surrenders them the whole territory bordering on the canal—a clause which the Pasha says would give them the frontier of Syria, and allow the establishment in the empire of colonies almost independent of it. These conditions satisfied, the Sultan will take the contract into consideration, and if the Company cannot, or will not, satisfy them, he is willing to return the money they have expended, although, as they have incurred the expenditure without obtaining his assent, which the contract they entered into with the late Pasha made a fundamental condition, they have no right to reimbursement. This despatch has excited much feeling in Paris, where it is regarded as a result of British intrigues, with very little reason. Lord Palmerston is, indeed, opposed to the canal, but Earl Russell and some other members of the Cabinet have expressed themselves strongly in its favour.

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MAY 7.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The bill sent up from the Commons, for the prevention of corrupt practices at parliamentary elections, passed through committee.

Lord Redesdale moved a resolution intended to prevent clauses being inserted in Railway Bills—which are private bills—giving power to tenants for life of entailed estates to charge those estates with a rent-charge for the purpose of constructing



railways, on the plea that their construction would benefit the estate. Lord St. Leonards, formerly Chancellor, supported this resolution. Viscount Eversley—late Speaker of the House of Commons—moved, as an amendment: "That while this House is of opinion that the question of empowering land-owners to charge settled estates for the purpose of taking shares in railways contiguous to those estates ought to be dealt with as soon as possible by a public Act (which should also comprehend provisions for charging estates for drainage, building, and other improvements), it is not prepared to withdraw from the consideration of Committees on Railway Bills clauses which may confer such powers; provided that such securities and conditions be obtained as shall be satisfactory to the committee, and that the charge so imposed shall be in the form of a rent-charge for a term not exceeding twenty-five years; provided, also, that no such charge shall be imposed unless it has been proved to the satisfaction of the Enclosure Commissioners that the proposed railway will confer a permanent benefit to a greater annual amount than the said rent-charge on the lands through or near to which it is intended to pass, nor until the said railway has been completed and opened for traffic under the authority of the Board of Trade."—Lord Granville opposed the motion. But, after a brief debate, the amendment was withdrawn, and the motion agreed to. Their Lordships then adjourned.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 7.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Monckton Milnes, referring to a letter received at the Foreign Office from General Webb, the American Minister at Rio de Janeiro, relative to a quarrel between that gentleman and Mr. Christie, her Majesty's representative there, complained that this letter had been quoted in the House on a former occasion, by Mr. Bramley-Moore. That member spoke in terms of censure of the conduct of Mr. Christie; and he had declined to withdraw or explain away his language. Mr. Milnes therefore asked a question tending to elicit a full approval of Mr. Christie's conduct.—Lord Palmerston expressed that approval in energetic terms, and said that Lord Russell had treated General Webb's letter with the contempt it deserved.—Mr. Bramley-Moore said it was notorious that Mr. Christie's temper had involved him in quarrels with nearly all his diplomatic colleagues. Moreover, Mr. Christie's pretence that his conduct had been approved by the British merchants at Rio was wholly incorrect. Eighteen firms had signed an address approving it; but forty firms, representing by far the greater part of the wealth and respectability of the British community at Rio, had refused to sign that address.—Lord Palmerston said that British merchants residing abroad were not entitled to criticize the conduct of Her Majesty's representative in the country where they resided. He was to look to the approval of his Government, not to theirs. And the British merchants who had expressed disapproval of Mr. Christie's conduct had really been glad of what he had done, but had thought it desirable for prudential reasons to adopt a tone more agreeable to the feelings of the Brazilian Government and people.—Mr. Bouvier (a veteran Whig) and Mr. Newdegate (the champion of Protestant Toryism) praised Mr. Christie and abused Mr. Bramley-Moore.—Lord R. Cecil remarked that Mr. Christie's conduct was open to severe censure, and that members of the House had a right to express their opinions freely upon such conduct.—Mr. C. Howard followed, in eulogy of Mr. Christie.—Mr. Cobden remarked that the address presented by a minority of the British merchants at Rio did not express any approval of the conduct of Mr. Christie or of his Government, except in so far as he had acted with more forbearance towards Brazil than was justified by his instructions.—Mr. Disraeli said that it was exceedingly inconvenient that such questions should be raised in such a manner. Lord Palmerston had attacked the Brazilian Government, the British merchants in Brazil, and the American Minister there; and it was open to the friends of any of those parties, following the precedent set that night, to ask a question and raise a debate, demanding an apology for what had been said of them. Then Lord Palmerston would have another opportunity of indulging in those attacks on Foreign Governments and Foreign Ministers, which, however amusing, did not tend to conciliate goodwill abroad. He hoped that in future questions of this kind would be raised in a more formal manner.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 8.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, in presenting a petition from the City of London in favour of Poland, directed attention to the state of that country, and expressed the sympathy which he, in common with the English people, felt in the present struggle for Polish independence. He also censured in strong terms the conduct of the Prussian Government, and indignantly denounced the oppression by Russia of the Poles. In his opinion the only remedy for the state of things unfortunately existing in Poland was its separation from Russia, for matters could not continue as they were without being a chronic danger to the peace of Europe.—The Earl of Harrowby fully sympathized with the cause of the Poles, but did not think that this country would be justified in going to war on its behalf. It was our duty, however, to use the strongest remonstrances to the Government of St. Petersburg.—Earl Russell, whilst desiring to speak with all reserve, lest he should unduly excite the hopes of the friends of Poland that the British Government would do more than interfere by diplomatic representations, expressed his confidence in the

sincere and honest intentions of the Emperor of Russia towards the Poles, though he could not see that anything had yet been done to consult the welfare of the Poles or to make the concessions they were entitled to expect. With regard to the promises held out in the despatch of Prince Gortschakoff, he feared that the Poles were not disposed to attach to them any great amount of confidence, for the system pursued by Russia in Poland was not calculated to command that confidence which was requisite to the fulfilment of these promises. Such, however, were the necessary consequences of a despotic and capricious policy. In this unfortunate state of things her Majesty's Government had advised the Emperor of Russia to restore to Poland the institutions originally granted by the Emperor Alexander, and pointed out that the only means of regaining the confidence of the Poles was to intrust the judicial, civil, and political administration of their country to the hands of men upon whom he could rely, by means of an assembly elected by the Poles themselves. Unless this was done he apprehended there was no prospect of a durable peace, in the sense in which the three Western Powers had spoken; and it would be deceiving all Europe to expect any different result. With regard to the suggestion of Lord Shaftesbury, that the separation of Poland from Russia was the only solution of the difficulty, he thought that in the present temper of the Russian Government and people they would never consent to a measure of the sort, but would consider it a dismemberment of their empire, and this could only be effected after a long, dangerous, and costly war. In these circumstances the duty of Her Majesty's Government was to proceed with slow and cautious steps, and to act in conjunction with the other Great Powers in whatever they attempted to do. In conclusion, the noble earl asked the House to rely, in the first place, on the Government taking the best and most practical course they could; in the next place, on the public opinion of Europe, which not even the Emperor of Russia, autocrat though he was, would be long able to neglect; and finally, to rely on the general sense of justice which animated all men, and on that Heaven which would not allow oppression to go unpunished, or such sufferings to endure. The subject then dropped, and their Lordships soon afterwards adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 8.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Lygon asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how much he expected to realize by obliging clubs to take out a retail license to sell wines and spirits.—Mr. Gladstone said he did not know, and it mattered very little, as he intended to withdraw the proposal.

On the order for going into committee of supply,

Mr. Hennessy moved for further papers respecting the state of Southern Italy, and in doing so pointed out the discrepancies between the statements contained in the despatches of Mr. Consul Bonham and the returns of the Board of Trade with regard to the commerce of England with Naples and Sicily, the former representing that British trade had increased in 1862 over the previous year, whilst according to the latter there was a large falling off.—The motion was seconded by Mr. C. Bentinck.—Mr. Layard, in objecting to the motion, raised a perfect storm on the opposition benches by proclaiming that, with few exceptions, the Conservative party were opposed to Italian liberty. He contended that the Government of Italy represented the feelings of the Italian people, and that the time had passed for the House of Commons to debate the condition of that country. They might as well have a debate on the state of France or Prussia. Let the Italian Parliament, for example, ask for the production of papers relating to Ireland, what would be thought of it, but that it was a piece of impertinence, and an insult to the British nation. The accusations directed by Mr. Bentinck against Sir James Hudson and Mr. Consul Bonham, both men of high character and unimpeachable honour, excited his greatest indignation, and he appealed to the House to say whether it was generous or fair to make such representations when the men against whom they were directed were absent, and unable to defend themselves. No Government in the world possessed a more honourable, trustworthy, conscientious, and truthful set of public servants than the English Government, in its diplomatic and consular officers; and to say that they sent reports which were not to be relied upon, and withheld information which was not agreeable to their Government, was a calumny that deserved to be resented. Whether the disorders in certain parts of the Neapolitan States were brigandage or civil war might be judged of by the fact that the men who were engaged in them were foreigners, not Italians. He defied honourable members to mention the name of a single man of rank, position, or fortune in Italy who had connected himself with the movement; and that being the case, the proof was unanswerable that it was brigandage, and not civil war. He admitted that the state of Italy was not satisfactory, but he believed that no country had ever achieved its independence in so short a time with so little to complain of. Under the old Bourbon régime the kingdom of Naples had become thoroughly demoralised, its people broken down by a horrible priestly tyranny, and a most abominable civil Government, and it was not to be wondered at, if it took generations to raise them in the scale of civilization.—Lord H. Lennox was desirous of giving the results of his recent personal experience in Italy with regard to the character of Victor Emmanuel's Government. His warmest sympathies had been with the cause of Italian freedom; but the facts that had come under his observation rendered it impossible for him to go on any longer blindfolded. These facts he classed under four heads. There was at present

in operation in the Neapolitan States a system of personal domestic espionage of the same description as that which prevailed under the Bourbon rule. In the next place, the severest restrictions were imposed upon the press, not only in Naples, but at Genoa, Florence, Milan, and Bologna. Then, personal liberty was not safe, and the most despotic acts were perpetrated upon the people under the benign sway of the constitutional King. And lastly, the prisons were crowded with the victims of tyranny, who had lain there for months without being brought to trial, and among them were a number of females charged upon suspicion of entertaining certain political sympathies. From all he had seen with his own eyes he came to the conclusion that the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs was misleading the people of England when last year he drew such a brilliant picture of the great political and social change effected by the Government of Victor Emmanuel.

Mr. Butler Johnstone said that some would suppose from the speech of the noble lord that entrance to the Neapolitan prisons was as difficult as to penetrate the Patriarchs' tombs, whereas nothing could be easier, for the gaols constituted one of the great sights of Naples. If those places were crowded it was because the worst of them, such as St. Elmo, had been abandoned, thus creating a natural pressure upon the others. He argued that the Italian Government were using their best exertions to improve the administration of the law and the condition of the people. They had repressed and destroyed that vicious society, the Camorra, which had been so much encouraged by the paternal government of the Bourbons. They were educating the people, establishing a new system of judicature all over the country, and creating an army and navy which were destined, he hoped some day, to make Italy something more than a mere geographical expression. With regard to brigandage, it was in the city of Rome that these bands were organised by the Bourbon committee, at whose head was the ex-King, and sent over the borders into the Neapolitan States to assist in lighting up the flames of discord. And it was this which constituted the great difficulty of the Italian Government. He admitted that many cruelties were practised in the gaols; but these were the result of the vicious system so long practised under the old dynasty, and which it was almost impossible to completely and at once put down. The Government at Turin, however, had appointed a number of humane men to preside over the gaols, and given them orders from time to time to introduce reforms. As to the light in which the Government was regarded by the people, he could only say that, so far as the most intelligent classes were concerned, they were enthusiastic in its favour.—Mr. L. Gower also defended the Italian Government, and said that the information detailed by Lord H. Lennox must be regarded as erroneous, inasmuch as he had been surrounded at Naples by agents of the Mazzinian and reactionist parties.—Mr. B. Cochrane complained of her Majesty's Government, that whereas under the Bourbon rule there was a constant interference on the part of Lord Palmerston, with a view to improving the state of affairs in Naples; in the present day, on the contrary, no effort had been made to remove or mitigate the evils under which the Neapolitans were suffering.—The debate was continued by Sir G. Bowyer, Sir P. O'Brien, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Maguire, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Slater-Booth, and Sir J. Walsh.—Lord Palmerston complimented the various speakers who had taken part in the debate on the great ability they had displayed, especially naming Lord H. Lennox, Mr. Layard, and Mr. Butler-Johnstone. With regard to the speech of Lord H. Lennox, there was nothing in all he had described which had not actually existed in the reign of former Neapolitan Sovereigns, and the only conclusion to be drawn from the noble lord's statement was that the present Government of Italy had not yet succeeded in eradicating all the abuses that had been left to them. The fact was that in the Neapolitan territories there had existed a great number of abuses, which were the relics of the system which was overthrown when Garibaldi presented the kingdom of Naples to Victor Emmanuel. In every other part of Italy there was nothing of which complaint could be made. Of six additions of territory to the Italian kingdom five had been welded together, and everything there went on satisfactorily. Naples was the only exception. And why? Because of its neighbourhood to Rome, where there was a French garrison, and that garrison protected the ex-Court of Naples. Besides that, there existed at Rome a committee of two hundred persons, whose constant employment it was to organise bands of marauders, the scum and dregs of every nation, and send them forth to Neapolitan territory to commit every sort of crime. It was they who had kept up the agitation; but it was altogether wrong to abuse the phrase by terming that civil war. He did not regret the course which her Majesty's Government had taken in the affairs of Italy. The people of Italy felt grateful to this country for the interest it had displayed in their welfare; and he had no doubt that the Italian Government would endeavour to establish order with every regard to indulgence that might be consistent with the accomplishment of that object; that no undue severity would be exercised, and that they would enforce by all the means in their power the maintenance of that authority which had been founded upon the free will of the people.—Mr. Disraeli, referring to the course which her Majesty's Government had pursued with respect to Italy, said that their policy was at first utterly distrustful of the future of that country. It was alike timid and vacillating, and on the whole he believed that, instead of assisting the patriotic views of Italian statesmen, consolidating the strength and developing the resources of Italy, it had distracted Europe and had laid



the basis of future embarrassment to the world. When the great Reform Bill was withdrawn, then we heard of the capture of Rome and the establishment of a united Italy as the great measure of the session. But where was the state of Italy now? It was to be found in dismemberment, dilapidation, and utter confusion. Nothing was now said of making Rome the capital of the Peninsula; and in the debate of to night there had been no fresh menaces held out to France or promises to Italy, menaces and promises which heretofore had been equally fallacious. He hoped that the Italians would be content to consolidate their strength and develop their resources, and no longer indulge in those wild dreams of impracticable politics in which for some reason or other they had been encouraged by her Majesty's Government. Henceforward Italy must learn to depend upon herself, not upon expectations held out by English Ministers that could not be realised, or by hopes held out by French Governments which might only lead it into a most embarrassing position. He admitted that the general condition of affairs had been much ameliorated, but that amelioration was only to be secured by abandoning the wild policy of the English Government—a policy of words, not deeds.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after animadverting upon the manner in which Lord Henry Lennox had obtained and used his information relative to the Neapolitan prisons, said that when the present Italian Government succeeded to the possession of power in the Southern provinces they did not succeed to a paradise which they had since defiled, but to something more nearly the exact reverse, which must necessarily be the work of protracted time and gigantic labour to cleanse. Reform must begin not from below but from above. Had it begun? What did Lord H. Lennox say? That he had found at the head of every prison a man of humanity and intelligence. Doubtless there was much that was lamentable and disgraceful to the immediate agents in the system that still prevailed; but it likewise proved that the work of reform and improvement had effectually begun. The principal functionaries had been removed and replaced by better men; the light of day had been let into the inmost recesses of the darkest caverns, and there was not an abuse or a horror in existence that was not brought freely forward. As to the policy of her Majesty's Government, he appealed from the censures of Mr. Disraeli to the gratitude of the Italian people, and to the universal and enthusiastic approval of that policy by the people of England. Mr. Disraeli had talked of the renunciation by the Italian Government of extreme views; but it was no extreme view to look upon Rome as the natural capital of a strong Italian kingdom. There was one thing upon which England had made up its mind, and that was that Italy ought to be one, and ought to be free.

#### MONDAY, MAY 11.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Marquis of Normanby presented a petition from the Rev. Alfred Bishop, rector of Martyr Worthy, in the diocese of Chichester, complaining of the conduct of her Majesty's Government and their agents in the case of his son, Mr. James Bishop, at present undergoing a sentence of ten years' imprisonment in the fortress of Alexandria on the charge of conspiring against the Italian Government, and praying for an inquiry. The noble marquis observed that the case was without parallel, there being no instance in which a similar punishment had been inflicted upon a British subject on such a charge. There were no grounds for the charge against Mr. Bishop, and the whole question had originated with a mistake in the passport. Mr. Bishop was a young man with a weak constitution, and afflicted with lameness. He had been arrested by mistake, stripped, struck, and challenged to fight, and his sole offence was the use of the words—"By such acts as these you will not tend to make a united Italy."—The Duke of Sutherland said, he saw Mr. Bishop in prison in February last, and found him very comfortably provided for, except that he was deprived of his liberty. The authorities of the prison were under the impression that he was weak in his head, and all they had to say against him was that he was a friend of Lord Normanby.—The Earl of Hardwicke was of opinion that the treatment of Mr. Bishop had been unnecessarily harsh and severe, and that his punishment was contrary to the recognised laws of Italy.—Earl Grey differed from the noble earl with regard to the conduct of the Italian Government, who, he thought, had displayed considerable lenity. Were a foreigner convicted of such an offence in this country he would, in all probability, be hanged as a spy and a traitor. He regretted the disposition which prevailed in some quarters to throw odium upon the Italian Government, for he looked upon the success which had been achieved by Victor Emmanuel in laying the foundation of a free form of Government with admiration and astonishment.—The Earl of Carnarvon was of opinion that to a great extent Mr. Bishop had only himself to thank for all that had befallen him. He could not complain of the unfairness of the trial, but under all the circumstances, and considering Mr. Bishop's weak state of health, and that he was the citizen of a country which for the last three years had displayed special friendliness towards Italy, he did think it would have been a more graceful act to have passed a lighter sentence.—Lord Russell, in stating the course he had taken in this case, expressed great sympathy for the Rev. A. Bishop and the misfortunes of his son, an additional one being that the Marquis of Normanby had taken up the case. Having quoted the authority of Mr. Panizzi as to the fairness and impartiality of the Italian tribunals, he protested against Lord Normanby's assertion that Mr. Bishop had been convicted on insufficient evidence, especially as the decision had been confirmed on appeal, and thought it most unfair to impugn the justice of the Italian Government, and to make the House of Lords as it were a Court of Review. On hearing of the arrest of Mr. Bishop, he had taken steps to procure him a speedy trial, and after conviction a full pardon, and when that was not deemed amissible a remission of the harder part of his sentence, on the ground of his ill-health. He had received a promise that on the first fitting occasion Mr. Bishop should be proposed to

the King for a free pardon. After a few words from a Lord Normanby in reply, the subject dropped, and their Lordships soon afterwards adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, MAY 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to Mr. Hadfield, Lord C. Paget said that he had seen an article in a Liverpool paper relative to the flogging of a seaman on board H.M.S. *Majestic*, for striking an officer. He characterised the article as a loathsome and disgraceful libel, to which the name of another person had been forged by the writer, and said that legal measures were likely to be taken for the punishment of the offender.

In reply to Mr. Hennessy and Lord John Manners, Lord Palmerston stated that Mr. Odo Russell was right in saying that brigands escaped from Rome into the Neapolitan territory in French uniforms; that General Montebello had been misinformed in his denial of that assertion; that it rested with the French garrison to put a stop to the systematic despatch of brigands, by a committee sitting at Rome, into the Neapolitan provinces; and that both that garrison, and the Pope whom they protected, were responsible for the continuance of brigandage in those provinces.

Mr. Roebuck called attention to the dismissal of two Judges in the Ionian Islands, and inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Sir H. Storks, the British Commissioner there, to whom he attributed the act. He moved for papers.—Mr. C. Fortescue, observing that there would be no difficulty about producing the memorials and the correspondence connected with them, said the case of these two gentlemen must be judged by the law and Constitution of the Ionian Islands, and that their non-reappointment was justified by the charter and as a measure of policy. He had not a word to say against their character, and they would enjoy their pensions; but there were considerations which had operated upon the mind of Sir H. Storks and his Senate in not re-appointing them, and the decision had been received with satisfaction in the islands.—General Peel, from official knowledge of Sir Henry Storks, bore testimony to his high character.—Lord Stanley thought the question should not be looked at as one personally affecting Sir Henry Storks.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer reminded the House of the peculiar position of the Ionian Islands towards this country, and the difficulties attending their Government. All that Sir H. Storks could do was to put a veto upon the act. The Ionian authorities were not amenable to that House, which was not called upon to pronounce an opinion upon the merits of the act; he thought it a wise and just act.—After a few words from Mr. Coningham and a reply by Mr. Roebuck, the motion was agreed to.—Mr. H. Seymour moved a resolution, "That the occupation of waste lands in India by settlers, and the redemption of a portion of the land tax of India, are desirable objects, especially with a view to the present state of the cotton industry in this country; and that it is expedient that her Majesty's Government take further steps to carry them out."—A long debate took place, ending in the withdrawal of the motion.—After some further business had been disposed of, the House adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A bill of Mr. Hadfield, to alter the law in regard to judgments obtained in reference to real estate, was lost on the second reading by 33 ayes to 43 noes.

Sir J. Fergusson moved the second reading of a bill to limit the liability of railway companies to compensate the families of those who are murdered, and those who are personally injured, by the accidents which are constantly occurring through the greed of the companies or the recklessness of the directors and their servants. Under the bill, the largest sum to be paid in any case would be £400. Some railway directors supported the bill. The general feeling of the House, however, was strongly opposed to it.—The Solicitor-General considered that the principles of the bill were such as to render it impossible that it could receive the sanction of Parliament. Railways were not responsible for loss of life unless wrong could be shown, and the insurance proposed would be insurance against the company's own wrong. The second reading was negatived—Ayes 70, Noes, 90. So this most impudent proposal is defeated.

Mr. Alecock moved that his Church Rate Redemption Bill should be read a second time on June 10. Ayes 25, Noes 39. So the proposal was lost. The House adjourned just before Six.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

##### LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, May 13, 1863.

Our last report closed on a steady market, after a considerable rise in prices; Fair Dholerah 17½d.

On Thursday the sales again reached 10,000 bales at full prices. On Friday, when the actual business of the past week was declared, the amount sold was found far to exceed the estimate; the trade had taken 48,000 bales, and exporters 18,000 bales, bringing our stock down to 330,000 bales. These figures gave increased confidence to buyers, and sales were run up to 15,000 bales at ½d. advance on American, and ½d. on other kinds. On Saturday the market continued strong, with a business again of 15,000 bales at higher prices. The sales on Monday reached a like figure at rather higher prices. Yesterday in Manchester a good healthy tone pervaded the market, and most classes of goods and yarns were rather dearer; here the business reached 10,000 bales at steady prices. To-day Bombay telegrams are to hand, reporting the India import market quiet, at slightly easier prices for the fortnight; there has consequently been less activity here, and the sales do not exceed 10,000 bales at steady prices. We quote Middling Orleans, 23½d., Fair Egyptian, 22d., Fair Dholerahs and Omrawattees, 18½d.

The news from America points to renewed activity, both in Virginia and the West. Hooker was said, at the latest dates, to be crossing the Rappahannock, and a general engagement would soon be obliged to move forward, or be compelled to retreat on Nashville. On the Mississippi the recent passage of the Vicksburg batteries by Federal gunboats had so far been productive of no important results.

##### MANCHESTER, Tuesday, May 12, 1863.

During the whole of last week, our market has experienced a very lively demand for nearly all kinds of yarn and cloth, suitable for India, China, and other foreign markets; sluggishness of demand being only apparent amongst continental shippers of bundled yarns.

Up to Friday, home trade yarns, from Nos. 32 to 50's twist and pincoops were sold readily at an advance of fully ½d. per lb. on the previous Tuesday's quotations, whilst for the

Bolton class of yarns, say from No. 60's upwards, rather more than the ½d. was obtained, these latter yarns being in very good demand from manufacturers of greenend mulls, who are busily engaged working to order.

For some kinds of water twist in bundle, also in warps, there has been a small business doing, the continental shippers being much restricted in their operations by the low limits put upon the orders from their German clients.

For China there has also been an improved business done in water twist, which if it continue, will in a great measure compensate for the small German trade.

5, 6, and 7lbs shirtings have been in good request at an advance of fully ½d. per piece on last Tuesday's prices, while for Jaconets and Mulls an increase from ½d. to 3d. per piece has been got. Madapolams, T and long cloths, also some particular kinds of printers, have improved their position during the past few days, manufacturers of the former being well in order.

To-day our market was a little depressed in tone, owing to a rumour circulating through the Exchange, to the effect that a telegram from India, dated 18th April, had been received by a house in town, which stated Nos. 40s mule twist had declined 6d. per lb., and that shirtings were also much lower in prices; but as this could not be traced to its source, very little credence was given to it, and the market closed in a very satisfactory state.

There has, again, been some little business done in Continental yarns, at a slight advance on last Friday's quotations—say about ½d. to ¾d. per lb. India and China shippers have also taken mule and water-twist in bundle, at an advance of ½d. per lb. on Friday's prices.

Home trade yarns, from Nos. 32's to 50's twist and pincoops, are better by fully ½d. per pound on Friday's prices, whilst for No. 60's and upwards the improvement is ¾d. per pound.

The demand for goods has not been quite so brisk as during the previous part of the week, still manufacturers are not inclined to enter into further contracts, unless at a further advance in price.

The only fear in this market, now that the demand is increasing so generally, is, that with the small amount of cotton at Liverpool and at sea, the increased amount of spindles and looms being put in work from day to day, will send up the price of cotton beyond the reach of spinners in a very short time.

#### NORTHERN VIEW OF COTTON PROSPECTS.

(From the *New York Economist*.)

There are those who imagine that the conclusion of the war will be followed by a return to about old prices. This opinion seems to be based on the idea that the four or four and a half millions of bales of cotton now in the South will be thrown immediately upon the market, and its value placed entirely at the dictation of the manufacturers. The mistake is very apparent. It will require, perhaps, more than the ordinary time for moving the crop to the seaboard, so that there is no prospect of a glut in the market. Nor will the manufacturer be the only party found wanting cotton. Speculators, foreseeing the future deficiency in the supply, will compete with the spinner, and put up the price to a point out of proportion to the legitimate influence of supply and demand. Moreover, it will be found at the close of the war that much less of the crop remains to be brought from the needy planter than is now anticipated. A very large proportion of the cotton crop is now virtually the property of Northern and European manufacturers and speculators. Some of our Northern corporations have already, through Southern agents, equally interested in the speculation with themselves, bought very considerable amounts of cotton in the interior of the South, to be delivered at the conclusion of peace. They have bought it at merely nominal rates, and will some day realize upon it perhaps three times the purchase value. The same is equally, or, perhaps, to a still larger extent, true of English speculators, who have now immense stocks of cotton in the South, nominally in possession of the Southern agents. It would be unsafe to conclude that the speculative buyers of this property will at once throw their purchases on the market at the opening of the ports, and thereby depreciate prices. Men who can buy so far in advance of delivery are mostly those who can afford to hold their stock for the most advantageous market, and these far-seeing cotton speculators may be trusted to make the highest possible price, be their sales effected early or late. For the above, among many reasons, we think those who imagine that cotton will sell much below 20c. per pound during the next seven years will find they have wrongly estimated probabilities.

#### SOUTHERN WAR NEWS.

(Associated Press telegrams to the Southern papers.)

PORT HUDSON, April 6.—The Hartford landed at Bayou Sara this morning, and destroyed the Government stores at that point. It is stated that Farragut has gone to Washington, via Memphis, on account of his health failing.

April 7.—The lower fleet has opened fire upon us, but is lying out of the reach of our batteries, firing slowly, and without effect.

VICKSBURG, April 7.—Another transport laden with troops left the Yankee fleet to-day. The enemy cut the levee and turned the water into their old camping ground on the Peninsula.

JACKSON, April 7.—The enemy is retreating up the Tallahatchie, towards the Coldwater. Our shell produced a deal of alarm in their crowded camps. Farragut, with three vessels, is just above Port Hudson.

CHARLESTON, April 8.—8 o'clock, P.M.—All quiet thus far to-day. The people and troops are in high spirits at the results of yesterday's fight. The Keokuk is certainly sunk.

The fighting was chiefly at a distance of 900 yards. The Monitors cannot pass Sumter without coming within 500 yards.

The impression is very general that the enemy will renew the attack after repairing damages. Seven Monitors and the Ironsides are still off the harbour.

Ten o'clock, P.M.—The latest official intelligence from the bar states that only two of the iron-clads have gone south, leaving seven remaining, besides the Keokuk, which lies sunk about 1000 yards from Morris Island.

The Yankee machine called the "Devil," designed for the removal of torpedoes, has floated ashore and fallen into our hands.

All quiet now. The enemy is constantly signalling, but no renewal of the attack is anticipated before to-morrow.

The Yankees have been busy all day repairing damages.

CHARLESTON, April 9, A.M.—All quiet this morning. The Monitors are still in sight. Yesterday evening many



pieces of the Keokuk's furniture, with spy-glasses, &c., washed ashore on Morris Island beach. Many of these articles were covered with clotted blood. The impression prevails at our batteries that the slaughter on board the Keokuk was terrible.

**VIKSBURG, April 10.**—Nothing new here. Two additional (Yankee) transports went up the river to-day, loaded with troops. Others are preparing to go.

**MOBILE, April 10th.**—An official despatch states that the enemy, 400 in number, mostly contraband troops, landed at Pascagoula yesterday, and were attacked by our cavalry, with a loss of fifteen killed; our loss was one lieutenant and one private slightly wounded. The Yankee gunboat put back to Ship Island with the wounded. Reinforcements have been sent to the scene of action.

**RODNEY, MISSISSIPPI, April 10.**—Yesterday, Major Harrison moved near the enemy, above St. Josephs, Louisiana, and opened with his 12 and 6-pounders. The enemy replied with one piece, which was soon silenced, when the enemy withdrew. Several shells from our guns exploded in the midst of the enemy. No casualties.

**CHATTANOOGA, April 10.**—Nothing additional from the front to-day. Eighteen prisoners, captured near Franklin, by Van Dorn, reached here to-night. Parties through the lines report a number of Confederate prisoners liberated from their guards by the citizens of Mount Sterling, Indiana. Burnside is at Louisville with twenty thousand men.

**JACKSON, April 10.**—Fifty-three gunboats, all Yankees, have gone up the Coldwater. Three iron-clad Yankees have been abandoned and destroyed at the mouth of the Amite. The Memphis line is closed hermetically for sixty days—neither cotton nor contraband admitted.

**April 11.**—General Lee reports the enemy at Black Bayou, retreating towards the river, and laying waste the whole country near Grenada. The river patrol on two gunboats, conveying five cavalry transports, passed up the Mississippi on the 7th. Also nineteen transports containing infantry, and forty freight boats loaded, bound down. The enemy are reinforcing all the depots on the M. C. R. R. A wagon train and tents went east of Memphis. Grant has reached Memphis.

Thirty boats and twelve gunboats have gone up the Memphis to operate on the Cumberland. Heavy shipments are making over the M. C. R. R. at Corinth. Merchants are shipping their stores North, and sutlers are selling their waggons. A great strategic movement is on foot.

**A FEDERAL LOAN IMPRACTICABLE.**—Although United States' stocks fluctuate less than the exchanges and the premium on gold, they continue to experience rapid movements according to the progress of the war. But the variations are directly opposite to those which logic would dictate. The Federal "successes" which are followed by an improvement should in reality cause increased distrust, while every new and crushing disaster to the North might, on the contrary, be accepted as the best gleam of promise against the reign of repudiation which seems imminent. If the war be protracted much longer, or if the subjugation of the South be accomplished either late or soon, American finance must be without hope. If a definite and honourable separation can be effected, the possibility of a redemption of Northern obligations may still, perhaps, be within rational anticipations. A prolongation of the war for another six months on its present scale of expenditure will swell the mass of liability to a degree that can leave no doubt as to the manner in which it will be dealt with, since, concurrently with the drain of treasure, the drain of life and labour from the fields will have reduced the productive capacities of the country, so that years must elapse before it can even regain the condition in which it stood in 1860. On the other hand, assuming that the South could be overthrown to-morrow, its slave labour deported or turned adrift, its debts disowned, and its population kept from new outbreaks by huge garrisons and naval squadrons, the new state of peace would be as costly as the late state of war, while the credit of the country would be wholly destroyed from the knowledge that there was a chronic danger of revolution such as has prevailed in Mexico and Central America throughout the whole of their independent existence. The Washington politicians fancy that the dissolution of the Union is hoped for in Europe as the best means of breaking down American power; whereas, if there were malice against them of the most cruel and wicked kind, it might be gratified to satiety in the one wish that they should succeed in their present enterprise. It is because these facts are generally recognized on this side that the possibility of a Federal loan being entertained is entirely out of the question, and the financiers of that country may therefore dismiss all thought of attracting foreign capital until a separation be effected which shall leave the Northern energies free for their natural course of progress to the Pacific, instead of being hampered by a partnership with States which must for the present contain either 3,000,000 Africans in subjection or 3,000,000 African idlers, and, as far as military conquest can make them such, 8,000,000 slaves of Anglo-Saxon race.—*Times' City Article*, May 12.

#### NO PEACE.

(From the *Lynchburg Republican*.)

It is now settled that the North is determined upon another grand effort to conquer the rebellion. Conservatives and Abolitionists—the north-west and the east—the Hoosier and the Yankee—Van Buren and Vallandigham, as well as Lincoln and Seward—have all agreed in their determination to continue the war for another six months, at least, and to strike home to the heart of the Confederacy in one of the grandest and most desperate efforts of the war. This seems to be the compromise between the Radicals and the Conservatives—the Democrats and the Abolitionists. If the rebellion is not crushed in the next ninety days or thereabouts, then it is thought the struggle will be given up by the Conservatives at least, and peace demanded. But, however this may be, the war for the next three or six months is to be desperate and bloody beyond anything we have yet seen. The whole concentrated power of the Northern armies is to be precipitated upon us at all points, and these points are to be carried if it is in the power of mighty armies to carry them. Fredericksburg, Charles-on, Savannah, Port Hudson, Vicksburg, and Tullahoma will be the leading points of assault, and it either of them fall, it will greatly embolden the enemy and prolong the war. All the talk, therefore, we have heard about peace, and about the north-west breaking off from the despotic yoke of Lincoln, has turned out to be gammon. There is no peace. The North cannot, in fact, afford to give us peace at this time, or at any time, unless she is whipped into it with bayonet and ball. Her credit, her commerce, her trade, her existence as a nation, depends upon her success in this struggle.

Southern lands and negroes must be taken to pay the expenses of the war, and relieve the Yankee nation of its terrible burdens. The complete subjugation of the South or the utter ruin of the North is the mighty issue involved, and our adversary is too painfully impressed with the fearful fact, not to exhaust all his efforts to accomplish the former and avert the latter.

The crisis of the war, therefore, is upon us. The next sixty days are big with mighty events of weal or woe to this Confederacy. Genial spring is now carpeting with living green many a field soon to be made red with the best blood of our people, and torn by the hoof of thundering artillery. Who is to win? We have no fears of the result at any of the points named, except Tullahoma. There the enemy is not only greatly superior to us in number, but is commanded by the best general in the Yankee army, Rosecrans. If we are defeated there, we lose Tennessee and our western connections, and, perhaps, will be compelled to surrender the Mississippi Valley in a short time. If, on the other hand, we are successful it gives us all of Tennessee and Kentucky, and throws us upon the borders of Ohio and Indiana. The issue, therefore, is a vital one, and nobly will our men contest it. Johnston and Bragg will be there with as gallant an army as ever confronted a foe. We do not think they can be whipped. We believe they will hold their own, if they do not rout the enemy; but in the worst aspect of view, they can only be repulsed for a time. They cannot be routed or dispersed, but if overpowered by numbers will only fall back to a stronger position to meet the invader again.

#### THE YAZOO PASS EXPEDITION.

Can anybody explain to us this Yankee mystery? We have read everything we could lay our hands on, thought of and pondered the matter, inquired of the military and naval savans, and nobody is able to inform us what the Yankees were after in their expedition to reach the Yazoo river through Yazoo Pass and the Tallahatchie. Why undertake this perilous and extraordinary voyage, when they could have entered the Yazoo at its mouth directly from the Mississippi, Vicksburg being below, and not above the confluence of the two rivers, as some have ignorantly supposed.—*Savannah Republican*.

Although the mouth of the Yazoo is above Vicksburg some ten miles by water, yet the fortifications of Vicksburg reach the Yazoo river at Haynes or Snyder's Bluff (being a continuous range of hills from Vicksburg to that point) which is some ten or twelve miles above its mouth. The Yankees attempted this route in December last, but could not pass the fortifications up the Yazoo. They then tried to break the lines of these fortifications between Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff, by landing at Chickasaw Bayou, the breaking of which they expected would flank both Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff, and in both attempts they failed. They have lately tried another route by going up Steele's Bayou, and thence across to Deer Creek and Little Sun Flower, by connecting bayous, and thus getting into Yazoo above Snyder's Bluff. Steele's Bayou, Deer Creek, and Sun Flower all run parallel with the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, and empty into the Yazoo—the two latter above Snyder's and the former below, about five miles from the mouth of the Yazoo. We hope the Republican will now see clearly what the Yankees were after in the Yazoo Pass expedition. Not being able to turn the right of our lines and Snyder's, the Yankees leave our front, travel up the Mississippi, through Yazoo Pass, down Cold Water and Tallahatchie, and try to come down the Yazoo, a distance of at least 1,000 miles—to flank Vicksburg. But our energetic and skilful leaders are ready for them at all points, and they may as well make up their minds that they can't take Vicksburg by trickery or ingenuity, but that they must face the music or quit the job.—*Vicksburg Whig*.

#### THE SUPERIOR POWER OF THE NORTH.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*.)

The presses of the United States still rely upon the superior physical power of the North to subject the Southern States. In their view, our conquest is a simple affair of arithmetic. As eighteen is greater than eight, therefore eighteen millions of people must subdue eight. They ignore all moral influences. They ignore God. Material and sensual, they regard a struggle for liberty and independence as an affair of mechanics, in which a longer lever or a stronger pulley will lift the load. So corrupted are they by the prosperity which they wrung from the South, that they seem to have forgotten history—their own history, and the history of the people they are striving to subdue.

Frederick the Great, with but five millions of inhabitants in Prussia, in seven years' war, beat back Austria, Russia, and France combined—each of them being five times as great numerically as Prussia. In the Revolution of 1776 we were but two millions and a half of people, against the most powerful nation, by land and sea, at that time in Europe. Since this war began we have repulsed the Northern armies in every pitched battle, although they have had their own time for their preparations and superior numbers. Yet they still argue that, because they are numerically greater than we are, they must subdue us.

Bonaparte very truly observed that the morale of an army is three-fourths of its strength. An army is not the mere bones, flesh and blood which compose it. It consists of men—with all the passions, feelings, and motives which actuate men. Men may enter an army simply to obtain bread, which is the case with one half of the present army of the United States; and when brought into battle they will fight, under circumstances, perhaps, very bravely. Men may enter an army on a speculation of robbery. They want the country they invade as a source of future gain or of present occupancy. A large portion of the United States' army really believed, when they invaded the South, that they were only going down to select fat farms; another portion came to coerce us as their future tributaries. But there is one thing all robbers prefer to robbery—and that is life. In the game of robbery, there is a reasonable limit to all adventures. But what are these motives for conquering us, compared with those which must actuate the people of the Confederate States in defending themselves? The land invaded is their land. The property to be appropriated is their property. The homes to be desecrated, or given to the flames, are their homes. The butchery and murder to be perpetrated is of them and their children. Country, property, home, all we love or live for, is put up at every battle as the price of victory. Is it at all surprising that, in such a contest, the Southern people should be invincible? Why should any man in the South survive one day the subjugation of the South to Yankee domination? Death is a thousand times preferable to the doom which awaits him and his. Our ruthless and bloody foes have left us in no doubt as to their designs. They have written them upon their Statute Books; they have proclaimed

them to the world. The deeds of Butler and Mitchell are but faint glimmering shadows of the horrible and unspeakable atrocities they meditate for our torture and humiliation, should they succeed in subjugating us. How can the motives of the robber or mercenary arm him with the same intrepidity and desperation in battle, which, under such circumstances, must nerve the arm of the Southern man?

Whilst ignoring all moral influences, our savage foes also ignore God. It is true that we sometimes see proclamations from their authorities, setting apart certain days for thanksgiving and praise to God for some successful murder of our people. There can be no more striking repudiation of the Deity than a denial of His attributes. How can a God of justice and holiness accept the thanksgiving and praise for the success of the robbers and murderers of an unoffending, innocent people? But in their presses they make no reference to God whatever in their meditated slaughter of us. Victory is a simple affair—of so many more men against so many fewer men. God, with them, does not reign; but Mammon and Moloch. Material, infidel, and bloody as they are—it is our task to scourge them from our land, and make them the hissing scorn and detestation of the world.

#### THE BREAD AND MEAT QUESTION.

(From the *North Carolina Presbyterian*.)

We really believe that the great hope of the enemy now is, to starve out the rebellion. And circumstances amongst us are not altogether wanting to encourage this hope. The absence of large numbers of men in the service, who have heretofore been producers, has certainly caused a scarcity of provisions much greater than was ever before known in the country. This would naturally tend to enhance prices. It is feared also that there is a disposition on the part of many to withhold supplies in their possession, either for higher prices or because of their distrust of the currency, thus increasing the scarcity that certainly does exist. Then there is the great redundancy of money, produced by the immense amounts necessarily expended by the Government in the prosecution of the war. These things combined have led to unexampled prices for everything. These prices are quoted North as evidence that our people are on the very verge of starvation. A few months more, they argue, and gaunt famine will accomplish what experience has taught them cannot be effected through the power of their arms. Thus it is that those of our own people who seek to advance prices are, unintentionally, no doubt, but not less really, giving aid and comfort to the enemy in his insane and wicked purpose.

But that of which there is now no immediate danger may come upon us in a future not distant, unless the advice of Governor Vance shall be followed. The quantity of provisions in the country, before the crop of the approaching season shall be gathered, will be very small. Unless, therefore, a full crop shall be raised, much suffering must ensue. All the available labour of the country should be devoted to raising provisions—corn, potatoes, peas, anything indeed that can sustain life—so that there shall be enough for the people at home and for the soldiers in the field, if God, in His providence, should prolong the war. It would be an awful calamity for our cause to fail through the neglect of those at home to provide for the soldier in the field. But this is possible; and without special attention to the raising of bread and meat during the present season, it may be realized.

There can be but one motive in the mind of any one to induce him to plant cotton or tobacco—a desire to make more money. Though one would think that at the present prices of provisions, the most inordinate greed of gain might be fully satisfied, but is it possible that there are persons amongst us who, to gratify their thirst for wealth, would entail an almost inconceivable amount of suffering upon their fellow citizens, and bring ruin upon their country? If there are, it were better for us had they gone out from us, for they certainly are not of us. Such sordid, selfish spirits are unworthy of the privileges of freemen, and can certainly lay no claim to humanity or to Christian principle.

But there is with us, unquestionably, too much love of money for its own sake. The feeling has been rapidly developed during the last few months, until it now threatens ruin to the best interests of the country. We saw recently an idea advanced in one of our exchanges that appeared to us just and proper. The present business of the people of the Confederate States is war. The conflict with our enemy is one of huge proportions, taxing the strength and trying the manhood of the nation to the uttermost. It is not merely the Government at Richmond that is engaged in the struggle, or the soldiers who have been called into service. It is a contest for life, and liberty, and property, and country—everything we have and hold as men. The whole people are then the party engaged—the old and young, male and female. It becomes the duty of each one, therefore, whatever be his condition or calling, to do what he can to advance the cause. To this end he must bend his energies and expend his strength. If his lot fall at home, in the walks of business, he is just as much bound to promote the interests of this great struggle in any way that God shall give him ability and power, as though he were on the battle field. The country, when engaged in a struggle for life, has the same claims upon one of its citizens that it has upon another—upon the man exempt from age or from any other cause, as upon him who is taken and placed in the ranks of the army. Were it possible, then, for the Government to engage successfully in a work so complicated, it might take every citizen and assign him his labour until the struggle should be over and independence secured. Farmers might be detailed to cultivate the ground and raise provisions, mechanics to manufacture arms and necessary implements of husbandry, and even females—why not?—to minister to the sick and clothe the naked. The life of the nation is at stake, and all the resources and energies of the people are necessary to preserve its life and perpetuate its blessings. If the Government, the agent for managing the affairs of the nation, may lay violent hands upon one man and hurry him away to the battle field, because his service may be needed there, might it not do the same in regard to every other, could the public good be promoted by it? Is there anything in the relationship of a man between the ages of eighteen and forty to his State, that renders him more completely in its power, than there is in the relationship of one over or under these ages? What right then has any one to seek to make money during the war, save as a means of promoting the great object that every good citizen has in view? Cotton and tobacco are neither of them necessary to the success of the war, but provisions are—just as necessary as powder and lead. He, therefore, who cultivates the former, subordinates his patriotism to his pocket. He deserts the service of his country in the hour of her extremity, and deserves to be branded as a deserter by the true and the good.

We sincerely hope that our farmers will think of these



things. Patriotism, humanity, and Christianity all call loudly upon them to expend their energies to raise as much provisions as possible during the present year.

#### CONFEDERATE TREASURY NOTES.

We subjoin the Act of Congress to provide for the funding and further issue of Treasury Notes:—

Section 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That all Treasury notes not bearing interest issued previous to the first day of December, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, shall be fundable in eight per cent. bonds or stock until the twenty-second day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-three; and that from that date until the first day of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, they shall be funded in seven per cent. bonds or stock, and after the said first day of August they shall no longer be fundable at the pleasure of the holder, but shall be receivable in payment of public dues, except the export duty on cotton, and payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace, as specified on their face. All Treasury notes not bearing interest issued after the first day of December, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and within ten days after the passage of this act, shall be fundable in seven per cent. bonds or stock until the first day of August next; and after the said first day of August, shall be fundable only in bonds bearing interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, and payable at any time not exceeding thirty years from the date thereof; and all such notes not funded shall be receivable in payment of all public dues, except the export duty on cotton, and shall be payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate Government and the United States. All call certificates bearing eight per cent. interest, shall, with the accrued interest, be fundable on or before the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, into bonds of the Confederate States, bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, and payable at any time not exceeding thirty years after their date: Provided, That the accrued interest aforesaid may, at the option of the holder, be paid instead of being funded. All call certificates of every description, outstanding the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three shall, after that date, be deemed to be bonds bearing an annual interest of six per cent., and payable at a date not exceeding thirty years from the said first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three.

Sec. 2. In lieu of the power heretofore given by law to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes, he shall be authorized to issue monthly an amount of such notes, bearing no interest, not exceeding fifty millions of dollars, which shall be receivable in payment of all public dues, except the export duty on cotton, and payable within two years after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States, and fundable at the pleasure of the holder during twelve months from the first day of the month of their issue, in bonds of the Confederate States, payable at any time not exceeding thirty years after date, and bearing rates of interest as follows:—If funded within twelve months from the first day of the month of their issue, the bonds shall bear 6 per cent. interest per annum; if funded after that period they shall be fundable into bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest per annum. These notes shall bear upon their face the month and year of their issue, and if not funded, shall be paid at the time specified on their face without interest.

Sec. 3. After the passage of this act, the authority heretofore given to issue call certificates shall cease, but the notes fundable into 6 per cent. bonds may be converted at the pleasure of the holder, into call certificates, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, from the date of their issue. That every such certificate shall bear upon its face the monthly date of the oldest of the notes which it represents, and be convertible into like notes at any time within six months from the first day of the month of its monthly date aforesaid; but every certificate not reconverted within six months from the first day of its monthly date, shall be exchanged for a bond payable at any time not exceeding thirty years from the expiration of the said six months, and bearing interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. Treasury notes, which by the operation of this act become fundable into bonds bearing a yearly interest of 4 per cent. may be converted, at the pleasure of the holder, into call certificates, bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, from their date until reconverted or paid; the said certificates being reconvertible at any time by the holder into notes fundable in 4 per cent. bonds, and payable and receivable as heretofore prescribed, but the said certificates may be redeemed by the Government after six months from the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States.

Sec. 4. That all bonds or registered stock authorized to be issued by this act, shall be payable not less than thirty years after date; but shall be redeemable five years after date at the pleasure of the Government, and shall in other respects conform to existing laws.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of the Treasury shall use any disposable means in the Treasury, which can be applied to that purpose without injury to the public interest, to the purchase of Treasury notes bearing no interest, and issued after the passage of this act, until the whole amount of Treasury notes in circulation shall not exceed one hundred and seventy five millions of dollars.

Sec. 6. The Treasury notes hereby allowed to be issued, shall be of any denomination of not less than five dollars, which is now authorized by law, that the Secretary of the Treasury may direct. The authority hereby given shall cease at the expiration of the first session of Congress, after the ratification of a treaty of peace, or at the end of two years, should the war continue so long.

Sec. 7. In addition to the authority hereinbefore given to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue Treasury notes, he shall be allowed to issue notes of the denomination of one dollar, and of two dollars, and of fifty cents, to such an amount, as, in addition to the notes of the denomination of one dollar, heretofore issued, shall not exceed the sum of fifteen millions of dollars; and said notes shall be payable six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States, and receivable in payment of all public dues except the export duty on cotton; but shall not be fundable.

Sec. 8. That the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to sell bonds bearing six per cent. interest per annum, and payable as hereinbefore directed, at par for Treasury notes issued since the 1st of December, 1862, to such of the Confederate States as may desire to purchase the same; or he may sell such bonds, when guaranteed by any States of the Confederacy, upon such plan as may be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, for Treasury notes on such terms as he may deem advisable, to the highest bidder, and not below par: Provided, however, That the whole amount of such bonds shall not exceed two

hundred millions of dollars; and provided further, That the Treasury notes thus purchased shall not be reissued, if the effect of such reissue would be to increase the whole amount of Treasury notes, bearing no interest, which are in circulation, to a sum greater than one hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars. And the Secretary of the Treasury is also authorized, at his option, after the 1st of July, 1863, to issue and sell, at not less than par, as estimated in Treasury notes, coupon bonds, of the Confederate States, bearing six per cent. interest per annum, and payable as hereinbefore directed. The said coupons to be paid at the pleasure of the owner either in the currency in which interest is paid on other bonds of the Confederate States, or else in cotton certificates, which pledge the Government to pay the same in cotton of the quality of New Orleans middlings. The said cotton to be paid at the rate of eightpence sterling per pound, and to be delivered at any time within six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States, at any or all of the ports of New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, or Wilmington, as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct: Provided, however, That the bonds hereby authorized, shall not exceed one hundred millions of dollars, and shall be applied only to the absorption of Treasury notes as prescribed in this act.

Sec. 9. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury immediately after the passage of this act, to make publication of a copy thereof in each State, in at least two newspapers published in the State, and to have said publication continued until the 1st day of August, 1863.

Approved March 23, 1863.

#### THE CAPTURE OF THE INDIANOLA.

[We copy from the *Louisiana Democrat* the following account of the capture of the *Indianola*, which was compiled from information obtained from several of the Confederate officers in the expedition. The affair is not new, but all that concerns the power of iron-clads for aggression or defence interesting.]

The expedition started from Fort De Russy on Sunday, the 22nd ult., and arrived at the mouth of the river in a few hours, and turned their heads up stream.

The *Indianola* had forty-eight hours the start of the Red River fleet at Acklin's; at Natchez she was less than twenty-five hours in advance. They left Natchez on the 23rd, and the commander found that he could easily overhaul the enemy on the morning of the 24th, and determined not to do so, in order to bring on a night engagement. Grand Gulf was reached before sunset, and there, information was had that the enemy was only about four hours in advance. We came up with her about 9.40, above New Carthage, near Palmyra Island, and immediately the Webb was signalled to prepare for action. The order of battle on approach was as follows: The Queen of the West about 500 yards in advance of the Webb, and the Dr. Batey, Lieut.-Colonel Brand commanding, two miles in the rear, lashed to the tender *Grand Era*.

The moon was partially obscured by a veil of white clouds, and gave and permitted just sufficient light for our men to see where to strike with our rams, and just sufficient obscurity to render uncertain the aim of the formidable artillery of the *Indianola*. She was first discovered when about a distance of 1000 yards hugging the eastern bank of the river, with her bow quartering across and down the river. No indication of life was given as we darted towards her, no light, no perceptible motion of her machinery was discernible. The lights on the Queen and the Webb had been obscured, and only the fires of the *Grand Era* could be seen two miles back where she was towing the Batey. The distance between us had diminished to about 500 yards. The long black line of her coal barges which protected her sides, could be clearly distinguished from forward of her bow to nearly abreast of her wheels; when within 150 yards, Captain McCloskey, on the Queen, opened fire with his two pivot guns and one brass 12-pounder; at the second fire the 20-pound Parrot was disabled by the blowing out of its ventpiece. The first intention was to dash the bow of the Queen in the larboard wheel-house of the *Indianola* just in rear of the coal barge, but when about 150 yards from her she backed and interposed the barge between the Queen and herself. The bow of the former went crashing clear through the barge, and was not arrested until it shattered some of her timbers amidships, and deeply indenting the iron plating of her hull. So tremendous was the momentum of the attack that for nearly five minutes the Queen could not disengage herself, but remained stuck fast! When in this position her sharpshooters opened fire on every light and crevice that they could see. But not a living soul was to be seen on the *Indianola's* decks. While thus adhering to the latter, the Webb came dashing by the Queen, and plunged with terrific force just in the rear of the bow of the iron-clad Federal.

The result of the first onset was to strip the *Indianola* of her coal barges which protected her sides, and to injure her to some extent in her wheel. So soon as the Webb had swept away clear of her, the Queen swung around and again dashed upon the Federal, who this time with partial success, endeavoured to break the force of the onset by presenting her bow to the blow. But she was too slow in her movements; the Queen struck her a little in advance of amidships, but as she was turning the force of the blow glanced along her side and past her wheel-house without inflicting any very serious damage. The Queen swung clear of her stern, and just then the Federal opened on her with her two aft nine-inch guns. One shot struck her on the shoulder and knocked off a few bales of cotton, and the other, a shell, entered her front port hole, on the port side, passed out and struck the chase of a 12 pound gun, and exploding, killed two men, wounding four, and disabled two pieces.

This time the Queen swung around rapidly up stream and, in a very brief interval, again dashed on her, striking a little to the rear of her starboard wheel-house, crushing through and shattering her frame work and loosening some of her iron plates. By this time the Webb had run up stream, turned, came careering on with a full head of steam, and struck her nearly in the same place where the Queen had hit her. Through and through her timbers, crushing and dashing her iron plates, the sharp bow of the Webb penetrated as if it were going to pass entirely through the boat. As the Webb backed clear, the *Indianola*, with all the speed she could raise, declined further fight, and ran down the river towards the bank with the intention of getting a line ashore, in order to land her officers and men, and abandon her. The Queen was again brought up all ready for another butt. Whilst the Webb had her bow knocked off, her splendid machinery was unhurt, and she quickly and gallantly bore up for her third charge, when, bearing down and approaching the *Indianola*, Captain Pierce was hailed from her deck

announcing the surrender, and begging to be towed ashore, as she was sinking. Captain Pierce placed a line on board, and commenced towing the *Indianola*, when the line parted. As the Queen of the West ran off from her last charge, to make a circuit to obtain more space, to add increased momentum to her onset, she encountered the Doctor Batey, who had cast from the tender *Grand Era* and was hovering around to enter the fight when an opportunity offered. She was crowded with near two hundred and fifty gallant spirits, who volunteered from the forces at Port Hudson, and who had embarked on her with the resolution to fight the enemy by boarding him. From the deck of the Queen voices called out to them that the opportunity for boarding had arrived. Lieut.-Colonel Brand, with his command, gallantly approached, and he gave the command, "Prepare to board," when he was greeted by a voice from the decks of the enemy, announcing that he had surrendered, and was in a sinking condition.

The *Indianola* was found to be a most formidable Monitor, 200 feet long, 53 feet beam, mounting two 11-inch guns forward, and two 9-inch guns aft; and all protected by splendid iron casemates, utterly impervious, except to the heaviest artillery at the shortest range. Her propelling power consisted of two side wheels, and two screw propellers. She was fitted with a most valuable cargo, embracing supplies of every kind. The officers and crew, amounting to over one hundred men, fell into our hands as prisoners. They were put out at Grand Gulf, and placed in charge of Colonel Wirt Adams's cavalry.

As an evidence of her perfect protection, we will state that our artillery frequently fired at her at the distance of twenty and thirty yards, and utterly failed to injure her. Lieutenant Handy, of the Webb, fired his 32-pound rifled guns so close in to her casemates that it actually enveloped both port holes in flames, and yet no injury was sustained. Our skillful and courageous sharpshooters fired deliberately at every onset. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, the enemy lost but one man killed, and none wounded.

#### CAPTURE OF A UNITED STATES STEAMER.

(From the *Mobile Register*, April 15.)

Some few days since a party of eighteen men, under the leadership of Captain Andrews, an old Mississippi steamboat man, obtained permission from General Buckner, to go and capture a boat at the entrance of Pass a l'Ouvre. They left Fort Gaines in a yawl, and proceeded on their enterprise. On Sunday night they found the tow-boat *Whittemore* tied at the mouth of the Pass, and were met by the watchman, who, finding himself "looking into the barrel of a repeater," warned not to give the alarm, very considerably and Yankee-like obeyed. The hatches were attended to, and the balance of the party proceeded to arrest the rest of the crew, who were calmly and unsuspectingly sleeping. In twenty minutes from the time they boarded the boat, they had steam up, and proceeded down the Pass. They had met transports, but were not then discovered. A boat appeared to chase or hover around her next morning, but she escaped safely until she reached the blockaders outside the bay. She ran the blockade under a heavy fire, and was struck twice, but received little or no injury. She arrived in the stream opposite the city about six o'clock yesterday evening. The daring party captured, besides the boat, a large quantity of coal and twenty-three prisoners—among whom is one Goodrich, who is a ship-carpenter, and worked in this city for ten or fifteen years. The *Whittemore* (now the *Fox*) is a splendid tug-boat, with powerful machinery and sound, and is altogether a superb prize. So much for eighteen of our "horse marines."

This daring and successful expedition was fitted out by Mr. Julius Buttner, an enterprising merchant of this city.

RETURN OF THE SPANISH CONSUL TO CHARLESTON.—Some weeks ago, it will be remembered, we announced that the Spanish Consul at this port, Senor Moncada, had sailed for New York on board one of the vessels of Her Catholic Majesty's Navy, which touched off the bar. Yesterday Senor Moncada returned to the city by way of Richmond, having crossed the lines under flag of truce. He was in Washington, District Columbia, on Thursday of last week, and intended remaining there some time longer, but hearing that the attack was certainly about to be made here, he hastened the conclusion of his trip and lost no time in reaching his post of duty. He is now the only Consul of any of the "Great Powers" remaining in Charleston, the representatives of France and England being both absent.—*Charleston Mercury*, April 13th.

THE Confederate steamer *Stonewall Jackson*, Captain Black, formerly the British steamer *Leopard*, left Nassau on Wednesday last, with a cargo consisting of several pieces of field artillery, 200 barrels of saltpetre, 40,000 army shoes, and a large assortment of goods, bound to this port. On Saturday night, about 11 o'clock, off the beach of Long Island, a few miles from this Bar, she got among a fleet of blockading vessels. The Yankees having discovered the presence of the *Stonewall Jackson*, they commenced firing at her from nearly every direction. Captain Black finding his vessel surrounded, with no chance for escape, headed for Long Island beach, where she was run ashore after a half-hour's chase, during which her hull was penetrated in several places by the balls of the enemy. The *Stonewall Jackson* was burned about 4 o'clock on Sunday morning by order of Captain Black, and everything about her has been destroyed except the iron hull. The passengers, officers and crew, have reached this city, but have lost nearly everything.—*The Charleston Courier*, April 13.

The naval command of Savannah has been divided.—Captain Richard L. Page being assigned to everything afloat, and Commander Josiah Tattnall to the operations on shore, such as constructions, repairs, &c.

The Hon. A. J. Lawson, formerly member of Congress, died in Waynesboro', Georgia, on the 26th of March last.

The Virginia State Line, commanded by General Floyd, was disbanded on the 8th of April.

ANOTHER YANKEE GUNBOAT DESTROYED.—A brief despatch received at General Beauregard's Headquarters, announces that General W. S. Walker, with his light artillery, had, at an early hour yesterday morning, destroyed an armed vessel of the enemy in the Coosaw River. No particulars are given.—*Charleston Mercury*, April 10th.

The Yankee gunboat destroyed in the Coosaw River last week by our light artillery, was the *George Washington*, Captain Briggs, United States Navy, mounting two 24-pound brass howitzers and one "James" gun. Her crew consisted of thirty-eight men. The Virginia battery engaged in the exploit was "Cooper's Battery," attached to Cook's North Carolina Brigade.—*Ibid*, April 13th.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: Wm. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1863.

## A Long Way.

THERE can be no useful purpose subserved by concealing from our friends in the Confederate States the truth, that recognition by Foreign Powers is now morally further off, because less present to men's minds, than it was three or even twelve months ago. They have long anticipated this conclusion, and acted upon it by nerving themselves to a protracted and unassisted struggle. Thanks to this timely realization of the exigencies of their situation, and the manly—nay, heroic—determination to face them boldly, and provide against them deliberately, they are to-day stronger for resistance, and even for aggressive operations, than they were, when more was thought and said about recognition. Their levies of volunteers are now veteran armies, equal in discipline and efficiency to the best in the world, with the names of many victories emblazoned on their standards, and commanded by Generals whose eminent talents have been matured in the greatest modern school of experience. All the munitions of war are supplied by native enterprise in good quality and of sufficient quantity; and in the satisfactory progress of the manufacture of machinery, they have successfully opened the parent source of every other manufacture. The "blockade running," from being a series of isolated and hazardous ventures, has become an organized system, and steamers enter and leave the ports of Charleston and Wilmington with almost perfect regularity. The dangers apprehended from the scarcity of food supplies, attendant upon the movements of large armies over immense distances, have already been averted by the strenuous warnings of the presses and the leading minds of the country during the months of the planting season.

But while we pay a deserved tribute to the foresight and self-reliance of the Confederates, of which they now earn the fruits, we would not have them misunderstand the causes of what must appear to them like apathy on the part of this country towards them. It is not because the sympathies of the British heart have grown cold in this sublime spectacle of national self-sacrifice, that so little is now said about recognition. Doubtless the timorous—and, we believe, history will add, unwise and culpable—inertia of the Government which has been active only in repressing those sympathies, and in administering opiates to the public impatience—now by assurances that the opportune moment is not come, and anon by predictions that the war is drawing to a natural close, has had much to do with the phenomenon we are considering. But the true and principal reason is the conviction which has impressed itself upon every intelligent mind in Europe, that the issue of the war is virtually decided, and that the South no longer needs that moral assistance which diplomatic recognition would cast into the scale. This conviction, we know and regret, has silenced many friends who are none the less zealous in their well-wishes and active in their efforts to aid. Another reason must not be overlooked. Two years of war have, in a great measure,

worn off its startling effects. People on this side have come to look for astounding events and sudden changes of scene as almost matters of course. The alarm, also, which was at first felt at the probable reflective injuries of the war, has in no small degree subsided. It is naturally gratifying to British self-complacency to consider that while America is rushing with railway speed to financial ruin, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer can dispose of a surplus of three millions sterling and reduce taxation. It is pardonable, also, though perhaps premature, to feel elated by the consciousness that the material prosperity of these islands has attained so lusty a growth, that an important limb of it may be wholly lopped off without fatal injury to the whole, and that even the American trade may be dispensed with for years without sensibly affecting the magnificent figures which represent the annual national balance sheet. Lancashire, it is true, is literally rotting to the core; but for the very reason that mortification has set in, there are less symptoms of acute inflammation. Much of this security and self-congratulation is unwarranted by the facts below the surface, is unwise and even dangerous; it was precisely such a dazzling material prosperity as that in which Great Britain now rejoices, which only two and a half years ago concealed from the outside world the fearful doom then impending over the United States. But we are dealing with facts as they are, not as they should be, and these facts sufficiently explain why the currents of popular opinion flow with less apparent rapidity in the direction of Southern recognition, and why yet, as we firmly believe, those currents flow with greater volume, more unvaryingly, and more resistlessly than ever before, towards the consummation of Southern independence.

Great Britain having, then, decided—whether rightly or wrongly history will judge—that her kind intentions toward the Confederates shall not, within any definite period of time or upon any probable combination of events, assume the only practical and effective shape which common-sense and common justice indicate—the acknowledgment of an actually-acquired and successfully-defended independence, she must be prepared for the full consequences of her decision, a decision which has heretofore restrained that of all the other Great Powers. The most disastrous of these consequences is the indefinite protraction of the American war. Foreign recognition is the indispensable preliminary of peace. For over a twelvemonth, the most eventful period of the war, in the moment of lowest depression of the Confederate fortunes, as in that of their most signal triumphs, we have never seen but this one road to its termination. Except on this condition, we have never expected peace either from Federal defeats, or from the exhaustion of Federal finances, or from a political revulsion at the North, or from any of those numerous causes upon which predictions of a speedy end have so frequently and so confidently been based, even in high official quarters. Events have justified the correctness of an opinion which at times seemed obstinacy. All history justifies it. Even those who quote history only to prop up their paradoxes, cannot deny that no Government, however weak or contemptible, has ever been the first to recognise and submit to the loss of an important portion of what it deems its rightful dominions. Why should the still great and powerful United States be the first to set that example? To those ingenious casuists who propose a new rule of international law for the recognition of *de facto* nationalities by neutrals, it is sufficient to reply that no nation has ever achieved its independence without some species of foreign assistance. Like individuals, it is in their infancy that nations most need the fostering care of older sisters. To insist rigidly upon the rule that they should first beat off all comers, and force the parent State to terms or reduce it to impotency, before neutrals may justly recognise them, is tantamount to saying that no new nationality shall evermore be formed; and such a doctrine in this age of liberal thought the most bigoted devotee of the Right Divine of monarchs would scarcely dare to

avow. Those who base their hopes of peace upon the financial ruin of the aggressor, forget that however accurately they may compute the certain operation of their laws of finance when undisturbed by other and more potent influences, they cannot compute by figures, rules, or measures the impetuous torrents of popular passions, which obey no laws but those of the tempest. They also forget, or rather ignore, that war has become the normal state of that belligerent who alone can make peace. The war, directly or indirectly, gives wages and food to the millions in the North, whom the loss of the Southern trade would have thrown out of employment; the war, in fact, precisely fills up the vacuum left by the South; it consumes the productions of all the different States—the grain and food which the West before sold to the South; the manufactures which the Middle States before poured into the Southern markets, the shipping which the East before employed in carrying the Southern staples. What matters it that all this consumption is waste, not gain? The mass of men think of the present only, and so long as poor men have food, and rich men grow richer, national bankruptcy is only a vague threat. If these facts were properly appreciated, it would be understood that it is as much more difficult for the North to spontaneously make peace than it was to drift into war; as it is, it is more difficult to climb up a declivity than to slide down it. Under these circumstances, a revulsion of feeling at the North would be a more astonishing moral revolution than the world has yet seen; and to make good this revolution would require higher courage, more undaunted boldness, more unflinching resolution, more patriotic self-sacrifice, and more political wisdom and sagacity, than even the South has been called upon to exhibit in its unequal struggle. To expect this from the Northern peace party, without encouragement or aid from Europe, is expecting too much.

There is, therefore, not a sign of peace on the horizon. When campaigns shall have become impossible, the war will degenerate into predatory excursions on either side. In proportion as its operations shall lose important strategic significance, its character will become more barbarous, more fiendishly vindictive. Europe will at last have to pronounce the talismanic word of peace,—Recognition, but too late to have secured many of the most valuable results of the separation. It will have stripped itself of the greater portion of the rentals of its most productive semi-tropical estates, farmed more for its own profit than those of the farmer; it will have forced its best customer to become a rival manufacturer; it will have dried up for many generations the source of inexhaustible wealth which the New World has been since its discovery; and it will have lost the golden opportunity of imposing the sway of its moral influence upon two great and populous societies of Anglo-Saxon race. Such are the certain consequences of the policy of non-recognition, now pursued. A thousand minor evils and causes for regret will come as the consequences and the punishment of the neglect of a high moral duty.

## The New Stay of the North.

THE North has been parodying our Sebastopol Committee. Half a dozen civilians, chosen, we presume, for their military ineptitude on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*, have been inquiring into the conduct of the war, and determining the responsibility of the several commanders for the failures which have befallen the army of the Potomac. If modesty were a Yankee characteristic, some of these gentlemen must have blushed as they cross-examined General McClellan with all the assurance of an Old Bailey barrister browbeating a witness. But as nine men out of ten in the North think themselves qualified to act as generals, the probability is, that the ridiculous side of the matter never presented itself to the minds of these respectable gentlemen, and that they imagined they were really saving the Republic. The Committee had its origin in the outcry against somebody after



the first disaster of Bull Run. It was a sort of offering to the *ventosa plebs* in their anxious inquiry after that day of humiliation, "Whom shall we hang?" And, although it has not thrown much new light on the war, and has lately become the mere instrument of a cabal against the man to whom alone the North owes its present hold upon Washington, it elevates the politicians; it arraigns the generals at the bar of public opinion; it adds importance to the Congress and authority to the Senate; altogether it is just the sort of institution to please the North. But whether it conduces to the efficiency of the army, or the confidence of its chiefs—whether it is calculated to nerve the arm and heart of a commander, to know that a committee of non-military gentlemen will hold him to account for every movement, pester him with the most absurd and irrelevant questions as to his reasons for marching along this road and not along that—as to his own opinion upon his own ability and judgment; nay, as to his own courage on the field of battle,—is, to say the least, doubtful.

Quite recently, the Committee has resolved itself into a sort of judicial tribunal, sitting in the case of Hooker *versus* McClellan. We do not know what their verdict will be, but as the former is still Commander of the Grand Army of the Potomac, and the latter out of the service, it will be probably given on the side of Hooker. And we do not know that anything in the course of the war has more unfavourably influenced Englishmen against the North. A bully is not always a coward; we have known great boasters who were not deficient in ability and courage; but we confess we should have considerable doubt about the expediency of trusting an army to General Hooker, after perusing his evidence. From first to last it is an impeachment of the Commander-in-Chief and all his colleagues, and a complete "apotheosis" of Hooker. In every battle throughout the campaign, there is imbecility, timidity, and blundering on everybody's part, except Hooker's. If there is an advantage gained, Hooker's division, led into the thickest of the enemy's fire, has won it. If there is a defeat staved off, an attack repulsed, it is Hooker who, like Ney, is the rear man of the rear guard. If an opening is afforded and not taken, there is the ubiquitous and indefatigable Hooker urging and imploring McClellan or Burnside or Franklin or Sumner, or some other of "the old women," to use this indomitable hero's language, to take advantage of it. Finally, when the battle is at its height, Hooker's is the one prominent figure on the field. As in the Scotch picture of the Battle of Waterloo the whole conflict is embodied in the person of one Highlander defying, with his claymore, the storm of shot and shell; so in Hooker's narrative of the campaign, the one real courageous soldier is "Fighting Joe Hooker." This is by no means a caricature. His first answer to the Committee is sublime. "To what do you attribute," asked the Chairman, with charming *naïveté*, "the failure of the Peninsular campaign?" "I do not hesitate to say that it is to be attributed to the want of generalship on the part of our commander." He is puzzled for a moment by the second question: "What would you have proposed?" But only for a moment. "He would have marched through York Town with his single brigade, marched straight upon Fort M'Gruder and Williamsburg, and in four days have taken Richmond." He had good reason to know that, when President Davis heard that Hooker was at Williamsburg, he packed up his furniture and started it out of Richmond. He never could understand why so much time was wasted. But he got a beating at Williamsburg and lost 1,700 men, according to his own admission. He admits also that after an attempt to march three miles he was compelled to halt his men for the night, as the mud was knee deep. He knew, though he did not admit, that where the men could not march, there was no possibility of provisions reaching them. Yet in three or four days he would have marched eighty miles, through an unknown country, destroyed an army of some 70,000 men, and taken Richmond. Hooker's confidence never deserted him. He would have taken Richmond the day after the defeat of

Fair Oaks. He would have marched through it after the seven days' fighting on the Chickahominy. "Richmond would have been ours without a doubt." What evil genius kept the undaunted Hooker in his subordinate position? Pass we to the later experiences of the gallant general at Boonesville and Sharpsburg; it is the same story. Hooker is all vigour, and dash, and victory; McClellan all timidity, and torpor, and indecision. Hooker wins the battle, and McClellan loses it. And now, Young Napoleon retires from duty, and a new commander rises in his stead—General Burnside. It is all one to Hooker—he is equally incompetent. The Battle of Fredericksburg follows. Hooker does all that mortal man can do, he tells the Committee, but he is beaten again. He is slightly insubordinate. He is guilty of disobedience for which he would have been broken or shot in any other service. But he assures the Committee that if his advice had been taken the rebels must have been beaten, and the Committee, as Burnside's plans failed, very sagaciously conclude that Hooker's must have succeeded. We have one comment to add to this evidence. General Hooker has had the command of the army of the Potomac for six months. He is reported to have 120,000 men under him, in the highest state of efficiency. He is not so far from Richmond now as he was when he fought at Williamsburg. Let him take care, however, when he does advance. The Southern generals have given one braggart a lesson, from which he will never recover. General Hooker has emulated the bluster and insolence of Pope; by all means let him advance and complete the parallel.

The contrast between the blatant self-sufficiency of Hooker and the modest and gentlemanly feeling displayed by McClellan in his answers to the Committee is what might be expected. McClellan has not a word to say against any individual. His account of the campaign is truthful, as impartial as a partisan view of hostilities can be, and entirely free from egotism. It is evident that McClellan is not always the first person in McClellan's thought, that he led his army with a consciousness of the responsibility that rested on his shoulders, and a sense of duty to his men and to his country. Twice in a moment of emergency he saves the fortunes of the Administration. He it was who reorganised the beaten army of Bull Run. He it was who got together the remnants of the armies shattered under Pope at Manassas, and, marching out on his own responsibility when President and Cabinet were alike panic-stricken, restored the drooping spirits of the North by the bloody fight at Sharpsburg. He won no victory. That was an impossibility, fighting with beaten troops and raw recruits against the veterans that composed the army of Lee and Stonewall Jackson. But it was a marvellous proof of his personal influence and energy that he should have been able so soon to rally the demoralized armies of the North, and lead them on as confident as ever to a new field of battle. Questioned as to his command in the brief campaign in Maryland, he says:—

It was never definitely decided, up to the time that I left, as to whether I was to go or not. I asked the question, two or three times, of General Halleck, whether I was to command the troops in the field, and he said it had not been determined; and I do not think that it ever was. I think that was one of those things which grew into shape itself. When the time came I went out.

The general tenor of General Halleck's despatches was that I was committing an error in going so far away from Washington; that I was going rather too fast.

As late as the 13th of September I recollect a telegram of General Halleck in which he pressed that same idea, and tells me that I am wrong in going so far away.

So General Halleck becomes Commander-in-Chief, and McClellan is in retirement and disgrace; and General Bobadil—we beg his pardon, General Hooker—is the coming man. We congratulate General Lee on his new adversary.

Since we penned these remarks the telegraph announces that Hooker's whole army has crossed the Rappahannock. No one will be surprised, and the friends of the South will not be greatly alarmed to learn that the bulletins of such a commander already triumphantly proclaim the complete surprise and outflanking of the Confederates.

## International Law and American Practice.

THE professional morality of the Bar is said to allow an advocate to say on his client's behalf everything that the client might be justified, if he could say it, in saying for himself. Some barristers are apt to go a little further, and think themselves entitled to say whatever their client, if he had their professional tact and oratorical ability, would say for himself. The very clever lawyer who has accepted the duty of defending the Federal Government in the columns of the *Times* appears to act upon the latter rule. We regret to see this kind of professional license extended to the press, because it is likely to degrade the character of those who make use of it, rather than because it is capable of seriously misleading any attentive reader. From the moment in which "Historicus" abandoned the affectation of judicial impartiality, and openly avowed himself the defender of Admiral Wilkes and Mr. Gideon Welles, his letters ceased to carry with them any other weight than belongs to clever, unscrupulous, and ingenious advocacy. They are sufficiently answered by a simple statement of the facts which they misrepresent, and the plain rules of law which they ignore.

We should hardly have thought that any judicious advocate would have ventured to panegyrize the moderation and conciliatory temper displayed by Mr. Seward in directing the restoration of the mail-bags, captured on board the *Peterhoff*. But as "Historicus" has thought proper to do so, we shall briefly recall to the memory of our readers what Mr. Seward was bound to do, and what he has done. We waive for the moment the question of international law; we will consider presently whether mails taken under such circumstances can legally be examined for evidence against the vessel on board of which they were found. It is enough that Mr. Seward had pledged himself to deliver them up. By instructions long since addressed, in the President's name, to his colleague of the Navy Department, and formally communicated to the British Ambassador, he had engaged that mails found on board vessels arrested by the Federal cruisers should be at once delivered up with the seals unbroken. Now the mail-bags of the *Peterhoff* were not delivered up at once. They were taken to New York, put into the hands of the Prize Court, and detained there for a considerable time. They were not delivered up with the seals unbroken. They were opened, and only when it was found that all the packages they contained were directed to Matamoros was the question of giving them up entertained. It appears then that, so far from making a voluntary concession to Great Britain in this case, Mr. Seward only half fulfilled his promise; that he did so tardily; and that he did not think of keeping his word until warned by the remonstrances of the British Government, that it might not be altogether safe to break it.

It is only just to Mr. Seward to remember that he is not the President, nor, in the English sense, the Prime Minister of the United States. He is only one member of a Cabinet in which unity is not expected; he is hampered by a chief and by colleagues much more foolish and ignorant than himself; and it is possible that the wide discrepancy between the promises which he has from time to time made to the Government of this country, and the course actually pursued by Federal officers at sea and on land, may be due less to insincerity on his part than to his inability to control his colleagues, and their utter indifference alike to the law of nations, and to the honour of the Administration to which they belong. But, however we may be disposed to regard the personal conduct of Mr. Seward, there is no doubt that the Federal Secretary of State has been guilty of equivocation, evasion, and systematic breach of faith, and that the Federal Government, while constantly promising a strict observance of every rule of public law pressed upon its attention by this country, has habitually and systematically set the law at defiance. It has conceded everything that we asked;



it has done everything that seemed convenient to itself. It is entitled, therefore, to no credit whatever for its frank admissions, on one occasion after another, of the binding force of the laws which it continues to violate.

In the case of the mail-bags, "Historicus" is probably right in saying that no decision in favour of their immunity can be alleged. But he is absurdly wrong in every argument which he urges against that immunity. The case of convoy is by no means parallel. In the case decided by Lord Stowell, the claim of the convoying ships was that their presence, on behalf of their Government, exempted the vessels under their charge from visitation and detention. Lord Stowell decided that no neutral Government had a right to protect its merchant ships from visitation, or from detention in case of reasonable suspicion; and further, that armed resistance offered to the visiting cruisers was in itself a sufficient ground of condemnation. In the case of the mail-bags, the neutral Government does not claim to protect its merchantmen from search and visitation, but simply claims the right to send its own mails by them without thereby rendering the mail liable to foreign examination, or inflicting injury upon the ship. The *Spectator* indeed argues that the mail may be searched for evidence against the vessel carrying it, inasmuch as the convoying man-of-war might be searched for evidence against the convoy. But we conceive that our contemporary is utterly wrong in his facts. A man-of-war is not liable to visitation under any circumstances; and if—which we altogether disbelieve—it could even be searched for evidence against its convoy, this could only be done in case it had offered armed resistance on their behalf, and had been captured in so doing. In the first place, therefore, the *Spectator's* premiss is false, and in the second place, his inference is unfounded. "Historicus's" principal argument against the immunity of the mails is, that a ship's real papers might be concealed therein, while she sailed with fabricated ones. But the mere possession of fabricated papers would be sufficient to condemn the vessel, and were it not for this nothing could be easier than for vessels carrying no mails to find safe places of concealment for their real papers. Again, the mail-bags could not be opened, and consequently the ship's papers could not be obtained, except at the port of her nominal destination; and, therefore, unless her nominal destination were her real one, she could not place her papers in the mail-bags; and if her nominal and real destination were the same, she could scarcely have any motive for doing so. Finally, it is a rule of maritime law, that evidence against a ship must be furnished by herself, not by anything found on board any other ship. A vessel, then, might as well send her papers by another ship as carry them in her own mail-bag; and in the former case, they could not be brought in evidence against her. It is quite evident that no injury is inflicted on the belligerent by insisting on the immunity of the mails; and "Historicus's" argument falls to the ground.

The question may arise in three forms. The vessel carrying the mails may be bound for a blockaded port. In that case, the Government which placed the mails on board would clearly be *particeps criminis*, and the mail would justly be condemned. Or the vessel may be on her way to a non-blockaded belligerent port. In that case there is at least this plea for the seizure of the mails—that they may contain contraband of war—e.g., a ship bound from England for New York may carry despatches from Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward in the British mail-bags, and these are clearly of that character. Yet we conceive that we should hardly allow the Alabama to seize, or a Confederate Prize Court to condemn a Cunard steamer on the ground that her mails contained despatches; and we are quite sure that the Government of the United States would not tolerate the condemnation by a French Prize Court of an American vessel carrying mails from New York to Matamoras because those mails contained a despatch for President Juarez. Finally, the ship may be ostensibly

bound for a neutral port. In that case the mails at least are really bound thither; they can be delivered nowhere else. They, therefore, contain, and can contain nothing contraband of war; they are the property of neutrals; they bear the official seal of a neutral Government; and they ought clearly to be allowed to pass free. We may further observe that a clear and a grave injustice would be done to a neutral ship if the mails were allowed to furnish evidence against her. Her cargo is allowed to do so, on the ground that it is the duty of her captain to know exactly what she has on board, and to refuse to carry contraband to a belligerent port. But it is not his duty or his right to know what the mails contain, nor can he refuse to carry them. Therefore, the principles of justice which underlie all law, public and municipal, would be outraged by allowing the mails to furnish evidence against the vessel which carries them.

The Federal Government, then, deserves no credit for the surrender of the mails of the Peterhoff, except such as may belong to a tardy, exceptional, and reluctant exercise of discretion, in obedience to law, common sense, and evident necessity. It is quite clear that neutral nations could not possibly sanction a practice which would leave their communications in every part of the world at the mercy of any belligerent Power; and which would give the cruisers of the United States a clear right to seize the Dublin and Holyhead mail-packets, and search them for the possible despatches of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. A nation which pretended to examine and possibly to confiscate mails on board neutral ships bound to neutral ports would, if it attempted to carry out its theory, find itself in a month at war with every maritime Power in the world.

It is worth while to note the conduct in this matter of the Prize Court of New York—the chief of those Courts in the rectitude of whose character and the justice of whose decisions Englishmen are bidden to repose implicit confidence. That Court declined to direct the restoration of the mails on board the Peterhoff, till it received orders from Washington to do so; and no one in America, at least, pretends to doubt that, had its orders been in a contrary sense, it would have directed that the mails should be opened. Here, however, as we have seen, the Court might plead that there was no ascertained rule of law upon the point. But it has wantonly outraged one of the plainest rules of international law. It had no right to meddle with the cargo till the condemnation of the vessel. It had no right to inquire into the character of the cargo until it was proved that the vessel had not a neutral destination. Nevertheless, it ordered the landing of the cargo in order to ascertain whether any part of it was contraband of war; with an obvious intention, if any goods of that character could be found, to condemn the ship on that pretext, without regard to her destination. It is in vain to hope that Lord Russell will protest against so gross an outrage. But it is our duty on every occasion to call attention to the grand principle of neutral rights, as announced by Lord Stowell in the Admiralty Court of the greatest of maritime belligerent Powers; *that goods going from one neutral port to another cannot come under the description of contraband, all trade between neutral ports being equally lawful*; and that the subsequent destination of the cargo cannot be taken into consideration by the captor or the Prize Court. As a very sensible correspondent of the *Times* remarked, if Matamoras were separated from Galveston only by a ditch, the Federal cruisers could not lawfully detain nor the Federal Courts condemn a ship laden with arms and munitions of war for the Mexican side of that ditch, however certain it might be that the cargo would be straightway conveyed across the frontier.

In all cases, neutral nations watch with jealous vigilance the proceedings of belligerent cruisers, and the Prize Courts before which their captures are brought. Prize Courts like that over which Lord Stowell presided, held by a permanent Judge of the highest rank, in a country where the bar is a profes-

sion which its votaries never quit after they have once achieved practice, and where, consequently, lawyers and judges think far more of legal rights than of national or political antipathies—are entitled to some degree of respect and confidence; and something of the same credit attaches, or did attach, to the Supreme Court of the United States, which is, we believe, the ultimate Court of Appeal in prize cases. But extemporized Courts, presided over by persons of no repute, in a country where the man who is a barrister to-day was a speculator yesterday, and may be a preacher to-morrow, and where consequently the spirit of professional honour is comparatively lax, and the influence of political feeling on legal questions extremely powerful, can command no confidence whatever. And when these Courts are established by a Government notorious for its contempt of public law, and when the judges are the creatures of a President who has trampled on the law of the land, superseded the power of its regular tribunals, and substituted his own will for the decisions of its authorized Courts of Justice, we can accord them no more deference than is due to their masters. The judges of the American Prize Courts are not independent dispensers of justice, but simply the executive officers of President Lincoln; and it is not to them that England can safely or honourably intrust the task of doing right as between the officers of Mr. Lincoln's navy and those who are charged with rendering comfort and aid to Mr. Lincoln's enemies. It is on the vigour, resolution, and promptitude of their own Government, and on that alone, that English merchants must rely for justice; and to commend them to the mercies of Federal Prize Courts is, on the part of that Government, a wanton mockery as well as a disgraceful dereliction of duty.

## A Glance at Southern Newspapers.

We have received files of Southern papers to the 14th April, and by culling from them a few noteworthy items we shall be able to present our readers with the latest and most reliable account of the condition of the Confederate States. A free press is always a reflex of public opinion; and this in the Confederacy, as in England, is peculiarly the case. Southern newspapers, like our own, are not merely the organs of politicians, but of the entire community.

On the 13th April the people of Charleston, though by the defeat of the Federal iron-clads more than ever assured of the safety of their city, did not assume that the struggle was over. The *Charleston Courier* of that date considers it possible that the attack, so completely repulsed, "will be followed by other attacks, more fierce and of longer duration," and that "the garrisons of Forts Sumter and Moultrie and other strongholds will, doubtless, be subjected to unusual labours and privations." An appeal is made in the same article to civilians to supply the garrisons with coffee and tea, and by all means in their power to add to the comfort of their brave defenders, and to prepare them for the hard work anticipated. So, if the Federals are resolved to once more try their fortune at Charleston, they will find the Confederates ready to again do their best to defend themselves.

The *Lynchburg Republican* of the 13th of April contains a special despatch, which gives a very concise account of "Jeukins's expedition, with a small portion of his command, in Western Virginia." It was successful. The elections and Spring Courts of the bogus Government were being held under the direction and protection of Federal bayonets; and in all the counties west of the Kanawha river, where the Confederate force appeared or was expected, the Federal troops beat a hasty retreat, and the election farce and Spring Courts were over. The Confederates proceeded to a point on the Kanawha river, four miles below Evenfield, where they disabled two Government steamers that were passing. The same night they embarked in flat boats, floated down the Kanawha, and attacked and captured Point Pleasant. Next morning they defeated a small body of the enemy, destroyed a large quantity of stores, and took 150 horses. Notwithstanding the most desperate efforts of the Federals to cut off their retreat, the Confederates retired with the whole of their booty.

A telegram, dated Chattanooga, April 13, confirms the Federal account of the Confederate repulse at Franklin. General Van Dorn attacked the enemy with 7,000 cavalry and Freeman's battery. The Federals retreated, but ad-



vanced again with large reinforcements, when a bloody fight ensued. Freeman's battery was captured and Freeman killed. After six hours' hard fighting the Confederates had to retreat from the place, but before doing so they had recaptured their artillery.

Information was received at Tullahoma on the 13th of April, that General Wheeler had captured two trains, one between Louisville and Nashville, and the other between Nashville and Murfreesboro', with a large number of men and officers. The trains were destroyed.

The Confederates are amused at the Northern notion of a famine in the South. The *Mississippian* thinks that the Yankees will soon find out that Southerners possess "a wonderful gift at fasting." The difficulty to be provided against is not the want of sufficient food in the Confederacy to feed the population, but the want of transportation; and this is, if possible, to be remedied by growing food on every available acre in every county of every State. The absurdity of drawing any deductions from the prices at certain places was exposed by Mr. Henry in a recent debate in the Senate on the Impressment Bill. He said the "market price" was of all standards the most fallacious, and as an instance he observed that "Richard, when down in the dust and blood of Bosworth field, offered his 'kingdom for a horse.'" A Senator asked if there was any other bid? Mr. Henry replied that "there was no other bid, and that even without competition, that was the market value of a horse at that juncture." There is, however, little probability of the Confederate troops suffering much more from half rations. The call of the President has been responded to with alacrity. In an extra session of the South Carolina Legislature, out of six acts passed four had reference to the supply of food. One act was to amend and to increase the stringency of "An Act to prevent and punish the planting and cultivation in this State over a certain quantity of cotton during the present war;" and another Act was to suppress the distillation of spirituous liquors.

Now that all has been done that can be done to secure abundance, the Southern papers cease their urgent appeals, and find space for reports that promise superabundant supplies. The *Rome Courier* (Georgia), says, "The wheat crop is looking fine, and promises well." The *Savannah Georgian* says, "We have seldom seen the wheat crop present a more promising appearance at this season of the year, than it does now. In going and returning from Milledgeville by different routes, we did not see a single sorry field of wheat." A farmer writes to the *Chattanooga Rebel*, from Middle Tennessee, as follows:—"There has never been, in my recollection, a season which afforded us so much hope. The wheat is coming up beautifully, fresh and lively. I calculate to raise a large overplus beyond last year." The editor adds, "others, verbally and by letter, confirm this statement." The *Charlotte Bulletin*, North Carolina, says, "An immense crop of wheat has been planted in our section. We trust there will be a bountiful yield." The *Richmond Enquirer*, in an article on the crops, says, "The Jackson papers state that the wheat crop in Mississippi looks very promising—in fact, it could not look better. There is a large surface of soil in wheat, promising flour in abundance after the May harvest." The *Richmond Sentinel* says:—"A gentleman just from North Alabama gives a cheering account of the condition of affairs there. He represents the country as plentifully supplied with provisions, which can be procured at reasonable rates, compared with the unnecessary high prices in Virginia. We are assured that if North Alabama can be protected from the inroads of the enemy, she is now and will continue to be able to furnish a large surplus of supplies." The same paper, referring to Virginia, observes:—"The farmers are making preparations to plant a large crop of corn, oats, beans, and potatoes; thus far, the season has been very propitious, and we look forward to the corn crop with hope. We are glad that our farmers are fully alive to the importance of putting in large crops of spring seeds. Everywhere are they busy preparing the ground." These extracts are, we presume, sufficient to satisfy any one but the sanguine Yankees that there is no probability of the South being starved out.

Many, too, are the patriotic efforts being made to avert the partial sufferings that are incident to a state of warfare. Seven of the Banks of Savannah have acceded to a proposition made by the President of the Marine Bank to loan the city \$10,000 each, without interest, and one a loan of \$5,000, to be invested in provisions, which are to be sold at prime cost to the needy and others of Savannah. Mr. G. B. Lamar, of the same city, is selling rice at 10 cents per pound, by the single tierce, to the families of soldiers in actual service,

or of those who died in the military service of the Confederate States. The soldiers are also doing their best to help their country by fostering its resources, as well as by fighting its battles. Last week we stated that at permanent camps, when off duty, they employ their time in cultivating vegetables; and we have now to record another instance of devoted and, we think, unprecedented patriotism. Both officers and privates in many regiments have commenced to deny themselves the pleasure of the social glass, and to invest the money thus saved in Confederate bonds, so that they may help to reduce the redundancy of Confederate notes and mitigate the distress caused by the abnormal state of the currency. We agree with the *Knorrville Register*, that this fact is "more encouraging than Northern peace rumours, or any possibility of foreign intervention."

Even the barbarous edict of the North that makes medicines contraband of war—the medicines that the sick and wounded Northern prisoners are allowed to share—is being rendered nugatory by the energy and patriotism of the people. Dr. W. H. Anderson, who is at the head of the Confederate States' Medical Purveyor's office in Montgomery, besides purchasing and distributing immense stocks of medicines and supplies of all sorts for the military hospitals, has improvised at small expense a chemical laboratory, where he is making medicines which either cannot be bought at all, or which are very scarce and high priced. During the last summer and fall he advertised for medicinal barks and plants, the growth of the Southern forests, and these were brought in to him in large quantities, from far and near, and at a trifling cost, for women and children were engaged in the work. The barks and plants are now being manufactured into extracts, tinctures, and other articles indispensable for hospital use. Many other medicines are being manufactured besides those made from domestic plants. Tannin, a very scarce article, and worth in the market \$8 per ounce, is produced at the cost of \$12 per pound. Chloroform, an article of prime necessity in surgery, is made for \$4 per pound, the market price being \$20. Sweet spirits of nitre, an article much used in the army, and exceedingly scarce, and bringing in the market \$6 per pound, is made at less than ninety cents a pound. The laboratory, says the *Mobile Register*, has been got up with simple apparatus and great economy. The whole has not cost the Government more than \$1000.

We also notice that a "Confederate quinine" has been prepared, which is said to be efficacious as a remedy.

The ladies throughout the Confederacy are cultivating the garden poppy. They slice the capsules, collect the juice on plates or glass, dry it, and forward it to the nearest medical purveyor. By this means a considerable quantity is secured of the medicine most needed by the army.

Every exertion is being made to obtain an adequate supply of paper. The *Montgomery Mail* gives a list of twenty paper mills in operation within the limits of the Confederacy:—one in Alabama, three in Georgia, five in South Carolina, eight in North Carolina, two in Virginia, and one in Tennessee. The mills are much impeded from the difficulty of procuring the raw material. But the South is not starved for paper. If there was anything like a complete dearth of that necessary article, we should not have to record that a new and ably-conducted daily paper, called the *Sentinel*, which takes for its motto,—"Let all the ends thou aimest at be thy Country's, thy God's, and Truth's," has been started in Richmond, and that the publication of the North Carolina *Christian Advocate* was resumed on the 1st of April. Of course papers are dearer. Those published in Richmond have been compelled to advance their prices. The *Enquirer* and *Examiner* have gone up to \$15 for twelve months, and \$8 for six months. The *Whig* has advanced to \$12, and the *Despatch* to \$10. The *Sentinel* is mailed at \$10 per year. These rates are moderate when we consider that paper is nearly \$1 a pound. The scarcity of paper stops the free list. The *Charleston Mercury* gives notice that single copies can be obtained at the office for 10 cents, but that the proprietors "can no longer afford to give out any copies gratuitously."

But for the war and the blockade, the South would never have known how thoroughly independent she is. Even ink has been a scarce and, therefore, a dear commodity, but now a "cheap ink" has been discovered. A black, free-flowing ink is made by boiling in water the bark of the bay or dwarf magnolia. The *Wilmington Journal* says—"This ink appears to us to be equal in every respect to any other we have seen, and is easily made from a material obtainable almost anywhere in the low country." A still more important discovery has been made by Dr. Parkes. It is that the wood of the mesquite tree, which abounds in Texas, is as good for tanning as the gum catechu of the West Indies.

It is stated by Dr. Parkes that a hide properly prepared can be tanned by it in twenty-four hours.

A fresh supply of salt has been discovered in Alabama. It has been found out that there are fine salines at the head of Bon Secour Bay; by digging down a few feet an inexhaustible supply of water can be obtained of the richest kind. It yields one bushel to sixty gallons. The *Mobile Tribune* says:—"The first day's boiling of this Bon Secour water is sufficient to do the work complete. It has been thoroughly tested, and several gentlemen are preparing to erect their kettles immediately. At the point alluded to the sea tide, for centuries, we suppose, has been impregnating the soil, which is found to be honeycombed by that queer little animal called the fiddler. In its reflux the salt has been deposited in these minute holes, and the result is that the water beneath the surface is a strong brine. It is easily reached, and, as we have said, is no doubt inexhaustible."

We are not surprised that the Confederates, thus thrown on their own resources, and left without aid or sympathy, to fight against the attempts of the North to subjugate them, should not desire to show undue leniency to foreigners. The bill for the conscription of aliens residing in the Confederacy is warmly advocated. The *Richmond Enquirer* hopes that Congress will pass the bill if it is constitutional. Foreigners living in the Confederate States, carrying on business, enjoying the protection of the laws, and of the armies which protect their property, as well as all other property, from pillage and confiscation, have not such an interest and duty as the citizens, who have national honour and national existence at stake; but "they have both an interest and duty strong enough and binding enough to impel them to fight for the land they live and thrive in; and quite strong and binding enough to justify us in making them discharge that duty if they be unwilling. At present, they exempt themselves from our military service by pieces of paper called protections, issued by gentlemen who are consuls under the enemy's Government, and who are liable to be controlled in their actions, and even discharged—as some of them have been—in consequence of complaints made to their own Governments by the Secretary of State of the public enemy."

We have put into italics the last four lines of our quotation from the *Enquirer*, because we wish to especially direct attention to one of the cases referred to, and which is, we submit, disgraceful and unpardonable, assuming that the facts are as stated.

Mr. James Magee, who has for upwards of thirty years occupied the post of British Vice-Consul at Mobile, has just been removed by the British Government, on account, it is alleged, of his sympathy with the cause of the Confederates. Well, how has this sympathy been manifested? The Governor of Alabama was anxious that the war should not hinder the English creditors of the State from receiving their interest in due course, and he arranged with the Bank of Mobile for £40,000 in gold to be transmitted to London. Upon being applied to Mr. Magee requested the captain of Her Majesty's steamship Vesuvius to call off Mobile to receive the treasure and carry it to England. The British captain before so doing obtained the permission of the Federal captain, Hitchcock. When the gold came to this country the *Times*, in its money article, remarked that it was honourable for Alabama to pay her interest so punctually under present circumstances. The *Mobile Register* says that Mr. Adams, seeing the remarks in the *Times*, "communicated the fact to Mr. Seward, and it is supposed that he must have demanded the recall of Mr. Magee. The British Government, in mean subserviency to the Lincoln Government, has complied with the request. Thus has an honourable man been dismissed from an office he has filled with credit to himself and advantage to his country, for performing an act of benefit to that country, after having received permission to do so from an officer of that Government at whose suggestion he has been removed." We understand the annoyance of the Federals that British subjects should be paid what is due to them, but we cannot understand the action of our Government.

The Confederates are determined that foreigners who reside in the South shall not, except under special circumstances, obtain the rights and privileges of citizenship. The object of this is twofold. First, to keep from the Confederacy the refuse of Europe, the emigrants who, in the United States brought nothing with them, and forthwith became the tools of political demagogues. Secondly, to prevent the Yankees from becoming Confederates by the simple expedient of taking the oath of fidelity to the Confederate States. In regard to this, the *Richmond Whig* observes:—

We have vastly more to fear from the Yankees after than during the war. They cannot conquer us by arms, but leave them free to enter our domain and enjoy there rights equal with our own, and they will pour over our borders in such numbers that all that we may have gained by successful war will be lost; we will be suffocated by numbers, debauched and Yankeeized by the contagion of their presence. For our part,



we could see but little reason for continuing the terrible war in which we are engaged, if we knew that it was to end with the free and full privilege of citizenship left open to the Yankee. God knows we have enough of Yankee laws and institutions now, have been already sufficiently demoralized by their influence and presence to satisfy the most cosmopolitan politician. Let us for the future keep the *sangre azule* of the South free and pure from the base admixture. Let us have a citizenship of which we may be proud, and religion, laws, education, manners, and social habitudes uncorrupted by the leprous infusion of Yankeeism.

The Legislature of South Carolina has adopted a joint resolution of thanks to, and confidence in, General Beauregard and the forces under his command. In announcing this to the army in a General Order, dated April 10th, General Beauregard observes:—"The happy issue of the action on the 7th instant—the stranded, riddled wreck of the ironmailed Keokuk—her baffled coadjutors, forced to retire beyond the range of our guns, have inspired confidence in the country that our ultimate success will be complete. An inestimably precious charge has been confided to your keeping, with every reliance on your manhood and enduring patriotism."

A court of inquiry, consisting of Generals Hindman, Gardner, and Drayton, will soon meet at Jackson, Mississippi, to inquire into the conduct of Major-General Lovell in reference to the fall of New Orleans.

The George Chisholm, Captain Swann, has reached a Southern port, from Nassau. The *Etna* and the *Anna* arrived at Charleston on the 10th of April, from Nassau, with a cargo of merchandise, including a large quantity of Havannah sugar. On the 13th of April, a steamship arrived at Charleston, from Bermuda, with a cargo of army equipments for the Government.

Hard as the Confederates are working, it is not all work and no play in the South. On the 7th April—the day of the Charleston victory—a horse race took place at Mobile, under the auspices of the Magnolia Jockey Club. The Reporter of the *Charleston Mercury* says the attendance was large, the course in good condition, and all the backers confident. The favourite was "General Twiggs," a horse that was in the battle of Shiloh, in April, 1862. The old veteran won after a hard tussel. In the six, one mile, heats he was three times first, twice second, and once not placed. Southern horses can stand a campaign without being taken off their racing legs.

All kinds of amusements are advertised. Mr. Walter Keeble, "the favourite young tragedian," and Miss Helen Mayne, "who has now considerable reputation as a *tragedienne* in Mobile, Montgomery, and Nashville," are doing a good business at the Richmond "Varieties." Mr. John R. Thompson, Librarian of the Virginia State Library, has been lecturing on the "Ocean and the Mountains." Those who will think of nothing but war have been delighted with a moving panorama of the scenes of the war in Virginia. The programme of a grand instrumental concert embraces selections from "Norma," "Lucie di Lammaroor," "Lucretia Borgia," "La Sonnambula," and several airs from Donizetti. The music of Italy is evidently preferred to that of Germany. At Wilmington, the members of the Thalian Association have been playing the "Heir-at-Law" and "Did You ever send your Wife to Smithville," for the benefit of the poor of the city. The Wilmington people have no lack of dramatic amusement. At the Wilmington Theatre on the 11th of April the Bailey Troupe were to take part in the drama of "Ben Bolt." This was to be followed by a comic interlude entitled "The Conscript," and the performance was to conclude with a pantomime called the "Lazy Family."

#### FORTHCOMING BOOKS.

ALTHOUGH the season is far advanced, the London publishers have still many works to issue. Amongst the announcements, that made by Messrs. Hurst and Blackett of a new novel, by the Hon. Mrs. Norton, entitled "Lost and Saved," will awaken an unusual interest amongst a large class of readers. The name of Mrs. Norton recalls the period when Queen Victoria was in her girlhood, and when, though it is only twenty-five years ago, the majority of our present literary celebrities were unknown to fame. The same firm will publish next week a work, which, if we may judge of it from its title, should be pleasant reading. It is "Travels on Horseback in Mantchu Tartary; being a Summer's Ride beyond the Great Wall of China." The author of this book, which is to be illustrated with a map and fifty engravings, is Mr. George Fleming. Perhaps if we keep on good terms with the Tartar dynasty, or following the dictates of "manifest destiny," annex the Celestial Empire to the British Crown, the next generation may be nearly as familiar with the Great Wall and all about it as this generation is with the Rhine; but as yet China is almost a *terra incognita*, though the last few years have produced some able books of Chinese travel. There was long since a rumour that Sir Harry

Parkes intended to write on the customs and literature of the Chinese, and his knowledge of the language and his official position would undoubtedly enable him to compose an instructive book.

Mr. Bentley may be sure that "The Life of Father Lacordaire," by the Count De Montalembert, will run through several editions. The career of Father Lacordaire, who was one of the finest orators of the Gallican Church, is sufficiently romantic to make a charming biography. The Count De Montalembert is a brilliant and fascinating writer; and from his peculiar studies, and his strong religious sentiments, no subject could have been selected that would better suit his pen.

Mr. Bentley will publish this month, "Incidents of the Last Maori War. By Colonel Sir James E. Alexander," and "Narrative of the Late War in New Zealand. By Lieut.-Colonel Carey." We shall be glad to learn something about our last little war, for which we presume we have had to pay the usual little bill. Some persons suppose that the conflict might have been avoided, and many, who do not dispute the justice of the war, are anything but satisfied with the way in which it was conducted. "An Errand to the South in the Summer of 1862. By the Rev. W. W. Mallet," announced by Mr. Bentley, has likewise, we imagine, something to say about warfare.

Possibly Mr. Kinglake and Dr. Colenso may feel gratified by the number of assailants that their works have called forth. We beg to remind those gentlemen that to provoke criticism by shocking the popular notions of propriety and religion, is not a proof of genius. Blondin the acrobat, and Joe Smith the Mormon have done the same thing, but for all that they are not heroes or martyrs. We should think that Mr. Kinglake must now begin to have a faint suspicion that he cannot impose his tirade of abuse against the Emperor of the French on the world as history. Sir Francis B. Head, who wrote a friendly biography of Napoleon III. at the time when it was the fashion to abuse his Majesty, has written an answer to Mr. Kinglake, which Mr. Murray will publish. Sir F. B. Head is familiar with the subject, and from his antecedents the necessary official documents have no doubt been placed at his disposal.

Messrs. Rivington have in the press "The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, and incidentally of other portions of Sacred Scripture. With a correction of profane and an adjustment of Sacred Chronology," which we expect is a strictly orthodox work. There is also a book announced by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., written by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, called "The Claims of the Bible and Science." Mr. Maurice is what may be termed an ultra-theological radical, and the orthodox public will be agreeably disappointed if they do not find something in his book that betrays what our fathers would have called scepticism, but which we in this liberal age call "Neology."

Messrs. Macmillan have just ready a novel that will probably sell as well, if not better, than Mr. Maurice's book. It is "Austin Elliott," by Mr. Henry Kingsley. The first work of this author, "Geoffrey Hamlyn," found readers on account of the great reputation of his near relative, Professor Charles Kingsley, but it had enough intrinsic merit to justify the publication of his next novel, "Ravenshoe," in *Macmillan's Magazine*. If "Austin Elliott" is as superior to "Ravenshoe" as that work is to "Geoffrey Hamlyn," Mr. Henry Kingsley will take a high rank amongst our popular novelists.

Messrs. Trubner and Co. will immediately publish, "By her Majesty's Gracious Permission," a translation from the German of "Meditations on Life and its Religious Duties. By Frederica Rowan." This is a companion volume to "Meditations on Death and Eternity," and is dedicated to the Princess Louis of Hesse. It is not courtly flattery to say that the taste and judgment of the Queen are excellent, and that we anticipate that the work will in itself merit the attention that the Royal patronage will necessarily ensure it.

Madame Hugo has prepared a Life of M. Victor Hugo, which is to be published in London and Brussels. The book is to include a drama and other unpublished works of the poet. If it is half as well written and not half so long as "Les Misérables," it will be popular and deserve its popularity.

Mr. Newby announces "Yesterday and To-day," being a Sequel to "Fifty Years' Revelations," by Cyrus Redding. The gossip of a literary veteran is always pleasant and amusing. Mr. Newby has also just ready "Anecdotal Memoirs of English Princes," by Mr. W. H. Davonport Adams, who is a painstaking and graphic writer.

We will conclude this notice of a few of the forthcoming books, by a brief notice of a work that has been published, but not much read. We refer to a Parliamentary return which gives some interesting statistics of our Colonial Empire. We learn that our

colonies (excluding India) comprise altogether an area of 3,350,000 square miles, and cost us for management £3,350,000, being at the rate of £1 per square mile. They have an aggregate revenue of £11,000,000, and a debt of £27,000,000, or just two years and a half's income. They import goods to the amount of £60,000,000 yearly, and their exports amount to £50,000,000, of which three-fifths come to this kingdom. The population of our colonies is under 10,000,000, of which only one-half are whites.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Confederate Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, March 26.

The "ides of March" are come and gone, and, as yet, no fresh demonstration has been made upon the Capital, no attack upon Charleston, the "cradle of the Rebellion." The transfer of troops, of which I wrote you a month ago as having been made from Fredericksburg to Fortress Monroe, did not include more than 25,000 men, and had no reference, as we supposed, to a change of plans of "Fighting Joe Hooker." They have been replaced by new levies, and the army of "Fighting Joe Hooker" is now believed to be stronger than ever. His purpose holds to march upon Richmond, it is said, and nothing but the impassable condition of the roads has delayed his advance till this time. The first week in March was dry and blustering—high westerly winds prevailed, which, with clear skies, gave promise of a speedy stiffening of the winter's mud; but since the 8th of the month we had one continued succession of rains and snows, and the earth is now more thoroughly saturated with water than at any previous period of our inclement season. On the 10th inst., there was a heavy fall of hail and sleet, which was succeeded by several days of intense frost, with the mercury as low as 20° of Fahrenheit; after this we had drenching rains, and on the morning of the 16th, the meteorological phenomenon of a grand thunder-storm, lighted up by incessant vivid flashes of lightning, the temperature all the while being below the freezing point, and the water which fell congealing on house top, tree, and pavement, and coating everything with ice. On the 19th and 20th we had a fall of snow to the depth of ten inches, the last white patches of which have just been carried off by a copious rain, and now James's River is again above its banks, and threatening a destructive inundation. This *résumé* of the weather during the past four weeks will convince you that the roads of Stafford are at this moment no better than they were in early February, when the whole mighty "army of the Potomac" just escaped being swallowed up, with its chariots and horsemen, in a Red Sea of Virginia clay. Last week, according to a deserter, General Hooker attempted to move a 32-pounder siege gun, by attaching fifty horses to the carriage, but the animals, though urged with goad and thong to the utmost exertion of their strength, could not start it an inch. Accounts from Fredericksburg inform us that the Yankee army has given of late unusual signs of activity across the river, marching and countermarching from point to point, making the midnight air scintillant with rockets and vocal with the strains of their fine military bands. The balloon man makes his ascensions daily, and the pickets on the river bank are more than usually vigilant to prevent the interdicted exchange of newspapers: all this means simply nothing at all. The Chinese tactics of the enemy, as you may well imagine, will have no effect on our Commander-in-Chief. While the two armies have thus lain in the mud awaiting their opportunity, the cavalry of either side have been on the alert, our own horsemen especially distinguishing themselves in daring reconnaissances. In the latter part of February, General Fitzhugh Lee, at the head of 500 men, consisting of detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Regiments of Virginia Cavalry, fell suddenly upon a considerable body of the enemy's dragoons, near Harwood Church, six miles above Falmouth, in the county of Stafford, and drove them in confusion for several miles down the turnpike road, until they found protection behind a large infantry force. Though all our men engaged behaved with gallantry in this running combat, it was the 2nd Virginia Cavalry, under the personal lead of Colonel Thomas T. Munford, that rendered the most effective service, charging the enemy with the most admirable audacity, in the onset, and following close upon their flying squadrons, until these latter reached the safe refuge of their entrenched lines. Our loss was but three killed and four wounded, while that of the enemy was not less than fifty, left dead on the field or disabled by wounds, and 150 prisoners were sent to this city, among whom were five commissioned officers.

On the 17th of March a force of Federal cavalry under General Stoneman, variously estimated at from 3,000 to 7,000 strong, but believed by General Stuart



to be the latter number, attempted to force our lines upon the Upper Rappahannock, for the purpose, as some think, of effecting a passage for a heavy column to the rear of Lee's army, or else with the bold design of pushing forward to destroy the Virginia Central Railway and the Confederate Commissary Stores at Gordonsville. They effected a crossing of the river at Kelley's Ford, after losing 200 men from the deadly fire of Major Breckinridge's Sharpshooters, of Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade, but were subsequently met and repulsed by the gallant *sabreurs* of this famous leader, supported by the Stuart Horse Artillery, commanded by the heroic Major Pellam, whose single loss in the action far outweighs the injury, great as it was, inflicted upon the enemy. As the affair at Kelley's Ford has been claimed by the Federal General and the Northern press as a brilliant victory of Yankee against Confederate horse, all the more precious because a decided novelty in the way of success, I send you herewith a statement from one who participated in it, which, though it must be taken with the allowance demanded by all *ex parte* accounts, seems to present truthfully the result of the encounter, and the incidents accompanying it. Our casualties were: killed, 10; wounded, 87; missing, 34.

The expedition against Charleston still remains in Port Royal Harbour and at Hilton Head, the huge vessels of war rolling idly upon the wave, and the generals on shore occupied with no more important business than the difficult one of making efficient soldiers out of the negroes stolen from the adjoining plantations. Hunter is now in chief command of the land forces. Three weeks ago Admiral Dupont wrote to Washington that Charleston was really impregnable from the sea, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of its reduction from the iron-clad armada. Notwithstanding which reasonable expectation of disaster, the naval attack will probably be hazarded in the moon's first quarter of the month of May, when the state of the tide and tranquil condition of the water will be more favourable to the undertaking.

It is evident enough that to Vicksburg the Lincoln Government now looks with the deepest interest, and the liveliest confidence for success in the military operations of the spring. Nothing can be more important for them in every point of view than to establish an uninterrupted communication by the river with their forces at New Orleans; and by their own confessions, they have no hope of subjugating the Confederate States as long as the Confederate batteries command the channel of the Mississippi. No energies have been spared to open the navigation of the river. The canal across the Vicksburg peninsula has been a work which they have conducted quite "regardless of expense." All other matters in the West have been subordinated to the capture of Vicksburg, and it is doubtless for the purpose of strengthening the army before it that Rosecrans has just withdrawn his forces from Murfreesboro'. Up to the present moment the progress of the Yankees has not been in the highest degree encouraging to President Lincoln. The canal is declared *un grand succes* by the New York papers, but it does not appear to afford a ready passage for their gun-boats; meanwhile these formidable engines of war have come to grief, above, below, and immediately opposite the city. On Friday, the 13th March, the Federal flotilla, which had pushed its painful way through the intricacies of Yazoo Pass, from the Mississippi to the Tallahatchie river, made an attack, supported by a land force, upon Fort Pemberton, situate at the point of junction of the Tallahatchie with the Yazoo, and was driven back badly crippled, and the supporting column considerably cut up, to make their way sorrowfully to the Mississippi again; and on Saturday the 21st, another fleet of gun-boats was repulsed in the Sunflower River, thirty miles above its confluence with the Yazoo, three of the number having been destroyed. General Frobisher was in command at Fort Pemberton, and Colonel Ferguson had charge of the batteries on Sunflower River. On Sunday morning, March 15, before the dawn, a large naval expedition, fitted out by Farragut at New Orleans, attempted in the darkness to pass the guns of Port Hudson. The vigilant garrison at once opened fire upon them with such effect that the United States' sloop-of-war Mississippi, carrying nine heavy guns, was burned to the water's edge, a companion vessel was completely riddled, the flag-ship Richmond was forced to drop down stream disabled, and all the rest were driven off except the Hartford and the Monongahela, which succeeded in getting by, very badly damaged. As nothing has been heard from these vessels since, it is conjectured that they are in no condition to ascend the river further, and they will sooner or later be captured by our own river navy, or sunk by the batteries of General Pemberton on shore. We have telegraphed information from Vicksburg this morning to the effect that yesterday two Yankee gunboats tried to run by the

city, going down the river, and were demolished, the one sinking to the bottom and the other driven ashore, where the fire of our artillerists was knocking her to pieces. Thus you will see that the defence of the Mississippi is heroically maintained. Three months hence, when the subsidence of the waters will have left their big ditch dry, and our natural ally, the climate, shall have begun to decimate the ranks of the Federal army, the attempt to open the way to New Orleans must be postponed till another winter, thus affording us time to strengthen the river fortifications and increase our own local naval armament. But then, long before three months have passed away, the Union is to be restored, and the "blessed flag" is to wave from the Passamaquoddy to the Pascagoula, and all along the mighty Mississippi, from the falls of Minnehaha to the blue ripple of the Mexican gulf. I had, indeed, for the moment, quite forgotten this.

After two months of talking, both houses of Congress have taken to business of late with highly commendable energy. The most important measures which have been decided upon by final vote, are the Supreme Court Bill, the Currency Bill, and the Bill regulating the Impressionment of private property for public use. The Supreme Court was organised in accordance with the views of Messrs. Clay, Wigfall, Yancey, and others, as given in a former letter, without an appellate jurisdiction over the Courts of the several States. The Bill for the better regulation of the Currency combines the features of the two leading financial propositions submitted to Congress,—the one by Mr. Baldwin, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, and the other by Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, in the Senate. It provides for the funding of outstanding Treasury notes in bonds on registered stock of the Confederate States, and fixes the maximum of circulation at \$175,000,000, with a provision authorising the issue of notes of the denomination of \$1 and \$2 and 50c. to the extent of \$15,000,000. The Impressionment Bill makes legal the seizure of private property for Government use, whenever the exigency of the army in the field shall require it, and provides for compensation to the owner in every case, the same to be adjusted where the property is in the hands of the producer, or has been purchased for private consumption, by two loyal and disinterested citizens of the vicinage, one chosen by the owner and one by the impressing officer; and where the property is held for purposes of sale and speculation, by two Commissioners in each State, to be appointed under the terms of the act, one by the President of the Confederate States, and one by the Governor of the individual State. The Bill as passed, was designed to harmonise conflicting opinions as to what constituted "just compensation," some gentlemen contending for an arbitrary award by appraisers to be appointed by the President, others declaring that the *market value* in all cases was the true amount of damages.

Yesterday the Tax Bill passed the House of Representatives, in secret session, by a vote of 50 to 30, and was at once sent up to the Senate for its concurrence, but has not as yet been acted upon by that body. The details of the bill have not, of course, been made public; but it is known to impose very heavy burdens upon all classes of the community, and it is supposed to look to the immediate raising of not less than Two Hundred Millions of dollars for carrying on the war and meeting the expenses of the Government. Some little excitement was produced a fortnight ago by the introduction in the House of Representatives of a resolution by Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, to empower the President, at his discretion, to suspend the *Habeas Corpus*, with the view, as was explained, of reaching disloyal and dangerous persons in various parts of the Confederacy, who could not be secured in any other manner, but the matter was laid upon the table, and it is not likely that it will ever be taken up. There is a very natural and rational distrust among our people and their representatives, of giving up, even in time of war, any of those constitutional muniments of personal liberty which have, one and all, been swept away by the reckless military despotism at Washington.

There has been an animated discussion in the journals of Richmond, and other cities of the South, with regard to the policy of holding out inducements to the States of the North-West to withdraw their troops from the Lincoln army, under the assurance that the Confederate States would gladly enter into commercial treaties with them, which would greatly promote their future prosperity. Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, may be considered the father of this policy, which he unfolded at some length several weeks ago in a letter addressed to a political friend in Georgia, although it is approved by many of the most eminent statesmen of the Confederacy, and was ably supported by the Richmond *Whig*, under the editorial management of an original

Secessionist and strong thinker, Alexander Moseley, Esq. The Richmond *Enquirer*, in a series of leaders marked by much piquancy of style and richness of illustration, bitterly attacked the policy, charging that it harboured an *arrière pensée* of restoring the Union, and that it was a weakness little short of disloyalty to speak of holding any terms with men who were in arms against us, and at the time overrunning the valley of the Mississippi with fire and sword. The articles of the *Enquirer* were eagerly snatched up by the press of New York, and, as the *Enquirer* was regarded at one time, properly or improperly, as a sort of semi-official organ of the Administration, were spread broadcast over the West as the deliberately-uttered opinions of Jefferson Davis, whereas they were only the opinions of John Mitchell, for some weeks past, and at the present moment, the editor and *redacteur-en-chef* of the *Enquirer*, a brilliant writer and excellent citizen, but, as many think, not a very prudent counsellor. The controversy led to the introduction, in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, of a series of joint resolutions, the amount of which was a guaranty, to such States of the North-West as should desist from the prosecution of the war, of the free navigation of the Mississippi River. As this was one of the very first measures adopted by the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Mr. Barksdale's resolutions cannot be considered as of great interest or value; but while there is not a public man of any weight in the Confederacy who advises, or would consent, to any, even a partial, reconstruction of the old Union, there are very many, I am satisfied, of the highest position and popularity, who would go much further than Mr. Barksdale in overtures to that great section of the North American Continent, whose outlet to the ocean is the Mississippi; and who, by the irreversible and unchangeable laws of geography must of necessity trade with the Confederate States when this weary war is over.

Much excitement and controversy were produced in the city three weeks ago, by the action of the Commissary-General, under the authority of the Secretary of War, in seizing for the use of the army, at prices fixed by the Commissary General himself, all the flour held for sale by the millers and produce dealers of Richmond. These prices were greatly below the market value of the article, and involved in many instances a heavy loss to the holders. One William B. Isaacs, a respectable merchant, from whom flour to the value of \$22,000 had been taken by the impressing officers, sued out an injunction in the Hustings Court of Richmond to prevent the authorities from removing his property. The case was heard by Judge W. H. Lyons, who rendered an able opinion, granting the injunction, in which he held that the Government had no right to impress private property, except on great emergency showed to exist, and then only by making "just compensation" therefor, which he defined to be the *market value of the article taken*. This decision would have the greater significance had not Congress, by its Impressionment Bill, which I have already mentioned, provided an ample remedy for any injustice that may arise in future.

As the legitimate result of the decision of Judge Meredith upon the liability of foreigners to the Conscription laws, there has been an immense rush of this element of our population to the Northern States since the date of my last letter. The *maladie du pays* never more powerfully affected the Swiss mercenary upon hearing the strains of the *Rue des Vaches* in a strange clime than the desire to get back to the "ould country," the yearning for Fatherland, the love of the *dulce et natale solum* has melted the hearts of the unnaturalized at the promulgation of Judge Meredith's doctrines touching the Conscription. All the O's and the Macs, the Guisepes and Giacomos, the Ludwigs and the Levis besieged the office of the Provost Marshal for days afterwards, asking for tickets of leave. It amounted almost to another Exodus of Israel. The immediate consequences of this flight of the tribes was a sudden and alarming rise in the price of gold and sterling, which are yet held by the brokers at the enormous premium of 400 per cent. Great as is the depreciation of our currency, it cannot be doubted that this exaltation of specie is factitious and temporary, and that when the foreigners have left us, the money market, under the operation of the Currency Bill and the Tax Bill, will undergo a salutary reaction.

Notwithstanding the privations of the period, involving distress among all classes of the community, the spirit of the people is as high as ever, their hearts as buoyant as after the memorable battles of the Chickahominy. There is a little park of twelve acres around the Capitol building, upon the crest of the highest of the hills over which Richmond is scattered, in the very midst of the town. Here upon fine afternoons there is a dress parade of the City Battalion—a military organization of 500 men for



local police and home defences—and the crowds which assemble to witness the display and listen to the music of the band, impart to the grounds much of the air of a Continental pleasure garden. The intelligent Englishman looking on at the sight, as the familiar strains of "Martha" or the "Barbieri" floated through the trees, would with difficulty apprehend the fact that the men and women before him had eaten but scanty dinners, and that many of them knew not whence should come the breakfast of the morrow. The Yankees make merry over the prospective famine among "the rebels," and trust to it, with far more confidence than to their armies, for the triumph of their cause. They little know the Southern character, or the intensity of hatred which hunger will only make more bitter in the Southern heart.

It is altogether probable that Congress, before its adjournment, will adopt a flag and seal for the Republic. The flag will be the battle ensign, which has been baptized in the best blood of our people upon a hundred glorious fields, symbol at once of victory and of hope. The device is simple, on a red field, a blue saltire, with white stars. The design for the seal, which seems to secure universal approval, is the figure of Washington on horseback, as it appears in the equestrian statue of Crawford. We are eminently a horse-riding people, and the image is therefore appropriate, while the effect will be artistic. The horseman upon the Great Seal has been familiar to the English people since the days of William the Conqueror.

I have mentioned the editorial connection of Mr. Mitchell with the *Richmond Enquirer*. You will, perhaps, like to know of other changes in the journalism of the capital. Mr. Moseley has retired from the conduct of the *Whig*, intending to devote himself to the cultivation of grain for the remainder of the war, upon his farm in Nelson county; and Dr. George W. Bagby, a gentleman well known in Southern letters, has succeeded to the editorial duties of that paper, in conjunction with Mr. James McDonald, who has been upon its staff for several years. A new journal, entitled *The Sentinel*, edited by Mr. Richard M. Smith, formerly of Alexandria, but more recently engaged upon the *Enquirer*, made its appearance about the beginning of March. Its issues are daily, and it bids fair to attain a wide circulation. Another daily paper is announced to appear in the month of April, under the name of the *Evening Gazette*. The literary weekly, the *Illustrated News*, is steadily increasing in value and public favour, and a rival hebdomadal, the *Magnolia*, has recently been enlarged and greatly improved, under the charge of Mr. O. P. Haines.

The month of March has been marked by two serious disasters in this city. On the morning of the 11th, a fire broke out in the large buildings, near the river, known as "Public Warehouse," and before it could be extinguished, had consumed property to the value of a million of dollars. The principal use of the warehouse was the storage of tobacco, on which the State is an insurer, but it has been occupied in part of late by the Confederate Government as a dépôt of commissary stores. Eight hundred hogsheds, including the tobacco held by Mr. Belmont, of New York, for the MM. Rothschild, and three hundred bags of grain were destroyed.

At half-past 11 a.m. of Friday, the 13th, a terrific explosion, resulting from the careless handling of a friction primer, took place in the cartridge factory on Brown's Island, at the foot of 7th Street, by which thirty-three persons, mostly young women, were instantly killed, and thirty-five others, more or less severely, wounded. Ten or twelve of the latter have since died of their wounds. The distress occasioned by this most appalling calamity was among the poorer class of the community, many aged parents depending upon the wages received by their children in the factory, wages which were high on account of the perilous nature of the work. A liberal subscription has been taken up for the benefit of the wounded sufferers and the impoverished surviving relatives.

You have doubtless received intelligence of the death of James L. Petigru, the eminent lawyer of South Carolina, which sad event took place in Charleston, on the 9th instant. Virginia mourns the loss of an accomplished scholar and most estimable gentleman in the recent death of Lewis Minor Coleman, late Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, in the State University at Charlottesville. At the breaking out of the war, he left the Professor's chair for service in the field, and bore an honourable part, as an officer of artillery, in the operations of Lee's army down to the Battle of Fredericksburg, where he sustained his death wound. He lingered in great agony for three months, but bore his affliction with the serene fortitude of the Christian soldier.

There is an active competition going on for the office

of Governor of Virginia, the election for which will be held on the fourth Thursday in the month of May. Several candidates are already in the field, among whom are William Smith, of Fauquier, an ex-Governor and sitting Member of the House of Representatives, and George Wythe Mumford, the present Secretary of the Commonwealth, and son of the translator of the "Iliad." The latter will probably be elected, and certainly the choice of the people could not fall on a better man.

General Toombs has resigned his commission in the army.

The letter from our Mobile correspondent on the Southern War Songs is unavoidably displaced by the news letter from Richmond. It will appear in our next impression.

## FURTHER SOUTHERN ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF CHARLESTON.

(From the *Wilmington Journal*, April 13.)

The Charleston papers and the despatches to the Associated Press have already given all the essential details of the recent attack upon the defences of Charleston, and leave little to be added in that way.

The attack commenced at about three o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 7th inst., and closed at about half-past five of the same afternoon, at which time the last of the iron-clad fleet had retired out of range, the batteries and forts having thus succeeded in repulsing an attack made by eight Monitors, one Whitney battery, and one iron-clad frigate. The two last named, the Keokuk and Ironsides, were so severely handled that the former sank not long after, and the Ironsides was evidently disabled.—The injury to the Monitors is not definitely known, but the disappearance of the Passaic, probably gone to Port Royal for repairs, with the repairing operations seen to be progressing on another boat, which has remained, combine to account for the failure of the enemy to renew the attack on the next or any other day of last week, and force us to the conclusion that they must have been very severely injured.

A telegraphic despatch received on Tuesday evening, caused us to leave for Charleston on Wednesday morning, for the purpose of bringing away a young relative at school in that city. A desire to see anything that might occur kept us there until Friday evening, but without having the opportunity of seeing a single shot exchanged. The enemy's iron-clads were still, at the latest dates, lying inside the bar, but round the point of Morris Island, so as to be invisible from the city. Our own two boats, the Chicora and Palmetto State, were cruising in the harbour. The Quartermaster's boats with rations, &c., for Mount Pleasant, James Island, &c., were crawling around the harbour. The Confederate flag still floated proudly from Sumter, Moultrie, Johnson, Batteries Bee and Beauregard, as well as from Fort Ripley and the works on Morris Island. The city, as we saw it, was quiet; people went about as usual, and little indicated the fact of a recent cannonade or the presence of a hostile force inside the bar. Outside, the masts of the blockaders were occasionally just visible. But the calmness which prevailed in Charleston was evidently not that of carelessness. The attack had been long expected, people had made up their minds and completed their arrangements, and were glad to have the suspense put an end to. Business of all kinds, however, might be said to stand still. The banks were closed and their business removed, and the stores presented a beggarly array of empty shelves. He, she, or it, who might go a shopping along King Street would find little to buy and much to pay.

The hotels were full, and at the Mills House or the Charleston Hotel might occasionally be seen many distinguished military men, either actually on service at Charleston, or drawn there by the reported attack. General Beauregard puts up at the Mills House, and has his headquarters on Broad-street, below Church. He looks well and cheerful, and, as we were informed, expressed himself fully satisfied, indeed, highly gratified by the result of the contest of Tuesday evening. General G. W. Smith, an intelligent-looking middle-aged gentleman, with a firm and decided cast of countenance, having resigned his commission in the Confederate army, is in Charleston in plain black clothes, having come on to make himself useful in any way. He is a Kentuckian by birth.

The Charleston papers say that the iron-clads came within fourteen, twelve, and eight hundred yards of Sumter. Gentlemen who were spectators of the scene from James' Island and from Sullivan's Island told us in Charleston that in their opinion none of them approached nearer than fourteen or sixteen hundred yards, and the fact that all or nearly all the shots from the Monitors were made to ricochet—that is, to strike the water and rebound before striking the fort, seems to us to show that they could not have been much less than a mile distant, otherwise it is difficult to understand why ordnance of such weight and range should not have been fired directly at an object like the fort, presenting a height of over fifty feet and a largely extended front. If, indeed, the Whitney boat, the Keokuk, did venture much nearer, she paid dearly for her temerity, and it is not likely that the others will soon repeat the experiment which proved so disastrous to the pet invention of the worthy New York ironmonger. Still less will they be inclined to attempt to run past the fort, since to do so they must pass within short pistol range, and under a plunging fire upon their decks, which are only protected by two-inch iron. Several of the shots fired at the Fort ricocheted over it, and were seen to strike the water beyond.

Of course there are always rumours of all sorts afloat about damage done, and of course such rumours were afloat in reference to Sumter, the parapet of which had several bricks knocked off, but without interfering with the working of the guns or the strength of the work. Other parts of the wall are decidedly pitted, but neither rent, crack, nor breach made, nor anything like it. The injury to the parapet has been repaired, and the whole work is believed to be as strong as it was at 3 o'clock on Tuesday, when the first gun was fired.

If, as stated, only eighty shots were fired at the fort, in two hours and a-half, by some thirty-four guns, it would indicate very slow firing on the part of both the turreted vessels and the Ironsides, even allowing one half of the shots fired to have been directed against the other forts and batteries, giving, as it would, only five discharges from each gun, which would go to confirm the reported difficulties in the way of managing the monster guns in the turrets. The correspondent of a Northern paper said that the invulnerability—the defensive power

of the Monitors had been settled—their power of attack had yet to be proved. It certainly has not yet been proved either at Fort M'Alister or Fort Sumter, while the result of the attack upon the latter fort throws serious doubts upon their assumed invulnerability. The question of the offensive and defensive power of Monitors as opposed to forts has not yet been fully decided, but the result of the experiment, so far as it has gone, has been highly encouraging to us. Of course it is not to be supposed that the attack on Charleston will be abandoned so soon, or until every means has been exhausted. The Yankee preparations have been too long planned and carried out at too great an expense to permit their being thrown aside while a hope remains of success. We will hear of other and more desperate attacks both by land and water, which we believe will be repelled. It is difficult to feel any absolute confidence of any future event, all the issues of which have not been tried, still we can say that in the present aspect of this attack upon Charleston, we see many grounds of encouragement, if not absolute confidence.

We are not aware of any landing having yet been made, except on Coles' Island, which is barely separated from James Island by a marsh and creek, over and through which we believe there had been, if there is not still, a bridge and causeway. There are not probably more than 6,000 men there yet. From our look-out station on James' Island a large number of transports were visible last week at Coles', most of them white painted Northern river steamers. We think our forces on James' Island, with the works there, sufficient to repel any force that the enemy could bring forward against them. There is no place on the island whereupon to manœuvre 10,000 troops in attack.

Morris' Island contains the point of land nearest Fort Sumter—Cumming's Point. South and west of Morris Island, and separated from it by a narrow channel, is Folly Island. It was supposed that the enemy might land upon Folly Island and erect batteries on the end next to Morris Island, with the view of taking our works on the latter island in reverse, compelling their abandonment, and thus obtaining a foothold on land for the purpose of erecting batteries to bear upon Sumter. Our military authorities are not asleep as to this probable movement of the enemy, which will not succeed. There was also a rumour in Charleston last week, that the enemy was landing or attempting to land troops at Bull's Bay, some distance north of Charleston. We do not think that this report is worthy of attention, inasmuch as it would be the height of folly for the Yankees to even think of such a thing—the very thing which our people would prefer that they should do.

The Sea Islands along the South Carolina coast are certainly fair and fertile spots, and it is painful to see their rich fields lying waste and their comfortable homes desolate. On last Thursday afternoon we visited James' Island, and passed the night at the camp of the 61st N. C. T., belonging to General Clingman's brigade. We were glad to meet many old friends among our troops there, and to find them in good health, generally speaking. Pneumonia and typhoid fever seem to be the prevailing diseases, although to our surprise we found a few cases of measles among those, conscripts or others, who had recently joined. Colonel Radcliffe, Lieut.-Colonel Devane, Quartermaster Anderson, Surgeon Harris, Captain J. F. Moore, Lieutenants Van Amringe and Lippitt, and, indeed, all our friends from this section were well, or if anything ailed them it was *nostalgie*, home-sickness. If any one doubts the devotion of North Carolinians to their native State, just let him visit one of their camps in another State. None would think of leaving before the fight at Charleston is over, and all who do their duty well and bravely, but they do want the long agony to be over, so that they may return to North Carolina to assist in driving the invaders from the borders of the old North State.

The war correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, under date of Charleston, April 12, says:—

The great Yankee armada is taking its departure. Early this morning a vessel, similar to the one which left immediately after the battle to carry despatches to the North, arrived in the fleet, and soon after it became apparent that important intelligence had been received. It being the anniversary of the first battle of Fort Sumter, the belief had generally gone abroad that the enemy would this day make their grandest efforts to reduce our fortifications and recapture the city. But when the afternoon arrived, and it was discovered that instead of advancing to another attack the Yankees were slowly picking up their anchors and moving away, hopeful anticipation gave way to disappointment, and a universal feeling of regret pervaded the entire community.

Notwithstanding the sinking of the Keokuk and evident damage to various members of the fleet, few among the officers in command were of the opinion the enemy would not give us a second trial, and when the several vessels got under weigh few thought the cowardly foe was about to take his departure. Yet it was even so, and at sundown the majority of the fleet were fading from view on the distant horizon. Of the iron-clads, one alone remains—the frigate New Ironsides—which is anchored off the bar. The others took a southerly direction, as did also the wooden vessels of the squadron, and by the time these notes are read, will probably be safely anchored in Port Royal. The Ironsides was towed to her present anchorage, and one of the Monitors was in the same manner conveyed from her moorings. Whether this argues an inability to move of their own accord, is a matter of doubt.

Twenty-four transports, supposed to be loaded with troops, have left the Stono, and the enemy are reported to be evacuating Folly Island. The latter rumour should be received with caution.

With reference to the injury inflicted on the Monitors during the late battle (excepting, of course, the sunken Keokuk) there is no definite information, save what has been obtained from a prisoner captured on Little Folly Island, Friday night, by Lieut.-Colonel Dargan, of the Twenty-first South Carolina Regiment, and a squad of men. The name of the prisoner is John MacDonald, and his regiment the One Hundredth New York.

Although an intelligent man, he tells some of the biggest lies that ever is used from the lips of mortal man, and a careful examination only served to involve him in a tissue of fabrications and exaggerations, which spoiled his entire story. The statement he made is, that none of the iron-clads were seriously damaged, and that the attack was designed simply to test the strength of the Fort—a sort of *reconnaissance en force*—and was regarded by naval men as eminently satisfactory. They now feel assured of their ability to reduce Fort Sumter in ten hours with two iron-clads—and intend to do it. MacDonald adds that they have altogether a fleet of twelve Monitors, seventeen or eighteen vessels which are iron-clads, and a large flotilla in the Edisto, on which are mounted the heaviest mortars.

With reference to the Keokuk, he states that her turret was



not materially injured, and that she sank, not from the effect of our fire, but from the concussion of her own guns, which "broke her back."

Such is the Munchausen account of the prisoner. The only valuable part of it is that which refers to the concussion of the enemy's heavy guns. Taking the recent confession of a Northern correspondent who was on the Montauk during the bombardment of Fort M'Alister, in connection with the above, the inference is almost conclusive that the Monitors cannot safely withstand the shock of their own guns sufficiently long for a protracted bombardment. The effect on the systems of the men is not less than the effect on the vessels themselves, so that were it probable that the latter may hereafter be constructed in such a manner as to remove one part of the difficulty, ventilation and personal concussion are two obstacles that are insuperable in boats of that character. Four or five hours in battle, and firing at intervals of twenty minutes, is the most they can endure.

The destruction of the Keokuk is by no means a satisfactory test of the strength of the other Monitors, as the latter are constructed upon an entirely different principle. The Keokuk was an experiment, which failed. Had we sunk one of the single turreted monitors, we should then have known something of the invulnerability of the others of her class. As it is, we are as much in the dark as ever.

On Saturday the city was filled with conflicting rumours as to the sinking of the Ironsides. Several gentlemen with good glasses observing the ship from the cupola of the Custom House, averred that she was surely settling by the stern, while a dummy engine was seen briskly pumping out water or lowering her guns to the boat which lay alongside. No subsequent revelation has verified the correctness of these observations, however, and the probability is that the frigate is still comparatively sound. If not, why is she outside the Bar?

The firing on Saturday evening about sundown is said to have been an effort by the enemy to shell Morris Island.

The future movements of the fleet are enveloped in mystery. It is barely supposable that after two years of preparation the Abolitionists will be satisfied with the result of a two hours' bombardment. But they encountered what they did not fully anticipate, lost faith in their boasted prowess, and may have simply retired to gain strength and time, and organise another base of operations. Perhaps they will now give Savannah or Wilmington a trial, hoping, if successful, to wipe out the disgrace of their present defeat; but that they will return to Charleston eventually, I believe there is little doubt. PERSONNE.

(From the Charleston Courier, April 9th.)

Yesterday passed without any further demonstration on the part of the enemy's fleet.

At nine o'clock the glorious news reached the city that the double-turreted Monitor, Keokuk, the last built, and by far the most formidable of the enemy's iron-clads, had sunk just one hour before, off Morris Island, and about 1,000 yards from the beach. It is supposed that she was kept afloat during the night succeeding the engagement by the steam pumps, but that the water gained steadily on her pumps, and soon after daylight all hope of saving her was abandoned. Just previous to her sinking a tug sent from the fleet took off her crew. The Keokuk now lies in the position where she sank, her smoke-stack and pilot-house being still visible above the water.

It was noticed on Wednesday morning that one Monitor, besides the Keokuk, was missing from the fleet, leaving only seven Monitors and the Ironsides remaining. It is believed that the missing Monitor was so badly injured in the action as to render it necessary to send her to Port Royal for repairs. Altogether, the evidence is complete and satisfactory that the Yankee iron-clads, whatever other merits they have, are not invulnerable.

The haste and confusion of the enemy in his retreat may be inferred from the fact that he did not take time to secure the machine which he had brought with him for the purpose of feeling for our torpedoes. This nondescript contrivance, or "devil," as the Yankees term it, floated ashore on the Morris Island beach on Wednesday forenoon, and fell into the hands of our troops. We learn that it is simply a long and substantially built scow, having a bow beautifully supplied with hooks, etc., and with a forked stern, so constructed as to fit the prow of one of the Monitor gunboats. In coming up the Main Ship Channel to the attack, the Monitors advanced in single file, the *Pascata* slowly leading the way, and pushing forward this same "devil," with the hope of causing a premature explosion of our submarine defences. The Monitors, in delivering their fire, steamed around in an elliptic course in front of the east face of Sumter, the closest range into which they came being estimated at six hundred yards.

All the batteries in the harbour were commanded by General Ripley, admitted to be probably the best artillery officer in the Confederate service, whose approved arrangement of works and of guns for the defence of the water approach to Charleston have at length been put on trial.

General Beauregard himself, accompanied by General Jordan and staff officers, was a radiant and confident spectator of the fight from the East Bay battery promenade. This successful repulse and first destruction of the dreaded iron monster of the deep, must add new laurels to the fadeless wreath he already wears, and again unite his own triumph with the distinguished and so far successful services of General Ripley to the people of South Carolina and Charleston.

At dark last evening the Monitors were still within the bar. The heavy reports, however, heard about 11 o'clock last night were not caused by any night engagement.

#### THE FINALE OF THE FIGHT FOR THE HARBOUR.

(From the Charleston Mercury, April 13.)

Proudly this 13th day of April, the second anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, dawns upon the City of Charleston. The boasted iron-fleet, which was in three hours to have reduced our defences and pulverised the walls of Fort Sumter, battered and discomfited by our skilled artilleryists, after tarrying five days within our bar, probably to repair damages and get orders from Washington, has gone. *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit!*

Yesterday afternoon at three o'clock the Monitors crossed the bar—three of them steaming, the other three towed by wooden vessels. Most of them passed southward, and were soon lost to the view. It is likely that they have gone to Port Royal, whither one of their number, worse injured, probably, than the rest, had preceded them four days ago. The Ironsides frigate was also towed beyond the bar, and at dark yesterday had resumed the position she lately occupied as the flag-ship of the blockading squadron. It is stated, however, by observers that her steam pump has been kept steadily in motion, that her water line has been raised by the

removal of a portion, at least, of her armament, and that she has been careened, evidently undergoing repairs on one side.

From the Stono River we also get intelligence that twenty-four of the transports, recently anchored in that stream, have disappeared—whether to remove troops, or only to bring more to Folly Island, with a view to the capture of Morris Island, we know not. But, at any rate, the progress of the great Yankee movement towards Charleston, both by land and sea, has been suddenly stayed in the first and most dreaded advance, and our people, while they may not rejoice in the expectation that their final ordeal is passed, can at least enjoy a breathing spell from anxiety concerning the water approach, while every exertion should be given towards the security of Charleston otherwise.

In announcing to the public this almost ludicrous, hardly expected, and most gratifying conclusion of the vaunted attack of the steel-plated Yankee armada, crippled, defeated and driven back in an engagement of not two hours and a half with a few admirably served batteries, we cannot forbear to invoke a proper spirit of profound thankfulness to the Giver of Victory, and of humble, prayerful trust in Him for a continuance of the providential mercies which, beginning with the reduction of Sumter two years ago, have signally marked the progress of operations in this quarter.

(From the Charleston Mercury of April 13.)

The Morris Island batteries that participated in the recent engagement with the iron-clad fleet were battery Wagner and the Cumming's Point Battery. They were ordered not to open fire until the last of the attacking fleet had come within range, and hence it chanced that their first fire was directed against the doomed monster Keokuk. The firing at these batteries, like that at all the others which were engaged, was highly creditable—a large proportion of their shots having hit the mark. We have heard the manner in which the guns at the Cumming's Point Battery were handled highly commended. In entering the fight, by way of Ship Channel, the Monitors passed battery Wagner with closed ports; but when withdrawing, baffled and disappointed, from the contest, every turret vomited forth its huge missiles against the defiant sand fort. Battery Wagner was commanded by Major Cleland K. Huger, and was manned by the Mathewes Artillery, Captain J. Raven Mathewes, and the Gist Guard, Captain C. E. Chichester, who hastened from a sick bed to participate in the fight. The Cumming's Point Battery was commanded by First Lieutenant Lesene, and manned by a detachment from his regiment, the 1st South Carolina (regular) Artillery. Neither battery was damaged by the enemy's fire, and the only casualties that occurred were those resulting from the accidental ignition and explosion of an ammunition chest.

#### THE COMBAT.

(From the Richmond Enquirer.)

The campaign of this year is upon us in earnest. This very moment the grand, combined, long-awaited for assault on the city of Charleston, by sea and land, is raging with transcendent hate and fury. Grey old Sumter, that has lain sternly quiet for two years, as the crater of an extinct volcano, has suddenly awakened into furious eruption, and belches forth flame and red-hot iron like a throat of the bottomless pool. The parent city of the Confederacy feels that she is the object of the dearest vengeance to the black heart of the common foe. She has known well that all the resources of science, all the appliances of wealth and ingenuity, all the gathered hatred and rage of half a century, have been concentrating themselves for the effort to abolish every home and hearth, every tower and temple of the proud and scornful city of the South, to plough up her foundations, to manure the smoking field that once was her pleasant site with the best blood of her sons, and to plant between the Ashley and the Cooper a monument to certify to posterity that once an accursed city stood there—that she defied the Yankee nation, and that, like Sodom and Gomorrah, she was consumed by fire from Heaven—or from Hell.

Whatever be the destiny of the Confederacy, this is the day of fate for Charleston. The very hour that strikes is pregnant with that great supreme trial which is to make her the most glorious of towns, or to wipe her off from the face of the earth. If the ruffian of the North indeed make a serious attack, it will be of terrible power and proportions, but it will be fiercely and desperately met. Envious and malignant rage, on the one side, will encounter, on the other, the haughty, disdainful gallantry of Southern gentlemen, who, even if driven to the wall, and fighting to the death in the last pool of blood, of the last forlorn hope, in the last crashing and burning street, will scorn the base foe whose brute mass crushes them to the earth. There will be a gallant death to die! *un bon trepas*; an *Authanasia* worth living for! Far better than the death-in-life of our unhappy people of New Orleans, where manhood pines and withers, and the iron enters into the soul and corrodes it; and the whole being is drowned in shame and horror; far better this grim rapture of battle, wherein, having done all that man can do for country and glory, "you pour out your full soul in a hot torrent of red, raging blood, triumphant defiance in your eye, and an appeal to Heaven's justice on your lips." But by Heaven's blessing it shall not be so. Let us trust in the devoted patriotism of our armies, and in the star of Beauregard.

#### THE RICHMOND PRESS ON THE RECALL OF THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS.

On this subject, which is again being most earnestly mooted both in the Congress and by the press of the Confederate States, the *Richmond Sentinel*—a new paper, but which appears to have already taken a conspicuous stand in Southern journalism—in its impression of April 9 says:—

Some days since a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives, declaring its opinion that if the President shall withdraw Mr. Mason from Great Britain, the country would approve the proceeding. Thirty-nine members voted to suspend the rules to entertain this resolution, and thirty-two in the negative. So the thing fell to the ground for the time.

We are at a loss to understand how this resolution failed to receive a more decided rejection. The President certainly does not need any lectures or monitions on this head. He probably has more information on the subject than the members of Congress, and some, perhaps, that it would be a flagrant breach of trust to divulge.

Why make an issue with him? Is it to be assumed that he is so defective in a sense of honour and a regard for the public interests, that he cannot be trusted with this matter? Of all subjects this is one that he should be trusted upon, and if on this he cannot be trusted, we ask what point remain on which he can be confided in? There is no disguising or cloaking the

real nature of this business. It is a direct issue with the President on a matter which the country has willingly, unanimously confided to him, and a deliberate effort to constrain him to do an act which he regards as wrong and injudicious. Now this is a very serious position for members to take, and we feel sure that the responsibility to be taken in breaking down the President's policy will not be found a light one by those who undertake it.

We have no wish to impeach, even by indirection, the motives of those who sustained this resolution. Many, if not all, were doubtless governed by the most patriotic feelings, and probably had no intention of putting any undue pressure upon the President, upon a matter where all must feel that he is peculiarly the proper person to act; having all the lights before him, and reasons, possibly, of a most forcible nature, which are not of a public nature. The responsibility of determining whether Mr. Mason can be safely recalled, is one that the people are perfectly willing to leave to the President. With some opportunities to gather public opinion, we can assure Congress that the great mass of the people are ready to do anything to carry on this war successfully, and that they prudently consider that a very essential step in the business is to stand by the President of their choice, and to give him a cordial and fair support. If mischief should come from an interference with the President upon a matter where he is possessed of all the facts and Congress are not, the people will hold those who have favoured such interference to a strict accountability. We are sure that the able and useful body of representatives who make up the present Congress, will feel that to press this matter would be unjust to the President, and that it would be more safe to leave it with him than to attempt action upon it themselves. A little moderation, now and then, does more good than rash men are willing to acknowledge. Certainly, we are not so weak at this time, that it is necessary to resort to what may be looked upon by the world as a piece of bluster. Why make ourselves ridiculous by imitating Seward and Lincoln? And why do an act which would please them more than anything we could do, except submitting to their power?

For contrast, the *Enquirer*, which is supposed more especially to represent the views of the Administration, a few days later, takes the *Sentinel* sharply to task for what it terms its indiscreet and uncalled-for defence of the President against Congress, and concludes:—

For our own part, we openly profess the opinion, contained in Mr. Swann's resolution, which is certainly shared by the House, and possibly by the President also, that the time has arrived when it may well be carefully weighed and considered whether Mr. Mason ought not to be recalled—whether every hour we retain him in London we are not submitting to humiliation and inviting affront; and, finally, whether any secret reasons of State, no matter how important, can ever be reasons good enough for continuing Mr. Mason in London, and British Consuls in our ports.

On the whole of these questions, we are willing, as Congress also is, to defer implicitly to the President.

#### THE PLAN OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR FOR SUPPLYING THE ARMIES.

The following is the plan of the Confederate Secretary of War for supplying the Confederate armies with food, to which President Davis makes allusion in his address:—

1.—Let the people in each county, parish, or ward, select at a public meeting, as early as convenient, a committee of three or more discreet citizens, charged with the duties hereinafter mentioned.

2.—Let it be the duty of the committee to ascertain from each citizen in the county or parish what amount of surplus corn and meat, whether bacon, pork, or beef, he can spare for the use of the army, after reserving a supply for his family and those dependent on him for food.

Let this committee fix a price which is deemed by them a just compensation for the articles furnished, and inform the citizens what this price is, so that each may know, before delivery, what price is to be paid for the articles furnished.

Let this committee make arrangements for the transportation of the supplies to some convenient depot, after consultation with the officer who is to receive them.

Let the committee make delivery of the supplies on receiving payment of the price, and assume the duty of paying it over to the citizens who have furnished the supplies.

3.—Where the duty of the committee is performed in any town or city at which there may be a quarter-master or commissary, no further duty need be required of them than to deliver to the officer a list of the names of the citizens and of the supplies which each is ready to furnish, and the price fixed; whereupon the officer will, himself, gather the supplies and make payment.

4.—Where the supplies are furnished in the country the cost of transportation to the depot will be paid by the Government, in addition to the price fixed by the committee.

5.—As this appeal is made to the people for the benefit of our brave defenders now in the army, the Department relies with confidence on the patriotism of the people that no more than just compensation would be fixed by the committee, nor accepted by those whose chief motive will be to aid their country, and not to make undue gains out of the needs of our noble soldiers.

JAMES A. SEDDON, Secretary of War.

THE NEW ORLEANS PRESS.—The *Memphis* (Tennessee) *Appeal* is furnished by a friend with the following facts relative to the press of New Orleans:—"Before the fall of New Orleans the editorial corps of its six daily papers had contributed the following respectable quota in the Confederate army: two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, one major, three captains, one lieutenant, and one colour sergeant. The composition, press, and counting rooms had furnished so many officers and men that after engaging all the outside force available the establishments had a barely sufficient number to carry on business. And this, it must be remembered, was the voluntary contribution of a class exempt from military duty. When the Yankees took possession of the city the *Crescent* was confiscated; then the *Bulletin* followed suit, its editor being sent to Fort Jackson; next the *Delta* met the same fate, its only remaining editor taking a trip to Ship Island. The *Picayune* and *Bee* bent the neck, and after having been suspended they appended Butler's vanity by apologising for an inadvertent exhibition of manliness, and are allowed to continue. The *True Delta*, falling under the exclusive control of its old editor, Dr. Hugh Kennedy, has affiliated with Butler and Banks, and displayed a cloven hoof, the existence of which had been suspected for years.



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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 21, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America .. .. .	49
England .. .. .	50
Europe .. .. .	50
Parliamentary Notes .. .. .	51
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter .. .. .	53
Manchester Letter .. .. .	53
Letter from New Orleans .. .. .	53
The Unconstitutionality of Coercion .. .. .	54
"Bread Riots" at Richmond .. .. .	54
The British Consulate at Mobile .. .. .	54
The Naval attack on Port Hudson .. .. .	55
LEADERS—	
On the Rappahannock .. .. .	56
American Affairs—The Lords' Debate .. .. .	56
Mr. Seward's Letter to the "Citizens of London" .. .. .	57
The Federal Compact and the Right of Secession .. .. .	58
LETTER FROM RICHMOND .. .. .	59
The War Songs of the South .. .. .	60
Federal Outrages on Confederate Prisoners .. .. .	63

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE reports that have appeared in the New York papers fully explain the strategy of General Hooker, and the several movements by which he proposed to surprise, outflank, and simultaneously threaten and attack the flank and rear of the Confederate army. The Confederate line behind Fredericksburg extended from North to South—in describing the position without the aid of a map for reference, we are not able to be geographically accurate—that is, the van was facing the Rappahannock, and the rear towards Richmond. The distance from Fredericksburg to Richmond is sixty miles, and the length of the Confederate line was about five miles, that is, from the immediate rear of Fredericksburg to St. Marye's Bridge. We speak of the main line, and not of the batteries and rifle pits, which were extended to the banks of the Rappahannock. The first operation of Hooker was to push across a small part of his forces in such a proximity to Fredericksburg that he hoped to lead the Confederate commander to believe that he was about to repeat Burnside's plan. To further this *ruse de guerre*, after his troops had crossed with trifling opposition, he marched and countermarched some divisions so as to make it appear that he was about to follow up the advance with the rest of his army. Meantime the other movements, of which those we have spoken of were intended to be a cover, were being pushed forward as rapidly as possible. Whilst the corps under the command of General Sedgwick and a portion of Reynolds's corps, under the command of General Wadsworth, were crossing by two bridges below Fredericksburg, the main part of the army was moving up the north bank of the river. On the morning of the 29th of April Howard's corps, Slocum's corps, and Meade's corps, crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, which is about 27 miles from Falmouth, and therefore rather more distant from Fredericksburg. As soon as they were on the south side of the river the Federal forces marched in a southerly direction in two divisions. They were thus marching parallel to the Confederate line. Upon reaching Germania Ford on the Rapidan, the Federals faced to the east and proceeded to Chancellorsville, where the two divisions effected a junction (the connection between them being kept up during the march by the Federal cavalry under General Pleasanton) one division having crossed the Rapidan by Eley's Ford, a place some miles lower than Germania Ford. This circuitous march brought the Federals in a line with the United States' Ford on the Rappahannock, a place only distant twelve miles from Falmouth, and which being now covered by

the Federal forces, afforded a safe passage for another corps, Couch's, which had been waiting there for three days. On the 1st of May, Hooker occupied the position he desired. His army was facing what had been the Confederate flank. His line was considerably extended and his right wing thrown back. We may here refer to the cavalry expedition under General Stoneman, which was despatched to cut the railroad bridges near to Richmond, and so prevent supports and reinforcements from coming up to the Confederate army. What became of the expedition we have not at this time any intelligence, but inasmuch as reinforcements and supplies have come up to the Confederates by railroad, we know it did not succeed in its mission.

General Lee immediately changed his position, and took up a line that brought him face to face with the enemy. General Hooker's plan was to engage the Confederate army with his centre, supported by his left, and having made some impression, to swing round his right wing upon the enemy. So far, that is, before the fighting commenced, all seems to have happened as Hooker expected. He had crossed the Rappahannock without any serious opposition; he had come on the flank of the Confederates, and he had compelled a change in the Confederate line, and the abandonment of certain strong positions. Whilst eagerly watching his own game, he did not expect, or did not prepare for certain strategy on the part of the Southern Commander. When he was making ready for a great battle with his left and centre, a determined attack was making ready for his right wing. General Stonewall Jackson had, with marvellous celerity, moved a body of troops,—we do not know the number, but we have reason to believe it was little if any more than 20,000—so as, on the afternoon of the 2nd, to fall upon Hooker's weakest point, his right wing. Practically, Hooker had in turn been outflanked. The movement of Jackson's corps could not be altogether concealed, but its destination and object were not suspected. The assault on the Federal right, consisting of Howard's division, was successful. Whole regiments, we are told, threw down their arms and fled towards head quarters. The rout was complete, despite gallant efforts on the part of the officers to check it. Hooker seems to have acted promptly. He immediately sent his own division, under the command of General Berry, to stop the Confederate advance. Jackson had executed the task assigned him—he had defeated and driven back the right wing. The late hour in the afternoon when he made the attack, and the smallness of the force with him—small, we mean, compared to the bulk of the Federal army, which he must have encountered if he had continued to push his advantage—would necessarily prevent his further pursuit of the defeated troops.

The next day (Sunday) a great battle was fought. The Confederates advanced and maintained a fight for six hours, when the Federals fell back towards the river about a mile, and the engagement ceased. We have no details of this battle, but its duration shows that it was fiercely contested, and the falling back of the Federals that the Confederates were victorious. On Monday Hooker was engaged in throwing up intrenchments. In the afternoon he brought on an engagement. He pushed out a column to ascertain the position of the Confederates, and followed this by the advance of his main body. The action lasted half an hour, when the Federals fell back in some disorder, and retired to their main line.

It is reported that the losses in the two battles were very heavy. General Berry was killed on Sunday, and there is a rumour that General A. P. Hill is killed; but this requires confirmation.

General Sedgwick's corps commenced operations on Saturday (the 2nd inst.), took possession of the town of Fredericksburg, and the next day assaulted the Confederate position on St. Marye's Hill. After a hard contested fight the position was captured. The Federals admit a loss of 1,000 killed and wounded. They claim to have taken 800 or 1,000 prisoners. The Confederate defences were naturally strong, and were held, we expect, by a small body of troops, and the report that all those who were not killed were captured may be strictly true. General Sedgwick was not destined to long hold possession of the place. He was attacked on Monday, and so badly cut up that he determined to recross the river. This movement was undertaken at night. The bridges were commanded by the artillery of the Confederates, and the Federal losses were heavy in crossing. Added to this, he was hardly pressed and incessantly harassed in his rear. Sedgwick's force is said to have been about 20,000, and it was disastrously defeated. Although the position of St. Marye's Hill is in comparative proximity to Hooker, that General could render no assistance.

On the morning of Tuesday it was found that the Confederates had taken up a position on the hills on the south bank of the Rappahannock, two miles below the "United States Ford," the point where a Federal division had crossed a few days before without molestation. The Confederates were able to shell the Federal trains lying on the north side of the river.

Such is a brief outline of the Northern version of these great movements and battles. The next mail, which will probably be in before we go to press, will give us further information, but we must wait awhile for Southern accounts.

The rest of the war news brought by the Persia is meagre, though not unimportant. The Confederates who recently occupied Morgantown have destroyed the railroad bridge which spanned the Monongahela, near Fairmount, after defeating the Federal force that was in charge of it. General Banks has occupied Opelousas, in Louisiana. A Federal attack on Grand Gulf, at first said to have been successful, is now reported to have failed, and that the Federals were signally repulsed. General Marmaduke is reported to have returned to Arkansas, where, it is said, Generals Sterling Price and Kirby Smith are collecting an army to resume operations in Missouri. General Marmaduke obtained large supplies.

There is a report in New York that the Confederate steamer Retribution has been captured off Saint Domingo. It is said the Alabama has captured the Punjaub from Boston. The vessel was released upon giving bonds. A Federal war sloop has been burnt off Pensacola.

The Hon. C. L. Vallandigham has been arrested at his residence at Dayton, Ohio, by order of General Burnside, for making disloyal speeches. The military force sent to take him had to batter down the doors of his house. It is evident that Mr. Vallandigham is not the only "traitor" in his State, for a band of friends attempted to rescue him from the custody of the military, and his arrest was followed by a riot in Dayton, during which the telegraph wires were cut, and the *Journal* office set on fire.

In the case of the Peterhoff an application has been made to the Prize Court to allow Mr. Redgate, one of the owners of the cargo, to testify in his own behalf. It was stated that Mr. Redgate was born a British subject; that he was an enemy of the Confederate Government; that his portion of the cargo had been legitimately consigned to his partner at Matamoras, and that he desired to be and remain a citizen of the United States, provided he could thereby receive the restitution



of his property and damages for unlawful capture and detention; but, if he were to be treated as an alien enemy, he demanded that he be regarded as a British subject, and as such he should claim protection from the British Government. The Court refused the application.

The price of gold at New York on the 5th of May was 50½ per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

The pauperism of Lancashire has, as we learn from the Poor Law returns, diminished by another 5,000. The whole diminution since the tide first began to turn amounts to 87,000; and though a large deduction must be made from this number, as we pointed out at first, for mere transfers from the roll of the Poor Law guardians to that of the Relief Committees, we may fairly consider that there has been a real reduction of some 60,000 or 70,000 in the number of persons actually dependent on alms within the manufacturing districts. Some of those, however, who have withdrawn thence to seek work elsewhere during the summer, will probably return again as the winter comes on; and after September it is much to be feared that we shall again see a weekly increase in the muster rolls of pauperism. We do not hear that any progress has yet been made towards the realization of Mr. Villiers's scheme for the employment of the operatives in draining lauds, improving the towns, and executing other works which, though much needed in Lancashire, would not, in the ordinary course of events, be carried out for many years to come. We fancy that the practical working of the plan will be found to be beset with more difficulties than were at first sight apprehended, and we believe that such is the opinion of those who best know the circumstances of the case, the condition of Lancashire, and the character of the people.

The death of Mr. Western Wood, late M.P. for the City of London, has left a vacancy which is pretty sure to be fiercely contested. Of late the Liberals have monopolized all the four seats allotted to the City; though the Conservatives constitute at least a very powerful minority of the electors. Mr. Wood was returned in 1861, on the occasion of Lord Russell's elevation to the peerage, by a majority of only 300 over his Conservative opponent, Mr. Cubitt, then Lord Mayor. Since that time some hundreds of Conservative votes have been added to the register, and some hundreds of Liberal votes struck off. But on the other hand Mr. Cubitt was exceedingly popular, and Mr. Wood but little known. It will be difficult for the Conservatives to find so likely a candidate again; and the Liberals may easily choose a better. Those at present named on their side are Mr. Hodgson, the Governor of the Bank of England, already in Parliament, and Mr. S. Morley, a notorious Radical and Dissenter; famous chiefly for his connection with the Liberation Society, whose business it is to stir up quarrels in parishes and provoke discussions in Parliament with a view immediately for the injury, and ultimately to the overthrow of the Established Church. We have not yet heard the name of any probable Conservative candidate.

Parliament has adjourned for the Derby and the Whitsuntide holidays, after a rather busy week. Lord Clarendon called the attention of the House of Lords to the proceedings of the Federal cruisers and Prize Courts, and the tame endurance of their proceedings by the British Government; eliciting a feeble and not very distinct reply from the Foreign Secretary. A curious incident occurred in the China debate in the House of Commons, which gave rise to a good deal of angry discussion. The debate had arisen on the motion for papers, made upon the question that the Speaker "do now leave the chair," in order that the House might go into Committee of Supply. Some other motions requiring the attention of the foreign department were also on the paper, and Mr. Layard conceived that the question before the House being that of going into Committee, he could only speak once before the Speaker left the chair. This mistake resulted in the motion for papers being prematurely put and negatived, greatly to the disgust of those members who took an interest in the subject. Mr. Layard was fiercely rated by Mr. Cobden and other members, and though he explained, and the error was clearly natural and involuntary, he was not readily forgiven. Two discussions very damaging to the credit of the Government have also taken place—the one on the course pursued by the Admiralty in the case of the *Vigilant*, the other on that of the Treasury in regard to Mr. Churchward's contract for carrying the mails from Dover to Calais and Ostend. The *Vigilant* had a pilot on board, and his carelessness ran her aground: the Admiralty therefore had a Court of Inquiry held in the absence of the

captain, censured him, and dismissed him his ship no penalty whatever being inflicted on the pilot. This made the naval men in the House very angry, and as the case in a common sense point of view was strongly against the Admiralty, and as that office is always getting into similar scrapes, the effect of the discussion was very damaging to the Ministry. In Mr. Churchward's case the facts were pretty clear, but the Government had the support of the Radicals, and so carried the day. Mr. Churchward had had the contract for the mails from 1854; he obtained an extension until 1870 from Lord Derby's Government in 1859, it being understood that he should vote for the Conservative candidate at Dover. He did so; and to avenge themselves for their defection, the Liberal Ministers ordered a Committee of Inquiry, which, being composed of their friends, reported against Mr. Churchward, and rescinded the contract. It was clear, however, that a Court of Law would enforce it; and to prevent this Government endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the House to the rescission. They prevailed by a majority of only eight; but the matter will have to be discussed again, and it is not improbable that the decision may be reversed.

The rain did not prevent the usual migration of London to the Epsom Downs to witness the Derby. The announcement that the Prince of Wales intended to be present was an additional attraction. His Royal Highness, accompanied by Prince Louis of Hesse, was not deterred from going by the unfavourable state of the weather. There were thirty-one starters, and the race was well contested. In consequence of the wet weather the course was somewhat heavy, and under such circumstances strength as well as fleetness is necessary for success. Still the favourite (Lord Clifden) did not lose his place in the betting. Before the race Lord Clifden stood at 7 to 2, and Maccaroni at 7 to 1. The last-named horse came in first, beating Lord Clifden, who was second, by half a length. The excitement in the ring was interrupted and protracted by the judge putting up the wrong number for the third horse.

The Prince and Princess of Wales are making the season of 1863 one of the gayest that has been known in London for some years. In the past eight days there has been a *levee*, a drawing room—the first held by the Princess of Wales for the Queen—an evening party at St. James's Palace, besides visits to the Theatres, to the Philharmonic Concert, the Polytechnic, and the *Times*' office. These doings give a great impulse to trade, and the West-end shopkeepers are, we should suppose, making up for the unprecedentedly dull season of 1862.

The Queen has gone to Balmoral. It is said that Her Majesty has sent to M. Guizot a copy of the speeches of the late Prince Consort. M. Guizot wrote a preface for the first edition. The volume is bound in white morocco, and upon the page preceding that of the title the Queen has written with her own hand—"To M. Guizot, in memory of the best of men, and with the expression of gratitude for the sincere homage he has rendered to him; from his unhappy widow, VICTORIA."

#### EUROPE.

If the Governments of England, France, and Austria have resolved upon any action with reference to the Russian reply to their intervention, they have been careful to keep their conclusions to themselves. The probability is that they have not yet come to an understanding; and, indeed, although they may nominally come to one, they are hardly likely to take any decided steps in concert. They cannot go further together, because their views are dissimilar. Austria is said to profess her satisfaction with the Russian notes, and the statement is likely enough to be true, inasmuch as Austria cannot regard the idea of an independent kingdom of Poland, or even of a Poland with the constitution of the Emperor Alexander, with any pleasure. She would like to see Poland mercifully governed; but she thinks that a Poland with a national army, and a Diet with large powers would be very troublesome to all the partitioners. Meanwhile, as nobody is in possession of any facts, rumours have the public ear all to themselves.

There is much talk of a Congress, and, undoubtedly, if a Congress could be called at once, and would despatch its work, it might be the best expedient of settling the question; but it will take a long time to get a general agreement to a Congress, and a longer time to define its functions. And if the Congress is not to meddle with the Polish insurrection only, but is to settle the Roman and Schleswig-Holstein questions, to reform the German Confederation, and mediatise half-a-dozen German princes, as we are seriously assured it has been seriously proposed, it will require some years before its final act is signed, and the Russians will by that time have been driven out of Poland, or the Poles will

have ceased to be a nation. In view of this contingency, Earl Russell is credited with a proposal so absurd, that we should say it was impossible did we not remember the famous invitation to the Pope. The Russians and the Poles are to conclude an armistice upon the basis of the *uti possidetis* for twelve months, and Europe is to use the interim to accommodate them. In the first place, the Emperor would never assent to such a proposal, assuming its practicability, since he would thus not only accept the Poles as belligerents, but give them the means to make head against him when the armistice expired; and in the second, one cannot tell how the division is to be made between Russian and Polish possessions, or how the Government is to be carried on, unless we assume that England and France supply an army of occupation, and undertake the administration. We leave the responsibility of the story to its authors. There is another story, which we are almost as unwilling to believe, to the effect that the French Government appealed very urgently to the Sublime Porte to make diplomatic representations at St. Petersburg on behalf of Poland, and that the Porte at first declining, on the ground that it was not a party to the Treaty of Vienna, ultimately yielded to the representations of M. de Moustier. The intervention of Turkey can have no other effect than to irritate the Russian Government extremely, and we cannot attribute to M. Drouyn de Lhuys a measure which, although a good joke, might have very mischievous effects. A worthy pendant to the story is the assertion that the Shah of Persia has been invited to lend the Poles his influence at St. Petersburg. We shall hear next that the Emperor of China, the Khan of Bokhara, the August Sovereign of Thibet, the Prince of Monaco, and the Chief of the independent Circassians, have also been requested to point out to Prince Gortschakoff that the benevolent character of the Czar justifies the hope that he will take measures to restore durable peace to Poland, and thus remove a danger to Europe.

The approaching elections divide with Poland and Mexico the interest of France. Probably the electioneering excitement is by no means so great as the prominence which the Parisian liberal papers, many of whose editors are candidates, give to the subject might induce us to believe; but, at all events, it is far greater than it was six years ago, and the number of opposition candidates is not only much larger, but includes very many men of considerable position, who have hitherto abstained from taking any part in the politics of the Empire. M. Thiers, after several refusals, has consented to stand for Valenciennes and Paris, where nine opposition candidates are arrayed against nine recommended by the Government. M. Berryer has also consented to stand for Marseilles, and MM. Remusat, Odillon Barrot, St. Hilaire, and other men prominent in the legislatures of the monarchy and the republic are candidates.

Paris has been much astonished by a warning given to *La France*, the journal of M. de la Guéronnière. The intimate relations of this Senator with the Emperor, and the circumstance that he has several times been selected to reveal to the world the Imperial views, had induced the belief that *La France* was safe against the summary measures of the Minister of the Interior. *La France* was warned on account of an article on the elections.

The partisans of Poland, having little at home to comfort them, borrow cheer from England, and assure themselves that the English people mean to do something because a meeting—of which very few Englishmen have heard—was held at the Tailors' Repository, Southwark, and was addressed by Messrs. Locke and Hennessey, members of Parliament.

The *Moniteur* has published the despatch of General Forey to the Minister of War, as well as the general's diary, kept for the information of the Emperor. As, however, the despatch is dated the 2nd of April, and the diary only come down to that date, they possess but little interest, except, *in ætensio*, for those who wish to acquaint themselves with the details of the conflict. The news from Puebla comes down to the 10th, at which time the French were in possession of the larger part of the city. The official documents only tell of the capture of Fort St. Xavier. The Mexicans have displayed a courage and tenacity for which no one had given them credit.

The days of grace given by the Czar have expired. The Poles, buoyed up by the hope of Foreign aid, have refused the amnesty, and declared their resolve to drive the Muscovites out of the whole of Old Poland. As the Revolutionary Committee of Lithuania puts it, "the struggle is to be maintained until the last Muscovite soldier is driven from the Polish provinces, or the last



Polish heart has ceased to beat. The telegrams speak of several very decided successes, some in the government of Kowno, and others again on the Prussian frontier. But we cannot trust these accounts until they receive some confirmation. The insurgents have not ventured to claim any successes in these districts for some time; indeed, they admit that their largest band in the government of Kalisch has sustained a defeat almost as signal as the Russians claimed. But if we turn to the telegrams and despatches from Cracow and Lemberg, we find in the general admission of the crushing defeats sustained by the bands recently despatched from Galicia conclusive evidence that in the whole south-east and southern part of the kingdom the Russians have given the insurrection a decided check, and are beginning to re-establish the Imperial authority.

These unfavourable events may appear to be fully compensated by the stories of a general outbreak in Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiew, which are sent us from Lemberg, Cracow, and Brody. But the difficulty is to believe the reports. We have been told the same story so often. Volhynia and Podolia have risen *en masse* several times within the last three months according to the Poles, and we can see no good reason to believe that they have really done it this time. Indeed, an examination of the telegrams themselves is sufficient to throw very great doubt upon their story. It seems to be built upon reports of the appearance of two or three bands upon the frontier of Volhynia, and in every case in which the locality of the movement has been fixed by one telegram, we have the announcement by a subsequent telegram emanating from the same source of its suppression. The fair conclusion is that there are some small bands of insurgents in these provinces. There remains the insurrection in the Ukraine, which, we are told, has risen, to use the favourite phrase, *en masse*, with the exception of two districts where the nobility are favourable to Russia, and has proclaimed an independent republic, to be in close alliance with independent Poland. All we can say about this story is, that although it may be true, it has not at present the slightest claims to credence.

The Chief of the Provisional Government of Warsaw has issued an order of the day, in which he states that whilst the struggle every day assumes larger proportions, men of little faith, from fear or selfishness, "pass the frontier and dishonour us by their shameful inaction." He, therefore, decrees that no person shall quit the country without the permission of the National Government, and summons Poles abroad to return home at once.

Miss Pustowjoff, the Polish Amazon, has commenced legal proceedings against the editor of a German newspaper, who had described her as the mistress of Langiewicz.

There is a story to the effect that the Russian Government had ordered the wives of officers and civil functionaries to retire as speedily as possible into the interior of Russia—a precautionary measure, perhaps, if the story be true, before the commencement of the war of extermination.

The Prussian House of Deputies has adopted, as we last week assumed it would, the report of the committee recommending the rejection of the demand put forth in the Ministerial letter. In this step it was almost unanimous, only 20 members voted against the resolution, which had 295 votes in its favour. The minority was composed of the dozen members of the Junker party who have seats in the House, and a few of the Catholics; the old Liberals, as they are called, that is, the liberal ex-ministers, and Herr von Vincke and his friends, supported the proposal of the committee. Count Schwerin, the late Minister of the Interior, addressed the House in favour of that course, although he regretted that the dispute should have arisen, and could not help allowing that the language of Herr von Sybel towards the Minister of War had passed the fair bounds of discussion, and so excused the vehemence of Herr von Roon. The next step gave rise to a complete division of the previous majority. The President of the House, Herr Grabow, proposed that the Ministers should be informed of the resolution of the House, and invited to attend the next sitting. Herr von Forckenbeck moved that they should be summoned to attend in virtue of the 60th Article of the Constitution, and his resolution was carried by 167, against 138 votes. The Ministers were accordingly summoned to attend on Monday, but they did not appear. They sent a letter stating that they did not ask that the President should relinquish his right of interrupting them, but should declare that he has no disciplinary privileges over them. This did not satisfy the Chamber, which adhered to its resolution—and determined, moreover, to remove the question of the army

reorganization from the order of the day until the Ministers should make their appearance in the House. We confess that we cannot see the wisdom of the course adopted by the House in rejecting the advance of the Ministers, implied in their admission of the right of the President to interrupt them. The contention of the Ministers is this:—They say the Constitution exempts members of the House from legal consequences for anything they may say in the course of the debates, but subjects them to the disciplinary powers of the President; on the other hand, the Ministers are responsible—nominally, for the means of enforcing that responsibility are not yet provided—for all that they say and do before the law, and, therefore, they object to the authority of the President, as imposing a double and unjust restraint upon them. The concession was one which the House should have accepted.

An address to the Crown, proposed by Herr Virchow, is to form the first subject of discussion in the House. The address is a long indictment against the ministers, and an appeal to the King to dismiss them. It is doubtful whether the more moderate Liberals will accept it, and the result of this energetic move will not probably be a great dissension in the House, and a corresponding triumph for the Ministry.

A Vienna newspaper, reputed to express the intentions of the Austrian Government, declares, according to the telegraphic agencies, that to avoid a European conflict, Austria intends proposing the adoption of more coercive measures than a Federal Execution against Denmark. The object of these measures is to guarantee the execution of the stipulations of the London protocol of 1851-52, relative to the succession to the Danish monarchy. Surely, for more we ought to read less, and for guarantee repudiate. How a European conflict may be averted by employing more coercive measures against Denmark than Federal Execution—itsself likely enough to lead to war—or how Austria and Germany can be in a position to take those more coercive measures we cannot understand. And how Austria, which is using the Schleswig-Holstein question against Prussia, can suppose that Germany will be pleased by a guarantee of stipulations of which Germany pretty unanimously demands the repudiation, is beyond our discernment. The telegraphic clerks must have made a great mistake, or the Austrian journalist must have contrived, as German journalists sometimes will do, to express one-half of his thoughts with tolerable clearness, and I have involved the other half in inextricable obscurity.

The condition of Greece is deplorable. To such an extent has the brutality of the soldiery been carried, and so perfect has been the impunity with which their atrocities have been committed, that the English and French Ministers have addressed strong representations to the Ministry and the National Assembly. Both M. Bouree and Mr. Scarlett enumerate shocking outrages, which the Minister of War would take no steps to punish, amongst them a most horrible crime, committed by some thirty soldiers and sub-officers upon an unhappy woman of Austrian nationality. Mr. Scarlett goes so far as to declare that "anarchy, under the most hideous form, reigns at Athens;" and threatens an immediate departure from the capital if immediate and energetic measures are not at once taken to suppress the disorders. The National Assembly at once declared to both Ministers its deep regret at the occurrence to which they referred, and ordered the Government to punish the guilty persons with the utmost rigour, and restore order and security.

The order is much easier given than executed. The army has been demoralised by the belief that it has the fate of the monarchy in its hands. The Assembly is split into factions. About fourteen persons have claims to be leaders. It has been postponing important business to discuss the question whether it should not examine the papers of King Otho, and only desisted from the examination on account of the remonstrances of Foreign Ministers. There is, in fact, no hope of order in Greece until the king arrives at Athens. His authority alone can impose peace upon the turbulent pretenders to power.

And unfortunately for Greece it is now less than ever probable that Prince William will take the throne. The Greek deputation, kicking its heels at Copenhagen, has appealed to the Danish Government to fix a time within which the answer should be given, and the Danish Government has postponed the answer until the 1st of June. Really the British Government, which by undertaking to find the Greeks a king, is responsible for all this anarchy, ought to insist upon an immediate answer from the Prince, and if the answer is a refusal make another effort to find a king.

The Italian Parliament has been occupied in replying to the accusations of mis-government in Southern Italy,

brought in the recent debate in the House of Commons. Very much indignation has been expressed, and some very small errors, committed by Lord Henry Lennox, have been made very much of; but Signor Peruzzi, who, on the part of the Government, has vindicated the policy pursued towards Naples, has a great deal overdone his case. He declares that throughout Naples the people are favourable to the new regime; "that they enjoy the most liberal laws in the world;" that the liberty of the press, for instance, is complete. If the population of Naples is favourable to the Government, what need can there be for the rigorous system pursued? Why are the prisons full, and an army of 90,000 men unable to extinguish the brigandage?

The loss of life and property caused by the earthquake at Rhodes was terrible; not a building has escaped without serious damage; some of the finest edifices of the city were levelled to the ground. The number of persons killed is estimated at 300. The misery of the unfortunate inhabitants of the island was aggravated by the occurrence of slight shocks upon two or three days succeeding the great catastrophe.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, MAY 14.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

This being the festival of the Ascension, the House of Lords did not sit.

THURSDAY, MAY 14.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Dawson, the President of the Board of Trade said that no detailed report of the loss of the Anglo-Saxon had yet been received at the Board of Trade. Last year the Associated Press of New York made a proposal to erect a fog-trumpet on Cape Race in Newfoundland, but it was the opinion of the Government, both at home and in the colony, that it was not desirable to confer that power upon a foreign country. The Board of Trade had, however, urged upon steamship owners the propriety of undertaking the work, but they had declined to act upon the suggestion. The Government had the power of erecting a signal themselves, and to impose a passing toll to meet the expense, and it was now for them to consider whether, as the shipowners had given a refusal they would take any action in the matter.

The Marquis of Hartington moved the second reading of a Bill to improve the efficiency of the Volunteer force, by better regulation of the permanent staff of sergeants and adjutants attached to the service, and by grants of money—20s. for every effective volunteer who reached a certain standard of proficiency, and 10s. for every one who attained a certain further standard. Some remarks were made by various members, generally in commendation of the measure, and the bill was read a second time without opposition.

A debate on the Metropolitan Improvements followed, on the consideration of the Thames Embankment and London Wine and Coal Duties Continuance Bills. After some further business had been transacted, the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, MAY 15.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Ellenborough asked whether the Government consented to produce any further correspondence relating to the Schleswig-Holstein question, and especially whether they were prepared to communicate any representations which might have been made to the Danish Government by Austria and Prussia with regard to the King of Denmark's proclamation of the 31st of March last. The noble earl regretted to be obliged to call attention to a danger which, if not met at the outset, might seriously threaten the peace of Europe, so soon as the state of Poland would permit the Prussian and German powers to take up the matter. A most extraordinary despatch was published last autumn, in which Earl Russell had reversed the policy of this country, and had threatened the integrity of Denmark. That despatch was much to be condemned, for Denmark had made all the concessions which Germany was entitled to ask, and the sympathy of this country was due to her in her attempt to maintain the connection with Schleswig, which had been a portion of her dominions for 400 years. With regard to Holstein, he held that the recent proclamation by which Denmark had conceded the demands of the German Diet ought to have been deemed satisfactory. He believed that it was the design of Prussia and Germany to obtain possession of Schleswig, and argued that the diplomatic engagements imposed on Denmark were not binding, and that they ought to be altered by the Great Powers, if Denmark was again to assume her just position in Europe. He hoped that her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with France, would insist upon the designs of Germany being abandoned. If that course were not adopted, he saw no alternative but the reference of the question to a European Congress, as in its present condition it was a source of danger to the tranquillity of Europe.—Earl Russell said that it appeared to him that both Germans and Danes, being heated by their differences, had alike fallen into error, and made demands and done acts which were not to be justified. Germany was wrong in her demands, and Denmark was wrong in not redeeming the engagements into which she had entered. He had proposed that Schleswig and Holstein should be divided and have a separate budget, but this recommendation had not been adopted. It should be remembered that all Germany was united in declaring that the German subjects of the King of Denmark were oppressed, and that it was a disgrace to Germany to suffer them to be so any longer. He was sorry to hear the noble earl countenance the policy that the engagements of 1850-51-52 should be set aside, and that there should be a return to the state of things which existed in 1846. For his part he could not recommend that these diplomatic engagements should be discarded in order to improve the position of the Danish kingdom.—The Earl of Derby complimented the Earl of Ellenborough on his clear, temperate, and judicious speech, and expressed his astonishment that the Foreign Minister having charged Denmark with not preserving faith in regard to her diplomatic engagements with the Federal Diet. His noble friend who had called attention to the subject had not argued that England should interfere by force of arms, but that we ought not to allow Prussia and Germany to join together for the oppression of Denmark. The difficulty as regarded Holstein was the absolute refusal of the Duchy,



backed by German influence, to prevent the conclusion of any arrangement. In these circumstances Denmark had made grave concessions to the German Diet for the sake of peace; and the only question that now remained was in reference to Schleswig, over which the Diet had no more control than any other power in Europe. The fact was that Schleswig had been made a stalking-horse for gratifying the ambition of Germany, and there was no pretence for saying that the duchy ought to be disconnected from Denmark because the German and Danish population did not agree respecting mutual rights and privileges. He looked upon the independence of Denmark as a matter of vital interest to this country, and he hesitated not to declare that there was no alternative which he was not prepared to accept in supporting that power, by no means a contemptible ally of England in the event of a European war, against the aggressions of the German Powers.—Lord Wodehouse observed that, if Denmark was bound in honour to fulfil her engagements, Germany was equally bound in honour not to interpose obstacles in the way of that fulfilment. This, however, was precisely what Germany had done. He was of opinion that we were fully justified in supporting Denmark in her efforts to maintain her ancient connection with Schleswig. At the same time he could not approve of her conduct in refusing to concede to the inhabitants of the duchy the rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of Denmark proper.—Earl Russell declined to produce the correspondence asked for at present, and the subject dropped. Some formal business was disposed of, and their Lordships adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 15.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Darby Griffith, Lord Palmerston replied that the Sultan and the Pacha had agreed to put an end to all forced labour in Egypt, and of course that determination applied to the Suez Canal as well as to other works. This decision her Majesty's Government entirely approved, and they had assured the Sultan and the Pacha that they would receive the most energetic and active support of England in enforcing that which was obviously a wise and humane law for the Turkish Empire.

Sir George Bowyer asked what were the proofs for the statement of the Prime Minister on a former evening, that there existed at Rome a committee of two hundred persons, by whom bands of murderers were organised, and sent into the Neapolitan territory to commit every sort of atrocity, and whether the noble lord would lay upon the table any official correspondence in support of that statement.—Lord Palmerston replied that at the time he made the statement he declared that he had no positive proof, though he believed it to be true; consequently he had no documents to produce. The truth was that he was in the habit of receiving very interesting information with regard to men and things in various parts of the world; but if he were to mention in this House the names of the persons from whom it was derived he should soon know as little as the hon. baronet himself. He would mention, however, that he had that day seen a statement which he took to be correct, that on Sunday, the 3rd of this month, a certain Jesuit Father Cucci preached in the Church of San Spirito, in Rome, by selection of Cardinal Sforza, Archbishop of Naples, a sermon to the King of Naples and his whole Court, in which the preacher told them he was sorry to find they could not submit to the decrees of Providence, and that by promises of money and inflammatory writings they kept stirring up the ignorant masses in Southern Italy, and hounding them on to blood and slaughter; and that while they were ready to pay for the outfit of brigands they would not give a single penny to their suffering countrymen in Rome, who, but for the charity of the Romans, would die of starvation.

In answer to Mr. Blake, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was not his intention to proceed with that part of his budget which related to the imposition of legacy duty on bequests for charitable purposes in Ireland.

Lord Palmerston announced his intention to propose, on Tuesday next, that the House should adjourn until the Thursday week following.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Sir F. Smith brought before the House the condition of the regimental quartermasters of the army, who, he complained, were put in the position of gentlemen without receiving such a scale of pay as enabled them to maintain it. He also moved for memorials and correspondence relating thereto.—The Marquis of Hartington opposed the motion with regret, after the pathetic appeal which had been made to him by the gallant general. The sole grievance was that of inadequate pay, and two schemes regarding it had been laid before the Secretary for War; but both involved such a large expenditure that neither could be approved. Moreover, if increased pay were allowed in the case of quartermasters, the House could not refuse to listen to similar applications which would be sure to come from ensigns, lieutenants, captains, and every other grade in the army.—After a few observations from Colonel Dunne and Sir J. Ferguson the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Liddell called attention to events in China, with a view of obtaining an expression of opinion by the House upon the course of policy pursued by her Majesty's Government in that country. The hon. member contended that that policy was neither more nor less than a system of active interference by force in the internal affairs of China for the purpose of propping up an effete and corrupt dynasty against its own subjects, who were bent upon its subversion, and had evinced a strong desire to cultivate friendly relations with foreign powers. Yet it was this very dynasty, which she was now supporting, that England had done more than any other nation to weaken and degrade in the eyes of the Chinese people. Such a policy, with the existence of the joint protectorate of England, France, and Russia, would, he feared, be attended with endless embarrassment, and the only excuse that could be urged in justification was the necessity of giving adequate protection to trade. But even this plea utterly failed of its aim against the representations of the British merchants at Hong Kong and the treaty ports, who complained in their memorials of the Customs House regulations, under whose operations the burden of the indemnity to be paid by China fell, not upon the Chinese Government, but upon the English trader. He would not say whether our conduct was a violation of the principles of neutrality or not, but he believed that much would have to be said and written in our defence before we should obtain a clear and absolute verdict in our favour at the bar of public opinion. In conclusion the hon. gentleman moved for further papers and correspondence.—Mr. Baillie insisted upon the necessity of the House being informed what was the real object of the Government in prosecuting these desultory naval and military operations in China. What cause of complaint they had against the Taipings he was utterly at a loss to understand, unless they made the grievances of the French Jesuit missionaries, who were hated by the Chinese insurgents,

and those of the opium merchants, their own. Ministers had, in fact, placed themselves by their policy in an altogether false position. They would find it equally difficult to advance or recede, and in their over anxiety to preserve the trade with China he believed they had adopted the very course that would, in all probability, lead to its utter destruction.—Mr. Baillie having resumed his seat, and no other member rising to address the House, the Speaker put the motion for papers, which was negatived. The Speaker then put the question, "That I do now leave the chair," upon which Mr. Cobden rose, and in an indignant tone rebuked the conduct of the Government in maintaining so marked a silence, and in not replying to the able speech of Mr. Liddell, as unprecedented throughout the whole of his parliamentary career. Not only mere routine, but common decency and respect to the House, ought to have dictated to the Premier or the Under Secretary the duty of offering some observations upon the important statement of facts that had been laid before them.—Mr. H. Seymour indignantly proclaimed that he had never witnessed such conduct on the part of a Government, and that the House had been treated with studied and gross disrespect.—Lord Naas also declared that the course pursued by Ministers in treating so important a question in this cavalier manner was most reprehensible, and gave notice that on an early date he himself would call attention to the subject of affairs in China.—After a few words from Mr. White, in defence of Government, Mr. Layard explained that as there were several other questions upon the paper relating to foreign affairs he had reserved his reply to the speech of Mr. Liddell until he came to deal with the whole of them *seriatim*. For upon the order to go into Committee of Supply he could not have risen to speak on the other questions had he first spoken on this.—Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald said that Mr. Layard had misapprehended the usage of the House. The motions put on the order for going into Committee of Supply were distinct motions, and any member could speak on each of them separately.

After a few more remarks the discussion dropped, and the House went into Committee *pro forma*, but immediately resumed. Some business on the paper was disposed of, and the House adjourned at a quarter past 8.

#### MONDAY, MAY 18.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Marquis of Clanricarde moved for copies of any reports from our consular or diplomatic agents in North America of the decisions or proceedings of the Prize Courts of the United States. He observed that the conduct of the United States' Government, which professed to be on terms of amity with us, was so contrary to the recognised law of nations in reference to the seizure of ships engaged in the commerce of this country, that it was absolutely necessary that her Majesty's Government should take more active steps in the matter than they had hitherto done. At the present moment it was impossible to effect insurances upon vessels trading to the western hemisphere, owing to the constant seizures made by American cruisers. If there were any ground to hope that the existing state of things would soon pass away, or that the United States would evince a sincere desire to respect the law of nations, he should be disposed to make every allowance for them; but these seizures had now gone on for a considerable time, and he saw no prospect of a satisfactory change taking place unless her Majesty's Government adopted more energetic and decisive measures.—Earl Russell said that so far from disputing the law of nations Mr. Seward, in all his communications, had fully acknowledged it, and had stated that in every case there must be a legal cause of capture before a ship could be seized. Her Majesty's Government had instructed Admiral Milne to send a sufficient naval force to the neighbourhood of Matamoros in order that British shipping might be protected from unjustifiable seizure, and the admiral had reported that that harbour was crowded with vessels engaged in the pursuits of commerce. It would, therefore, seem that the proceedings of the United States' cruisers had not interfered with vessels that were employed in legitimate trade. Numerous complaints had, no doubt, been addressed to the Government by the owners of vessels which had been seized, and every such case had been referred to the law officers of the Crown, who had reported that there was no rational ground for objection with regard to the decisions of the Prize Courts. There was no disguising the fact that many vessels, built purposely for speed, were actively engaged in breaking the blockade, and he was afraid that when one of those vessels happened to be captured it was the custom of the owners to come at once to the Foreign Office, with all the air of injured innocence, and demand redress. On the other hand the Americans were much incensed at what they considered the unjustifiable conduct of England in fitting out and sending forth the Alabama to prey upon their commerce; but, he believed, there was a very general and sincere desire on the part of the English people not to interfere unfairly in the contest that was now going on.—The Earl of Derby concurred in the opinion of the noble earl that we ought not rashly to assume that the Supreme Court of the United States was not an impartial tribunal, and he also agreed with him with respect to the temper in which both parties ought to look upon this question, and to make every allowance which it was possible to make. He did not wish to enter into the question at all, but there were two points on which he should be glad to hear a word of explanation. He understood the noble earl to say that there were captains who had instructions from their owners to break the blockade, and that the very papers showed those instructions on the face of them. He could hardly imagine that such was the case. Apart from the utter folly and absurdity of placing on the ship's papers such a statement, he thought it was of so glaring a case in itself that his noble friend must have been misinformed. He admitted that a strong feeling was excited in America in consequence of the extent to which contraband trade was carried on, and he had no doubt that a large amount of the trade to Matamoros was intended to be made the subject of illegal traffic between that port and the United States. (Hear.) It might be suspected that a large portion of a cargo proceeding to Nassau and Matamoros was intended for the Confederate States; but on account of that suspicion an American cruiser would not be justified in doing more than ascertaining what was the immediate destination of the vessel. If a vessel were proceeding *bond fide* from this country to Nassau, whatever might be the nature of her cargo, no American cruiser had a right to interfere with her; and, no matter what might be the ultimate intentions of her owners, even though it were meant that she should herself subsequently proceed from Nassau to the Confederate States, and endeavour to break the blockade, that would afford no justification for her seizure by an American cruiser previously to her entering the harbour of Nassau. He hoped the noble earl had not made to the American Government any concession to the effect that an American cruiser had a right to interfere with

such a voyage, or to send such a vessel before a prize court. He trusted that he had misunderstood the noble earl upon that point; and if that were the case, he was sure it would be satisfactory to their lordships that the noble earl should set himself right on the subject. (Hear.)—Earl Russell said that in regard to the first point raised by the noble earl he had to observe that he believed that it was quite true that in one case, at least, an American captain had found in the papers—he would not say the regular papers—of a ship an order to break the blockade. With regard to the other, and much more serious case, he had to state that the noble earl had certainly misunderstood him if he supposed that he had meant to say that a vessel going to Nassau, and intending afterwards to make a further voyage to the Confederate States, could be lawfully captured. (Hear, hear.) What he had meant to refer to was the case of a simulated declaration, or that of a vessel declaring that she intended to proceed to Nassau, but in reality destined for a Confederate port.—Lord Cranworth (formerly Lord Chancellor), said that the question to which the noble earl had just referred had been raised in a celebrated case, which was decided by Lord Stowell. In the course of our war with the first French empire a ship proceeded from Lisbon, which was a neutral port, with a cargo apparently destined for China. She carried a number of French officers, and she was seized in the Eastern seas on the ground that she was proceeding with them—they being, of course, contraband of war—not to China, but to some French or Dutch island. Lord Stowell, in deciding upon the case, stated that if she were going to China he had nothing to do with her, but he came to the conclusion that the alleged destination was but a pretence, and that she was really on her way to a French or Dutch port; and on that account he justified her seizure. There could be no doubt that that was the law of the case, and that a neutral vessel carrying contraband of war could not be stopped on her way to a neutral port, whatever might be her subsequent destination.

Lord Clanricarde withdrew his motion, and the House adjourned.

#### MONDAY, MAY 18.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Urquhart asked whether the Brazilian Minister had demanded his passports or made any communication to her Majesty's Government to the effect that he had instructions which might require him to suspend diplomatic relations between England and Brazil.—Mr. Layard said the correspondence between her Majesty's Government and the Brazilian Minister was still pending, and it would be inconvenient at that moment to make any communication to the House upon the subject.

A question put by Lord J. Manners as to a statement made by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on a former evening relative to the state of things prevailing at Rome, elicited from Lord Palmerston the emphatic declaration that her Majesty's Government declined to furnish any materials out of which a quarrel could be got up between Mr. Odo Russell and the French or Papal Governments.

The Prison Ministers Bill, after some debate, was then read a third time and passed.

In Committee of Supply, Mr. Peel proposed a vote of £250,000, "on account," for the packet service in part of the sum of £956,878, required for the year ending the 31st of March, 1864, which sum included provisions for payments to Mr. Joseph George Churchward for the conveyance of mails between Dover and Calais, and Dover and Ostend, from the 1st of April, 1863, to the 20th of June, 1865, but no part of which sum is to be applicable or applied in or towards making any payment in respect of the period subsequent to the 20th of June, 1863, to the said Mr. Joseph George Churchward, or to any person claiming through or under him by virtue of a certain contract, bearing date the 26th of April, 1859; or in or towards the satisfaction of any claim whatsoever of the said Joseph George Churchward, by virtue of that contract, so far as related to any period subsequent to the 20th of June, 1863. The right honourable gentleman explained that the terms of the resolution, so far as it related to Mr. Churchward's contracts, had been prepared in conformity with a vote of the House in 1860, to the effect that it did not consider that the contract ought to be fulfilled, having regard to the circumstance that he had resorted to corrupt expedients for the purpose of inducing the Government to grant his application for an extension of the contract. He did not mean to imply, however, that the Government were influenced by or even cognisant of such expedients. The peculiar circumstances which led the House to come to that vote were these. In 1859 Mr. Churchward was the contractor of the mail service from Dover to Calais and from Dover to Ostend, and his contract, supposing a year's previous notice were given, would have expired in the month of June next. Under that contract he was paid £15,500 a year for the ordinary service, and at a fixed rate for extra service. At the beginning of 1859 he appeared to have become dissatisfied with the rate of his remuneration for the latter service, and claimed that the contract should be prospectively extended from June, 1863 to the year 1870, and also that he should be paid for his extra services a commuted fixed sum at the rate of £2,500 a year. These proposals were favourably entertained by the Admiralty and sanctioned by the Treasury; and a new contract was made annulling the previous contract, taking effect in April, 1859, and extending until the middle of 1870, and providing that he should be paid a subsidy of £18,000 a year. At the time of these proceedings it happened that a general election was going forward, and when the new Parliament met a Select Committee was appointed to investigate the general subject of packet and telegraph contracts, who reported with regard to Mr. Churchward's contract that it had been proved before them that he had offered Captain Carnegie, then a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, to sell his political interest in Dover for the price of an extension of his contract. In the subsequent session Captain Leicester Vernon, a member of the committee, moved a resolution to the effect that the House was of opinion that the contract of April, 1859, ought to be performed; but that resolution was negatived by a majority of 45 in a House of nearly 300 members. He argued, therefore, that it was due to the public service and the dignity and character of the House that contractors should be discouraged from placing reliance upon any expedients but those of honest fair dealing in anticipating contracts. Supposing the House might not consent to grant any funds for carrying on Mr. Churchward's contract longer than next June, the Government had long given him a year's notice to terminate the contract, and had advertised for tenders. In consequence they had received an offer from the Belgian Government to perform that part of the night service between Dover and Ostend which was now discharged by Mr. Churchward, for £4,000 a year; and that offer had been accepted conditionally on the House declining to make any provision for Mr. Churchward's contract after June. For



the Dover and Calais service a tender had also been accepted from Mr. Harrington upon the same condition, the contract to be made for seven years for £5,000 a year, and £3,000 a year as a premium for expediting the East India and China mails. Thus the two services would come to £12,000 a year as against the present payment of £18,000 a year.—Sir S. Northcote, in moving as an amendment to omit all the words of the resolution which related to the contract of Mr. Churchward, observed that the mode in which the question had been put before the committee would lead to the supposition that by the proceedings of the select committee and the vote of the House the merits of the case had been virtually decided, and that the House had nothing to do now but to confirm or reverse a decision already arrived at; but that was by no means a true view of the case, for the question was not concluded either by the committee's report or the vote of the House. In the debate upon Captain L. Vernon's motion in 1860, Mr. Laing, the Secretary to the Treasury, himself stated that in 1863 Mr. Churchward would be in as good a position as any one else, and be able to compete with others, or his contract might be renewed from year to year until the Government called for new tenders. This statement was confirmed and strengthened by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gave an assurance that this year the merits of the case would be reopened; and that was the position in which this question now stood. If, however, the Government thought it necessary to set aside the contract, their proper course would have been to show that it was their positive intention to do so. They well knew that the contract was legally binding, and that if they went into a court of law, they would have considerable difficulty in setting it aside. They ought, therefore, to have brought in a bill to put an end to the contract. But instead of that, they allowed the service to continue under the contract of 1859, called upon Mr. Churchward to build new ships, kept the matter in abeyance because they thought that contract was more convenient than the preceding one, and had then turned round, thrown him overboard, and given the contract to others. They had not, therefore, fulfilled their promise to put him in the position of coming forward and making a tender; and he believed that if they went into a court of law they would have no good and valid defence against any action that Mr. Churchward might institute, for there was no pretence whatever to say that he had not performed his service efficiently and well. With regard to the bargain with the Belgian Government, no doubt it would save the country some money, but Mr. Churchward had some time ago offered to perform that service for the same sum, whilst by the arrangement with Mr. Harrington the actual saving, he believed, would not be more than £100 a year. The fact was that the Government, by their proposition, were bringing about a collision between the House of Commons and the courts of law; they were seeking to establish a precedent under which persons would find it impossible to enter into contracts with them; and they ran the risk of causing great detriment to the public service without the prospect of any corresponding advantage. In conclusion, the hon. baronet condemned the conduct of the Government as casting a slur upon a man upon whom a stigma ought not to rest, and as being equally unfair and un-English.—Sir M. Peto was of opinion that Mr. Churchward ought to be permitted to continue the contract so long as he executed the service satisfactorily.—The Attorney-General defended the proposal of the Government to proceed by resolution in committee of supply. He admitted that the proceeding was special and unusual, but so was the transaction to which it related.—Mr. Malins characterised the proceeding of the Government as shabby and unbecoming, and hoped the House would refuse to give it their sanction.—Mr. Cobden, who was chairman of the select committee on the packet service, said that the whole question depended upon the evidence of Capt. Carnegie, and if that were correct, Mr. Churchward had attempted to suborn a high functionary, by inviting him to accept a bribe. It meant that or nothing, and he would rather agree to vote money to enable Mr. Churchward to establish his claim by a trial in a court of law than vote the money required to carry on his contract after the report of the committee.—Sir H. Cairns observed that the course the House was now asked to pursue was without precedent in the annals of Parliament. The committee of supply had no more to do with the conduct of Mr. Churchward than with the Reform Bill. Mr. Churchward had been told that he could bring his action at law, and if the House did no more than they were requested to do by the resolution, and Mr. Churchward brought an action, he would be certain to recover damages for breach of contract and for being interrupted in the performance of the service. If, however, the Appropriation Bill were passed, then the Government would be found pleading that in their defence.—Mr. Hubbard was of opinion that the interests of the taxpayers had been overlooked by both the last and the present Governments in the arrangements with Mr. Churchward; but he did not think that the best way of punishing men for political immorality was to break one's bargains with them. Looking at the transaction in a commercial point of view with great disapproval, he should be glad to find a fair and honourable opportunity of cancelling it; but he could not, as a man of honour, consent to set the example of an infraction of a contract in reference to which he had nothing more to allege against the contractor than a distrust of his political honesty.—The Solicitor-General said that what the resolution asked was that the House should confirm its former decision. The present was the proper time to determine for what the money should be voted, and when it had been voted it would find its way into the Appropriation Bill; and it was to carry out the purpose of Parliament, as declared in 1860, that the vote assumed a form which, if agreed to, the Government in their consciences believed would be a complete answer to any action for damages or breach of contract, for there could be no damage or breach of contract where an essential condition of the contract was that no money was to be paid unless voted by Parliament.—The amendment was negatived—176 to 168—and the resolution passed.—The other business on the paper was disposed of, and the House adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, MAY 19.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Warner, Mr. Layard stated that when the blockade of the Southern ports was established the United States Government gave liberty to English ships of war to pass through the blockade and communicate with those ports, upon the distinct understanding, however, that they were employed solely on official business; but Mr. Magee, who had acted as consul at Mobile since 1861, had taken advantage of the presence of the Vesuvius there to ship a quantity of specie, keeping Lord Lyons in ignorance of his proceedings until too late to stop them. In consequence, the Government had dismissed Mr. Consul Magee, feeling that his conduct was not becoming the agent of a neutral power, and deserved the severest condemnation. The action of her Majesty's Govern-

ment had been taken without any communication with the United States Government on the subject.—Sir J. F. Russell asked whether the money placed on board the Vesuvius was not the interest due from the State of Alabama to British subjects, whether it was not so shipped because there were no other means of transmitting it, and whether other consuls had not sent specie in a similar manner and not been dismissed.—Mr. Layard said there were various reports as to the destination of the money shipped by the Vesuvius, but he could not make any positive statement on the subject, neither could he say that other consuls had acted as Mr. Magee had done.

On the motion of Lord Palmerston that the House at its rising should adjourn till Thursday, the 28th instant, Mr. Hennessy called attention to the conduct of the Prussian Government in relation to the insurrection of Poland. He contended that Prussia had been guilty of a breach of international law in having permitted the Russian troops to cross and recross her frontier and supplied them with arms and ammunition, and expressed the hope that the Prime Minister would give the House an assurance that he had addressed a remonstrance to the Prussian Government on the subject.—Lord Palmerston replied that the duty of a neutral power whose territory was continuous with that of a belligerent was not to allow an armed force of that belligerent to make use of neutral territory for the purpose of more advantageously attacking its opponent. Another duty, when a belligerent force was driven to take refuge in neutral territory, was that it should be disarmed as soon as it had passed the frontier; but he was not aware that the neutral had any right to confiscate its arms or baggage; on the contrary, he believed that, having disarmed and reconducted the belligerent force to the frontier, the arms and baggage were to be restored. There was, therefore, no breach of international law if Prussia had merely restored to the Russian troops their arms and baggage upon their repassing the frontier into Russian territory. With regard to Prussian subjects furnishing ammunition to the Russian troops, he apprehended there was no violation of international law in that Mr. Fitzgerald observed that if the noble lord laid it down as a principle of international law that it was no breach of neutrality for a neutral Government to supply ammunition to a belligerent force taking refuge in its territory, there was no foundation or precedent for such a dictum.—Lord Palmerston explained that his statement applied to the subject of a neutral power supplying the subjects of a belligerent. He could not off-handedly say that the same privilege was enjoyed by Governments.—Sir H. Verney commented on the circumstance that the noble lord had omitted to say whether the so-called neutral Government of Prussia had treated both belligerents alike. Supposing the course pursued by Prussia led to a war, say with France, was the noble lord prepared to stand by her in a contest so provoked?—Mr. Peacock drew attention to the inadequate and unsatisfactory manner in which the most important departments of the Government were represented in that House, and complained that in foreign affairs particularly the House was degraded to the level of a village debating club, and was possessed of no more political authority than a parish vestry.—Mr. Layard defended the arrangements of the Government, and said that in relation to foreign affairs that department was sufficiently represented by the noble lord the Prime Minister.—Mr. Bentinck was of opinion that ample opportunities were afforded for the discussion of foreign affairs, as was apparent from the state of the order paper on almost every day in the week. And what was the result? Why, that members were constantly rising and urging views upon the affairs of Poland and other countries which, if carried out, would speedily involve us in war.—The discussion was continued by Lord R. Cecil, Mr. Milnes, and Mr. Cochrane.—Sir G. Grey reminded the House that the fact of the Minister for Foreign Affairs sitting in the House of Lords was by no means an uncommon circumstance, and instanced the cases of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Malmesbury, and other chief secretaries who had sat in the Upper House. The right hon. baronet stated that the first business on the re-assembling of the House on the 28th of May, would be to report the vote come to on the previous night relating to the Dover mail contract.—Captain Jervis brought under the notice of the House the question of the constitution and proceedings of naval courts of inquiry, in connection with the censure recently pronounced by the Board of Admiralty upon Lord Elphinstone for running her Majesty's ship *Vigilant* upon the Swin sands.—Sir J. Pakington severely condemned the course pursued by the Admiralty towards Lord Elphinstone, who, he said, ought not to have been censured or deprived of his command until he had been tried by a competent tribunal and heard in his own defence. Several members connected with the Navy censured severely the conduct of the Admiralty, which was defended by Lord C. Paet and Mr. Collier.

Some formal business was disposed of, and the House rose; standing adjourned to Thursday the 28th inst.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, May 20, 1863.

THE past week has witnessed a succession of dull, dragging markets; 18d. for fair Dholerah, the figure that has so often checked further advance on previous occasions, has again had the same effect.

Our last report closed on a steady market with fair Dholerah at 18½d. On Thursday and Friday more disposition to sell was apparent, but little giving way in prices; the sales reaching 6,000 and 8,000 bales.

The Persia's news were to hand on Saturday morning, giving a confused account of a series of engagements in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg, between the Confederate and Federal armies. From these it appeared that the main body of the Federal army having crossed the Rappahannock, twelve miles above Fredericksburg, was attacked on three successive days by the Confederates, under Lee, their right wing turned, and their whole force driven back several miles; at the same time a detachment of Hooker's army, which had, at first, gained a good position above the city, had been driven over the river with great slaughter. At the latest dates the Federal army was opposed in front by the Confederates flushed with victory, while in their rear was a deep and rapid stream. Great fears are consequently entertained for their safety and vague rumours, apparently without foundation, have been floating about, to the effect that Hooker had surrendered, and more recently that an armistice had been proclaimed. To these almost no credence is granted, but their effect has been to bring business here to a standstill; there is, however, little pressure to sell, and a general indisposition is shown by holders to force cotton, or by buyers to purchase at a slight decline.

The sales on Saturday and Monday were 5,000 bales. On

Tuesday 2,000, and to-day 3,000, at an irregular decline in the week of ½d. in Surats, and ¾d. in Long Staples. We can do Middling Orleans 22½d., and Fair Dholerah and Omrawatee 17½d. to 18d. In cotton to arrive business has been done at a decline of ¾d. per lb.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, May 19.

Our market for yarn and cloth during the past week has been very quiet, with only a very small business doing from day to day; still there has been very little inclination shown by spinners and manufacturers to give way at all in price—more so on the part of manufacturers, who, as a rule, are well in orders and not anxious to increase their orders for the present, but would rather look on and watch the course of events.

On Friday the market was inanimate, owing to the tenor of the telegrams from Calcutta and Bombay, dated 28th of April, advising dull markets, with the prices of Manchester goods drooping; also to the anxiety to know the result of the anticipated encounter between the Federals and Confederates, in the neighbourhood of the Rappahannock.

Yarns of all kinds, whether for home trade or shipment, were very flat; yet in some cases, where purchases were made, the prices of last Tuesday were paid.

Cloths of all descriptions were very quiet, but exceedingly firm, manufacturers being careless about selling; and as for buying at lower prices, shippers could make no headway.

To day our market has been almost a blank, the news by the Persia having put a stop to business for the moment. Various rumours have been circulating through our Exchange during the day;—one was to the effect, that an armistice had been proposed by the Federals; another was, that Hooker's army had been entirely cut up, and that the Confederates would be marching on to Washington.

All this tended to put people into a state of excitement, and to make them anxious for the news by the steamer due on Wednesday.

#### THE SECOND FEDERAL ADVANCE IN WESTERN LOUISIANA.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, April 25, 1863.

SIR,—You have, of course, already received and published an account of the Federal operations in this department at and near Port Hudson on the Mississippi, resulting only in the passage of two gunboats by the batteries; the loss of the ship *Mississippi*; and the return of General Banks's army, after a little skirmishing, to Baton Rouge.

Beyond the fact of a desire on the part of Admiral Farragut to run up the river with a portion of his fleet for the purpose of blockading the mouth of Red River, and the possibility that Banks's movement by land might have been intended as a diversion while the boats were passing, no mortal being has yet discovered the object of the advance upon Port Hudson. It was not a "diversion," for the fighting on shore—the very little that was done—was ended six or eight hours before the fleet weighed anchor to attempt the passage, and the army was on the way back to Baton Rouge before it was certainly known whether two or six of the gunboats had run by the batteries.

It was the old story, "The King of France, with twenty thousand men," &c. It was well known here, before the expedition started, that Banks did not intend to attack Port Hudson, but that the entire movement was at the instance of the authorities at Washington, who, for weeks, had been "hounding" General Banks to "do something." Why not? He had a comparatively large command; all his regiments were supposed to be in readiness for almost any immediate action in the field; and the country, the North that is, was crowing for a movement which promised a result, or indeed for one that indicated life. So the army moved towards Port Hudson, diverted the public mind a little, and then returned to rest at Baton Rouge. But it could not rest in peace. An army of "occupation" must needs do something, and a new movement was projected.

As for Farragut, who ran the fearful gauntlet of the batteries with two gunboats only, his object was sufficiently evident. He could blockade the mouth of Red River, and thus cut off the supplies of provisions coming from Texas and Western Louisiana; this done, the "rebels" at Port Hudson were to be "starved out" in a week.

With this pleasing programme for the next performance, Farragut, instead of blockading Red River, ran up the Mississippi, to see how near he could get to Vicksburg without destruction, and had small engagements with wayside batteries in going up and coming down again. Meanwhile, the Confederates moved a large body of troops from Port Hudson, *via* Red River, to the Teche region, concentrating a considerable force at Franklin and New Iberia, and compelling General Weitzel, who commanded a brigade at Berwick City on Berwick Bay, to fall back to Bayou Boeuf, lest the enemy should, by burning the bridge in his rear, cut off his retreat, and follow up the operation by "cutting off" his entire command.

All this called for a new and perhaps not immediately intended movement on the part of Banks. General Grover's division was at once ordered to cross the river from Baton Rouge to Donaldsonville, and proceed down



Bayou Lafourche to Thibordeaux, where cars were in readiness to transport them to the relief and reinforcement of Weitzel. At the same time, Emory's division also came down the river to Algiers, opposite this city, and were sent by rail to Berwick Bay. Then every soldier that could be spared from New Orleans, ten or twelve field batteries and a large body of cavalry, altogether nearly 23,000 men, were concentrated at Brashear City, to make, in conjunction, with five or six gunboats, an offensive movement on the Teche.

This is the second attempt on Bayou Teche. The first, when Weitzel went with 9,000 men and burned a steamboat (the Cotton), returned after losing several men, including Buchanan, in command of the gunboats, and actually accomplished nothing more;—all this is familiar to your readers. This time Banks commanded in person, and he evidently meant to do something.

Moving across the bay with this army—large in comparison with the opposing Confederate force, and nearly double the number of men employed at any one time in the American-Mexican war—Banks has had little difficulty in "marching along." Within the past ten days, he has fought several sharp skirmishes, losing some men, and repulsing the Confederates. He has destroyed two or three gunboats, which were captured some time ago from the Federals; and he has rendered useless the large salt works at Petite Anse Island, eight miles south of New Iberia.

There is also a vague rumour that Farragut, with three gunboats, has run up Red River, and that he has taken Alexandria. Banks is said to be there, and when he has destroyed whatever may assist the Confederate arms, he will return to New Iberia and hold the place—if he can. But little more, if anything, can be done by the land forces in this department till autumn; it is already too warm for military movements in the field; and with the death-bringing nights, the malaria of the swamps, to say nothing of the expected yellow fever, the coming summer will be a fearful enemy to the unacclimatised Northern troops.

The peculiarity of the present movement in Western Louisiana is the profusion of plunder which presented itself all along the line of march. One of the great inducements for the expedition was—not the "suppression of rebellion," for that, in comparison with wholesale stealings of sugar and cotton, is "of no account" in this department—but the extraordinary richness of the region, for it is the garden of the South—a very paradise. For the first time in the history of the war, the Federals fed themselves from the farms of the country they passed through. The Federal army has passed over the fair fields, and nothing worth gleaning is left; and this is another chapter in the system of "conciliation," another effort towards the "restoration of the Union." The Federals may possibly believe that patriotism and plunder mean one and the same thing; but it will be difficult to convince a "Secessionist" that he can be made a good Union man by stripping him of every farthing he has in the world, and then administering the oath of allegiance.

Lieutenant-Commander McDermot, of the Federal gunboat Cayuga, killed while making a reconnaissance at Sabine Pass last week, was buried from Christ Church, in this city, to-day.

"A FOREIGN RESIDENT AT NEW ORLEANS."

## THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF COERCION.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—The following extracts from Mr. Madison's reports of the debates in the Federal Convention that framed the Constitution, show that the policy of coercion was twice mooted in that body, and was disapproved of on both occasions:—

Tuesday, May 20, 1787.—Mr. Randolph (Virginia) proposed "to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfil its duty under the articles thereof."

Thursday, May 31, 1787.—Mr. Madison (Virginia), in reply to the above clause, observed, "that the more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, the justice, and the efficacy of it, when applied to people collectively, and not individually. A Union of the States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound. He hoped that such a system would be framed as might render this resource unnecessary, and moved that he clause be postponed." This motion was agreed to, *nem. con.*

Friday, June 15, 1787.—Among a series of resolutions offered by Mr. Patterson (New Jersey) was the following:—"And that if any State, or any body of men in any State, shall oppose or prevent the carrying into execution such acts and treaties, the Federal Executive shall be authorized to call forth the power of the Confederate States, or so much thereof as shall be necessary to enforce and compel an obedience to such acts, or an observance of such treaties."

Saturday, June 16, 1787.—Mr. Randolph, who seems to have changed his views on the subject, remarked:—"Coercion he

pronounced to be impracticable, expensive, cruel to individuals. It tended also to habituate the instruments of it to shed the blood and riot in the spoils of their fellow citizens, and consequently train them up for the service of ambition."

Wednesday, June 20, 1787.—Mr. Mason (Virginia) said:—"It was acknowledged by Mr. Patterson, that the plan could not be enforced without military coercion. Does he consider the force of this concession? The most jarring elements of nature, fire and water themselves, are not more incompatible than such a mixture of civil liberty and military execution. Will the militia march from one State into another, in order to collect the arrears of taxes from the delinquent members of the republic? Will they maintain an army for this purpose? Will not the citizens of the invaded States assist one another, till they rise as one man and shake off the Union altogether? \* \* \* \* He took this occasion to repeat, that notwithstanding his solicitude to establish a national Government, he never would agree to abolish the States Governments, or render them absolutely insignificant."

Mr. Luther Martin (Maryland) "agreed with Colonel Mason as to the importance of the States governments; he would support them at the expense of the general Government, which was instituted for the purpose of that support. \* \* \* \* At the separation from the British Empire, the people of America preferred the establishment of themselves into thirteen separate sovereignties, instead of incorporating themselves into one. To these they look up for the security of their lives, liberties, and properties; to these they must look up. The Federal Government they formed to defend the whole against foreign nations in time of war, and to defend the lesser States against the ambition of the larger. They were afraid of granting powers unnecessarily, lest they should defeat the original end of the Union; lest the powers should prove dangerous to the sovereignties of the particular States which the Union was meant to support, and expose the lesser to being swallowed up by the larger. He conceived also, that the people of the States, having already vested their powers in their respective Legislatures, could not resume them without a dissolution of their governments."

Mr. Sherman (Connecticut), followed in the same strain; and added:—"To consolidate the States, as some had proposed, would dissolve our treaties with foreign nations, which had been formed with us as Confederate States."

The matter of coercion was then dropped. The only clause in the Constitution giving the Central Government control of the military, to be used except in a foreign war, is contained in Article IV., Section 4, viz.,—"The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

The Constitution concludes by stating:—"Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present." This is incorrect. Colonel Hamilton was the only signer from New York; his colleagues, declaring that they had no authority to overthrow the Articles of Confederation, withdrew from the Convention; and Mr. Randolph and Colonel Mason, of Virginia, and Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, refused to subscribe their names to the document. Nor did the Constitution receive the signatures of the following delegates who attended the Convention:—Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, William C. Houston, of New Jersey, John Francis Mercer and Luther Martin, of Maryland, George Wythe and James McClurg, of Virginia, Alexander Martin and William R. Davie, of North Carolina, and William Pierce and William Houston, of Georgia. Patrick Henry, of Virginia, refused even to attend the Convention.

Your obedient Servant,

WECCACOE.

LONDON, May 12.

## THE "BREAD RIOT" AT RICHMOND.

The Richmond correspondent of the *Times*, in a letter dated April 7, thus refers to the riots which have been so greatly magnified in the Northern papers:—

But, if the general ignorance about the South has appeared amazing, occasionally incidents of little significance have in the Northern journals dilated into dimensions so stupendous that a resident here has asked himself whether he is not unconsciously sleeping on a volcano which may at any moment burst and scatter havoc and destruction around. Such an incident, which, long before this letter reaches England, may have been represented to your readers by the New York press as a Lord George Gordon riot, an upheaving of the lowest strata of society, occurred in this city on the 2nd inst. It should be remarked that a pressure in regard to the daily supply of the necessities of life, under which one-half of the population of England and a still larger proportion of the populations of France and Belgium are contented to live year after year, has been so unheard of and unknown upon this continent that it is a marvel that the poorer classes in the Confederacy, and especially the foreigners, who care, comparatively speaking, nothing about the guiding principles of the war, should have murmured so little under a destitution which has cut them off from all but the barest necessities of existence. Simultaneously with much hardship and privation, busy rumour has pointed out persons who in various trades have amassed enormous fortunes during the last two years. The excitability of a naturally restless population and the unsettling of ordinary relations of life which war invariably engenders have combined to make the lowest classes uneasy and dissatisfied, because, when so many around them were adding house to house, and laying field to field, they were not able to do more than keep body and soul together. Therefore, under the guise of "bread riots," there have in many cities been *emeutes* of the population, in the form chiefly of mobs of women, who demanded flour and corn-meal at the principal stores, and trusted that if they were refused a riot would grow into an irresistible outbreak, which would place all the stores and property of the wealthier classes at the mercy of the lowest. Such *emeutes* have occurred at Salisbury in North Carolina, at Atlanta in Georgia, at Mobile in

Alabama, and at Petersburg in Virginia. They have in no case been serious, because everywhere ample resources for relieving cases of unquestionable destitution have been at hand, and such cases have been found to be very rare, as might be expected when it is mentioned that no man who is willing to work at any kind of trade has difficulty in earning from \$5 to \$6 per diem. I have been assured, on the authority of several of the most eminent clergymen, some of whom have resided in Richmond for many years, that never in their recollection was there such abundance of want and suffering among the lowest classes in Richmond as during this winter. But it was not to be expected, after the occurrence of such outbreaks as I have described in the smaller cities of the Confederacy, that Richmond should wholly escape the contagion. There are persons who see in every *contretemps* which occurs in the Confederacy indications of Yankee malignity, just as there are others who, whenever a fire or robbery occurs, whisper ominously the word "slaves," though, perhaps in the Confederate States, and certainly in the State of South Carolina, which is the very heart or nucleus of slavery, there are fewer fires and robberies than anywhere else upon earth among populations of a similar size. It is beyond question that fire and robbery in the northern towns are vastly more frequent. It is not, therefore, wonderful that some persons should have imputed to Yankee emissaries a restlessness of the population which seems to me explicable by many other causes. On the 2nd of April, in a low quarter of this town, chiefly inhabited by the Irish of the South and West of Ireland, a mob of unruly women, perhaps 200 in number, broke into several stores, some of them containing flour and provisions, but chiefly repositories of boots and clothing and cheap articles of jewellery. There were many women among them whose husbands are earning from \$6 to \$8 a day. The clear object of the *emeute* was to inaugurate a carnival of cupidity, which, gathering strength from the explosive and dangerous population of a city which has seen two years of unparalleled warfare, might place all the wealth of Richmond at the disposal of a lawless and predatory mob. But the outbreak in question never got enough headway on to become alarming. President Davis and Governor Letcher paid the insurgents the compliment of going among them and addressing them; but it seemed little less than mockery to address the offscourings of Ireland and Germany as "Women of Virginia." There is, however, not the slightest occasion for fearing that the riot will be repeated. Whatever may be Governor Letcher's other qualifications for the office which he now holds, there are not two opinions about his firmness; and it is with him more than with the President that the repression of future and similar riots will rest. Except upon the 2nd inst., and, in a much less degree, upon Good Friday, the 3rd, all tendency to insurrection has disappeared, nor is it likely to be resumed.

## THE BRITISH CONSULATE AT MOBILE.

(From the *Mobile Register*, April 4.)

[The following is the article to which we referred last week]:—

It has been announced within a day or two to the great regret and no little indignation of those acquainted with the facts, that James Magee, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul for this port, has been summarily removed from his office by the British Government. That Mr. Magee filled that place with credit to himself, honour to his Government and acceptably to this community, is not questioned by any one, nor is the contrary alleged by his Government as a cause for his removal. He has been marked for official decapitation for the same reason that caused the removal of Mr. Bunch, the English Consul at Charleston—to wit, his warm Southern sympathies. This is a crime which Earl Russell and Lord Lyons might have pardoned in a man who has lived thirty years among the people of the South, has been witness to their wrongs and knows the justice of their cause. The immediate pretext for Mr. Magee's removal grows out of the shipment, some months ago, of £40,000 from this port to England to pay the interest on the bonds of the State of Alabama, held by British subjects abroad. The Governor of the State, anxious to preserve the unsullied credit of the State, even in a time of blockade and war, arranged with the Bank of Mobile—through which institution the negotiation to place the State interest abroad has been uniformly made—to remit a sum to cover all the coupons due in England up to July, 1864. The British Consul was informed by the Bank that the State had in its possession £40,000 in coin for the purpose of paying the British bondholders, and inquired of him whether he would receive and forward those funds which belonged to subjects of the British Government. Mr. Magee, looking only to the interests of his countrymen, and not, like Lord Lyons and Earl Russell, having the fear of Billy Seward before his eyes, readily consented, and naturally believed that he was doing his duty in rendering a service to British subjects. The captain of the British war steamer *Vesuvius*, then at New Orleans, was requested to call off the Mobile bar and take on board the specie. The vessel came, and Mr. Magee, under flag of truce, went out on the steamer *Crescent*, with the coin on board, and safely transferred it to the *Vesuvius*. The specie reached England, and the English press remarked upon the punctuality of the State of Alabama as worthy of great commendation and praise. An important item of fact necessary to be known in forming a judgment upon the whole transaction is, that Commodore Hitchcock, commanding the Yankee blockading fleet, was cognisant of the shipment, and gave his free consent to it; for before receiving it the captain of the *Vesuvius* went on board the flag-ship, told Hitchcock what he came for, and obtained his ready approbation.

No sooner did the London *Times* inform the Yankee Minister at London (Mr. Adams) that an affair so creditable to the financial honour of a rebel State had taken place, than with the usual Yankee impudence he called upon the British Ministry for an explanation. Seward, on this side, thought it too good an opportunity to be omitted to bully Lord Lyons at Washington, and between the Yankee Minister at London and the Yankee Minister of State at Washington, Earl Russell and Lord Lyons were made to eat another very humble dish of very humble pie. These proud Aristocrats not only cried *peccavi* to their vulgar masters, but they engaged to commit an act of gross injustice to appease their offended Yankee-ships. The commander of the *Vesuvius*, a perfectly innocent man in the transaction, was at once informed that he had forfeited professional promotion which had been near and in store for him; and Mr. Magee was informed that the British Government had no further occasion for his services. Thus these two English statesmen, of whom the world expects a loftiness of tone, of justice and courage equal to their exalted rank and official position, have basely sacrificed two of their countrymen and Government officers to propitiate the smiles and to deprecate the anger of the contemptible Govern-



ment at Washington. The transaction is not only mean and base, but it reflects disgrace upon the British name. It is another proof to sustain the general belief that Earl Russell is under Washington influence to a degree injurious to the dignity of the British crown, and that Lord Lyons has condescended to become the lacquey and the tool to the false and unprincipled Seward.

If the Yankee Government has suffered damage from this shipment of coin—and it undoubtedly has—there is but one man who can be justly held responsible for it; and that is the commander of the Yankee blockading fleet, who allowed it to pass the blockade. His consent removed every particle of responsibility from the shoulders of the British Consul and the British Captain; and as he was the representative of his Government, it shuts the mouth of that Government in every effort at complaint.

The blockade was clearly broken by the shipment, and it was done by the consent of the blockading force. And this is the pinching point at Washington. They raised the blockade for the passage of British property. Having done so, they have given the same right to all other neutral powers, and the latter have a clear title to claim it. The punishment of Mr. Magee and the commander of the *Vesuvius* does not, in the least, change or impair the right. Mr. Seward is a very wily diplomatist—the “cutest” Yankee of his tribe—but we hardly think that he can throw dust into the eyes of the Emperor Napoleon by so transparent a device. The fact stands forth—the Yankee Government has given passage to British coin, and Napoleon has a right to claim transit for French cotton and tobacco. We are mistaken in the man if he sleeps on his right.

This step of the British Cabinet demands the attention of the Confederate Government. Since the former makes it a point to remove from these States those of her officers who have sympathized with this people in their great and cruel struggle, it is fair to presume if these are replaced it will be by officers whose hearts are not with us—possibly by the spies and tools of the Washington dynasty. Foreign consuls have no right here—they are only tolerated. They hold their positions and are recognized only by sufferance, and through a courtesy greatly strained in order to cover their cases. Should not our Government declare that the functions of a British consul thus vacated, shall not be resumed by any other English appointee? We think self-respect clearly requires it. Great Britain shows by these acts that she is as regardless of all considerations of comity as she has been reckless of our rights as a power successfully struggling for independence. No man should be allowed to exercise the privileges and functions of an office from which Mr. Magee has been thus removed, until the power that fills that office recognizes the Confederacy as one of the Nations of the Earth.

Mr. Magee carries with him, wherever he goes, the respect of the community in which he has so long lived, and the warm regards of many friends to whom he has endeared himself by his bearing as a man and a gentleman. It is long since England was represented in this Consulate by one who knew so well how to sustain its dignity by a public and official courtesy, and a private and generous hospitality.

#### THE NAVAL ATTACK ON PORT HUDSON.

We subjoin an interesting account of the naval attack on Port Hudson, written by the special correspondent of the *Memphis Appeal*, which journal is now published at Jackson.

Port Hudson, Louisiana, March 15, 1863.

The long-expected contest between the Yankee fleet and our batteries took place before daylight this morning, the first shot being fired at ten minutes past twelve o'clock, and the last one at twenty minutes past two. It was short, sharp, and decisive. The enemy, possessing the best vessels of their navy, as well as manned and officered as their regular marine would permit, trusting to their superiority in force, weight of metal, and character of projectiles, and calculating the advantages of a surprise and the darkness of the night, staked their all upon the issue, and desperately fought it out. The result has been such as they little anticipated, and such as will even surprise many of our own people, who had acquired the disheartening conviction that gunboats could treat shore batteries with contempt. But let me return to my report, which must necessarily be brief, and comprehending only such facts as could be discerned on the spot by an eyewitness.

Yesterday (Saturday) a number of the enemy's vessels came within sight and anchored off the point at the head of Prophet's Island, about four miles down the river. The iron-clad battery *Essex* and a number of mortar boats anchored close up behind the point. Having calculated the range of our batteries, as accurately as might be under the circumstances, about three o'clock in the afternoon the mortar boats and the *Essex* commenced practice, throwing shells for an hour and a half, but without causing any damage or alarm on our side. All was then quiet, and the fleet awaited the hour of midnight for their surprise visit. The plan of the attack, as ordered by Admiral Farragut, was as follows:—

Six vessels were to comprise the expedition, divided into two divisions. The vanguard was to consist of the flag ship *Hartford*, a first-class steam sloop-of-war, carrying twenty-six eight and nine-inch Paixhan guns, leading, followed by the *Monongahela*, a second class steam sloop, mounting sixteen heavy guns, and the *Richmond*, a first class steam sloop of twenty-six guns, principally eight and nine-inch columbiads. The rear guard was composed of the first class steam sloop *Mississippi*, twenty-two guns, eight and nine-inch, and the gunboats *Kinnes* and *Gennessee*, each carrying three columbiads and two rifled thirty-two-pounders. The *Mississippi* was a side wheel steamer. All the others were screw propellers. The vanguard was commanded by Admiral Farragut in person, on board the *Hartford*. The rear guard was under the command of Captain Melancthon Smith, flying his pennant from the *Mississippi*. They were to proceed up stream in single file, the stern of one following close upon the stern of another, and keeping their fires and lights well concealed, until they should be discovered by our batteries, when they were to get by the best they could, fighting their passage, and once above they believed they would have the rebel stronghold on both sides, their guns covering every part of the encampment. The order in which they formed was as follows:—

1. Sloop *Hartford* ..... 26 guns.
2. *Monongahela* ..... 16 guns.
3. *Richmond* ..... 26 guns.
4. Gunboat *Kinnes* ..... 5 guns.
5. Gunboat *Gennessee* ..... 5 guns.
6. Sloop *Mississippi* ..... 22 guns.

Making six vessels carrying ..... 100 guns.

Besides this, the *Essex* and mortar boats anchored at this

point, and supposed to have already acquired our range, were expected to play no mean part in the affair.

Shortly before midnight, the boats, having formed the line of battle as described, their decks cleared for action, and the men at their quarters, the *Hartford* led the way, and the others promptly followed her direction. At the moment of their discovery a rocket was to be sent up from the admiral's flagship, as a signal for the *Essex* and her accompanying mortar boats to commence work. Doubtless the men of this auxiliary fleet were willing enough for the battle to begin. Safely ensconced behind their headland, at a distance of two and three quarter miles from our lower batteries, they could purchase glory at a reasonable expense of sweat and no loss of blood. Whether the men on board the other boats were as anxious for the fight is a question that must be left to others to decide. Whatever their individual opinions, naval discipline effected its purpose, and they fought stubbornly enough.

Although there had been no indication of such a determined night attack by Farragut, the usual vigilant precautions were in force at our batteries. Every gun was ready for action, and around each piece slept a detachment of gunners. So dark was the night, however, and so lightly had the armed craft nosed their way up, that the flagship had passed some of our guns, and all the fleet were within easy range before their approach was known. Almost at the same time a rocket from our signal corps, and the discharge of muskets by an infantry picket, aroused our line. Quick as a flash, while the falling fire of our alarm rocket was yet unextinguished, there shot up into the sky, from the *Hartford's* deck, another. Then came one grand, long, deafening roar that rent the atmosphere with its mighty thunder, shaking both land and water, and causing the high battery-crowned cliffs to tremble, as if with fear and wonder. Every gun on the fleet and every mortar at the point joined in one simultaneous discharge.

One instant, and what a change in the aspect of affairs! Many thousand soldiers, springing to their feet at a bound, exchange glances with comrades, their eyes glistening with the light of a grim satisfaction. Instinctively muskets are grasped with a firm hand, and each soldierly heart, relieved of the weight of a long protracted expectation, throbs a glad echo to the startling peal of cannon. The batteries on the long line of bluff, but a moment before silent as the churchyard, now resound to the hurrying tread of men, while the quick, stern tones of command are heard above the awful din, and the furtively glancing rays of light from the battle lanterns reveal the huge instruments of death and destruction, and show the half-covered way to magazines.

Relying greatly upon the suddenness and vigour of their attack to disconcert and confuse the defenders of our cliffs, the roar of their first discharge had not died away upon the ear before it recommenced, and when the quick and irregular but unceasing volleys and broadsides showed that the crew of each Yankee gun were going with each other in celerity. The sheets of flame that poured from the sides of the sloops at each discharge lit up nearly the whole stretch of river, placing each craft in strong relief against the black sky. The noise was stunning to the ear, but they knew not yet the position of our batteries, and the shot and shell, fired at random, had no material effect. The shelling from the mortar-boats presented the finest scene of the two. First the distant flash and puff of white smoke, then the star of light rising by spasmodic effort—so its revolutions make it appear—up to the very firmament, while the more slowly travelling sound brings the hoarse roar of the mortar: then the now brightening star descending by the same spasmodic motion; next the ominous whirring, growing louder and still more clear, until—bang! right in your face it seems, a flash like that of sheet lightning—a sharp, terrible explosion—and then, thud! thud! thud! the rent iron strikes in every direction, burying its jagged fragments deep in the solid earth.

Minute after minute passed away, each driven to eternity distracted by the maddening roar of so many cannon, and the fleet kept its unchecked course up the stream. Amazement seizes upon the Yankee officers and men. Where were the long-talked-of batteries the rebels had been constructing with which to hold the *Mississippi*? Had they been abandoned in a panic, caused by the terrible bombardment of the fleet? The marine officer of the *Mississippi*, now a prisoner, tells me the query was seriously propounded whether the rebels had not evacuated their stronghold, and thus cheated the “brave Yankee tars” out of the glory they were expecting to reap. Only too soon did the enemy discover that we were but waiting to bring their whole fleet irrevocably under our guns before we went to work. For fifteen minutes had they plied at their monster cannon, and now they were commencing to relax, from sheer vexation, when a flash of light from the crest of a cliff lights the way for a shell to go plunging through the *Hartford's* deck. This was the Monitor, and at once the enemy saw a cordon of vivid lights as long as their own.

Now commenced the battle in all its terrible earnestness. Outnumbered in guns and outweighed in metal, our volleys were as quickly repeated and the majority of them unerring in their aim. It was speedily apparent to the enemy, that the fire was a great deal hotter and more destructive than had been expected, and the captains of the two gunboats and of the *Monongahela* doubtless resolved quickly that it would be madness to attempt to run such a terrible gauntlet of iron hail. Whether the commanders of the *Richmond* and the *Mississippi* had already arrived at the same determination, or came to it soon after, is not known, but they all, except the *Hartford*, undertook to put about and return the way they came.

For this purpose the *Richmond* sheered close in to the left bank, under the batteries, and then circled round, her course reaching nearly up to the opposite point. In executing this manoeuvre she gave our batteries successively a raking position, and they took excellent advantage of it, ripping her from stern to stem. From the crashing of timbers plainly heard during every brief interval of the din, and from the view had of shots that struck her, it was evident that her doom was sealed. Instead of making a run for it, down the river, hugging the opposite shore, she again turned her prow toward our batteries and ran right in under them. As she got this position, a voice from on board of her cried out—“Now let me see you strike me from those hills, G—d d—n you!” As if in answer to his blasphemous appeal, a battery above and below got his range, and while a shell crashed through his fore-castle, a double charge of grape swept his decks from the mizzenmast forward. It must have done fearful execution, and the same voice which had just before rung out an oath and a defiance, now exclaimed, in piteous accents—“For God's sake don't shoot any more! We are sinking.”

It was reported among a crowd of observers on the bluff that a voice from her deck had called out: “We surrender! We surrender!” If this was said it was not probably spoken by her commander, who, however, appealed to our batteries to cease firing upon her as the ship was sinking. As she was evidently drifting down in an unmanageable condition and

apparently settling, the batteries let her alone, and turned their attention to other craft. Whether or not she sank I do not as yet know. Her commander may have used a Yankee artifice to escape by the mistaken humanity of the victors; but if she is not seriously disabled then many an experienced eye was greatly deceived.

The *Mississippi* undertook to execute the same manoeuvre of turning round and making her escape back to the point she started from. She had rounded and just turned down stream, when one of our shots tore off her rudder, and another went crashing through her machinery. Immediately after came the rushing sound of steam escaping from some broken pipe, and the now unmanageable vessel drifted aground directly opposite our crescent line of batteries. Her range was quickly gained, and she was being rapidly torn to pieces by our missiles, when the commander gave the order for all hands to save themselves the best way they could. At the same time fire broke out in two places. The prisoners we have taken are of opinion that she was set on fire by her own officers, but it is quite as likely that it was caused by our red hot shot, which were being poured into her uninterruptedly. At this time her decks were strewn with dead and wounded, according to one of her crew, with whom I have conversed, who thought one half her complement of men were included in the list of casualties.

In the meantime, I must account for the other vessels of the fleet. The three larger vessels had occupied most of the attention of the batteries, but the other craft had not by any means been overlooked. Two had turned round and started down stream. One of them apparently escaped without serious disability, but the other, which was probably the *Kinnes*, floated down past the batteries in an unmanageable condition, receiving our volleys without being able to return them; and from the confusion of voices and the mingling of oaths, execrations and orders heard from her decks, it was evident that great slaughter must have been made among her crew, else that the boat itself was in a critical predicament. A vessel, which was either the *Tennessee* or *Monongahela*, most probably the former, slipped by in the confusion, and joined the *Hartford* up the river.

Some fifty-five or sixty persons saved themselves by jumping overboard and swimming or wading from the *Mississippi* to the shore. Of these the major and the captain of marines and assistant engineer, with forty-five sailors and marines, have been arrested by our cavalry and brought across during the day. Some few others are reported to be hiding themselves in the swamp. The dead and wounded were left upon the *Mississippi*, which soon floated off and started down with the current. All the other vessels were now out of range, and the spectacle of the burning ship was a grand and solemn one, yet mingled with painful thoughts of the horrible fate of those mangled unfortunates who were being burned to death upon this floating funeral pyre. As the flames would reach the shells lying among her guns, they exploded one by one, adding to the novel grandeur of the sight.

When the burning *Mississippi* reached the point where the mortar boats and other craft lay, she created a perfect panic among them. Probably from the fear of her magazine exploding among them they speedily cast loose from their moorings and run before her, not making their appearance again until near the hour of noon to day. The light of the burning wreck could be seen, steadily increasing in its distance, for two hours and a half. At five minutes past five o'clock, when the *Mississippi* was probably within five miles of Baton Rouge, a sudden glare lit up the whole sky. The cause was well known to be the explosion of the magazine. After a considerable interval of time a long rumbling sound brought final proof that the *Mississippi*, one of the finest vessels of the United States' navy, which had earned an historic fame before the commencement of the present war as the flag ship of the Japan expedition, was a thing of the past.

Such are the particulars of this morning's fight at Port Hudson. For the time it lasted it was one of the most desperately contested engagements of the war. Our success is to be attributed to the coolness, gallantry, and skill of the officers and men engaged, but as well to the engineering ability and personal exertions of Major-General Frank Gardner, who remodelled the whole system of our water defence on his taking command of this district, and has been untiring, since then, in his exertions to render the position as nearly impregnable as possible. The fleet having been opposite that wing of our batteries commanded by Lieut.-Colonel P. F. De Gournay, the work and responsibility fell principally upon him, and the manner in which he has discharged both, forms one of the most satisfactory and brilliant pages in the history of the present war.

Lieutenant-Colonel de Gournay is an officer of great experience and ability, and was promoted to his present grade by the President for signal service in the heavy artillery at Yorktown, Virginia. He has been at the batteries here with his efficient command, the 12th Louisiana battalion, during five months, and has entirely devoted himself to the consummation so well reached this morning. Captain Kean, Lieutenant Allison and Shirmer, Lieutenant Castellanos, Captain Collin and Captain Seawell, in command of important guns, had the good fortune to distinguish themselves; but all of the officers of this battalion, as well as those of the 1st Tennessee battalion of artillery, Captain Fisher, under command of Colonel de Gournay, displayed great gallantry. The right wing, held by the first Alabama regiment, also played a conspicuous and honourable part in the engagement, and Colonel Steedman and his officers deserve high praise.

To Lieutenant-Colonel M. J. Smith, the chief of artillery, formerly an officer of the United States' navy, and peculiarly qualified for his present responsible position, too much credit cannot be awarded. Farragut found him ready and able to meet him, and had it not been for some of those accidental occurrences that cannot be foreseen or provided against, the Yankee rear admiral would have met the same fate as the commander of his rear-guard.

If the country is not satisfied with the Port Hudson fight, then it must indeed be unreasonable. Under all the circumstances the result has been as surprising as it has been gratifying. The relative loss of life is one of the most significant features of the affair. The loss on board the enemy's vessels must amount to at least 250 killed and wounded. On the *Mississippi* alone the loss was over 150. The loss in our batteries was one lieutenant, of the 1st Alabama, slightly wounded, and one man of the 1st Tennessee battalion, severely wounded.

It appears by the New York advices that the total shipments of specie from that port since the beginning of the present year have amounted to £3,760,000. This is more than double the average amount during the last eleven years, while at the same time it has been accompanied by a diversion to Europe of a large portion of the California consignments, owing to the alarm inspired by the Alabama and other Confederate ships of war.—*Times' City Article.*



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouvrie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1863.

## On the Rappahannock.

THE Federal army in Virginia has sustained another crushing defeat. General Hooker has shared the fate of McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Banks, and Burnside. The last movement "on to Richmond" has failed. On the first three days of the present month there was fought a few miles south of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, a battle which probably surpasses any former combat of the war in the numbers engaged on either side, and in the furious and obstinate nature of the struggle. Along a line of some ten miles the battle raged almost incessantly for two days, growing in intensity towards the close, and then only checked apparently by the limits of human endurance, or by the knowledge that a closer and deadlier grapple was yet to be encountered for which every arm would need its utmost strength. From daybreak to sunset the roar of battle rose and fell as column after column rushed with ringing cheers into the fight. The night brought with it no rest. All through the darkness the boom of cannon and the rush of shot and shell were heard, and a great duel of artillery was fought by combatants who could only tell each other's position by the flashes of their guns. Here and there a night assault added to the terrors of the field. And when the light came it dawned upon shattered brigades, still eager and defiant, and fresh divisions ready to resume the fight; upon a new line of battle formed, another vast field of death and carnage. There, then, again the horrible work was resumed; and all day along the broad roads, swept by shell and grape, and on the fields neglected in the presence of an enemy, in the deep gorges, and in the wild woods, just bursting into magnificent foliage, Federal and Confederate fought hand to hand, until the bright landscape was once more marred by the mist of battle. Let us hope that these hecatombs of brave men have not been offered up in vain, and that the battle may prove not alone the fiercest, but the most decisive struggle of the war.

Taught by Burnside's sad experience, General Hooker adopted a plan of campaign not without its obvious advantages, but not devoid of many serious defects. Leaving an entire *corps d'armée* threatening the heights of Fredericksburg, where the bulk of the Confederate army were supposed to be massed, he threw some 80,000 or 90,000 men across the Rappahannock, turning the left flank of the Confederates. At the same time he despatched a considerable cavalry force under General Stoneman, by a considerable *detour* to destroy some miles of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad, and so prevent the reinforcements from the South reaching General Lee's army. Had General Sedgwick's forces been strong enough to retain the heights of Fredericksburg and effect a diversion on General Lee's rear, whilst Hooker gave battle to him in front; had Stoneman's "raid" intercepted all communications, General Hooker's movement might have been a success, on the one condition that General Lee should fall in completely with the Federal arrangements,—move, and attack, and fight exactly when and where General Hooker wished the fight to come off. But,

the Federal General saw only the one side, and forgot the commanders and men he had to deal with. He will hereafter, perhaps, have more respect for his enemies, and more consideration for his colleagues. The movements of the Federals appear to have been conducted with creditable rapidity and secrecy. The bulk of the army moved from the camp at Falmouth, along the northern bank of the Rappahannock, and crossed at the United States Ford and Kelly's Ford, some ten and twenty-six miles above Fredericksburg. From Kelly's Ford the right and centre crossed the Rapidan, principally by Ely's Ford, a division or two passing by Germania Mill's Ford. Once on the Southern bank of the Rapidan, they were south of Fredericksburg; they had turned its defences, and were threatening both Lee's army and Richmond.

On the 30th of April, nearly the whole of the Federal army was in line, and on the 1st of May Hooker began to develop his plans. He pushed his right and centre in a south-easterly direction, still striking at the Richmond and Fredericksburg communications, his head-quarters being at Chancellorsville, a large mansion at the intersection of three cross roads—the key to his whole position. On the 1st of May, his advance first felt the enemy in their front. By degrees he learnt that the Confederates had met him with a corresponding change of front, that he had in reality drawn Lee out of his works at Fredericksburg, and that his further advance would be resisted. Still he persisted in extending his line, and in pushing his right further southwards. A smart artillery fight took place during the day, and skirmishing on his centre and right showed the enemy to be in force all along the line. On the 2nd of May, he still seems to have had no definite plan of operations, but to have conducted the campaign, like an inexperienced chess-player, on the principle of trusting his enemy to make an opening. At noon he despatches a division to reconnoitre the position of the Confederates. He is still all anxiety, lest the enemy should escape him. By 5 o'clock his anxiety in this respect is over. He is told that Stonewall Jackson has attacked his extreme right with overwhelming numbers; that brigades, divisions, an entire corps, have been driven in hopeless panic from the field, and that the Confederates are pressing right on to his head-quarters. He sends his old division against them; but not until his line has been pierced, many guns lost, and the whole army thrown into confusion, is any firm stand made. Night is coming on. Favoured by the darkness, Hooker changes his line and shows a bold front to the enemy. His advanced divisions are withdrawn; fresh batteries brought up, the reserves moved into line. The Confederate advance is checked. But a terrible blow has been inflicted. A whole corps has disgraced itself, and is thoroughly demoralised; the prestige of success is gone, the old feeling of despondency is revived. The Confederates give them little repose during the night. A harassing fire of artillery drives Hooker from Chancellorsville, and a series of feints and alarms keeps the whole army watchful until sunrise. At daybreak the Confederates renew the attack, and again the Federals are compelled to yield. The battle is desperate, the carnage awful. Hand to hand the two armies mingle in the fray, by and by the Federal line is driven back. General Berry is killed. Hooker, stunned by a fall, is for a time disabled. Towards noon the fight languishes; and the Federals bring up fresh brigades, entrenchments are hastily thrown up, and heavy guns placed in position. Later in the day a final assault is made by the Confederates, but their ranks are mowed down by the deadly concentrated fire of the Federal artillery, and they make no impression on the Federal line. Night separates the combatants.

Meantime, on the extreme left, at Fredericksburg, Sedgwick has attacked the heights in force. They are held by a small force whose orders evidently are to hold them to the last moment, and then join the main body of the army. The heights are carried after a desperate contest, and at Washington it is reported that Lee's army is entrapped between Hooker's and Sedgwick's forces without possibility

of escape. But the triumph was a brief one. On the 4th it was known at Washington that Sedgwick's forces had been compelled to recross the river with whole brigades cut to pieces, and that Longstreet with a powerful corps was in communication with Lee. It was known, too, that Stoneman's "raid" had not succeeded, and that reinforcements from Richmond, from North and South Carolina, must have come up to reinforce Lee's shattered battalions; and the worst was feared for General Hooker's army. We cannot speak with any certainty of the losses on either side. Both armies have suffered terribly, especially in general officers, but the results of the two days' engagements are tolerably clear. Hooker's army was retreating on the second day's fight, and solely occupied in providing for its safety by intrenchments on the third day. The Confederates were in force on both flanks. They had taken up a position commanding the United States Ford, the main or only channel of the Federal supplies, and were shelling the Federal trains. If reinforcements came up to the Confederate army there was nothing to prevent the latter holding the Federals at bay on the south side of the Rappahannock, whilst with their superior force of cavalry they scoured the country on the north bank and cut off all their supplies. At any rate, the advance upon Richmond is at an end, and many persons entertain the not unreasonable hope that General Lee will be able to strike such a blow at the beaten army as will speedily finish the campaign in Virginia. It will be a fitting retribution to General Hooker if to his leadership history shall ascribe a crowning disaster of the Federal armies—possibly that final triumph of Confederate gallantry which convinced the Northern Administration of the hopelessness of its object, and wrung from its fears the terms its patriotism would not concede.

## American Aggression.—The Lords' Debate.

THE complaint made on Tuesday night, that the Foreign Office is represented in the House of Commons only by an Under-Secretary, hardly seems to us a just one. It is necessary that two or three of the five Secretaries of State should sit in the Upper House, and the Foreign Secretary can, generally speaking, be better spared from the Commons than any other of the great officers of State. The Prime Minister is of necessity well acquainted with all that goes on in the Foreign Office, and able to answer all inquiries at short notice, as well as to defend the policy of that department, which is not adopted without his knowledge and consent; and with the mere details of official business an under-secretary is quite competent to deal. There are times, moreover, when it is just as well that the Minister who is charged with the anxious and delicate duty of conducting our relations with jealous and susceptible allies or rivals should not be exposed to the temptations and provocations to indiscretion which are inseparable from the position of a member of the House of Commons. That Assembly is impatient, excitable, and apt to forget the convenience of the public service in the heat of party conflict or the vehemence of patriotic passion; and Ministers who sit there are liable to be hurried into saying things which had better be left unsaid. Sometimes they catch the contagious excitement of the Assembly, and give free way to their sympathy with its feelings of indignation against oppressors, or anxiety to interpose on behalf of the injured. Sometimes they are goaded by the taunts of an opponent into revelations necessary to their own vindication, but exceedingly dangerous to the success of pending negotiations. Occasionally, though more rarely, they damage their position with the House by a discourteous reply to an inconvenient question. Even so experienced a debater and so wary a diplomatist as Lord Palmerston is apt to make mistakes in each of these directions; and those who perceive what is likely to be the effect of his language, often must feel heartily glad that the much less



discreet and guarded nobleman who is now at the head of the Foreign Office has been removed from the House, of which he was so long an ornament, to what the honourable and comic member for Liskeard called "another and a happier place." For the House of Lords is not only a less excitable, but a far more prudent and reserved body than its compeer. Few peers commit such indiscretions as are common in the Lower House: and when such errors occur, the tone and manner of the Assembly sufficiently rebuke the offender, and restrain the Minister who might be tempted to imitate his imprudence. On the other hand, as has many times been shown, the House of Lords is not unwilling, on fitting occasions, to assert its authority as a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature, and to call to account a Minister who appears to have been careless in the performance of his duty, or forgetful of the honour and interests of his country. Several times during the present session Lord Russell has had to answer for his culpable laxity in dealing with American aggressions on our flag; and if the Peers have shown somewhat more caution in speaking of the Federal Government and the Northern people, and have used a somewhat less angry and more judicial tone than the Commons, they have known how to make the Foreign Secretary understand that they are not one whit less jealous of the honour of England, or more disposed to allow any Minister to betray that honour by weakness, by complaisance, or by an abject fear of war. It is probable that somewhat more effect might be produced upon the mind of the Foreign Secretary by the censures of the Lower House, inasmuch as an adverse vote therein would cost him his place; and perhaps, had he still a seat there, the tone of his despatches to Lord Lyons might be a little more consistent and dignified, and his answers to British merchants might be a little less curt and insolent. But on the other hand, it is not unlikely that in that case we should have been by this time pledged to a war on behalf of Poland. On the whole, therefore, we have reason to be glad that the Foreign Secretary does not sit in the House of Commons.

The discussion, which was brought on by the Marquis of Clanricarde, on Monday night, may serve as a warning to Lord Russell, if it do not produce any amendment in the behaviour of Admiral Wilkes. The Marquis is a close ally of the present Government, and has no wish whatever to do anything which may tend to embarrass or perplex his friends; and Lord Russell must therefore regard his speech as expressing the general feeling of the independent portion of the moderate Liberals upon the American question. It is quite plain that they are growing very impatient of the extravagant conduct of the Federal Government, and the complaisant forbearance of the Foreign Secretary. Lord Derby is known to be less hostile to the Federalists than his party generally are; and yet Lord Derby pressed home in a decided tone the question which has been most carefully evaded by our Government—the right of British vessels to absolute immunity in carrying on a trade, no matter of what character, so that it be *bonâ fide* from one neutral port to another. The Minister must be aware by this time that he cannot much longer trifle with that question. He has before him the authority of Lord Stowell, clearly laying down the law that there can be no contraband of war between neutral ports. He has the admission of the Federal Government that they have no right to interfere with vessels really trading between such ports. On the other hand, he knows that the Federal Government habitually do that which they have admitted that they have no right to do; and that recently the Prize Court of New York ordered the cargo of the Peterhoff, bound for a neutral port, to be landed, with a view to ascertain whether any part of it consisted of goods coming under the description of contraband. Lord Russell must be aware that he will not again be allowed to evade this matter as he did on Monday evening; he will be called upon to say whether or no he admits the right of the Federals to seize British ships and cargoes bound for Nassau or Matamoras on the ground of their conveying

military stores or munitions of war; and he will be compelled to act upon his answer.

We do not wonder that Lord Russell is anxious, if possible, to avoid the responsibility of a war with the Northern States. His Radical proclivities probably incline him to sympathize with their cause; his Ministerial position exercises over him, as it does over every statesman who is worthy to serve the State, a sobering and controlling influence. It is just and right that the Foreign Secretary should be the most pacific man in Parliament; the least disposed to provoke animosity by unnecessary harshness of language, the least ready to accept provocation of this sort at the hands of others, the most resolute not to quarrel while a quarrel can be avoided with honour, the most careful to exhaust every means of bringing an enemy to reason, before resorting to the last and worst argument of nations. He, above all men, should be careful that when an appeal is made to the God of Battles, England shall come before that awful tribunal with clean hands and a good conscience. We will not inquire too curiously whether Lord Russell's policy has, at all times and in all quarters, answered to this description. We will not ask whether he has not, even in regard to America, forgotten the rule of *suaviter in modo* almost as often as that of *fortiter in re*. If he have bullied Brazil, hectoring Denmark, and insulted France, we will not therefore accuse him of insincerity or cowardice in his eagerness to keep on good terms with America. We would only remind him that there are things more sacred than peace; and that of these is the honour of England. And there are two ways in which we fear that her honour may unhappily be tarnished in his hands. He is apt to forget that there are two parties to this war; that England is bound to show no favour to one at the expense of the other; that above all she is bound not to do injustice to the weaker and the defending party in deference to the menaces of the stronger and the aggressor; and that the interpretation placed upon her neutrality, in order to diminish, as far as possible, the chances of angry collision with the North, has been such as already to inflict very serious and unequal inconveniences upon the South. He has shown himself somewhat oblivious, in his anxiety to conciliate the Federal Government, of the equal rights and much stronger claims of the Confederate States. Again, it is utterly impossible for a great nation to submit to insult and injury, not conveyed in words merely, but carried out in acts, from a Power which pretends to equality. It is dishonouring to England not to vindicate to the utmost the privileges of her commerce and the immunity of her flag. Lord Russell is very apprehensive of going too far in this direction; of denying to the Federal marine the rights which, as belligerents, we claimed and asserted ourselves. He need be under no fear on this score. No one proposes that a British vessel should be protected in an attempt to run the blockade of Charleston, or to carry contraband of war to any Confederate port whatever. No one asks even that the principles laid down in former days by American Secretaries of State shall be applied against the present Government at Washington. All that is asked is that those simple and undeniable principles of maritime law shall be impartially enforced. We demand—the Confederate States demand—the English merchants, people, and Parliament demand only this: that American cruisers shall not be permitted so to abuse their right of visitation and detention as to interrupt a trade which, however provoking and injurious to the North, is in strict accordance with law; that American Prize Courts shall not be allowed to aid and abet them in this wrong-doing; and that the absolute freedom of all *bonâ fide* trade between neutral ports shall be boldly asserted and maintained at all hazards. There is no question whatever that the right of detention has been so grossly abused by the Federal cruisers as to establish a virtual blockade of the British port of Nassau, and of the Mexican port of Matamoras;—to deny this, in the face of accumulated evidence, of public notoriety, and of the declarations of American

officers, is simply to insult the good sense of the English nation, and outrage its feelings by a wilful and deliberate lie. *Habemus confidentem reum*; and an English statesman must not, like an unscrupulous advocate, continue the defence of a culprit who has openly avowed his guilt. The character of the Federal Prize Courts is also matter of notoriety; and if Lord Russell does not know that they are constantly in the habit of violating the law they are bound to execute, it is only because he refuses to trust the reports of their proceedings in their own newspapers, and takes no care to obtain any more authentic accounts. About the law that ships and cargoes bound to a neutral port are free, whatever their ultimate destination, there is no manner of doubt. It is Lord Russell's duty to inform the Federal Government that the vexatious exercise of its belligerent privileges must cease; that it must be held answerable for the illegal and iniquitous conduct of its Prize Courts; that it must cease to send before those courts vessels captured in neutral waters, or evidently on their way to neutral ports; and that it must allow arms, munitions of war, and similar cargoes to be freely exported to Nassau and Matamoras, as they are exported to New York and Boston.

Nor is it at all likely that by doing his duty in this respect he will provoke war; still less, that by shrinking from his duty he will be able ultimately to preserve peace. On the contrary, the firmer and more peremptory the attitude of England, the calmer will be the tone and more reasonable the conduct of the Federal Government; while by forbearing to assert our rights, that Government is tempted to fresh encroachments, and induced to put itself in such a position that at last a collision must occur, when it cannot possibly withdraw its pretensions, and we can by no possibility endure them. In dealing with a frantic people and a Government reduced to desperation, to shrink from war is to invite attack. To show a firm determination to punish aggression, is the only way to render possible the maintenance of peace.

### Mr. Seward's Letter to the "Citizens of London."

On January 29th, a demonstration of the New Emancipation Society was held in Exeter Hall, of which the most remarkable feature was the absence of any person of note or influence—for in this country it is easy and usual to get at least one celebrity to attend a meeting in the Metropolis, whether the object of it be social, political, or religious. The speakers at the Exeter Hall gathering were the Member for Leicester; two dissenting ministers—who, in point of reputation stand in about the same relation to Mr. Spurgeon as a street acrobat does to Blondin; a writer who has some literary fame as the author of a capital boy's book; and a writer who has not become famous. These aspiring gentlemen, it seems, were not content with having their speeches fully reported in at least one paper; but, craving for transatlantic notoriety they transmitted a report "of the proceedings" to Mr. Seward, with a request that they might be laid before President Lincoln. After a considerable delay—that is, on the 25th of April—the Federal Secretary, being probably in the mood for letter-writing, was good enough to acknowledge the receipt of the "proceedings." That this letter was composed by Mr. Seward is certain, but we have no doubt, from the address thereof, that it was submitted to and revised by his Chief. It commences with one of Mr. Lincoln's best and, we may add, his most extravagant jokes. The epistle—if we knew of a grander word we would use it—is addressed "To the citizens of London who were convened in Exeter Hall on the 29th of January last." How imposing! We beg of our readers to endeavour to do justice to Mr. Lincoln's humour, in this instance polished and pointed by Mr. Seward. The member for Leicester, and the two dissenting ministers, and the gentleman who has a little literary fame, and the gentleman who is literary but not famous, are thus represented as calling a convention of the citizens of London.



It is really too bad of Mr. Lincoln. Surely he should not repay flattery with such a biting jest. Perhaps Mr. Lincoln has sufficient sense of dignity to regard it as a very gross impertinence on the part of the great but unknown five to send him their proceedings, and intended the ridicule as a rebuke. It is, however, highly probable that the sarcasm of Mr. Lincoln will be accepted as a compliment. In Mr. Dickens's very amusing description of a contested election we are told that Mr. Pott, or one of the candidates, was vociferously applauded by the ragged little boys when he addressed them as "men of Batonswill." The sentence, "to the citizens of London who were convened in Exeter Hall on the 29th January last," will, doubtless, be a source of intense gratification to the two dissenting ministers, and the two literary gentlemen who figured at the "grand demonstration."

Having thus done our part towards perpetuating and spreading the fame of the Tooley-street Tailors who convened the citizens of London in Exeter Hall, we shall only say a few words about the contents of the letter. Mr. Seward regrets that the insurrection—that term now seems to suit him better than "rebellion"—could not "have been confined within such bounds as to prevent its disturbing the prosperity or otherwise engaging the attention of friendly nations." We do not in the least question Mr. Seward's sincerity. It is likely enough that he wishes that the Confederacy was, as he described it a few months ago, "An insurrectionary party which is located and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico;" or that the Confederates were at the bottom of the sea; but wishing has no influence on the course of events.

Having thus indulged in the girl-like and touching weakness of wishing that things were as they are not, in order, no doubt, to make his communication pleasant and intelligible to the persons to whom it was sent, Mr. Seward then gives "the citizens of London who were convened in Exeter Hall" rather a curious enigma to solve. He says,—"It is, therefore, with sincere satisfaction that the President learns from the proceedings now under consideration, that a large, respectable, and intelligent portion of the British public have on unprompted investigation arrived at the conclusion that the existing rebellion violates the principles of political justice, and that they protest against it as a wrong to the human race, because it seeks to displace a Government which is based on the rights of man, to make room for the establishment of another which is to rest upon human bondage as its corner stone." Mr. Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation as a war measure, that is, being unable to beat the Confederates in the field, he hit upon the expedient of stirring up a servile war. So far from condemning slavery in that proclamation, he strongly upholds it. The worst sin he knows of is "rebellion" against his authority, and he would punish this worst sin by the heaviest penalty he knows of—that is, he would, if he could, deprive "rebels" of their slaves. On the other hand, he esteems loyalty to his authority as the highest of human virtues; and how does he propose to reward it? By allowing loyal citizens to retain their slaves. How do "the citizens of London who were convened in Exeter Hall" reconcile these facts with the passage which we have quoted from Mr. Seward's letter? We will explain the riddle. So long as New England could make a profit out of slavery by trafficking in slaves, or, as that traffic is not allowed by the South, so long as they could grow rich on the proceeds of slave labour, slavery was an institution to be used, however much for a political purpose it might be convenient to abuse slaveholders. But "rebellion," that is, the independence of the South and free trade with all the world, deprives New England of the monopoly of the profits of slave labour, and therefore slavery becomes a wicked institution. It will thus be seen how logical is Mr. Lincoln's plan. Where the profit of slave labour is transferred through the agency of the Morrill tariff to the pockets of the New England manufacturers slavery is lawful—where there is no such transference, slavery

is unlawful. This is what Mr. Seward means by political justice and the rights of man.

In conclusion, it is but just that we should direct attention to a very important announcement. Mr. Seward says Mr. Lincoln "believes that the ultimate and impartial judgment of mankind upon all such questions is entitled to universal respect and acquiescence." Far be it from us to look a gift horse in the mouth, and to point out that the ultimate and impartial judgment of mankind being universal must have universal acquiescence. Rather, let us express a hope that mankind will feel grateful to Mr. Lincoln for his patronage. When next the citizens of London are convened in Exeter Hall, let them magnify Mr. Lincoln's unheard-of liberality of sentiment and his gracious condescension.

#### THE FEDERAL COMPACT AND THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.\*

In 1840, Abel Parker Upshur, then Judge of the General Court of Virginia, and afterwards Secretary of State in Mr. Tyler's Cabinet, published an elaborate review of Judge Story's "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," his main object being to vindicate the doctrine of State Sovereignty which is, to some extent, impugned, directly and by implication, in the work of that eminent jurist. Those who read "A Brief Enquiry into the Nature and Character of our Federal Government," must have been favourably impressed with it as a masterly exposition of constitutional law; but no one in 1840 could have deemed the issue therein dismissed as being of great practical importance. That in twenty-one years the doctrine of State Sovereignty would be openly denied by the Federal Government of the United States, was an idea that did not enter into the imagination of any man. So the work of Judge Upshur attracted comparatively little attention, and was nearly forgotten before the melancholy death of its author in 1843. After being buried for twenty years, it has recently been republished in Philadelphia. It is calculated to produce a deep effect on those Northern Democrats who have not sold their principles for a reversion to a share in the profits of Federal office. It must seem to them like a voice from the grave. If Judge Upshur had lived until this day, and he had been called upon to defend the sovereignty of the States, and, therefore, the right of secession, he could not have written more directly to the point, or more emphatically. We conceive that a brief notice of this book will not be out of place. We do not expect that an appeal to reason will be heard amidst the din of war; but it is useful from time to time to repeat that the South is fighting, not only for an inherent and constitutional right, but for a right which she has hitherto enjoyed, and of which it is now sought to deprive her. The South is not fighting to win but to defend her Independence.

Does the Constitution of the United States acknowledge the sovereignty of the States? Judge Upshur replies to this question by adducing the evidence of history, by a reference to the text of the Constitution, and by examining the nature and functions of the Government which is created according to the provisions of that instrument.

The American colonies of Great Britain were essentially distinct and separate communities. They were constituted by different grants and charters, their territorial boundaries were carefully defined, their systems of government were in many respects dissimilar, and the only political connection that subsisted between them was their common allegiance to the British Crown. Judge Story himself fully admits this. He says, "Though the colonies had a common origin and owed a common allegiance, and the inhabitants of each were British subjects, they had no direct political connection with each other. Each was independent of all the others; each, in a limited sense, was sovereign within its own territory. There was neither alliance nor Confederacy between them. The assembly of one province could not make laws for another, nor confer privileges which were to be enjoyed or exercised in another, further than they could be in any independent foreign State." What brought about an alliance between them was the attempt of the British Government to trample on their independence. The first Congress met to devise means for defending their rights, and to restore a good understanding between the mother country and the colonies. There was no intention of throwing off their allegiance to the British Crown until it was found that no redress of grievances could be obtained. Most of the members of the Congress were appointed by the Legislatures of the several States, and the credentials of the

member for New Jersey set forth that he was "to represent the colony in the General Congress"—that is, the members were the delegates of the Colonial Governments. The Congress did not misconstrue its power. It did not pretend that any colony refusing to accept its recommendations would be rebellious, but it simply advised non-intercourse with any colony or province that would not accede to the proposals of the association. Before and after the declaration of independence there was separate action even in the conduct of the war. "Ticonderaga was taken by the troops of Connecticut before the declaration of independence; Massachusetts and Connecticut fitted out armed vessels to cruise against those of England, in October, 1775; South Carolina soon followed their example. In 1776 New Hampshire authorized her Executive to issue letters of marque and reprisal." There are numerous historical proofs that the States did not resign to a Federal Congress—their creature—that liberty and independence for the maintenance of which they had unwillingly separated from the mother country. For example, all the States did not at once come into association; in June, 1776, Congress recommended the passing of laws for the punishment of treason; and declared, "that the crime shall be considered as committed against the colonies individually, and not against them all, as united or confederated together;" and when Great Britain and the other European Powers acknowledged the independence of the States, they acknowledged the independence of the several States. Our author justly remarks that if the colonies had yielded their Sovereignty to a Government which existed only at their will, and by their aid and support, it would have been an unprecedented act, and that "the history of the world affords no similar instance of folly and infatuation."

After discussing the historical evidences of State Sovereignty, Judge Upshur criticises the written constitution. The preamble, "We, the people of the United States," has doubtless misled many persons, but a little consideration will show that it does not invalidate the independence of the States, and that it was the best form of words that could, under the circumstances, be adopted. We learn from "Elliott's Debates" that, on August 6th, the committee appointed for that purpose reported the first draft of a Constitution. The preamble was in these words, "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, do advise, &c." On August 7th this preamble was unanimously adopted. On September 8th a resolution was passed to appoint a committee of five "to revise the style of and arrange the articles agreed to by the House." It was a committee of taste and arrangement, and it had no more right to change anything agreed to than a lawyer has to alter the instructions of a client for making a will. On September 12, the Committee presented their report, and the preamble they submitted was, "We, the people of the United States, &c.;" and this was passed without discussion. Why? Because it was substantially the same as the preamble in the first draft. The word "people" had not then, and with most writers has not now, any plural termination; and the Congress understood "people" to stand for "peoples," just as we, in meeting with the expression "the people of Europe," understand it to mean several peoples or nations. There was a reason, too, for adopting this form of expression. If nine States agreed to the articles of Confederation, the Constitution was to go into effect, as far as those States were concerned, and it was uncertain whether the whole of the States would enter into the compact—whether they would join the Secessionists from the Government and perpetual union formed by the articles of Confederation. The preamble as revised by the Committee, would include them if they chose to join the Union. If, however, the wording of it could justify any doubt, it is absolutely removed by the article which reserves to the States respectively, or to the people, the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States.

When, however, we pass from the history of the Constitution, and the examination of the instrument itself, to the Government created by the Constitution, we are confronted with evidence which is, if possible, still more conclusive of the sovereignty of the States. In the Senate there is an equal representation—that is, the smallest as well as the largest State is represented by two members. The House of Representatives consists of members chosen in each State, and is regulated in numbers by a certain ratio of representation. "The number of representatives to which each State is entitled is proportioned to its own population, and not to the population of the United States, and if there happen to be a surplus in any State less than the esta-

\* A Brief Enquiry into the Nature and Character of our Federal Government. Being a Review of Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. By Abel P. Upshur. (Philadelphia: John Campbell.)



blished ratio, that surplus is not added to the surplus of population of any other State, in order to make up the requisite number for a representative, but is wholly unrepresented." Each State prescribes the qualifications of its own voters; the only condition of the Constitution, being that they shall have the qualifications which the State has prescribed for the voters of the most numerous branch of its legislature. No one can be elected to represent any State except a citizen thereof, for there is no such person as a citizen of the United States. Vacancies in the representation of any State are supplied under writs of election issued by the State Executive. In the election of the President and Vice-President, we find that the Federal Executive is, in all respects, the representative of the States, and not of the majority of the peoples of the States. "These officers are chosen by electors, who are themselves chosen by the people of each State, acting by and for itself, and in such mode as itself may prescribe. The number of electors to which each State is entitled is equal to the whole number of its representatives and senators. This provision is even more federative than that which apportions representation in the House of Representatives; because it adds two to the electors of each State, and so far places them upon an equality, whatever be their comparative population. The people of each State vote within the State, and not elsewhere; and for their own electors, and for no others. Each State prescribes the qualification of its own electors, and can alone compel them to vote. The electors, when chosen, give their votes within their respective States, and at such times and places as the States may respectively prescribe." The election of Mr. Lincoln is an apt illustration of the way in which the States and not the people, elect the President. In the Electoral College he had a vote of 180 to 123, and therefore became President; but in the popular vote, cast in the choice of the electors, he received 1,857,610, against 2,857,670. Mr. Lincoln became President by virtue of that State Sovereignty which he has so grossly violated.

We need not pursue the subject further. We have glanced at a very few of the multitude of facts adduced by the author to show that the States are sovereign; but they are sufficient. And if his premises are admitted, his conclusions are irresistible. The creature cannot be superior to the creator thereof. The Supreme Court, which is the creature of the Constitution appointed by the Executive, which is also the creature of the Constitution, cannot control the action of the Sovereign power from which the Constitution emanates. When a dispute arises the sole arbiter is the State. It chose to enter into the Union, and it may leave it; and Judge Uphur says it is certain that there is no right to coerce a seceding State. There is no power under the Constitution to insist upon a State sending representatives to Congress; there is no authority to prevent the States from forming a new Confederation. The secession of certain States does not abrogate the Constitution. It is not the South, but the North which has destroyed the Constitution.

Judge Uphur warns his countrymen not to fall into the error of instituting a strong consolidated government, and in this connection he cites the British Constitution as something to be avoided. Speaking of the Anti-States Rights party, he says:—"The tendency of their principles is to establish that legislative omnipotence which is the fundamental principle of the British Constitution, and which renders every form of written Constitution idle and useless. They suffer themselves to be too much attracted by the splendours of a great central power. Dazzled by these splendours they lose sight of the more useful, yet less ostentatious purpose of the State Governments, and seem to be unconscious that in building up this huge temple of Federal power, they necessarily destroy those less pretending structures from which alone they derive shelter, protection, and safety." Without in the least wishing to commend the British Constitution to other nations, we may observe that the strength of our Constitution is due to its difference from what the United States' republicans and Mr. John Bright consider the perfection of Government. Our House of Commons does not represent numbers, but interests, and our Ministers may and often do hold office by a vote of the majority of the House, which only represents a minority of the popular vote. Or take the case of our colonies. Their prosperity is due to the adoption of a federative system. They are independent States, owing allegiance to a common central Government which has nothing to do with their internal policy; and the chief executive officers though appointed by the central government, are under the constitutional control of the colonial Parliaments. We attempted to interfere with the independence of our American colonies, and we were taught a lesson which we have never forgotten. We do not say that our colonies

have a legal right to sever the political tie, but if any of them choose to secede, it is not likely that we shall attempt to coerce them to remain in union with England. The bulwark of our liberty, and the source of our greatness is, that we have been persistently opposed both at home and in our colonies to centralization. The very independence which the Southerners prize so dearly, and for which they are contending so heroically, is an heritage from the mother country.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND. (From our Confederate Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, April 14.

The long-expected attack on Charleston by the enemy's fleet was commenced on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 7th instant. As early as noon on Sunday, the formidable flotilla was seen in the distance to the south-east, slowly making its way towards the entrance of the harbour, and before sunset eight iron-clad turreted vessels, of the Monitor pattern, the Ironsides—a powerful steamer, built in close imitation of the Merrimac, with sloping sheathed roof and carrying fourteen guns—and twenty-seven wooden war vessels had taken up their position just beyond the bar. The excitement produced in Charleston by the approach of the Armada was unexampled, except by that which pervaded all classes of its citizens, just two years ago, when the bombardment of Fort Sumter first awakened the long-slumbering echoes of its beautiful bay. All the tradesmen and foreigners, who had remained in the city up to that moment in obstinate incredulity of serious peril, rushed to the railway stations with trunks, boxes, bundles, baskets, and "brown paper parcels," seeking a place of safety in the interior for themselves and their effects; while the old inhabitants, who had made up their minds to share the fate of their beloved homes, thronged the battery promenades, from which they might even then catch a far-off glimpse of the dark hulks of the hostile fleet. Sunday night passed by, however, and a weary Monday, and still the straining eyes of the deeply interested spectators saw nothing more than the sparkling waves and the white caps out at sea.

It was known in Charleston, on Monday, that a considerable body of men had been moved up the Stono River, and landed upon Cole's Island, intended, beyond a doubt, to co-operate with the vessels of war, in the event that they should succeed in passing the forts and gaining the inner harbour. Early on Tuesday morning, a ninth vessel of the Monitor pattern arrived off the bar, and it was evident enough that the hour was at hand when the great shock of arms, on which such tremendous issues were at stake, would resound over land and sea.

Accordingly, at 2 P.M. of Tuesday, it was announced by despatch from Fort Sumter, that the nine Monitor vessels, with the Ironsides, had crossed the bar, and were bearing down cautiously upon the batteries guarding the entrance to the bay. An hour afterwards, when the foremost ship had arrived within a mile and three-quarters of the land, the heavy boom of the opening gun from Fort Moultrie gave notice that the fight was begun. A cloud of smoke was instantly observed to ascend from the turret of one of the iron-clads, followed at an interval of some seconds by the loud report of the explosion. At ten minutes past three the batteries of Fort Sumter opened with sullen roar, the enemy having gradually come within range, and at the same moment, Sullivan Island and Morris Island, behind which lay the guns of the Beauregard battery and Battery Wagner, on the extreme right and left of the enemy's position, were enveloped in a thick white vapour, from which little puffs of smoke rose incessantly into mid-air. Five of the turreted monsters in close order stood immediately opposite Fort Sumter, against which the fire of the whole fleet was principally directed, though occasionally an immense projectile would be hurled at the walls of Fort Moultrie, or the batteries on shore, exploding, in the majority of instances, harmlessly enough, or burying itself deep in the sand.

The battle reached its utmost fury about half-past four o'clock, P.M., and the scene, as described by those who were gazing upon it with eager, almost breathless interest, possessed an awful grandeur. The sea was smooth, the sky almost cloudless, and between sea and sky, for a circuit of six or eight miles, rose the white canopy of cloud from which the continuous flashes of the cannonade leaped forth, like spirits of flame from a great conflagration. The fire of the Monitors was less accurate than our own, and now and then, as some huge mass of iron, thrown from a piece not sufficiently elevated, would come plunging, *en ricochet*, through the water, great sheets of spray would be thrown quite over the ramparts of Sumter, wetting the artillerymen of the barbette guns as they stood resolutely at their posts.

At five o'clock, or thereabouts, the Ironsides, which had participated most actively in the bombardment, showed evident signs of being no longer able to bear up under the tremendous shots of our batteries, and, getting her engines in motion, withdrew with all possible haste out of range, followed by the Keokuk, an iron-clad with double turrets, upon whose smoke-stack and bow the effect of our missiles was plainly visible. The fire of the enemy then began to slacken, but was maintained with abated spirit until half-past five, when the last gun was heard, and the whole fleet retired to a position of safety.

Such was the beginning of the enemy's long-prepared and long-deferred attack upon Charleston. The results may be briefly summed up, though we cannot know with certainty the whole amount of damage that was inflicted upon the enemy. Thirty-four of the projectiles aimed at Fort Sumter struck their mark. A brave little drummer boy was killed, two men were severely, and three others slightly wounded. One gun was dismounted, but the Fort sustained very little injury—at Moultrie the mischief done was nothing at all. One gallant fellow, who climbed the flag-staff to replace the Confederate colours which had been shot away, fell to the ground, and was so severely hurt that he died the following day. *Voilà tout*. Now for the injury we did the enemy. The light of Wednesday morning revealed the fact that the Keokuk had sunk off Morris's Island. All that was to be seen of her was her smoke-stack and one of her turrets appearing just above the water-line. Some Confederate officers went out in a small boat to the wreck, and found that our solid shot had pierced her thickly-plated turret through and through. As several of the same projectiles were seen to strike the Ironsides, it was reasonably conjectured that she was badly crippled in the fight. The enemy sustained another loss during Tuesday night. A novel piece of machinery, constructed at considerable expense and brought round from New York with great difficulty—known as the *Devil*—the purpose of which was the removal of the submerged torpedoes in Charleston Harbour, floated ashore and fell into our hands. Four of these remarkable contrivances were sent in tow of steamers to take part in the attack, but three went to the bottom off Hatteras. The fourth likewise came to an untimely end.

It was also noticed, on Wednesday morning, that only seven Monitors were in sight within the bar. The conclusion is irresistible that a second either sank in deep water, or was so seriously crippled as to make it necessary to send her to Port Royal for repairs.

Nothing could be finer than the conduct of our officers and men engaged in the defence of Charleston. The *Mercury* records that, when the intelligence of the coming up of the hostile fleet was spread through our batteries, the garrisons were at dinner, but the long roll being sounded, the men sprang to their guns with cheering, the battle-flag was run up over Moultrie to the air of "Dixie," played by the band on the parapet, and a salute of thirteen guns, in wanton waste of powder, was fired in honour of the occasion. All the batteries in the harbour of Charleston were in command of General Ripley, under whose watchful and practised eye the defences have been constructed. His purpose had been to make his head-quarters at Fort Sumter during the action, as at once the post of danger and of glory; but being in the city at the time the signal was given, he found it utterly impracticable to reach the Fort through the blazing fire of the fleet. Sumter was commanded by Colonel Alfred Rhett, Moultrie by Colonel Builer, the Beauregard Battery by Captain Sitgreaves, Battery Bee by Lieut.-Colonel Simkins, Battery Wagner, on Morris Island, by Major Huger, and the Cumming's Point batteries by Lieut. Lesesne—all officers of the South Carolina Regulars. General Ripley's position during the cannonade was at Battery Bee on Sullivan's Island, while General Beauregard and staff watched the engagement, excited and confident spectators, from the Charleston Battery promenade.

I trust your readers will not think I have written too much of an action accompanied with so little loss of life on our side, and the results of which were so far from being conclusive of the final issue of the attack on Charleston. I am mindful of the pleasantry of *Punch* concerning the tremendous bombardment of Sumter in April, 1861, and the shrewd suspicion hinted in the *Times*, from the bloodless nature of that memorable reduction, that nothing beyond blank cartridges and brandy cocktails were then exchanged between General Beauregard and Major Anderson. But if the fight of Tuesday last has not made it certain that Charleston cannot be taken by the Yankees (any more than the earlier disasters of the allies made it impossible that they should take the stronghold of Sebastopol), it has at least proved that the turreted iron-clad vessels on which they so much rely for their final success, are by no means the indestructible machines they have been



supposed. As for the indomitable pluck and undaunted resolution of the defenders of Charleston, I may assume, without arrogance, that these qualities have already been sufficiently exhibited to the world. They need no new demonstration.

You have no doubt received intelligence through the New York papers of a terrible "Bread Riot," which occurred in this city on the 2nd instant, and, from your previous knowledge of the great scarcity and high price of provisions here, you may have been disposed to receive the accounts as true. That there was a disgraceful outbreak, ostensibly produced by the dearth of food among a certain class of people in Richmond, on the 2nd of April, is undeniable. But the statements of the returned Yankee prisoners, upon which the account in the *Tribune* and other Northern journals was based, were so compact of falsehood, that one knows not where to begin in attempting their correction. As an eye-witness of the riot from its beginning, I beg to give you the veritable history of the affair, though it might properly be dismissed as by no means of sufficient consequence to justify the trouble of the narration. On the morning of the 2nd of April, a crowd of beldames and haridians, with whom were associated some poor young women of a better sort, assembled on the Capitol Square to the number of about 250, and went in a body to the house of the Governor, which they surrounded, without clamour, without disturbance, and upon being asked by an aide of his Excellency what they wanted, replied, through a tall, masculine-looking virago, who acted as leader, that they must have bread. There was so little in the appearance of these women to give colour to the idea that they were starving, that the whole thing was regarded as a joke. All of them were comfortably many of them even fashionably dressed, some belaced, bekrinketed, and befurbelowed. They brandished no clubs, they fluttered no banners, they came with no wild and frenzied alarum of *Carmagnole*, and no one could detect in their faces the hard lines of hunger or the dangerous despair which had resolved on "bread or blood." One woman is said to have displayed a pistol on the Square, and pistols were certainly produced by them at a later hour, but I saw nothing menacing serious mischief in their movement as they stood around the Governor's house. From this point, they walked very deliberately over to the Capitol building, where the Governor addressed them in a few words of remonstrance and warning, and then the hoop-skirts moved down towards the business streets, followed by a miscellaneous rabble of *gamins* and idlers. The Governor, though far from apprehending any serious danger, thought it best to order out the Public Guard, but before this corps could be gotten under arms, the women had entered and robbed six or seven shops and warehouses in the lower part of the town. Here the object of the mob was made apparent. It was not bread, but *pillage*. Some flour and bacon they took, but everything else they could lay their hands on, they seized indiscriminately—shoes, leather, candles, *books*, dry-goods, crinolines, perfumery, all that chanced to be in their way. The raid was successful only because it was so sudden, and because the shopkeepers and their friends were wholly unaccustomed to deal with a mob of women. In a short time the police arrived on the spot, and arrested all the prominent offenders, the street was cleared of the crowd by a squadron of cavalry, and the disturbance was at an end. The examination before the Mayor the next morning made manifest the absurdity of regarding it as a "Bread Riot." The tall strident woman who led the rioters was a truckster of provisions in one of the city markets, had purchased and butchered two beeves the week before, and had a comfortable little property of \$20,000. Others engaged in the affair were employées in the shops and factories of the Confederate Government, at wages varying from \$30 to \$60 a week. One woman was herself a small shopkeeper in the suburbs, and had actually exposed some of her plunder for sale in her own windows. A "Bread Riot" is an impossibility in Richmond, for Richmond has few paupers, and no mendicants. A large fund set aside for the relief of the poor by the Common Council, several months ago, remains in great part in the hands of the City Chamberlain, awaiting the demands of the destitute. The scarcity of provisions which prevails here, does not bear with unequal severity upon the poor to the extent that might be supposed, because, while food is high, wages are high. The real sufferers are the Clerks of the Departments and their families, and generally all salaried officers, whose pay remains the same under all circumstances; and this class of citizens bear their privations with admirable cheerfulness. *Au reste*, we are in no more danger of bred riots here, than we are of Fighting Joe Hooker's carrying off President Davis in chains to Washington.

The New York press, ever desirous of making you acquainted with Confederate disasters, has also conveyed to the office of the *Index* full accounts of the overwhelming defeat of General Pegram, near Somerset, in Kentucky. The telegrams of the Federal officer, Colonel—perhaps General—Quincy A. Gilmore, to the department at Washington were really startling. "The rebels were commanded by Pegram in person," he says, "and were greatly superior in number to their Federal pursuers; the fight was desperate, the rout of the rebels complete—altogether one might suppose that General Pegram had really given battle with a large force to the enemy and sustained a crushing disaster. *Du tout*, General Pegram went into Kentucky, with a force of fourteen hundred men, to get beef cattle, as of old the moss-troopers so often crossed the Tweed. By a rapid march, he surprised the Yankees at Danville, in Boyle County, in the very interior of the State, driving five regiments of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a battery of light artillery, out of the town, and following them as far as their Gibraltar at Hickman's Creek, within twelve miles of Lexington. Returning with 750 head of cattle, and burning two bridges behind him over Dick's River, he found the Cumberland River in his front greatly swollen by sudden rains, so that the cattle could not swim it. Just there he received a despatch from a colonel of his command, who had been stationed with 500 men to guard a parallel road, that the enemy were in hot pursuit. The number of men at that moment under his personal conduct did not exceed 600. Selecting his position a short distance beyond Somerset, in the county of Pulaski, he awaited the enemy's attack, which was made vigorously by five full regiments of infantry, besides cavalry and artillery. An obstinate combat ensued, and the 3,000 Federal troops prevailed against the 600 "rebels." They had but a slightly better chance than the immortal "six hundred" of Balaclava. General Pegram's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was 150 from the time he entered Kentucky, until he recrossed the Cumberland River. Of the 750 beeves collected hastily in three days, 537 were brought off and driven into the camp of General Bragg. The young cavalry officer who has been brought thus prominently before the public as a victim to the exceeding glory of Gilmore, is a native of Richmond, an *élève* of West Point, nephew of the gallant Captain Pegram, of the Nashville, and a newly appointed Brigadier General. In the very beginning of the war, he was entrapped and overpowered at Rich Mountain by General McClellan, to which success the great Federal commander owed his elevation to the highest position in the United States' army. Colonel Pegram remained for many months a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, during the greater portion of which time he was an inmate of Fort Warren, when that famous or infamous Bastille contained within its casemates so large a number of cultivated and eminent men. General Pegram bore a distinguished part in the battle of Murfreesboro', and has shared with Morgan, Forrest and Wheeler the hardships and successes of their brilliant cavalry service in Tennessee and Kentucky. He is about 32 years of age, of well-knit, muscular frame, of wonderful powers of endurance and of military qualities that will yet be acknowledged by friend and foe, before the war is over.

The correspondence between Mr. Mason and Earl Russell on the subject of the blockade, and the recognition of our independence, has been widely republished by the press of the Confederate States, and has elicited everywhere the highest commendation of our Commissioner. Mr. Mason writes in rebuke of the arrogance of the English minister, just as the Confederate people would have had him write, with entire self-command, perfect simplicity of style, and unanswerable logic. The feeling aroused by the correspondence was, at first, one of lively indignation, which was expressed in numerous editorials and upon the floor of Congress, journalists and Congress men declaring that the time had arrived for the withdrawal of our foreign commissioners and the dismissal from the Confederate States of the Consular Agents of foreign Governments residing here. In the House of Representatives Mr. Swann, of Tennessee, moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution declaring that the recall of the Commissioners by the President would meet with the sanction of Congress; but this motion, while it obtained a majority of votes, did not secure the constitutional two-thirds, and the rules were not suspended. The public mind has settled down into the conviction that the matter may very properly be left in the President's hands: meanwhile the country will rest satisfied that its interests will be safe in the keeping of so able and vigilant a man as Mr. Mason.

Congress has been sitting for the last fortnight, day and night, hoping to despatch the public business by the 20th instant, which has been fixed upon for adjournment *sine die* by the Lower House. The Senate has not yet agreed

to this resolution, but it is understood that the adjournment will not be delayed beyond the 27th. The bills for the organization of the Supreme Court of the Confederate States and the Court of Claims have been postponed by the House of Representatives till the third Monday of the next Session. The Tax Bill was returned to the House essentially modified. The Finance Committee of the Senate fixed the levy on merchants upon their incomes and not their receipts, and engrafted on the original Bill a provision for the payment of taxes by the agricultural community *in kind*. The House not agreeing to these changes, a Committee of Conference has been appointed by the two Houses, who will probably report a Bill without delay, harmonising the contrary views of the respective parties.

The aspect of military affairs at Vicksburg remains the same as when I last wrote. There have been some skirmishings on the Tallahatchie, and captures of Yankee gunboats (one an important capture, the *Diana*, at Berwick's Bay, a point connected with the Mississippi by the Atchafalaya) but nothing decisive has been done, and we still hold the river and our main positions. There has been a withdrawal of troops from the Mississippi, as also from Fortress Munroe and from Hooker's army, to strengthen the column which threatens Tennessee. Burnside has gone to command in Kentucky, and it is probable that he will push a heavy force into Eastern Tennessee, in order to bring into play that immense latent Unionism which the Yankees declare surrounds Knoxville. In Virginia all is yet quiet. General Wise has occupied the town of Williamsburg, driving the enemy into Fort Magruder, a short distance below the town, and meeting with no serious resistance, but General Lee still keeps his position on the line of the Rappahannock. Before this letter can reach London, it is probable that the battle will be joined in that direction and at other points of the State.

The spring has come upon us at last. The pink blossoms of the peach trees make gay the gardens of Shockoe Hill, and the early wheat spreads its green carpet to the eye over the fields around the city. Only a week ago we had a continuous fall of snow for twelve hours, but this was probably the last adieu of winter. The warm season rapidly approaches, and it must bring with it the hot breath of battle and the thunder of the cannonade.

Despite the blockade business is active in Richmond. The hotels are crowded; two theatrical companies perform nightly (Tom Taylor's plays are the most popular that are produced—a singular fact, since the better class of our people do not frequent the theatres); there are concerts and literary lectures from week to week; and though crime abounds, and vices inevitable to a condition of war afflict society, organized benevolence and practical Christianity are more than ever actively manifested among us.

The blockade off Charleston continues ineffective. We have met with some heavy losses of late. The Granite City and Nicolai I. were captured by the Yankee fleet, and the Georgiana and Stonewall Jackson (formerly the *Leopard*) were run ashore and destroyed by their captains; but arrivals from Nassau are of every day occurrence, and two vessels came in four days ago through the line of battle of the Monitors.

P.S.—Since the foregoing was written, we have information that the armada off Charleston has dispersed. Some of the iron-clads went north and some south, and three were towed off by steam tugs.

The telegraph also announces a fight near Franklin, in Tennessee, between a considerable force of the enemy and the command of General Van Dorn, in which the latter, after a hard conflict, was compelled to retire.

*Au contraire*, we learn that General Wheeler has captured two large passenger trains on the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railroad, with mails and supplies.

## The War Songs of the South.

Mobile, March, 1863.

So rarely do I see the *INDEX*, that I do not know whether you have paid any attention in its pages to the poetry of our War. We have an abundance of it, good (*meo judicio*), bad, and indifferent. Of the first of those classes only, I propose to send you a few specimens, though some of these may, in your opinion, properly belong under one of the other heads. But poetry must be judged by its effects—by the way in which it stirs the blood, by the reception accorded to it among those for whom it was written,—not by its strict observance of artistic rule, not by the approval which a critic of cultivated mind and delicate taste alone will give it. "Chevy Chase" is good poetry, and I am not sure but, upon my principle, "Lillibullero" is good poetry too. No matter, I'll stick to my principle.

Many of the productions of our bards require no



apology, but challenge a favourable verdict from the most fastidious taste. There are others in which admirable passages occur, though there is a want of sustained effect in the piece as a whole. The best imitation of the old ballad style which I have yet seen is in passages—indeed, nearly throughout the whole—of a poem on the death of General Barton, one of the two first victims of the war of high rank, falling with General Bee at Manassas. I have mislaid it, and can only quote the commencement :—

“He went before his gallant band,  
On great Manassas plain;  
He led them right into the fight,  
But never out again.”

This, and a few detached fragments, such as this:—

“He fought as if all Georgia smiled  
Upon her favourite son,”

are all that I can recall. The author, who dates from Louisiana, shows a delicate appreciation of the line which distinguishes the ballad from every other style of composition whatever.

Of the plain homely song of the camp, a class of compositions of the same level as the sailors' songs of the fore-castle, there is an abundance, and some have no little merit in their way, such as it is. And why should merit be denied them? They were composed for illiterate men, and by illiterate men, and so long as the author does not try to make something fine of his verse, by decking it with the tinsel of high-sounding words, which he is sure to misuse, he rarely fails to produce something which goes to the heart of the honest soldier. Here now is the story of the capture of Lexington, as sung by Captain J. R. Brown, of the Missouri State Guard, who was one of those that made the history he sings—and he sings it well too, out of his own personal throat. Take a specimen :—

Somebody told PRICE of the hemp that was near by.  
We got it, and wet it, and rolled it up hill :  
Our “rides” behind this good hemp line did thereby  
Knock off the top-knots of the Feds at their will.  
“What the devil does this mean?” the Irishmen said, sir;  
Poor MULLIGAN was puzzled to death at the sight;  
In all of his reading he never had read, sir,  
Of anything like this *hemp fort* on his right.

Of all the pieces of this class, “M'Clellan's Retreat” is entitled to the palm. It is perfectly original, and has a tune as original as the words, which seems to have grown out of them. Nobody ever heard it before he heard them. Do admire the chorus with me !

We marched out from Richmond,  
I remember well that night,  
That JOHNSTON gave the order  
And M'CLELLAN took his flight.  
I'll lay ten dollars down,  
And count them one by one,  
That the next time that we fight them,  
The Yankees they will run.

We marched out from Richmond,  
Down to Mechanicsville,  
And so we drew up in battle line,  
Down at old Gaines's mill.  
I'll lay ten dollars down, &c.

Bold LONGSTREET formed the front,  
And he said, ‘You need not fear,  
For MAGRUDER 's on the right,  
And JACKSON 's in their rear.  
I'll lay ten dollars down, &c.

The Fourteenth Louisiana,  
They charged them with a yell,  
They bagged them Bucktail Rangers,  
God d— their souls to h— !  
I'll lay ten dollars down, &c.

Perhaps you think it is about time to stop with this, and I assure you it is. It doesn't get a bit better, but quite the contrary for a verse or two further. This song, by the way, has proved a nucleus around which have agglomerated verses by uncertain authors, the number of which is already past reckoning. I have heard it sung for half an hour, when it seemed to me to be a chronicle of all the battles from Manassas to Shiloh, and I have no doubt that by this time Fredericksburg and Murfreesboro' are added to it.

But *Non omnes arbusta juvant, humilesque myrice*. Our contest has awakened strains of a higher order. You have, probably, got hold of the poems which have been published in the *Southern Illustrated News*, the best as well as the longest of which is “The Song of the Rebel,” by John Esten Cook, in which Jackson, Stuart, Longstreet, and Lee are commemorated. If not, let a few stanzas serve as a skeleton of the whole :—

Hark ! how the long, loud cheering  
Rings through the swaying pines,  
And a thousand eyes are glowing  
Along the serried lines !

They know the great calm leader,  
In his old grey uniform,  
And the brave hearts rush to meet him,  
As they rush in the battle storm.

\* \* \* \* \*  
And if we cheer our hero,  
Why not? No glittering lord  
Calls forth that shout!—a soldier  
Leaning upon his sword—  
A way-worn, Christian soldier  
Excites that grand acclaim,  
To roll for ever through the walls,  
And down the halls of fame.

\* \* \* \* \*  
But hark !—a ringing bugle !  
A merry clanking sound,  
With the din of clattering hoof-strokes  
Upon the frosty ground !  
And STUART, with his sabre keen,  
And floating plume appears,  
Surrounded by his gallant band  
Of Southern cavaliers.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Look, how the blue eyes brighten,  
The eager hand extends,  
To greet his brother soldier,  
His faithful friend of friends.  
See how two valiant spirits  
Hot with the battle's breath,  
Meet on the eve of conflict,  
Before the morn of death.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Around them are the noble band  
Of Paladins, who fight  
In this, our mighty struggle  
For God and for the Right.  
The soldier face of RICKETT,  
The steady nerve of HILL,  
The dashing LEES and HAMPTON,  
Stout-hearted, strong of will,

BARKSDALE, that hardy fighter,  
As ever mounted steed,  
Brave GREGG, and COBB, and GARNETT,  
And JENKINS good at need.

\* \* \* \* \*  
No harder band of gentlemen  
E'er drew the keen-edged brand,  
Or rode amid the battle smoke,  
To guard their native land !  
For ever shall their famous deeds  
Shine on the glowing page;  
Their names shall live through countless years.  
Our proudest heritage.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Such is our band of heroes,  
Who fight the bitter fight,  
Here on our sacred Southern soil,  
For our ancient English right;  
Who meet and greet brave JACKSON  
Upon his rapid way,  
For whom all patriotic hearts  
Unceasing praise and pray.

So a health to STONEWALL JACKSON,  
To LONGSTREET brave as steel,  
To STUART with the fearless soul,  
A knight from plume to heel:  
And last to LEE our General,  
Beneath whose flag we go  
To test the edge of Southern steel  
On a vulgar, brutal foe.

Of a different character from the above is the elegiac strain of John R. Thompson, to the memory of Ashby, who, had he lived, would have been what Stuart is now:—

To the brave all homage render;  
Weep, ye skies of June!  
With a radiance soft and tender,  
Shine, O saddened moon!  
Dead, upon the field of glory,  
Hero fit for song or story,  
Lies our bold dragoon.

Well they learned whose hands have slain him,  
Braver, knightlier foe  
Never fought with Moor or Paynim,  
Rode at Templestowe,  
With a mien both high and joyous,  
'Gainst the foes that would destroy us  
Went he forth we know.

Never more, alas! shall sabre  
Gleam around his crest,  
Fought his fight, fulfilled his labour,  
Stilled his manly breast;  
All unheard sweet Nature's cadence,  
Trump of fame, or voice of maidens;  
Now he takes his rest.

Earth, that all too soon hath bound him,  
Gently wrap his clay;  
Linger lovingly around him,  
Light of dying day.  
Softly fall, ye summer showers;  
Birds and bees among the flowers,  
Make the gloom seem gay.

There, throughout the coming ages,  
When his sword is rust,  
With his deeds in classic pages,  
Mindful of her trust,  
Shall Virginia, bending lowly,  
Still a ceaseless vigil holy,  
Keep above his dust.

There are few of our eminent soldiers to whom some poet, often unheard of before, has not paid a tribute. Here is a lively, blood-stirring piece, which appears without a name. The author need not have been ashamed of it:—

SONG OF THE TEXAS' RANGERS.

The waning star is paling,  
The camp fires flicker low;  
Our steeds are madly neighing,  
For the bugle bids us go.  
So put the foot in stirrup  
And shake the bridle free,  
For to-day the Texas' Rangers  
Must cross the Tennessee.  
With WHARTON for our leader,  
We'll chase the dastard foe,  
Till our horses bathe their fetlocks  
In the deep blue Ohio.

Our men are from the prairies,  
That roll broad and proud and free,  
From the high and craggy mountains  
To the murmuring Mexic sea;  
And their hearts are open as their plains,  
Their thoughts as proudly brave  
As the bold cliffs of the San Bernard,  
Or the Gulf's resistless wave.  
Then quick! into the saddle,  
And shake the bridle free;  
To-day with gallant WHARTON,  
We cross the Tennessee.

'Tis joy to be a Ranger,  
To fight for dear Southland,  
'Tis joy to follow WHARTON,  
With his gallant, trusty band;  
'Tis joy to see brave HARRISON  
Plunge like a meteor bright  
Into the thickest of the fray,  
And deal his deathly might.  
Oh! who would not be a Ranger,  
And follow WHARTON's cry,  
To battle for their country,  
And, if needs be, to die!

By the Colorado's waters,  
On the Gulf's deep-murmuring shore,  
On our soft green, peaceful prairies,  
Are homes we may see no more;  
But in those homes our gentle wives  
And mothers with silvery hair,  
Are loving us with tender hearts,  
And shielding us with prayer.  
So trusting in our country's God,  
We draw our stout, good brand,  
For those we love at home,  
Our altars, and our land.

Up, up with the crimson battle flag!  
Let the blue pennon fly!  
Our steeds are tramping proudly—  
They hear the battle cry.  
The thundering bomb, the bugle's call,  
Proclaim the foe is near;  
We strike for God and native land,  
And all we hold most dear.  
Then spring into the saddle,  
And shake the bridle free,  
For WHARTON leads through fire and blood,  
For home and victory.

In explanation of the lines which follow, it must be understood that Major-General Joseph Wheeler, the youngest general in the service, is of a diminutive person, and has been a soldier from his boyhood:—

THE WAR CHILD.

Awake! 'tis the call of the bugle, awake!  
Ho, sergeant! go see to your steed;  
Ere the morning light in the east shall break,  
There'll be many a gallant deed.  
Mount! mount, and away on the toilsome march!  
Our spirits are gay and light;  
Hurrah! hurrah! there is sport ahead,  
For the War Child rides to-night.  
Through the aisles of the forest dark and grand,  
Where the shadows are ever grey,  
Through the tangled paths of the wild woodland,  
We will wind on our silent way;  
And long ere the earliest stars go down,  
We will light us a glorious lamp,  
And will laugh as the hated foe shall wake  
On the flames of his burning camp.  
Ah! the Devil will chuckle with joy full soon,  
For there's blood in the War Child's eye,  
And Death will ride out in the dark of the moon,  
To where the foe slumbering lie;  
And to-morrow a shadow will be on their land,  
And their people will wildly rave,  
For the sleepers whose sleep will be broken to-night  
By the clutch of the hungry grave.



In the front of the fight, in the face of the foe,  
At the rear, 'midst the battle's thander,  
'Tis there that the flash of our swords is seen,  
As we rend their ranks asunder;  
'Tis there that our little chief maketh his home,  
And the enemy ever hath found us;  
'Tis there, where the vault of the sky is our roof,  
And our couches the fern around us.

Then hurrah for our chief, and hurrah for our cause!  
Hurrah for our glorious banner!  
It shall float ere the blossoming of the leaf,  
O'er each vale of our land and savanna!  
Hurrah for the spoils which our coming await!  
For the next who is fated to fall!  
Hurrah! boot and saddle! at last we are off!  
Mount! mount! 'tis the bugler's call.

Tenderer strains than these sometimes steal upon our ear. Half a dozen effusions are before me, among which I am obliged to select, and I give you this, from a Mississippi mother:—

#### MY SOLDIER BOY.

I am dreaming, ever dreaming of a silver-sanded shore,  
Where the blue waves softly murmur as they roll for evermore;  
Where the sunbeams brightly glowing kiss the wavelets as they flow,  
And the scented breeze is sighing where the orange flowers blow;  
'Tis the music of its waters with their cadence low I hear  
As it mingles with the sighing breeze and falls upon my ear;  
And I seem to breathe the odours that are wafted from that shore,  
Where my heart is fondly turning, fondly turning evermore.

When the sunset melts in glory, and the daylight softly dies,  
Till the purple twilight deepens, and o'er all the splendour lies,  
When nor voice nor sound is heard save the whispering of the breeze,  
As evening chants her vespers low among the leafy trees,  
As I watch the golden hues that fade and vanish from my sight,  
Like the hopes and dreams of brighter years when lost in gloomy night,  
More glorious is the sunset fancy pictures on that shore,  
Where my heart is fondly turning, fondly turning evermore.

Do you ask why I am dreaming, ever dreaming of that shore?  
Why the music of its waters seems to haunt me evermore?  
There encamped are Southern heroes, beside that murmuring sea,  
And a soldier-boy among them whose name is dear to me,  
Who with that gallant hero band, in his country's hour of need,  
When danger threatened, at her call, resolved to save or bleed;  
And there, beside that murmuring sea, their white tents dot the shore,  
Where my heart is fondly turning, fondly turning evermore.

When the tranquil earth is dreaming in the soft embrace of night,  
And the quiet stars are keeping holy watch upon each height;  
When angel eyes upon us seem their gentle watch to keep,  
While some are wrapt in slumber light, and some are left to weep;  
When by that camp stand sentinels the solemn midnight round,  
And my soldier-boy is keeping watch or slumbering on the ground,  
I am praying Heaven to guard from ill that silver-sanded shore  
Where my heart is fondly turning, fondly turning evermore.

Having given one specimen of the poetry of our Southern women, I cannot resist the temptation to add another, of an earlier date; for the current of song has been flowing freely from the very commencement of our movement. It was published just after the secession of our State, under the signature of Laura Lorimer, which was already not unfamiliar, but no theme had yet presented itself to stir the songstress to strains of more than mediocre merit:—

#### ALABAMA.

Over vale and over mountain,  
Pealing forth in triumph strong,  
Comes a lofty swell of music—  
ALABAMA'S greeting song.  
In the new-born arch of glory,  
Lo, she burns, the central star!  
Never shame shall blight its grandeur,  
Nor cloud its radiance mar.  
Alabama! Alabama  
Listen, Southrons, to the strain!  
Alabama! Alabama!  
Shout the rallying cry again!

As the Gulf-waves rushing shoreward,  
Break in music-echoes grand,  
Alabama sends this greeting  
Proudly to her sister band;  
This, her ultimatum, burning  
In each heart of Southern flame;  
Peace, if gained not by dishonour,  
But far better war than shame!  
Alabama! Alabama! &c.

Let the Northern Lion, couchant  
On his bleak and frozen plain,  
Lift his shaggy front in wonder,  
And defiant shake his mane.  
Sunward soars the mighty eagle;  
And where blossom brighter bowers  
Than amid the green savannas  
Of this sunny land of ours.  
Alabama! Alabama! &c.  
And her sons will rise in legions;  
Bleed and die at her behest,  
Ere a hostile Northern footstep  
Trample, conqueror, on her breast.  
This the faith she plights her sisters,  
In this glorious Southern band;  
Side by side she will be with them,  
Heart with heart, and hand with hand.  
Alabama! Alabama! &c.

Has not the pledge been nobly redeemed?

I have just found another piece of the earlier days of the war, which I am loath to omit. It is certainly a sketch from reality.

#### THE BOY THAT ENLISTED TO-DAY.

I know the sun shines and the lilacs are blowing,  
And Summer sends kisses by beautiful May;  
Oh! to see all the treasures the Spring is bestowing,  
And think—my boy Willy enlisted to-day.

It seems but a day since at twilight, low humming,  
I rocked him to sleep with his cheek upon mine,  
While Robby, the four-year old, watched for the coming  
Of father, adown the street's indistinct line.

It is many a year since my Harry departed  
To come back no more in twilight or dawn,  
And Robby grew weary of watching, and started  
Alone on the journey his father had gone.

It is many a year; and this afternoon, sitting  
At Robby's old window, I heard the hand play,  
And suddenly ceased, dreaming over my knitting,  
To recollect Willy is twenty to-day;

And that standing beside him this soft May-day morning,  
The sun making gold of his curled cigar-smoke,  
I saw in his sweet eyes and lips a faint warning,  
And choked down the tears when he eagerly spoke:—

"Dear mother, you know how these Northerners are crowding;  
They would trample the rights of the South in the dust;  
The boys are all fire, and they wish I were going—"  
He stopped, but his eyes spoke,—"Oh, say if I must?"

I smiled on the boy, though my heart it seemed breaking;  
My eyes filled with tears, so I turned them away,  
And answered him: "Willy, 'tis well you are waking;  
Go, act as your father would bid you to-day."

I sit in the window and see the flags flying,  
And dreamily list to the roll of the drum;  
And smother the pain in my heart that is lying,  
And bid all the fears in my bosom be dumb.

I shall sit in the window when summer is lying,  
Out o'er the fields, and the honey-bee's hum  
Lulls the rose at the porch from the tremulous sighing,  
And watch for the face of my darling to come.

And if he should fall, his young life he has given  
For Freedom's sweet sake; and for me, I will pray  
Once more with my Harry and Robby in heaven,  
To meet the dear boy that enlisted to-day.

To relax the tension a little more, before returning to a loftier pitch, here is something, the print of which betrays its country origin. This, too, is one of the productions of the early days of the war. The "boys" have not forgotten the lesson:—

#### THE BAYONET'S THE THING.

It's got the blade, and it's got the butt,  
It's got the point, indeed,  
It's got a groove expressly cut  
For letting out the "bleed."  
Your bomb is bound to make a noise,  
Your bullet's good to sing,  
But when it comes to hurting, boys,  
The bayonet's the thing.

You've read in your old story-books,  
That have the tattered lids,  
How Boney smashed the Mamelukes  
Before the Pyramids.

The Pyramids stood bolt upright,  
And stared with all their eyes,—  
They hadn't seen so fine a sight  
In forty centuries.

A mass of mad Saladins,—each  
A whirlwind in a swing,  
Were taught the French of what I teach,  
"The bayonet's the thing."

I tell you, more than battle's crash,  
Or any bolt that flies,  
Your downright cur abhors the flash  
Of independent eyes.

Yet close—tin-kettled for the race,  
He's ready for the spring,  
And if there's aught can reach the case,  
The bayonet's the thing.

My boys, I know your sights are true,  
As all your aims are right;  
I know what visions haunt you through  
The long and anxious night,  
So, when the times of conflict come,  
And find you in the ring,  
In lack of something to send home,  
The bayonet's the thing.

Many of the lays of the war—not to mention the camp-fire ballads—are by actors in the most stirring events; but I am not aware of any piece by a general officer, except the following, by Brigadier-General Jeff Thompson, so celebrated for his exploits in Missouri, and in the gunboat engagement on the Mississippi at Plumb Point. It is said to have been written by him *impromptu* at the request of a lady:—

#### HOME AGAIN!

My dear wife waits my coming,  
My children lisp my name,  
And kind friends bid me welcome  
To my own home again.  
My father's grave lies on the hill,  
My boys sleep in the vale;  
I love each rock and murmuring rill,  
Each mountain, hill, and dale.  
Home again!

I'll suffer hardships, toil, and pain,  
For the good time sure to come;  
I'll battle long that I may gain,  
My freedom and my home.  
I will return, though foes may stand  
Disputing every rod;  
My own dear home, my native land,  
I'll win you yet, by —.  
Home again!

A. J. Requier, Esq., of this city, has recently written a Pindaric Ode to Victory, which, though marred by turgid diction, has some fine passages. I omit it as well as Henry Timrod's "Charleston," because I suppose these pieces must long since have reached you through the *Charleston Courier*, the journals of that blockaded (!) port being, no doubt, regularly forwarded to you *via* Nassau. The following piece is noticeable as the production of a country bard, who has for twenty years, to my knowledge, been inflicting the most wearisome verses upon the public through the columns of the local papers. The present lines were written last summer. I add to them, as a finish to this collection, a recent poem on the same theme now revived, which I found, a few days since, in an inferior Louisiana paper.

#### VICKSBURG.

BY S. NEWTON BERRYHILL.

The thunders of the Northmen's wrath  
Are all converged on thee,  
Thou Mordecai in Haman's path,  
That will not bow the knee.

The rest have fallen, thou alone  
Dost guard our river deep,  
Serenely sitting on thy throne  
Upon the towering steep.

Before thee ride the iron boats  
Which others quaked to see;  
The red volcanoes in their throats,  
No terrors have for thee.

For thou art there to offer up  
Thyself on Freedom's shrine,  
Willing to drink the fiery cup,  
And perish, thou and thine.

Queen City of the Sunny South,  
Baptized with blood and flame!  
Thy praises are in every mouth,  
And millions bless thy name.

Though hell-lit fires of Yankee hate  
Consume each cot and hall,  
Thy streets shall not be desolate,  
Thou shalt not perish all.

We'll make thy sight a holy ground,  
The Mecca of the free;  
Each ruin charred, each shapeless mound  
Shall Freedom's temple be.

And when the loud-mouthed war is dumb,  
And Peace resumes her reign,  
Thy daughters and thy sons shall come,  
And build thy wall again.

More fair and lovely than before  
Thy mansions shall arise;  
Bright flowers shall bloom at every door  
To glad thy children's eyes.

And they whose iron missiles beat  
Thy dwellings down to-day,  
Shall moor their vessels at thy feet,  
And there their tribute pay.



## VICKSBURG.

BY M. B. HAY.

Uplifted on a throne  
Of the cold, white gleaming stone,  
A city stands alone.

Uprising from the tide—  
From the yellow, turbid tide,  
Where the waters sullen glide,  
Where the sunlight of the West  
Streaks the Mississippi's breast  
With its streams of liquid blood,  
And the roaring, angry flood

Sweeps onward to the South—  
To the fragrant, balmy South,  
To its grove-encircled mouth,  
The battlements there stand  
That defend our glorious land—  
Our own, our blood-dyed land.

She sits calm on a rock;  
She awaits the coming shock  
In conscious strength sublime,  
Defying all but Time.

Mark ye her bulwarks well  
That defy the fiendish shell;  
And tell the foemen, tell,  
Of the living rampart, strong  
To withstand their bitter wrong,  
The wall of living hearts—  
Of noble, loving hearts  
At whose name the tear-drop starts.

They have breathed sweet Freedom's air;  
They are strong to will and dare;  
They are strong to do and bear.  
Though cannons' thunders roar,  
Though myriads on her pour,  
Through the smoke and din of war  
She rises still serene;  
And the Sun, with golden beam,  
Fours molten glory o'er  
Scarr'd front and trampled shore;  
On the bloody, turbid tide  
Where blacken'd corpses ride,  
Where dismantled vessels rest  
With white dead upon their breast—  
On their gory, shatter'd breast.

She was shielded from their ire  
With a wall of living fire  
By the just and righteous God,  
Who stretched out His rod  
O'er the toeman in the field—  
The blasted, crimson'd field—  
And o'er her holds His shield.

He will battle with the right,  
And protect her with His might,  
He will triumph o'er the foe,  
Lay her pride and beauty low.  
Chant ye her requiem slow—  
A requiem sad and slow;  
For a nation shall expire  
By Jehovah's holy ire,  
While ascendeth higher, higher,  
The anthem that will be  
Of a new-born nation free.

When to the past's deep urn  
Ye for her treasures turn,  
Tell ye, in words that burn,  
To your children at the knee,  
As ye talk of Liberty,

How VICKSBURG rose in sight  
Mid the fearful, stormy night—  
That bloodstain'd, bitter night—  
And withstood the foe in might.

Let her name be wreathed in flowers,  
In your halls and festive bowers;—  
Be struck from golden lyre,  
Gleam 'mid the poet's fire;—  
On our Southern breezes float  
To the nations far remote,  
With the jasmine's odours borne  
On the pure, white wings of morn,  
Of the blushing, gold-hair'd morn,  
Till they weave her name in song  
With the ancient cities strong,  
That withstood the ancient wrong;  
Till again gleams forth her name  
In the flaming crown of Fame—  
Of burning, blazing Fame.

I will conclude with the following comic verses, which  
are highly approved of in camp:—

RICHMOND A HARD ROAD TO TRAVEL.

Would you like to hear the song, I'm afraid it's rather long,  
Of the famous "On to Richmond" double trouble;  
Of the half-a-dozen slips and half-a-dozen trips,  
And the very latest bursting of the bubble.

'Tis pretty long to sing, and like a round round ring,  
'Tis a dreadful knotty puzzle to unravel,  
Though all the papers swore, when we touched Virginia's shore,  
That Richmond was a hard road to travel.

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel;  
Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel I believe.

First McDowell, bold and gay, set forth the shortest way,  
By Manassas in the pleasant summer weather;  
But he quickly ran, on a Stonewall foolish man,  
And had a "rocky journey" altogether;

And he found it rather hard, to ride old Beauregard,  
And Johnston proved a deuce of a bother,  
And 'twas clear beyond a doubt, that he didn't like the route,  
And a second time would have to try another.

Then pull off your coat and roll up your sleeve,  
For Manassas is a hard road to travel;  
Manassas gave us fits, and Bull Run made us grieve,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel I believe.

Next came the Woolly Horse,\* with an overwhelming force,  
To march down to Richmond by the valley, [showed]  
But he couldn't find the road, and his "onward movements"  
His campaigning was a mere shilly-shally.

Then Commissary Banks, with his motley foreign ranks,  
Kicking up a noise a fuss and a flurry,  
Lost the whole of his supplies, and with tears in his eyes,  
From the Stonewall ran away in a hurry.

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For the valley is a hard road to travel;  
The valley wouldn't do, and we had all to leave,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel I believe.

Then the great Galena came, with her portholes all aflame,  
And the Monitor, the famous naval wonder,  
But the guns at Drury's Bluff, gave them speedily enough.  
The louder sort of reg'lar Rebel thunder.

The Galena was astonished, and the Monitor admonished,  
Our patent shot and shell not to mock at,  
While the dreadful Nangateuck, by the hardest kind of luck,  
Was knocked into an ugly cocked hat.

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For James River was a hard road to travel;  
The gunboats gave it up in terror and despair,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel, I declare.

Then McClellan followed soon, both with spade and balloon,  
To try the Peninsular approaches,  
But one and all agreed, that his best rate of speed  
Was no faster than the slowest of "slow coaches."

Instead of easy ground, at Williamsburg he found  
A Longstreet, indeed, and nothing shorter;  
And it put him in the dumps, that spades wasn't trumps,  
And the Hills he couldn't level "as he orter."

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Longstreet is a hard road to travel;  
Lay down the shovel, and throw away the spade,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel, I'm afraid!

Then said Lincoln unto Pope, "You can make the trip, I hope."  
"I will save the Universal Yankee Nation,  
To make sure of no defeat, I'll leave no lines of retreat,  
And issue a famous proclamation."

But that same dreaded Jackson, this fellow laid his whacks on,  
And made him by compulsion a seceder, †  
And Pope took a rapid flight from Manassas' second fight,  
'Twas his very last appearance as a leader.

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Stonewall is a hard road to travel;  
Pope tried his very best, but was evidently sold,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel, I am told!

Last of all the brave Burnside, with his pontoon bridges tried  
A road no one had thought of before him,  
With 200,000 men for the rebel slaughter-pen,  
And the blessed Union flag a waving o'er him!

But he met a fire like hell, of canister and shell,  
That mowed his men down with great slaughter,  
'Twas a shocking sight to view that second Waterloo,  
As the river ran with more blood than water.

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For the Rappahannock is a hard road to travel;  
Burnside got into a trap, which caused him much to grieve;  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel, I believe.

We are very much perplexed to know who is the next,  
To command the new Richmond Expedition,  
For the Capital must blaze, and that in ninety days,  
And Jeff and his men be sent to Perdition!

We'll take the cursed town, and then we'll burn it down,  
And plunder, and hang up each rebel; [fight—]  
And the Contraband was right, when he told us they would  
"Oh! yes, Massa, they fight like the devil!"

Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel;  
Then pull off your coat, and roll up your sleeve,  
For Richmond is a hard road to travel, I believe!

## FEDERAL OUTRAGES ON CONFEDERATE PRISONERS.

The subjoined letter from the *Jackson Appeal* exposes the inhuman treatment to which the Confederate prisoners captured at Arkansas Post were subjected after falling into the hands of the enemy, and whilst on their way up the Mississippi river:—

(To the Editors of the *Appeal*.)

On Steamer Nebraska, Mississippi River, January, 1863.

In justice to the brave men composing the Texas brigade under my command, which was comprised in General Churchill's division, captured at the Post of Arkansas, on the 11th inst., by General McClellan's grand Mississippi army and flotilla, I deem it my duty to make public the following facts relative to their treatment since the surrender.

According to the cartel of exchange agreed upon last July by the United States' and the Confederate States' Governments, through their commissioners, Generals Dix and Hill, we should have been exchanged or paroled within ten days. This cartel, however, was utterly disregarded, and we were placed upon steamboats and sent up the Mississippi river. My brigade was crowded upon the steamer Nebraska, in a manner entirely inconsistent with the health of the men, to say nothing

\* Fremont,

† Battle of Cedar Run,

of comfort or decency. It consists of the 10th Texas infantry, and the 15th, 17th, and 18th Texas dismounted cavalry. In addition, Captain Alf. Johnston's spy company and a few sailors and marines belonging to the Confederate gunboat Pontchartrain, were also placed on this boat, making between 1,800 and 2,000 prisoners; in addition, six companies of the 24th Iowa (Colonel Clarke) were placed on board as a guard, making altogether probably not less than from 2,300 to 2,500 persons on this boat.

Many of the prisoners were sick, and so much were they crowded that many could not get a place to spread their blankets without being exposed to rain and snow, or else laying them in filth too disgusting to mention, consequently they had to stand or sit, night and day. Under these circumstances, of course sickness increased rapidly. We were kept in this state from the night of January 12th until the 23rd, when the boat getting aground, a good many of the men were removed in order to lighten her.

All the above, however, sinks into absolute insignificance, when compared with the inhuman and malignant act of selecting for our guard a regiment infected with the small pox, and known to be so infected by the officers who ordered it.—Of the companies of the 84th Iowa on the Nebraska, one has now six cases of small-pox. How many cases there may be in the other companies I do not know, but I presume that altogether there are not less than twenty cases among the companies now composing our guard. These sick have been kept in the same cabin with many of the sick prisoners. From the very nature of things, crowded as we have been, it has been utterly impossible to preserve them from exposure to the contagion.

For the conception and execution of this fiendish act Major General Sherman, United States army, commanding a corps of McClellan's grand Vicksburg army, is responsible. I am informed on credible authority that before leaving the Post of Arkansas, it was represented by General Sherman, through the proper channel, that the 34th Iowa had small pox. General Steele, was asked to place it in quarters where the disease might be properly treated. This he not only refused to do, but ordered it to be sent as a guard to the Confederate prisoners.

Inhuman as such conduct is, still it is nothing more than might be expected from a wretch like General Sherman, who told Colonel R. R. Garland, also commanding a Texas brigade, and a prisoner of war, that he (Sherman) would, if he had the power, exterminate every man, woman, and child along the Mississippi river, in case another boat was fired into by the Confederate troops.

Such acts and sentiments as the above ought to hand down to future infamy the name of General Sherman, coupled with that of his brother brute, Butler the Beast.

JAMES DESHLER,  
Colonel C. S. Artillery,  
Commanding Texas Brigade.

## OBITUARY.

In *cælo* quies.

"We know when moons shall wane,  
When summer birds from far shall cross the sea,  
When autumn's hues shall tinge the golden grape;  
But who shall teach us when to look for thee?  
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death!"

Died, near Mobile, April 5th, 1863, after a lingering illness, Major CLAES WESTFELD, aged thirty-four years.

We have become a nation of mourners. Death holds hideous high carnival in every quarter of our once happy country; chill shadows steal over every threshold, settling down at every hearthstone; and it would seem that even his all-grasping appetite would be satiated with the countless billowy graves which fret the quiet green surface of our broad and sunny land; that in this vast harvest of battle fields, where ripe ranks of stalwart men are mercilessly mown down, disease would be content to lay aside her scythe, and, for the present, fold her numbing bands. "The people are stricken; but, like a mute stern Niobe, the nation stands, waiting to give, if need be, the last of her sons.

When invasion threatened the proud old "Mother of Presidents," and Sister States sprang to the rescue, sending thither their bravest and best—their living crowns of chivalry—among the very first whose tramp shook the soil of Virginia marched Alabama's gallant Third. Mobile set many of her noblest jewels there; and in that glittering State diadem no name shone fairer than Lieutenant Westfeldt's, of the Washington Light Infantry.

A native of Sweden, he came in his youth to make his home in our Gulf City; and when the storm of war hung black and lowering along our northern borders,

"He did not wait a suppliant speech to spur his quick intent,  
He did not wait to see our flag the symbol of lament,"

but bade farewell to fond friends, and sprang at the earliest clarion call to defend the liberties he had enjoyed; to make his manly breast a shield for the land of his adoption. After remaining many months in Norfolk with his regiment, he was transferred to the western frontier, endured all the hardships of that memorable campaign to which the bloody seal of Perryville was set, and recently his family and friends were gratified by his promotion to the rank of Major.

Unfortunately, the exposure to inclemencies of war, then, necessarily incident to camp life, gradually impaired his health, and some weeks since a severe illness snatched him from the midst of his duties and consigned him to the tender, loving care of friendly hands. A favourite wherever known, his genial polished manners, finely cultivated intellect, warm, generous, noble heart, and habitual magnanimity, endeared him peculiarly to all who came within the circle of his influence; but a few days ago, surrounded by those he loved, patient through prolonged suffering, voicing no complaint, resigned and firm in Christian faith and hope,

"Sustained and soothed by an unflinching trust,  
Like one that draws the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams,"

he passed serenely from the stormy chequered shores of Time to the still, fair fields of Eternity; to the pearly gates of the Everlasting City of God. Taken away in the glorious prime of manhood, his death has fallen stunningly on warmly-attached friends, and especially upon the devoted young wife, who mourns over the aching void in the darkened home, whence her crown of joy has been borne. Desolation grim and gaunt sits now where happiness was so long enthroned; and as the clinging tendrils of affection are ruthlessly torn bleeding from their idol, the crushed spirit wails,

"O Death in Life! the days that are no more!"

For sorrow such as hers, human sympathy is inadequate; an earthly anchor has drifted away, another link is added to the chain which binds her heart to that heavenly home whither her treasure has been transplanted; but through the infinite mercy of our God, Time bears blessed healing on its wings for stricken human souls.

"We'll know the *de profundis*  
Of her smitten spirit's moan,  
When she cast her groan of sorrow  
Down before the veiled throne.

Veiled in clouds, thick-robed in thunder,  
Seemingly for judgment set;  
Might she not discern the mercy  
Throbbing past the curtain yet?"

The setting of earthly hopes is like that of the sun, leaving coldness and night behind; but after a time the star of memory rises, burns undimmed through all the mists and clouds and fogs of vexed and sorrow-laden time, and among the hallowed names of the departed none will be shined more tenderly in the hearts of comrades and devoted friends than that of Major Westfeldt, the brave soldier and noble-hearted man, whose untimely death has saddened all who knew him.

"Sleep soft, beloved! I sometimes say,  
But have no time to charm away  
Sad dreams that through the eyelids creep,  
But never troubled dream again  
Shall break the happy slumber when  
He giveth his beloved sleep."

A FRIEND.



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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 57.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 28, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	PAGE
America .. .. .	65
England .. .. .	67
Europe .. .. .	67
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter .. .. .	68
Manchester Letter .. .. .	69
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Paris .. .. .	69
Lieutenant-General Jackson .. .. .	69
LEADERS—	
Stonewall Jackson .. .. .	72
The Emperor and the War .. .. .	72
The War in the East and West .. .. .	73
Another "Indecisive" Victory .. .. .	73
Quem Deus Vult Perdere .. .. .	74
A Short Sketch of Lieut.-General Stonewall Jackson, C.S.A. .. .. .	75
A Reminiscence of Stonewall Jackson .. .. .	76
The Derby Day .. .. .	76
A Second "Uncle Tom's Cabin" .. .. .	77
Letter to the Editor .. .. .	77
A Southern Reply to "Historicus" .. .. .	78

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

STONEWALL JACKSON died on the 9th inst., and was buried on the 12th. Loud, indeed, must have been the voice of lamentation in the Confederate States. How dearly he was loved, we may judge from the profound sorrow with which Europe heard of his death. If we mourn for him, what must be the mourning of his compatriots? Whilst he lived he was the pride of his country, and when he died all the people of the South paid sorrowful homage to his memory. His marvellous success, his unostentatious heroism, his zealous discharge of duty, and his unfeigned piety have endeared him to all those who can appreciate genius and virtue. We have in General Lee's order of the 11th, evidence of the universal regret:—

"With deep grief the Commanding General announces to the army the death of Lieut.-General Jackson, who expired on the 9th, at 3.15 p.m. The daring skill and energy of this great and good soldier, by a decree of an all-wise Providence, are now lost to us. But while we mourn his death we feel that his spirit lives, and will inspire the whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God as our hope and strength.

"Let his name be a watchword for his corps, who have followed him to victory on so many fields. Let officers and soldiers imitate his invincible determination to do everything in the defence of our beloved country. (Signed) "R. E. LEE."

Still more touching is the private letter written by General Lee to General Jackson, when he learnt that he was wounded. "I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. If I could have directed events I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead. I congratulate you upon the victory, which is due to your skill and energy." For an instant the strong man, the commander, who is never unduly elated by victory, and never depressed by difficulty and danger, forgot his fortitude in an outburst of passionate regret, because his comrade was wounded. What must he have felt when he heard that his gallant friend was no more?

But the inexpressible sorrow evoked by the death of this noble son of the South is not a selfish sorrow as the partisans of the North suggest. If Stonewall Jackson had lived, he would, indeed, have rendered his country priceless services, but in one sense it seems to us his work was done. Clouds and darkness rest upon

the future, and we know not how long it may be before the South enjoys the blessings of peace, or what further sacrifices she may have to make for liberty, and in defence of life and home; but the crisis has long since passed away. Stonewall Jackson could see the promised land into which he was not destined to enter. He did his part in fashioning Confederate valour to resist Northern aggression. When at the outset the Northern foe came unawares, he was foremost in the gap to drive him back, and his last earthly thought was for his country, and the sacred cause for which he was dying. We are told that his dying request was that General Ewell might be assigned the command of his corps. The good he did lives after him; the lessons he taught will not be forgotten. In the South there is no lack of brave gentlemen worthy to lead patriotic soldiers against the invader, and the immortal memory of Stonewall Jackson will nerve every Southern arm to fresh efforts. It has been said that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, and assuredly it is not less true that the patriot soldier does not offer up his life in vain. In the long, long roll of illustrious dead the name of Stonewall Jackson will be conspicuous. His deeds will be the inspiring theme of Southern song, and will form a glorious episode in the history of the Great War of Independence.

We have elsewhere commented on the life and death of Stonewall Jackson, and we have also placed on record the graceful tribute of the English press to his memory. Never was any man more feared by the enemies of his country—and those excepted, never was any man more universally venerated and respected both at home and abroad. Stonewall Jackson was scarcely more loved in the Confederate States than he was in Europe. We beg in this place to acknowledge the numerous communications with which we have been favoured. One correspondent tenders a subscription towards the erection of a monument to Stonewall Jackson, and others in various ways testify their respect and sorrow. Such expressions of earnest sympathy, coming as they do from all classes, are not only honourable to the memory of the brave Christian warrior, but they reflect the highest honour upon England. Indeed, the feeling manifested in this country at the sad event, a feeling deeper and more universal than has ever been elicited by the death of a stranger, testifies to the strength and earnestness of British sympathies for the Confederate cause, and forms an enduring tie between two nations whom political imbecility has in vain sought to alienate.

On the 30th of April General Hooker issued an order in which he said, "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the Commanding General announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defences, and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." General Hooker also announced that the "rebel" army had become the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac.

On the 2nd of May there was a battle. Hooker, who had been at so much pains to outflank his enemy, was himself outflanked. His right wing, furiously attacked, gave way, fled in disorder, and that night the Federal lines had to be contracted. On the 3rd of May the Confederates did not "ingloriously fly," but again gave the invading army battle. A bloody conflict ensued. After conflict the Federals were forced back towards the Rappahannock; and that night the Confederate occupied the ground that had been held by the Federals in the morning.

We may here give General Lee's official despatch to President Davis, in which he notifies the battles of Saturday and Sunday, and their results:—

Milford, May 3.

Yesterday General Jackson penetrated to the rear of the enemy, and drove him from all his positions from the Wilderness, to within one mile of Chancellorsville.

He was engaged at the same time in front by two of Longstreet's divisions.

Many prisoners were taken, and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is large.

This morning the battle was renewed.

He was dislodged from all his positions around Chancellorsville, and driven back towards the Rappahannock, over which he is now retreating.

We have again to thank Almighty God for a great victory.

I regret to say that General Paxton was killed; General Jackson severely, and Generals Heth and A. P. Hill slightly wounded.

R. E. LEE, General Commanding.

On Monday the 4th of May there was a short action, or rather a skirmish, which resulted in General Hooker's forces retreating behind their entrenched lines.

And now for a moment let us look to the other operations of Hooker's forces. The Federal commander had divided his army into four parts. A small body remained at Falmouth; a corps of cavalry, about 3,000 strong, under General Stoneman, was despatched to cut off the railway communication that was to bring reinforcements to General Lee; a third part, under General Sedgwick, was to cross the Rappahannock, near Fredericksburg, occupy the city and heights of Fredericksburg, and to join the main army; the fourth part, which was the bulk of the Federal army, was with Hooker. To outflank an enemy is a manoeuvre that all commanders essay if they have a fair opportunity, and the object of it is that the enemy's forces may be cut in two by a flank attack. Hooker, not contented with outflanking, desired also to surround his enemy, and so he placed himself in the situation of a general successfully outflanked—that is, the Confederates were between two divisions of his army; the reserve at Falmouth was too small and distant for a reinforcement, and the cavalry under Stoneman could render no assistance in the battles that ensued. The move was left to General Lee. He could turn either on Hooker's or Sedgwick's division. He first dealt with the main body, and so defeated it as to increase the distance between it and Sedgwick's division, and to render any mutual support impossible, no matter what the emergency. In pursuance of this plan, the Federals under Sedgwick were allowed to occupy part of the heights of Fredericksburg. The rest has been already set forth in our columns. On Monday the 4th of May, the reinforcements brought up to General Lee were sent against Sedgwick's division, and after some hours' fighting it had to retreat across the Rappahannock, with a loss of not less than 6,000 men.

Stoneman's expedition succeeded in destroying a large quantity of Confederate stores and damaging the railroads at several points. It was conducted with spirit and intelligence, and merits the commendations that have been bestowed upon it by the Northern journals. But it did not achieve the object for which it was planned. It did not isolate General Lee, for he received his reinforcements and supplies as regularly and as rapidly as though Stoneman's expedition had not been undertaken. Ultimately General Stoneman retreated to Falmouth, with a loss of only fifty men.

Thus Hooker's plans had been completely frustrated. He had fallen into the net he had laid for his enemy. He was surrounded, and his communications were threatened. Sedgwick's division that was to have joined him, had been disastrously beaten and driven across the Rappahannock. Stoneman's cavalry had not prevented General Lee being reinforced. The Confederates had not fled "ingloriously." They had fought, but instead of the "certain destruction" with which they had been threatened, they defeated the main body of the Federals under General Hooker, in two



successive and sanguinary battles. Hooker bowed to necessity. He could not go on to Richmond, but he could save his decimated and exhausted army. His position was critical. Retreat is always depressing to an army, and doubly so to an invading army. No one can blame Hooker for endeavouring to reassure his troops and simultaneously impress upon them the necessity of the retrogressive movement. He hit upon an excellent device. He reported that the river was rising so rapidly as to endanger the pontoon bridges—the bridges have not been injured, and therefore we now understand, as must the Northern soldiers, that this was a mere excuse. It answered, however, for the emergency.

At 10 o'clock, on the night of Tuesday, the 5th of May, General Hooker was in full retreat. The bridges were covered with pine branches to deaden the sound of the passage, and every possible precaution was taken to conceal it from the enemy. The tents, some of the baggage, and a part of the artillery and stores, were abandoned. Certain it is the wounded were left behind, surrounded by the unburied dead; but Hooker does not think the circumstance worthy of comment. It is a trait of civilized, nay, even of savage warfare, to be anxious about the sepulture of the dead, but assuming that Hooker is superior to any human weakness about the burial of his slain, and that he philosophically thinks they may as well rot on the ground as under the ground, what shall we say to the abandonment of the wounded? Hooker relies upon the generosity of the Confederates, who, in the hospital, make in kindly attention no distinction between friend and foe. Did Hooker not reflect that his Government had done what it could to cripple the medical resources of the South, by making medicines contraband of war? Did he not reflect that though once in hospital the wounded Yankee fared as well as the wounded Confederate, that the Confederate sufferers are first received and seen to; and that, therefore, a terrible while must elapse before the wounded Federals could be cared for? Perhaps he did so reflect but of what avail was his regret? He had heard the screams of his wounded soldiers, who had been burnt to death in the woods, and he could give them no assistance. Now, he must forsake the rest of his wounded, for his speedy retreat was urgent. And so he left them to their fate, and stole back by night to his head-quarters at Falmouth.

Here we would, if we could, conclude our comments upon this sanguinary campaign, by stating that General Lee, on the 7th inst., published an address to his army, in which he compliments the officers and men upon their heroic conduct, and reminds them "that they are more especially bound to return thanks to the Almighty as the only Giver of victory." But we have before us the statement of the Federal Government and the address of General Hooker, and we cannot pass them without a protest. Defeat can never dishonour the Federal cause as do these documents.

A correspondent of the *New York Herald*, writing from Falmouth, on May 6, sums up the result of the campaign. He says, "As the case stands, the facts resolve themselves into three propositions and three conclusions:—1st, We started to find the enemy, and we found him. 2nd, We started to whip the enemy, and we did not whip him. 3rd, We started to remain away, and we have come back again." This is the testimony of a friendly witness—the facts are really much stronger. Hooker was in command because he had derided his predecessors, and made the Government believe that he was the man to take Richmond. After months of preparation—during which the Northern public were impatient for him to redeem his promise—he crossed the Rappahannock. The arrogance of Pope was humility itself compared to the pretension and assurance of Hooker. He publicly declared that the Confederate army had only one of two alternatives—to flee ingloriously, or to fight with a certainty of destruction; and he further announced that the "rebel" army was the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac. In less than a week he was again at Falmouth, after being disastrously defeated, losing from 25,000 to 30,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing; leaving behind him his dead unburied, and forsaking his wounded. Was ever discomfiture more complete? Yet on the 8th May, Mr. Stanton, the Federal Secretary of War, informed the Governor of Pennsylvania that "The principal operations of General Hooker failed, but there has been no serious disaster to the organization and efficiency of the army;" and that the army had "recrossed the river without any loss in the movement." Not a word is said about the defeat, not a word about the killed and wounded. Still more astounding is the address of General Hooker. He congratulates his army on its achievements. He says, "They withdrew to the south bank of the Rappahannock before delivering a great battle;" and that, "On our withdrawal not a rebel dared to follow us. The events of the last week may well cause the heart of every officer and soldier of the army

to swell with pride. We have added new laurels to our former renown." Is not this madness? Does he think his soldiers forget the rout of the 2nd May, the hard-fought battle and the retreat of the 3rd May? Does he think his soldiers forget the flight by night, and the bridges strewn with pine branches? Does he expect to restore the dead to those who mourn for them, to heal the wounded and to make the crippled whole, by calling defeat victory? Well may the *New York World* say that no one can read the orders of General Lee and of General Hooker without grief, pain, and shame at the boastful and false assertions of the Federal commander; and that the Lincoln Government, "who are ruling and ruining us, cannot save our honour."

In order to divert the public mind it was reported in Washington and New York that General Keyes had occupied West Point on York River, and had captured Richmond! Having enjoyed the excitement of the imaginary capture of the Confederate capital for about twenty-four hours the bubble burst so far as Richmond was concerned, though at the despatch of the last mail (per Europa) it was maintained that the Federals were in possession of West Point. If so, with the force that the Confederates now have at command we should think that General Keyes must be in some jeopardy.

The accounts of the late losses in the battles in Virginia differ considerably. The *New York Herald* of May 9th estimates the loss of the Confederates at from 15,000 to 20,000 killed and wounded. If this was the loss of the victors and the smaller army, what must have been the loss of the Federal army, which was larger and was defeated? The same journal estimates the Federal loss in killed, wounded, and missing in the battles of the 2nd and 3rd of May at 12,000; and it is not denied that the loss in Sedgwick's corps was 6,000. The *Richmond Enquirer* considers Chancellorsville the most desperate battle of the war, and estimates the Confederate loss at 8,000 to 10,000, and the Federal loss at 25,000 to 30,000, including 8,000 prisoners.

The Federals say they captured eight pieces of artillery from the Confederates. On the other hand, the Southern journals state that the Confederates captured thirty pieces of artillery.

We have conflicting reports of the movements of General Grant. There is a rumour of a battle fought on the 4th, about ten miles from Jackson, in which both sides claim the victory. It was, however, admitted that, in consequence of reinforcements being sent from Charleston and Mobile General Grant fell back. We are, therefore, not disposed to place much reliance on the rumour that Jackson has since then been surrounded by the Federals.

The attack of gunboats on Haines' Bluff was repulsed. We are told that the Choctaw was much damaged, her turrets being penetrated; and that the Federal loss was eighty killed and wounded. This number of casualties implies a serious disaster, if we may judge from the losses sustained in other gunboat engagements.

The raid of Colonel Straight's Federal cavalry in Alabama and Georgia has come to an end. General Bragg captured the entire force—1600—at Rome, Georgia.

It is reported that General Van Dorn has been shot in a private altercation.

Mr. Vallandigham has been tried before a military commission at Cincinnati. His protest against the legality of the Court was not heeded; and his demand that Fernando Wood should be compelled to produce a letter that affected his case, was refused. An attempt to procure Mr. Vallandigham's release by *habeas corpus* was unsuccessful. We need hardly add that he was found guilty. The Court sentenced him to two years' imprisonment, at a penal settlement on the coast of Florida; but it is understood that Mr. Lincoln changed the sentence into an order to send him beyond the Federal lines. This is a curious punishment. If Mr. Vallandigham is a Southerner he cannot but be glad to find himself amongst friends; if he is a Unionist his sentence is unjust.

The treatment of Mr. Vallandigham has caused some excitement in Corinth, and the military were ordered to be in readiness to repress an outbreak. The *New York Democratic Association* has denounced the arrest, and the *New York Herald* has condemned it as a gross wrong to individual rights.

The editor of a Democratic paper, published at Plymouth, Indiana, was arrested by a detachment of soldiers, by order of General Haskall. The offender, it seems, had called General Haskall a "donkey." Democratic editors should remember that it is not every Dogberry who likes to be written down an ass. Truth, when

spoken about Mr. Lincoln's pet generals is undoubtedly a libel.

It is said that in the case of the prize vessel *Springbok*, "the Judge of the New York District Court has decided that where a vessel is suspected of carrying contraband goods, even if she had not attempted to run the blockade, her cargo may be examined to determine whether it is contraband or not." If this be a fair summary of the judgment it is totally opposed to the law of nations. It is the unlawful destination of a vessel that is essential to condemnation. No cargo is contraband unless the unlawful destination of the vessel is proved.

The trial of the *Peterhoff* has been postponed. To make the proceedings as slow and tedious as possible is part of the system.

The British steamer *Cherokee* has been captured off Charleston, and the schooner *Wanderer* off Wilmington. The prize steamer *Nicholas* has been condemned.

The price of gold in New York on May 14, was 49½ premium.

## THE LATEST NEWS.

The following are telegraphic summaries of the news brought by the Norwegian:—

NEW YORK, May 15.

General Hooker has had long interviews with the President at Washington. Nothing is positively known of the nature of the conference. Many rumours are afloat of his superseding or resignation. It is generally believed, however, that he will be retained in command, and conduct another advance.

It is stated that some members of the Cabinet have urged the recall of General McClellan, but have been overruled by the opposition of the leading Republican and Abolitionist members of Congress.

Yesterday General Sickles was closeted two hours with the President, but neither the purport nor the result of the consultation is known.

News from the South-West continues conflicting and incoherent.

There are rumours that a great battle was fought at Vicksburg, in which the land and naval forces were engaged, but no result is stated; also that Port Hudson was being evacuated. Neither of these rumours is traceable to any trustworthy source.

The latest authentic intelligence from Grant's army states that it was encamped near Big Black River, eighteen miles from Grand Gulf.

The *New York Evening Post* states that differences of opinion between high officials as to the conduct of General Hooker and the affair of the *Peterhoff* prevail to such an extent as to interrupt the previous harmony of the Cabinet.

The truth of the reported engagement with General Grant, near Jackson, is doubted. At last accounts General Grant was encamped near Black River, eighteen miles from Grand Gulf, awaiting reinforcements.

The Government has forbidden the exportation of horses, mules, or war material.

General McClellan denies that he has tendered his resignation.

The correspondent of the *New York World* says:—

"There are indications that General Lee's army is taking up a line of defence that shortens its rear and affords protection to both railroads running out of Richmond. The army is believed to be swinging round its left on the Gordonsville and Richmond road to Frederick's-hall Station, with its right resting on the Fredericksburg and Richmond railroad at Bowling Green, thus protecting the upper end of the angle formed by those two roads at Hanover Junction, sixteen miles from Richmond. The position thus assumed places the Confederate army half-way between Fredericksburg and Richmond, and gives them two railroads from Richmond to their army. The two bridges of any length on the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad are across the North Anna and South Anna rivers, which form the Pamunkey River several miles south of the railroad. It was supposed General Stoneman had destroyed these bridges, but this was not the case. A bridge across the Pamunkey was burnt, but that was crossed by no railway. The bridges across the Anna rivers, on account of some mismanagement, were not destroyed. Trains are now running upon the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad with such facility as to bring the Richmond papers to Fredericksburg on the day of their publication."

General Thomas Francis Meagher has resigned the command of the Irish Brigade. He says that the brigade no longer exists. The assault against Fredericksburg in December last reduced the brigade to something less than a *minimum* regiment of infantry. General Meagher states that he has in vain memorialized the War Department that the brigade should be temporarily relieved from duty, to give it time and opportunity to renew itself. That memorial was never acknowledged. General Meagher accompanied his brigade through the late operations at Chancellorsville, though he felt it was to a sacrifice rather than to a victory that he was going. His command, which was a mere handful, did its duty. To remain in command of the remnant of the brigade would be a public deception, in which the military reputation of a brave race would be involved. General Meagher, however, places his services at the disposal of the Government in any capacity they may appoint.

It is reported from Newbern that the Confederates refuse to receive disloyal citizens sent out of the Federal lines by General Porter, unless they can give security for their ability to take care of themselves.

Southern papers say that the siege of Suffolk, which was kept up three or four weeks, enabled General Longstreet to gather up, besides large quantities of corn, over 1,500,000 lb. of bacon.

A captain of a New York regiment has been dismissed the Federal service for violating the sovereignty of a friendly State in arresting a deserter and bringing him away from within the boundaries of Canada. The deserter has also been discharged from the Federal service.

It is reported that the sailing line-of-battle ships of the Federal navy are to be examined, and those which are found sound converted into steamers.



The *New York Tribune* asserts that General Sigel has returned from Washington, having been refused a command by General Halleck.

A call has been issued by the Fernando Wood adherents of the Mozart Democracy for a peace meeting to be held at New York in June. The efforts of the Administration to restore union by force of arms are declared to have failed. Union cannot be restored by mere brute force, therefore the vigorous prosecution of peace is now urgent, and while no national dismemberment or terms not justified by every principle of honour will be submitted to, yet the parties issuing the call will go very far in a spirit of conciliation and concession to restore the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is.

Great preparations are making for a meeting of all the Loyal Leagues in New York State, to be held at Utica on the 27th inst. This meeting will urge the vigorous prosecution of the war, and arrangements have been made that all the soldiers returned from the war shall be present.

The Supreme Court of the district of Columbia has decided that no slave can be arrested and returned to a disloyal master.

The property of the late Mayor of Washington, Charles Hallach, has been confiscated, and it is stated that the property of Mr. Corcoran, formerly a Washington banker, and now in France, will meet the same fate.

The Mayor and Common Council of Washington have arrived at New York, and presented a series of complimentary resolutions to General McClellan.

The United States Circuit Court at Cincinnati has not yet decided whether it will grant Vallandigham an application for a writ of *habeas corpus*.

General Burnside has sent a protest to the court, saying it is his duty to stop licence and intemperate discussions, which tend to weaken the authority of the Government and the army. These are his reasons for arresting Vallandigham, and for issuing order No. 38. In enforcing this order he says he can be unanimously sustained by the people or opposed by factious bad men. In the former event quietness will prevail, in the latter event the responsibility of retribution will attach to the men who resist the authority and to the neighbourhoods that allow it.

Mr. Vallandigham's counsel, in urging a grant of *habeas corpus*, declared General Burnside's protest to be a political speech from a gentleman carrying a sword and wearing epaulettes. He denied the authority of a military commission, and declared it to be the duty of the Court to grant the writ.

#### EVENING.

General Hooker has visited Washington, and returned to the Rappahannock, where all is reported quiet.

Mosby's Confederate cavalry have made a foraging expedition in the Shenandoah Valley, and are moving towards Leesburg.

All is quiet at Suffolk and West Point. General Grant is endeavouring to cut the railroad between Jackson and Vicksburg. The reports of that General having fought any battles is untrue.

An unreliable rumour has reached Murfreesborough, that a battle had been fought between the land and naval forces at Vicksburg, the result of which was unknown.

Port Hudson is said to be garrisoned by a very small force, with heavy artillery.

It is reported from Southern sources that General Kirby Smith, with 10,000 men, had defeated General Banks and driven him from Washington, Louisiana. This report is considered doubtful.

Ten Federal negro regiments have been organised at Memphis, and ten more are in course of organization.

The Richmond papers state that the Federals were unusually active at Charleston.

General Jackson's funeral took place at Richmond on the 12th, with great demonstrations of sorrow and respect. The *Richmond Whig* says that since the death of Washington no similar event has so profoundly and sorrowfully impressed the people of Virginia as General Jackson's death.

The leading Republican journals unite with the Democratic organs in condemning General Burnside's action in Mr. Vallandigham's case.

Several steamers have arrived at Charleston from Nassau, and several due at Charleston are missing. The steamers Basha and Pet arrived at Wilmington on the 13th inst.

May 16, Evening.

The impression gains ground that General Lee intends to make an early offensive movement. Rumours are current that General Beauregard has arrived in Richmond with reinforcements.

The Federals are throwing up intrenchments across West Point from the Mattaponi to the Pamunkey rivers.

Early important changes in the Federal Cabinet and among the army commanders are expected.

The Court of Cincinnati has refused to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* in Mr. Vallandigham's case.

Money abundant. Gold 50 per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

THERE is again a diminution in the pauperism of the manufacturing districts; the returns of the Poor Law Board for last week showing about 4,800 fewer than the week before in receipt of parochial relief. At the same time we hear but of a few mills re-opened, and we do not learn that any progress has been made with the Government scheme for the employment of the able-bodied operatives out of work. Emigration is still the favourite resource of the people. And no doubt, for those who have the opportunity to go, the spirit to encounter the painful toil of making for themselves a home in a new country, and the strength of body and dexterity of hand which will there be required, emigration is the best possible course. In the British Colonies no thrifty and industrious man, who is fit for colonial life, need fear that he will permanently remain poor; comfort and competence are there within the reach of all classes; and though a colonial existence, at the best, involves many drawbacks and privations, even to the working-men of this country—and especially to the better sort of working-men—there can be no doubt that it is, on the whole, preferable to any which they may reasonably hope to enjoy in England. But emigration can, at best, be only

a limited resource, and can do little to affect the condition of the great mass who must be left at home. And the factory operatives—especially the spinners and weavers, who form the vast majority—are very ill-fitted for a colonial life. They are intelligent and quick-witted, it is true. But they are trained only to a single kind of indoor labour, requiring rather dexterity and close attention than bodily vigour or robust health; to proficiency in this single pursuit they have sacrificed everything besides; they will find nothing of this kind to do in a colony, and they will be less handy at colonial work than most classes of people in any rank. The men will be, at first, very bad shepherds, farm labourers, or squatters; the women will be exceedingly inapt at those household makeshifts which are essential to the comfort or tolerability of life in the bush. Even at home they are notoriously bad housewives; how will they fare in New South Wales, Upper Canada, or Natal? We fear that greater hardships and slower success than they expect await the emigrants; we are somewhat anxious for their fate, and very uneasy for the fortunes of a community which is thus wasting, by the policy of Government and the necessity of its condition, the very *élite* of its skilled labourers.

The Volunteers have had a little sham fight at Southend, on Whit Monday; five gunboats landing a force of Royal Marines to attack about 1,000 Volunteers posted in defence of the town. The attack and defence were carried on with skill and spirit. The only fault found by Colonel M'Murdo, who commanded the Volunteers, was that the skirmishers retired somewhat too hastily. We hardly think, however, that much need be said on this point, as it is precisely the fault which they are least likely to commit if—which may God forbid!—they should ever find themselves in front of a real enemy.

The Anti-Slavery Society has held its usual annual meeting, and congratulated itself and Providence on the approaching abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies, and on the recognition of Hayti and Liberia. We wonder that no one suggested that the quarrel between England and the slaveholding empire of Brazil, and the insurrection of the negroes in St. Vincent, were equally proper subjects for gratulation. Mr. C. Buxton expressed his satisfaction that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation had not led, as he expected, to servile war, incendiarism, and massacre, and drew from the forbearance of the Southern negroes under such provocation to revolt the inference that they were good, gentle, and wise enough to be trusted with liberty. A fairer inference would have been that they did not see that they had any cause of revolt; and that, finding themselves well off and well treated in servitude, they were hardly disposed to cut the throats of white women and children, for the gratification of men who murder negroes in the streets of their cities in the mere wantonness of their hatred for the race, and among whom the black man is treated as a slave—a humble dependent in equity, a valuable chattel in law—but as a noxious brute, to be exterminated if possible, and if not, to be treated with all possible contumely, and kept in the lowest abasement and misery. The forbearance of the slaves testifies either to the excellence of the system under which they live at the South, or to their utter distrust of the liberty offered to them by the North. But whatever the cause which frustrated the intent of the proclamation, there can be no doubt whatever as to the purpose with which it was issued. The hope of spreading ruin and massacre throughout the Confederate States was avowed by the abolitionists: they gloated over and gloried in the prospect; and their guilt is none the less because it pleased Heaven that the monstrous crime they contemplated should remain unconsummated.

Mr. Buxton and his elder brother both expressed a strong opinion that the result of the present war would be the emancipation of the slaves. We see no cause to entertain any such view. But we can hardly doubt that, when the South is clear of the Union, many of the worst features of the present system, regretted and countenanced by the leading upholders of that system as a whole, will be mitigated and corrected. Much harshness has been caused, and all reforms have been utterly prevented, during the last thirty years, by the frenzied rancour of Northern abolitionism. It is not while an enemy is thundering at the gate that any man betakes himself to set his house in order.

A monster meeting, at which 10,000 men are said to have been present, was held at Sheffield on Tuesday, in the open air, to consider the advisability of memorializing Government to interpose its good offices between the Northern and Southern States, with a view to a suspension of hostilities. This is, beyond all comparison, the most

numerous and important meeting yet held in this country upon any question concerning the American War. The Mayor of Sheffield took the chair. A certain number of violent Abolitionists kept up a continued series of efforts to interrupt the proceedings, but without success. Mr. Roebuck addressed to the meeting a characteristic and most energetic speech in favour of the immediate recognition of the Confederate States, urging that they had made good their independence, had "conquered the North," and that the best portion of the Northern people would be thankful for our interposition. He pointed out that the condition of the slave in the South was a happier one than that of the free black man in the North, and that sudden Emancipation would not improve that condition. He urged that we should interpose in the interest of the slave himself. By assisting the North we might abolish slavery; but at the same time we should abolish the slaves. He avowed his sympathy with the South, and his profound disbelief in the change of Northern success. He remarked that though the mercantile and contractor classes of New York grew rich by the war, the agricultural classes of the Western States suffered by it—gave their blood and their property to sustain it—and therefore wished it at an end. He concluded by an earnest recommendation to the meeting to petition for the recognition of the Confederate States.

The Rev. J. P. Hopps moved, and Mr. Beal seconded, the following resolution:—

That in the opinion of this Meeting the Government of this country would act wisely, both for the interests of England and those of the world, were they immediately to enter into negotiations with the great Powers of Europe, for the purpose of obtaining the acknowledgment by them of the independence of the Confederate States of North America.

The Rev. J. Guttridge (Wesleyan Free Church) moved and Mr. Clegg seconded, the following amendment:—

That this Meeting records its high admiration of the honourable neutrality hitherto maintained by the Government in relation to the dreadful civil war now raging on the American Continent, and earnestly hopes that the same policy of non-intervention will be pursued in future.

Mr. Hopps's resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

So the Federalist party have been beaten with their own weapons, and on their own ground.

#### EUROPE.

The remarkable apathy with which the elections to the Chamber of Deputies were received was a long time unexplained. Nothing, perhaps, has contributed more to this result than the candidature of M. Thiers, and the opposition which the Government directs against his pretensions. It was thought at first that the Government would not oppose the illustrious historian, who has done so much to establish the *culte* of the Empire in the French heart, but the impression did not last long. The organs of the Ministry of the Interior at once commenced a vigorous assault upon M. Thiers and the coalition to which he had acceded, one of the most effective of these attacks being the quotation of a despatch from the Ministry of the Interior of 1848, signed by M. Jules Favre, and addressed to M. Emile Ollivier, both candidates with M. Thiers for Paris, in the opposition interest, to the effect that "the candidature of M. Thiers (in the *Branches du Rhône*) must be combated by all possible means, and the Government expects you will make the greatest efforts to defeat it." M. de Persigny himself has entered the field against M. Thiers, in a letter to the Prefect of the Seine, in which he declares that M. Thiers has associated himself with the enemies of the Empire, and seeks the re-establishment of a *regime fatal* to France. It is generally supposed that, despite these efforts of the Government, M. Thiers will be elected, and it is probable that the opposition, although it will generally be unsuccessful, will return to the new assembly most of the eminent men who have hitherto maintained towards the Empire the policy of abstention. Nearly all the celebrities of the Constitutional monarchy or the republic are included in the list of opposition candidates. The elections to take place on Sunday and Monday.

Madame de Lamartine is dead. Her distinguished husband has long been ill; he has had strength enough, however, to protest against an attempt made by M. Emile de Girardin, the editor of the *Presse*, to relieve him from his embarrassments by a public subscription.

A week after the French elections Belgium will have to elect a portion of the members of both houses of the Legislature. The struggle, as in former elections, is between the Liberals and the *parti prêtre*, and the fight is consequently sure to be a hard and bitter one. At present the Liberals have the majority, and they are using it to carry measures which, however excellent in themselves, irritate the Catholic clergy extremely.



The *Journal de St. Petersburg* publishes despatches from the Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese Governments upon the Polish question, with the replies of Prince Gortschakoff. Their contents are in no degree interesting. All the states of Europe, with the exception of Prussia and the minor German powers, of Belgium and Switzerland, whose guaranteed neutrality forbids interference in such a question, have now addressed the Russian Government upon behalf of Poland. Hitherto, they have taken very little by their motion, and we cannot expect more favourable results from the note which Earl Russell has just despatched to St. Petersburg. It is stated upon good authority that the noble Earl has actually made the demand for an armistice, the report of which we described last week as incredible. We need not repeat the judgment we then passed. The friendly intervention of England is at an end. Russia cannot grant the armistice, and Earl Russell cannot retrace his steps, and having demanded a recognition of Polish independence appeal to the benevolence of the Czar for administrative reforms. The English Government will have to abandon the Poles, or draw the sword for them. The rumours of a Congress acquire some consistency. Russia and Austria are both, it is stated, willing to take part in one upon condition that England and France make a preliminary declaration that they do not ask to disturb the possession of Poland. Another rumour, with some claims to credence, is that the French Government has combined the suggestions of England and Austria in one proposition, to which both Powers have given their assent. It has asked the Russian Government to grant the Poles administrative autonomy, a national representation, the adoption of Polish as the official language, a full amnesty, and at the same time to assent to an armistice—or rather to grant one, that the insurgents may be informed of the concessions offered them. The inducement to the Russian acceptance of such terms being, of course, the promise that if the insurgents refuse them, the three Powers will leave them to their fate.

Reports of sanguinary engagements are, this week, plentiful. As far as the telegrams enable us to judge, the Russians continue to have the best of the fighting. On the other hand, the insurgents are making desperate efforts to extend the area of the rebellion, and apparently with some success, although the statements of general risings in Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, and the Ukraine, the authenticity of which we last week questioned, are not corroborated. There are, however, by the avowal of the Russians themselves, small bands of insurgents in all these Governments, and we may expect that so long as the Poles retain any hope of European intervention, there will be some guerilla warfare in every province of the Russian Empire in which there is a large Polish population. The National Government seems resolved to make a great effort. It has ordered a national rising for the 1st of June in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia; and an order from Colonel Taczanowski, the chief of the insurrection in the Palatinate of Kalisz, shows us how the insurrection is to be organised. There is to be a conscription, and severe penalties are threatened against all those who seek to avoid it. The truth is that the leaders of the insurrection have constant resort to terrorism; they know that the peasants are not at heart with them, and they make no scruple about the means of compelling them to lend their aid. When the history of this sad war comes to be told impartially, it will be found that the atrocities committed in it have not been all on one side. The Russians tell some horrible stories of the outrages committed by the insurgents, and the organs of the Poles admit that the insurgent leaders hang or shoot without any scruple all persons who lend the Russians any aid. They call Poles who side with Russia traitors and spies, and deal with them accordingly. The boldness with which the National Government acts, as it were, under the very eyes of the Russian generals, is astounding. It issues its decrees, replies to every proclamation of the Russians with another, threatens all persons who presume to treat the Russian as the established Government, and chiefly by threats of assassination has almost as much power in Warsaw as General Von Berg. The Russian Government, on its part, has published a decree dismissing some functionaries—how many does not appear—who have aided the disturbers of public order.

To the organized rising of the National Government, the Russian Government opposes an organized rising of a far more serious character. It is organizing the peasants into bands, and placing in their hands the preservation of order, that the military may be concentrated upon the rebel detachments. These preservers of "order" will make short work of the Polish gentlemen and their families; and if the war should last much longer, and

this organization come into general working, there will be hardly a gentleman's house left standing in Poland or Lithuania.

The King of Prussia has intervened in the dispute between his ministers and the House of Deputies. On Thursday morning the House was startled by the appearance of Herr Von Bismarck, who rose to read a royal message—conjectured to be a prorogation or a dissolution—amidst the deepest silence. It was merely a declaration of the King that the House, in approving the conduct of its President, had violated the constitutional rights of the Ministry, and a recommendation to the House to terminate such a state of things, in order that its proper business might be continued. The Royal Message was referred to the committee on the address, which incorporated a reply in the draft it had already prepared. The address so amended was carried by a large majority—239 to 61 votes—the minority consisting, besides the dozen Fendalists of the old liberals, and a portion of the Catholics, who wished to confine the address to the particular question between the House and the Ministers, and to a general declaration that all understanding with them was impossible. The address adopted, after informing the King that he has been misinformed by the ministers as to the pretensions of the House and the President—for his Majesty's information, the stenographic report of the proceedings accompanied the address—proceeds to develop the grief of the House against the minister, dwells upon the dangerous situation of the country, which it contrasts with the bright hopes which the first years of the King's reign had called forth, roundly declares that the House has no means of coming to an understanding with the Ministry, declines all co-operation with its present policy; there being, it says, an abyss between the advisers of the Crown and the country, which can only be filled by a change of persons, and what is more, a change of system. The King refused to receive the députation appointed to present the address, which was therefore forwarded him through the Ministry. The reply was not long arriving. Count Eulenberg, the Minister of the Interior, appeared in the House on Wednesday morning and read it. Although no one expected a favourable reply, few could have anticipated so complete an identification by the King of the ministerial conduct with his own views. He tells the House that the address has cut away all hopes of conciliation, declares that its conduct with reference to foreign questions has grieved him, assures it that he will maintain undiminished all the rights of the crown against its attempts to curtail them, and concludes by the announcement that the policy of his ministers has his full approbation. Count Eulenberg informed the House at the same time, that the session would be closed in the afternoon.

The breach between the King and the country is now an open one.

The Herrenhaus, on the other hand, has pronounced its unanimous approbation of the Ministerial policy—only one member dissented. *Apròpos* of some petitions from places in Posen, in which the vigorous policy of the Government was highly lauded, and of other petitions protesting against the payment of compensation to the members of the Lower House; the peers—as for want of a better name we will call them—praised enthusiastically the demeanour of the Government, and made the most violent attacks upon the Lower House, which they accused of disloyalty, want of patriotism, and many other bad qualities. One suggestion of the reporter upon the petitions relative to the Diet money was not without point. He said the Deputies contend that all expenditure made without the sanction of a budget law is illegal. Why does not the Government take them at their word and cease to pay them their three thalers a-day?

The King is not well, although there is no ground for some alarming rumours to which a French paper has given currency.

A new ministry has been formed at Athens, of which Rufos, one of the members of the Provisional Government, is the President. It does not seem to have much better chances of life than that to which it has succeeded. The National Assembly, for some not very intelligible reason, has voted an address of thanks to the three protecting Powers. Nothing is yet decided about the throne. The tendency of the reports is, however, favourable to the acceptance of Prince William.

The session of the Italian Chamber closed on Thursday, and a new session was opened on Monday by the King in person. His Majesty congratulated the Chamber upon their labours. "You have secured," he said, "the rights of the nation to its complete unity, and I shall know how to maintain them in their integrity." A

tribute to Cavour, a reference to the marriage of his daughter, and to the commercial treaties negotiated and in negotiation, warm praise of the army and navy brought him to a reference, couched in very obscure terms, to the state of the Neapolitan provinces, the only importance of which consists in the announcement that France is ready to concur in arrangements for the suppression of the brigandage. The labours of the session are defined thus: "Your most urgent task is to consolidate the laws of the kingdom, at the same time favouring the development of all local forces. Above all, I recommend to your solicitude some arrangements relative to the reorganization of the finances. Europe has responded to our appeal with confidence in the new order of things. It is for us a debt of honour to reply to this confidence by our promptitude to enforce upon ourselves the necessary sacrifices." The King closed with an expression of confidence in the future of Italy. The House of Deputies has elected as its President Signor Cassenis, the Ministerial candidate. He received 166 votes, whilst Signor Zecchio, the late President, and Crispi, one of the leaders of the party of action, received respectively only 48 and 29 votes.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, May 27.

Our last report closed on a depressed market, with Fair Dhollerah at 17½d.

On Thursday, in absence of any American news, the vague rumours of further Federal disasters, and the proclamation of an armistice continued to exercise a depressing influence, and the sales only reached 4,000 bales at the low rates of the previous day.

The arrival of the Glasgow on Friday served, however, to change completely the current of feeling in our market, though only bringing one day later than the previous steamer, and no fresh items of importance; the fact that no mention was made of armistice, and that no further disaster had occurred to Hooker's army, was sufficient to renew the confidence here, and an active business at once sprang, which resulted in sales of 10,000 bales, at ½d. advance on the depressed sales of the previous two days.

On Saturday, the City of Manchester's news was to hand, reporting the retreat of Hooker's army in safety across the Rappahannock; our market continued strong, with sales of 10,000 bales at rather high prices.

On Monday a good business was again done at full prices; sales 8,000 bales.

Yesterday and to-day there has been less doing, owing principally to the prevalence of the Whitsuntide holidays; the business reaching 4,000 and 5,000 bales; the Manchester market yesterday exhibited a very healthy tone and prices there continue to harden. We quote Middling Orleans 23½d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar 19½d., Fair Dhollerah and Omrawattie 18½d.

The tenor of the American news is still averse to an early settlement of this unhappy war. The Northern people, in spite of their last terrible reverse, appear to be still sanguine of the final result, and obtain some encouragement from their trivial successes in the West; it is not probable that their armies will be so much weakened by the return of the two years and nine months men that they will be unable to keep the field; but should they be so reduced by this cause as to necessitate the contraction of their lines there is little doubt that they will submit to a general conscription rather than desist from the struggle and agree to a final separation, the terms alone which the South will accept. Meanwhile the consumption of cotton continues to increase, and stocks on hand and afloat are getting gradually into smaller compass. The stock in Liverpool on the 22nd of May, of all sorts, was 340,000 bales, and afloat from Bombay to arrive until the end of August 170,000 bales; calling the import from all other quarters 160,000 bales in the same period, which is considerably more than last year, we will have up to the 31st of August a supply of 670,000 bales; and allowing for a weekly export of 10,000 bales, and a consumption of 28,000 bales, which is generally considered its present rate, we shall have on the 1st of September a stock of only 150,000 bales; and this does not adequately represent the scarcity that will occur in the average qualities of Surat cotton, which, at the present rate of outgoings will by that time be quite exhausted.

The position of our market just now is, in many respects, similar to that which it occupied at this time last year, when the great rise in prices commenced. Then our stocks were composed of cotton of heavier weight, and 50,000 bales greater than that at present held, while the amount afloat was about the same; then the consumption of cotton was estimated at rather less than its present rate, while stocks of goods both in Manchester and on the continent were heavy, and now they are well nigh exhausted. Yet on 1st of September last year our stock was reduced to 150,000 bales (erroneously placed at 60,000), and prices in the three months advanced 1s. for East India cotton, and 1s. 4d. for long staples. Then, however, the rise commenced upon 8d. for Fair Dhollerah; now its value is 18d., and so far the trade has not supported any advance upon that figure. Still, the conviction to which these premises point is that, unless some good prospect is held out of a supply from the Southern States, a large advance on present prices will be established during the next few months.



MANCHESTER, Tuesday, May 26.

The anxious feeling prevailing amongst all classes of buyers and sellers, at the date of our last report, continued until Friday morning, when we received the details of the fighting in the neighbourhood of the Rappahannock per the City of Glasgow. This news imparted a firm tone to our yarn and cloth market generally, buyer and seller being impressed with the idea that the war will continue for an indefinite period.

Friday's market was comparatively a lively one; home-trade yarns were bought freely at the extreme prices of the Friday previous.

Export yarns partook of the buoyant feeling, and considerable quantities were moved off, also at extreme rates.

Cloths of all kinds were in good demand, but the advance in price required by holders tended to check business to some extent.

To-day we have had a very firm market for goods of all kinds, at the rates of Friday last. Yarns have been in improved demand, and more especially so those suitable for the home trade. Nos. 32s to 50s twist and pincops have realised an advance of fully 3d. per lb. on Friday's rates; whilst for Bolton, Nos. 60s, 70s, and 80s twists and wefts, the advance is rather more than that.

Altogether our market may be considered to be in a very healthy condition.

## THE PARIS PRESS.

PARIS, May 26.

For the last fortnight the mind of France, at least of scribbling France, has been so occupied by the one subject of the elections, which come off on Sunday next, that it has had room for nothing else. There is a sudden revival of political life which, though not menacing in its present phase to the Government, shows at least what fires still smoulder beneath the ruins on which the present system is built. Now is the Saturnalia of type, the political sabbath, when all opinions muzzled and chained up during six years enjoy a short space of unrestricted freedom. The walls from one end of France to another are covered with many coloured placards—the immaculate white is the exclusive privilege of Government—and the *flâneur* may read in large type all the high-sounding words which newspapers must abstain from printing, and men are chary of uttering in ordinary times. The acrimony of temper which these display serves to show what might be expected from the partisans of worn-out isms, if they again had the Chambers for their tilting-ground. The *armes courtoises* of the tourney would soon be exchanged for deadlier weapons. I must confess that in presence of the indiscreet zeal not only of inferior functionaries, but of the Minister himself, I began to sympathize as far as a stranger who has no interest of friendship or enmity can do so, with the Opposition. The love of fair play, innate in most men, prompted good wishes for candidates who labour under so many difficulties. But the language of many of the election addresses has proved a correction to this feeling, and one is glad to think that on this occasion the number of Opposition members likely to be returned is insignificant, and that another period of six years of comparative calm in the Legislative body may be looked for, so far as anything can be predicted of the future. There cannot be a doubt that fifty noisy orators in the Chamber would do more to endanger the tranquillity of France, and to throw her back in the march of improvement, than fifty years of positive misgovernment. It is unfortunate that the means which are thought necessary to obviate this risk are so often opposed to all one's instincts. It is still more unfortunate that in the interest of Europe, as well as of France, one must wish the Administration success. The temper of the country is such, that its representatives, to be safe depositaries of power, must be utterly insignificant as men. Thus, while the Government press is busily employed in decrying the Liberal—not Liberal, the word is proscribed—the un-patronized candidates, it does not waste a line of praise on those put forward by the Administration; and if the Opposition papers squabble among themselves about the respective merits of the candidates each favours, all are disdainfully silent on the subject of the patronized candidates. The whole importance of these last is borrowed from the position made for them, while a little battle is fought over the personality of the others, all men of mark in former days.

The position of most of the Paris newspapers was marked out beforehand, and the Government knew what to expect from, and how to deal with each. But there is one *enfant terrible*, the *France*, of whose devotion to the Empire there can be no doubt, which obstinately follows a line of its own, and by doing so makes itself very obnoxious. The director, M. de la Guéronnière, was the author of pamphlets which more than once foreshadowed the course of Imperial politics. In the provinces and even in Paris, he

is still by many thought to be a second string to the Emperor's bow. Hence a passage of arms commenced by a warning for "pretending to interpret the secret thoughts of the Government," and followed by a vehement reply. The *France* puts forward a theory that all parties should be represented in the Chamber, and that candidates of all colours should be accepted, inasmuch as by taking the Oath of Allegiance the adherents of old dynasties acknowledge that their hopes are extinct, and like good patriots offer their services to the Government of the nation's choice. Perhaps William IV., when with sailor-like frankness or brutality, he advised a losing partner at whist to apply to Prince Talleyrand for change of a sovereign, showed a better appreciation of the value of French political oaths than does M. de la Guéronnière. But such an answer would hardly be fitting if addressed to him by a ministerial organ. The *Nation* came to the minister's rescue in a violent article, which accused M. de la Guéronnière of personal enmity to M. de Persigny, and there the matter rests. The only result has been the revival of an old rumour that the former was the destined successor of the latter statesman so soon as the elections are over. Of M. de Persigny's retirement there seems little doubt. He will have done his work.

The *Patrie* contained, a few nights ago, a short extract from a letter from a merchant at Havre, the truth of whose remarks struck me the more that I have not seen anything of the sort elsewhere. The writer says, that the best evidence of the utter hopelessness of the war waged against the Confederate States by the North, is to be found in the fluctuations of the price of cotton. When a Northern victory is reported, the price of cotton rises, because any check to the Confederate arms will only serve to prolong the contest, and defer the day when full supplies can be obtained. On the contrary, when the report of victory is changed into the certainty of Northern defeat, the price of cotton goes down, for the termination of the struggle is by so much the nearer. The *Patrie*, as is well known, though no longer a semi-official paper, is still what may be called a semi-official paper; what it says, if not directly inspired by the Government, generally answers to its wishes. In this respect, it may be worth referring to an article in last Saturday's number on the *compte rendu* of the last six sessions, published by the five Opposition deputies. One of the motions they take credit for was, a declaration in favour of the Northern States of the late Union, which was at once negatived, and this is one of the points upon which the *Patrie* attacks them as having gone against the conscience and the feelings of the country. I believe that in this, the *Patrie* gives utterance to the opinion, not of the Government only, but of the great majority of Frenchmen. The other papers are silent on the subject of the American War, the only exception being the *Tems*, which, of course, while acknowledging the new defeat of the Northerners, harps upon the question of slavery. Its remarks are already stereotyped generalities, but its concluding paragraph contains much truth, when it says that all interest in the struggle is lost, not for the reasons it gives—antipathy to the institutions of the South, and disgust at the incompetence of the North, but because the length of the struggle has taken off the edge of freshness which induced curiosity, and because events more nearly affecting France now claim attention.

Of course I refer to Poland, a country whose privilege it is to enlist at once the sympathies of Pius IX. and Lord Shaftesbury, of Garibaldi, Count Montalembert, and Lord Palmerston. Every line not devoted to home politics is, in the greater part of the Paris papers, given to Poland. Surely if universal suffrage could be applied to the affairs of nations, we should soon see a revival of Poland, though in which of its three forms, Republic, Monarchy, or Anarchy, a wise man would not venture to predict. The extension of the movement to the provinces long since annexed to Russia, which have, in fact, belonged to her longer than Alsace to France, longer than the English rule has been effectively established in Ireland, might well make Governments pause before they commit themselves on the question. The leaders of the insurrection have shown, at least, a knowledge of the world in declining General Garibaldi's proffered aid; but the movement assumes every day a more revolutionary complexion, and the very aid which England seems inclined to give it, will only confirm this opinion here and in Germany. Of course Lord Russell's proposal for an amnesty of a year between rebels and their sovereign was welcomed here, not in this sense, but as a tacit acknowledgment of the wisdom of the Emperor's similar proposal in regard to America. Its rejection by Russia is certain, but its admission by France is a rebuke to England, and it may serve the Emperor's policy admirably if, as has been suspected, he seeks an opportunity, aided by England, to create a nation with French sympathies in the North,

and at the same time to secure as an indemnity the long-coveted frontier of the Rhine. Such a policy might be suspected—it may even have existed, so long as the object to be attained was confined to the moderate dimensions of the kingdom of Poland created by the treaties of 1815, but now that Volhynia and the Ukraine are included in the patriotic aspirations of the Poles, it is doubtful whether the Emperor Napoleon be the man to countenance such a change in the map of Europe.

The news of General Jackson's death, which arrived here yesterday, has created among the English in Paris a sensation, which those who give us little credit for sentiment will hardly understand. Personally unknown to any, the Lord Falkland of this civil war seems to be mourned for as an intimate friend by all. The sketches we have read of his mingled daring and devotion appealed to the imaginations of men in whose veins the cavalier and the puritan blood is mingled.

## LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JACKSON.

THE London press unites in a well-deserved tribute to the memory of the valiant soldier, the Christian patriot, whose loss is the heaviest of the great sacrifices of precious lives with which the Confederate victory on the Rappahannock has been purchased. It is a melancholy consolation to record, as a part of the history of this disastrous war, these testimonies to the worth of one who is at once its hero and its martyr. In a leading article, the *Morning Post* of the 26th inst. says:—

The recent victory of the Confederates at Chancellorsville has been purchased at a very heavy price. "Stonewall" Jackson is now reckoned amongst the slain. He was shot in both arms, one of which was afterwards amputated below the shoulder, and under the effects of that operation he subsequently sank. If ever the loss of a general on the field of battle could be considered as irreparable, it might be so regarded in the present instance. On one occasion during the summer campaign in Virginia of last year, President Lincoln when speaking of the Confederate army, estimated it, numerical strength at 30,000 men more than it was known to possess. When his attention was directed to the apparent discrepancy, he said, "I consider 'Stonewall' Jackson alone to be equal to a force of 30,000 men." This is the testimony of an opponent, and, although overstrained, Mr. Lincoln only paid a just tribute to one of the boldest, most skilful, and most successful of the Southern generals. For upwards of eighteen months has Jackson been engaged in an uninterrupted series of military operations, sometimes in conjunction with the generalissimo of the Confederate troops, sometimes independent of all control, and yet on no single occasion was he ever compelled to turn his back upon the foe. Scarcely more than a twelvemonth since, and whilst still unknown to fame, he gained for himself the sobriquet which, by many, is believed to have been his baptismal name. In one of the many skirmishes which characterised the short and desultory campaign in Virginia which preceded the arrival of McClellan's army at the Yorktown peninsula, Jackson took possession of an orchard, one side of which was protected by a stone wall. The Federals having attempted to dislodge him, he called out to his troops to remain as firm as the wall under cover of which they were fighting. The Confederates held their ground; and as soldiers are quick to give to their leaders as well as to their comrades distinctive names, their chief was from that day forth known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

General Jackson, judging from the accounts we have received, would seem to have been, in some degree, an impersonation of one of those Puritan warriors who, with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other, waged such deadly and relentless war against the unfortunate Charles I., or, as they termed him, Charles Stuart. We say in some degree, because happily Jackson wanted that fanaticism which, in the days of the Protector, was mistaken for religion. Jackson, like the Puritans, was austere and devout, but whilst his religion taught him humility and dependance upon his Creator, it did not lead him to confound the true nature of the objects for which both he and his followers were striving, and to suppose that because their ends were noble, that, therefore, they were the champions of God. If he was occasionally a preacher in the camp, he was also a skilful and gallant general in the field; and it is not surprising that those who had so frequently followed him to victory should have considered him as specially favoured by Providence, and have regarded him with feelings akin to devotion. As a soldier, he will hold probably the foremost place in the history of the great American civil war. His name is indelibly associated with the most brilliant achievements of the Confederate armies, for to those achievements by his genius and his courage, he more than any one else specially contributed. Strategic ability is the most valuable qualification a general can possess, but it is not always that consummate military tacticians command the confidence of their followers, or ensure the success of the operations they conduct. It was, however, the rare good fortune of General Jackson to lead men who, whilst their courage was exalted in an extraordinary degree by the conviction that nothing could be worse than defeat, were inspired with an unshaken faith in the genius and ability of their general. To follow Jackson they knew was to march to certain victory; and, if it was necessary that success should be purchased at the cost of many lives, that reflection did not dispirit them, for the cause in which they were fighting stripped death of all its terrors.

Jackson, unlike many others, more especially in the Northern armies, holding the same rank, was a soldier from his youth, and, if we mistake not, received his education at the military college at West Point. Immediately after the secession of the Southern States, and when their newly-elected President was busily engaged in organising their first army, Jackson placed his sword at his service, and was shortly afterwards intrusted with an important command. It was not, however, until the commencement of the summer campaign of 1862 that opportunities presented themselves for the exercise of his strategic powers. From that time to the present his history is that of the war in Virginia. His first and most important successes were achieved in the Shenandoah Valley, when by a series of rapid marches he managed to surprise General Banks at Win-



ches, and compelled him to cross the Potomac into Maryland. Frequent were the raids which he conducted within the Federal lines, and so rapid were his movements that to his perplexed opponents he might well seem ubiquitous. When the lines at Yorktown were abandoned, and McClellan's army had taken up its position within a few miles of Richmond, General Jackson returned from his expedition into Northern Virginia, and joined his forces to those which, under the command of Lee, covered the approaches to the Confederate capital. Soon after was fought the celebrated battle of the Chickahominy, when Jackson led the Confederate columns against the right wing of the Federal army, doubled it completely back upon its centre, cut off the line of communication between the Federals and their depots and transports on the York River, forced McClellan to change his base of operations, and ultimately to re-embark with his entire army and return to Washington. A few weeks later was fought the campaign in Northern Virginia, in which the Federal army, under the leadership of Pope, sustained so many and such disastrous defeats. The series of movements by which the Confederates drove their opponents back from their lines on the Rappahannock, and subsequently all but completely annihilated them at Bull Run, will always command the admiration of military commentators on the history of the American war. To the success which attended those operations, General Jackson's skill and intrepidity contributed in no small degree. Though subordinate to Lee, he at this time, as on many others, held an independent command, and by forced marches succeeded in placing the Federal army between his division and the main body of the Confederate forces. When Pope, with the remnant of his army, sought shelter under the fortifications of Washington, the Confederate Generals, flushed with success, crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. Lee, with the main body of the army, pushed forward as far as the borders of Pennsylvania, whilst Jackson proceeded to invest the Federal position at Harper's Ferry. Here he gained one of the most brilliant, if not most substantial, of the many successes which have shed such lustre on his name. Harper's Ferry was held by a Federal garrison, and was strongly fortified. Having taken by assault the heights on the north side of the Potomac, which commanded the Federal position; he bombarded it until the garrison were fain to surrender, and, having occupied the place and paroled no less than eleven thousand prisoners of war, he rejoined General Lee in time to take part in the great battle of Antietam Creek, which closed the brief Maryland campaign. Since then he took part in the only two engagements which have been fought in Virginia. At the first battle of Fredericksburg, his division, in common with others, defended the entrenchments which had been constructed in the rear of that city, and in the recent battle of Chancellorsville to him was intrusted (as it was a year since at the Chickahominy) the duty of conducting the attack against the Federal lines. How successful he was the present position of the Northern army abundantly testifies. His last battle has, however, been fought. He has fallen in the arms of victory, but not of decisive victory, for to his brothers in arms he has left much still to do. If anything can embitter the feelings of regret occasioned by his loss in the minds of his fellow-soldiers, it will be the impression which has gained ground that his death was accidental. It is said that whilst leading his men he was unintentionally struck by two bullets fired from his own division. In the confusion of battle such accidents will occur. The Confederates have been fortunate in their generals, and we are justified in hoping that his place will be fittingly filled. But though his place may be occupied by as good a general (although that is doubtful) his successor can never expect to secure the same popularity or to emulate his deeds. Of "Stonewall" Jackson it may, with truth, be said that he died too soon for his country, but not too soon for his fame.

(From the Times, May 26.)

The Confederate laurels won on the field of Chancellorsville must be twined with the cypress. Probably no disaster of the war will have carried such grief to Southern hearts as the death of General Jackson, who has succumbed to the wounds received in the great battle of the 3rd of May. Even on this side of the ocean the gallant soldier's fate will everywhere be heard of with pity and sympathy. Not only as a brave man fighting for his country's independence, but as one of the most consummate generals that this century has produced, "Stonewall" Jackson will carry with him to his early grave the regrets of all who can admire greatness and genius. From the earliest days of the war he has been conspicuous for the most remarkable military qualities. That mixture of daring and judgment, which is the mark of "heaven-born" generals, distinguished him beyond any man of his time. Although the young Confederacy has been illustrated by a number of eminent soldiers, yet the applause and devotion of his countrymen, confirmed by the judgment of European nations, have given the first place to General Jackson. The military feats he accomplished moved the minds of people with an astonishment which it is only given to the highest genius to produce. The blows he struck at the enemy were as terrible and decisive as those of Bonaparte himself. The march by which he surprised the army of Pope last year, would be enough in itself to give him a high place in military history. But perhaps the crowning glory of his life was the great battle in which he fell. When the Federal commander, by crossing the river twelve miles above his camp, and pressing on, as he thought, to the rear of the Confederates, had placed them between two bodies of his army, he was so confident of success as to boast that the enemy was the property of the Army of the Potomac. It was reserved to Jackson by a swift and secret march to lay upon his right wing, crush it, and, by an attack unsurpassed in fierceness and pertinacity, to drive his very superior forces back into a position from which he could not extricate himself, except by flight across the river. In the battle of Sunday Jackson received two wounds, one in the left arm, the other in the right hand. Amputation of the arm was necessary, and the Southern hero sank under the effects of it. He was only thirty-eight years old, and was known before the war as a man of simple and noble character, and of strong religious faith.

(From the Morning Herald, May 27.)

No end can be more honourable to any man than to die at his duty. To die of his wounds in battle, with the shout of victory still ringing in his ears, is a glory reserved to the soldier. The death of Stonewall Jackson is in itself a blow to the Confederates that is almost to be compared to a lost battle. The sympathy that is felt in Europe for their grief at this immeasurable loss will add to the warmth of popular feeling for the men who have striven so long in a just cause and acquitted themselves so well. A young man when he died, he had made himself great by his achievements, and obtained a reputation unparalleled of its kind among modern military

chieftains. Like other distinguished persons who from time to time in various countries seem suddenly to be raised up for some special purpose, he appears to have done his work so efficiently that his death in one sense cannot be considered premature. A soldier of remarkable ability, he fought with the advantage of an earnest faith in his cause; and, controlled in all he did by a strong religious feeling, he fought the better still for believing that God was on his side. He may be called an enthusiast, but his enthusiasm was of a noble kind. He was animated by the spirit which rendered the soldiers of the Commonwealth irresistible in fight—which carried Havelock through incredible dangers to the gates of Lucknow in triumph. The Christian and patriot soldier achieved the last and greatest of his successes in dying for his country. He perished doubly a martyr, and in his last breath attested the righteousness of the cause which he sealed with his blood.

(From the Standard, May 27.)

The mail from America, amidst a heap of confused details of minor interest, has brought us news of an event which will be received in Europe with the deepest sorrow and sympathy—sorrow for a loss which must be felt as a loss to mankind—sympathy for the distress of a people which has too much need of such men as he who is gone. Like the Theban at Mantinea, like Moore at Corunna, like Nelson at Trafalgar, the noble Jackson died in the arms of victory. The triumphant shouts of his army, victorious on their Virginian soil against the insolent host which had marched in the confidence of victory, were ringing in his ears when he fell with his double death wound, and was carried from the field. It was he who executed that brilliant flank attack which decided the issue of that battle on the 3rd of May. Another battle had been won by the dauntless energy of the single-hearted and pious soldier, who fought, as he believed, for a just and holy cause, and trusted in the God of battles more than in armies. This young man, for he was only thirty-eight years old, came first into notice at the commencement of this war of independence, and seems to have been destined by Providence as the leader in such a struggle. Singled out early by the sagacious Lee as a man who could acquire himself well in high command, his achievements during these short two years have won for him the admiration of Europe, and earned for him a niche in the Temple of Fame beside the great captains of the Old World. He has been compared to Cromwell; and if we accept the genuineness of the religious professions of the great Puritan, we may to some extent allow the parallel. But the chivalrous American never pushed his religion to fanaticism, never stained by cruel deeds his spotless banner. He carried on war as a Christian gentleman should. If it seem strange to us that a general on the eve of battle should pray in front of his troops, we must call to mind that men of this earnest type have ever been successful as warriors. The Normans before Hastings passed the night in confession and fasting, the Saxons in drinking and ill-timed revelry. The soldiers of the Commonwealth sang hymns as they advanced to the charge, the Cavaliers answered with ribald jests, and made invocations only to their lady-loves. A man fights better who is impelled by the righteousness of his cause, and is firmly persuaded that he is fighting with the sword of the Lord as well as that of Gideon. Our own Havelock was just such a general as Jackson, and strikingly resembled him in the religious element of his character. Havelock was never beaten, never mind what odds were brought against him. His marches and attacks were characterised by a daring in conception, a skill in execution, which ensured their success where a superficial observer might have predicted failure. Just so was it with "Stonewall" Jackson. His brilliant campaign in the Valley of the Shenandoah, where he was immensely outnumbered by the armies of Banks and Fremont, but played with those generals as with children—now eluding them, now falling upon and crushing them, and at last driving back the invaders over the Potomac—first established his reputation as a commander. Since that he has been present in every one of the great Virginian battles. His brilliant march through a defile of the Alleghenies to the rear of Pope's army completed the confusion and led to the disgraceful rout of that unfortunate general. It was one of those famous flank marches which confounded McClellan in the peninsula, and drove him to withdraw his army from an untenable position. Jackson was the presiding genius of the daring raid into Maryland, one chief object of which was to procure supplies from that fertile country for the Confederate army. At Sharpsburg, when Lee stood at bay, it was Jackson who held undauntedly the left of the position, and hurled back from the assault the persevering troops of Sumner. It was in this battle that the Northern generals expected to decide the war, and make an end of the Southern army. They were grievously disappointed. Not only did the Confederates hold their ground manfully on that eventful day, but the position of their army between that of McClellan and the Potomac enabled General Lee to detach Jackson to Harper's Ferry, where he captured all the stores and 15,000 prisoners. Jackson was back again in time to be present on the field of Sharpsburg. Perhaps the greatest of all his achievements was the last. The admirable manner in which he carried out the orders of General Lee and marched round the right wing of Hooker's army so as to attack it in the rear, decided by itself the battle of Chancellorsville. The dead hero in his two years of warfare fought and won as many battles as grey-headed warriors who have been born and bred in the camp, and passed their lives among contending armies. Those two years have rendered him immortal, and won for him that applause of mankind for which he cared but little, that loving gratitude of his country for which, if he had had them, he would have laid down a hundred lives.

At first sight it might seem that the loss to his country must be irreparable. Is there any man to take his place, any soldier who for courage and skill will compete for his laurels? General Lee has lost his right arm, his friend and helper, the man who in doubtful circumstances, has over and over again been the salvation of his army and his cause, the soldier whom his men idolized and would go through fire and water to follow, the general whose very name was a tower of strength. If the Federals have lost another battle, what is that in comparison with this gain to them in the hapless death of this terrible and dauntless foe—slain not indeed by them, but from a stray shot from his own troops in the woods? Perhaps they are exulting in it now, for the men must be capable of anything who talk of their pride at their late achievements in Virginia, and after accumulated defeat and shame have the impudence to boast of their "laurels." We turn with disgust from this last of the miserable compositions purporting to be "general orders," in which their commander congratulates the Army of the Potomac. No wonder that men in New York, reading beside it the modest and truthful statement of General Lee, refer to it with "grief and pain." While Federal commanders indulge in lies and bragadochio which are enough to humble to the dust the unfortunate people for whom they fight and lose battles,

we turn with relief to the bier of the patriot soldier who had no taste for general orders, and who scorned to be untrue. Living or dead, "Stonewall" Jackson is worth a thousand Hookers. In life, the most terrible antagonist of Federal armies; in death, he leaves a name at which Northern men turn pale. A Sultan who died on the eve of battle directed that his dead body should be carried before his army on the morrow, and the terror of his very clay won the victory for his troops. The cause of the Confederates has been sanctified by the death of a patriot. The Confederate soldiers will be doubly armed for the strife when they think that he is with them in the spirit who led them so well. Whenever their army has seemed in danger, whenever the Federal host has been suffered to press sorely upon them, the question has been hitherto—Where is "Stonewall" Jackson? It will not be asked again. But from his ashes, as from the dragon's teeth of Cadmus, will spring up armed men to emulate his deeds; men who will hurl back with fury from the soil, which he has watered with his blood, the boasters and imbeciles who have threatened the independence of the Southern land.

(From the Daily Telegraph, May 26.)

No event, of whatever magnitude, could overshadow the interest in such an incident as the death of Stonewall Jackson. It is, indeed, one of the thousand penalties which America is paying for her suicidal war; but among the multitude it is perhaps the one which will be felt most intensely, even on both sides of the Rappahannock, for we cannot suppose the Federalists to be so deadened to natural manly feeling as not to share the grief which will be universally felt. The manner of the death had in it something peculiarly sad and touching; the noble soldier did not fall by the hands of his antagonists, but by a mistake of his own men, not one of whom would have hesitated to lay down his life instead; nor did he die in the field, but in the hospital, after a severe operation. Jackson's character is such as to endear him to adversaries as well as to friends; he was, as everybody knows, a man of earnest and strict piety, yet unaffected and considerate towards others. Millions in the loyal States will hold that he was fighting in the worse cause; yet throughout the whole of those vast territories who would for an instant imagine that Jackson fought for any but that cause which he believed to be the best? His devotion to everything which he deemed good, his constant thought for others before himself, and his chivalrous generosity, made him not only the model of a cavalier, but the model also of a patriot and a friend; and it was no doubt from the combination of these personal qualities that he was able to command his followers as if they were but so many replications of their captain, with the same purpose, the same unflinching devotion, the same indomitable courage. Perhaps no individual throughout the round of the late Union would be followed to the grave by such deep regret; and yet, again, he is but another among the host of the great and good gone before him, whose departure reminds us of the lesson learned in the deepest recesses of our own hearts, that those whom we most love and most miss are those whose memory bears the greatest consolation for their loss.

#### GENERAL HOOKER'S CONGRATULATORY ORDER.

Head-quarters, Army of the Potomac, May 6.

(General Order, No. 49.)

The Major-General Commanding tenders to this army his congratulations on its achievements of the last seven days. If it has not accomplished all that was expected, the reasons are well known to the army. It is sufficient to say they were of a character not to be foreseen or prevented by human sagacity or resources.

In withdrawing from the south bank of the Rappahannock, before delivering a general battle to our adversaries, the army has given renewed evidence of its confidence in itself and its fidelity to the principles it represents.

By fighting at a disadvantage we would have been recreant to our trust, to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country. Profoundly loyal and conscious of its strength, the army of the Potomac will give or decline battle whenever its interests or honour may command it.

By the celerity and secrecy of our movements our advance and passage of the river were undisputed, and on our withdrawal not a rebel dared to follow us. The events of the last week may well cause the heart of every officer and soldier of the army to swell with pride.

We have added new laurels to our former renown. We have made long marches, crossed rivers, surprised the enemy in his entrenchments; and whenever we have fought we have inflicted heavier blows than those we have received.

We have taken from the enemy 5000 prisoners and 15 colours, captured 7 pieces of artillery, and placed *hors de combat* 18,000 of our foe's chosen troops.

We have destroyed his depôts filled with vast amounts of stores, damaged his communications, captured prisoners within the fortifications of his capital, and filled his country with fear and consternation.

We have no other regret than that caused by the loss of our brave companions; and in this we are consoled by the conviction that they have fallen in the holiest cause ever submitted to the arbitration of battle.

By command of Major-General HOOKER,

S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

THE International Dog Show opened on Monday at the Agricultural Hall, Islington. The 1700 dogs exhibited are divided into 66 classes, 40 being devoted to the sporting, and 26 to dogs not used in field sports. The Prince of Wales exhibits three couple of harriers, which are described as neat and clever, and have been highly commended by the judges; but his Royal Highness has not obtained a prize. Upwards of £1000 is devoted to prizes, which are paid in money or plate, at the option of the successful competitors. The toy dogs are an attractive feature; some of the tiny creatures are ticketed at fabulous prices—a Skye terrier, named Garry, being valued at £1500 by the owner. These ladies' pets are evidently not intended for sale.



IN 1770, the first Lord Clive, being desirous of establishing a pension fund for the relief of European officers and soldiers in the service of the East India Company, advanced five lacs of rupees, at the same time inducing the Nabob of Bengal to advance three lacs of rupees. By the transference of the Government from the Company to the Crown, and the consequent amalgamation of the two Services, there are no longer any persons to pension under this bequest. The representative of Lord Clive claims the fund. His claim was not allowed by the Courts of Law, but on appeal to the House of Lords, it was admitted. Their Lordships decided that all annuities or pensions granted before 1858, must continue to be paid, but those being satisfied, the property belongs to the heirs of Lord Clive. The amount is about £60,000.

**LONGEVITY OF LAWYERS.**—On the 21st of the present month Lord Lyndhurst completed his 91st year, and we are informed that the venerable Lord, who has been three times Lord Chancellor, is in the enjoyment of excellent health both mental and physical; and that the marriage of his youngest daughter with Mr. Du Cane, M.P., one of the stars of the opposition, will shortly take place. Lord Lyndhurst is the oldest, but not our only venerable law lord. Lord Wensleydale is 81, Lord St. Leonards is 82, and Lord Brougham 85. Our judges, English, Irish, and Scotch, are not less remarkable for their longevity.

**MR. J. K. LORD**, the naturalist to the North American Boundary Commission, is lecturing at the Egyptian Hall, on "The Canoe, the Rifle, and the Axe." The illustrations and the lecture are descriptive of a tour through the hunting grounds, fur countries, and gold fields of Oregon, Vancouver's Island, British Columbia, and the Rocky Mountains. The entertainment, which is given in a room fitted up to represent the depths of a primeval forest, has been favourably noticed by the daily press.

**CONSERVATIVE REACTION IN AUSTRALIA.**—The colony of Victoria is just now engaged in a very necessary, but a very curious reform. Manhood suffrage has been tried and found wanting. Under its provisions, Government has come to a deadlock. No matter how large a majority a minister obtained, no sooner did he appoint his colleagues, than he found himself in a hopeless minority. All those who did not get a place thought themselves ill-used, and joined the opposition so that they might have a chance of office by another turn-out. Under these circumstances a measure has passed the Lower House of Victoria, called "The Electoral Act Amendment Bill," by which nominations on the open listings are abolished; a candidate obliged to make a deposit before he can proceed to a poll, which deposit is forfeited if he does not poll one-fifth of the number received for the successful candidate; and, unless he is a ratepayer an elector must be registered before the voting. No one can be registered unless he has resided for certain periods in the colony and the district. Thus manhood suffrage is changed for a residential and property qualification.

**THE ALLEGED DESTRUCTION OF BRITISH PROPERTY BY THE ALABAMA.**—If the report that has gone the round of the papers is true, that Captain Semmes has destroyed some British property, the incident shows the necessity of recognising the South. Such a contingency has been foreseen. On the 3rd of March, the *Morning Post*, writing on the subject of recognition, observed: "If, for instance, the Alabama or Florida should accidentally or wilfully destroy a British merchant ship, our Government would be obliged, as affairs now stand, to apply for compensation to the Government of the United States; and in the event of its being refused, which it very probably would be, make reprisals on the Federal marine, and declare war against the United States. On the other hand; if the Confederacy were acknowledged as an independent State, the demand for compensation would be made to its Government, and under the circumstances supposed it would immediately be acquiesced in."

**BRITISH CONSULS IN THE SOUTH.**—The Southern correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, writing from Richmond under date of 22nd April, thus refers to the removal of Mr. Magee, the British Consul at Mobile, to which we referred in our impressions of the 14th and 21st inst. Mr. Bunch was supposed to sympathise with the South. Mr. Seward succeeded in browbeating Earl Russell, after a weak exhibition of firmness by that noble lord, into the withdrawal of Mr. Bunch. Mr. Magee also has, it appears, come under Mr. Seward's suspicion of "Southern sympathies." The Foreign Secretary has been dragged into the removal of Mr. Magee. The circumstances under which this last step has been taken are understood here to be as follows:—The State of Alabama anxious to pay interest about to fall due upon some of her bonds held in England, requested Mr. Magee to forward certain funds for that purpose to London. As the only representative of the Northern Government accessible to that gentleman, Mr. Magee communicated on the subject with the commander of the blockading fleet off Mobile. That officer not only waived all objection to the request of the authorities of Alabama in the case, but even forwarded a despatch ordering a British cruiser to Mobile for the purpose of receiving the consular bag, which, it was agreed on all hands, should contain monies of the State of Alabama, to an amount sufficient for the discharge of certain debts due by her in London. Mr. Seward, however, differed from his naval commander

before Mobile, by demanding the withdrawal of Mr. Magee. It is supposed here to have intimidated Lord Russell into the removal of a British consul, because forsooth that consul has become the medium of forwarding monies with which a foreign state has paid its debt to British creditors! Mr. Magee held to have been removed under one pretence, and Mr. Bunch under another, but in reality at the dictum of Mr. Seward and without any other justification in fact than Mr. Seward's supposition of their "Southern sympathies," the retention of Mr. Walker, tainted as he is with suspicions of a "Unionism," leads to the conclusion in the opinion of the Confederates that the Foreign Secretary, who has wantonly insulted their minister, is determined to retain here such agents only as may be supposed willing to look at and report upon things going on around them, in accordance with the peculiar views of a man whom the Confederacy holds an "alien enemy." The sequence in this mode of thinking on the subject, if not even absolutely regular, is, at all events, very close. The interest of this Government, the pride of these people, the independence which their soldiers have maintained so gloriously on a hundred battle-fields, protest against this course of Earl Russell. Public opinion here is, therefore, moving towards the conviction that, in addition to the withdrawal of Mr. Mason from exposure to the petulance of the noble Secretary of Foreign Affairs, this Government, not only in justice to its self-respect, but in good faith to an accomplished fact, which even British ministers feel bound to acknowledge, is bound to remove from the country those foreign residents whose very presence here under the pretended authority of the public enemy is a standing contradiction of its independence.

**THE BLOCKADE.**—Although little has been said during the last fortnight on the subject of the Peterhoff and other captures, the feeling as to the commercial importance of the question has in no degree subsided. On the reassembling of Parliament it will again, with kindred matters, be brought forward, not disputatiously, but with a view to obtain some more definite enunciation of general principles than is yet felt to have been given. Meanwhile it is to be remarked that the trading world consider they have to complain of a grievance in the fact that, both in Parliament and among the generality of writers, shipowners and merchants who endeavour to send goods through the blockade into the Confederate ports are spoken of as if they were engaged in some nefarious, or, at least, objectionable pursuit, and as if they were compromising their country by acting in opposition to international law, and also to the neutrality which it is wished to maintain. The parties thus engaged comprise some most respectable merchants, who would certainly not enter into any transaction of which they would have to feel ashamed, and they contend that it is a mistake and a fallacy which cannot be too soon exposed to encourage an assumption of this nature. Under what principle, they ask, either of equity or sound policy is the attempt to trade with the Confederates to be deemed censurable? Those who enter into that trade admit that they must submit to the chance of having their ships and goods seized by the Federals, but they have a right to run this chance just as much as they have a right to encounter the risk of shipwreck or any other peril. The blockading Power says, "We will keep you out if we can," and international custom admits their right to do so, and to confiscate all the vessels and cargoes they may catch in attempting to pass the forbidden lines after the usual formal notice to that effect shall have been given. Traders, on the other hand, say, "We will try to get in," and so far from such enterprises being liable to be looked upon as an offence, it has always been held that the success or non-success of such attempts should serve as a test whether the blockade has been fairly established and is upheld. If it were not for these adroit and bold adventurers any nation might shut out an antagonist from trade by a mere declaration, but through their agency the commercial world are protected from such a contingency, and the matter is soon brought to a practical proof. Moreover, as regards the question of neutrality, it is argued, that so far from the attempts to trade with a belligerent being a breach of neutrality, any effort on the part of a neutral Government to discourage or obstruct such attempts is directly inconsistent with the observance of strict impartiality, since it amounts, to that extent, to an actual co-operation with the blockading Power, by aiding them to enforce their hostile measures against the other belligerent. The plain path of justice is for our Government to avoid all one-sided references to such matters. Our people would certainly be as ready to trade with the South as with the North; and we do not recognise that the proceeding in either case can be manufactured into a crime. Those who can get goods into the South for a fair equivalent, either in cotton, tobacco, or gold, render a service to their nation; and, although in case of failure and loss they have no title to complain, since the North has a perfect right to exert all its skill and force against them, it is out of place for our Ministers to show, either by allusion or by direct incivility, that they consider them persons to be put down. The rudeness manifested by the Post-office to the owners of the Peterhoff, and the subsequent disposition indicated by some members of the Government to treat the fact of these gentlemen having been participants previously in some successful breaches of the blockade as if these breaches were to be cited in the fashion of "previous convictions" against a criminal—probably arose merely from the irritation which is always excited in official departments by any individuals who may be unfortunate enough to be compelled to give a little trouble. It would be well, however, that it should be thoroughly understood that all displays of the kind not merely bear the character of partisanship, but are also damaging to the independence of the trading community.—*Times*, May 27.

**THE wreck of the Lancaster**, one of the rams of Porter's flotilla, has been picked up by the Confederates at Port Hudson. It is supposed that she was abandoned in consequence of damages sustained in passing the Vicksburg batteries.

**ONE of the most successful undertakings in France** is the Garden of Acclimatisation in the Bois de Boulogne, Paris. In two years it has had 532,052 visitors, and has taken at the gates 385,524fr., besides which animals have been sold to the amount of 111,656fr.

**OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND.**—The Registrar-General has issued his volume of statistics for 1861. The imports in that year were of the value of £2,493,811, more than four times the imports of 1853, and mere by £945,478 than in 1860. The exports amounted to £1,370,247, an increase of £781,294 over 1860. The export of wool in 1861, calculated at the uniform rate of 1s. 4d. per lb., amounted to £523,728. The quantity of gold exported from New Zealand to the end of September, 1862, was 538,560 ounces, and its value £2,086,921. The European population at the end of 1861 numbered 109,315, including 7,294 military and their families; the Maori population was estimated at 55,257. The European males, excluding the military, were 61,062; the Maori males 31,329. The European population increased fourfold in the ten years 1851-61, and the population of the single province of Otago in 1861 exceeded the population of all New Zealand in 1851.

**THE ALEXANDRA.**—We understand that in consequence of a pressing application from Messrs. Fletcher and Hull, solicitors for the defendants in this case, for a copy of the information filed against the Alexandra, they have been furnished with a very voluminous document comprising ninety-eight counts, which are mere recapitulations of the seventh clause of the Enlistment Act. No information of the nature of the depositions or of the parties making them have been supplied. The defendants are Messrs. Miller, Frazer, Trenholm, and Co., Pawcett, Preston and Co., and Captains Tessier, Bullock, and Butcher. It is believed that the case will come before the Exchequer Court soon after the 13th proximo. In these proceedings the defendants, under any circumstances, will have to pay their own costs, and no indemnity is likely to be paid for the detention of the vessel.—*The Times*.

**MR. VALLANDIGHAM.**—At the close of Mr. Vallandigham's trial in Cincinnati he presented the following "protest" to the officers of the court:—"Arrested without due process of law, without warrant from any judicial officer, and now in a military prison, I have been served with a 'charge and specifications,' as in a court-martial or military commission. I am not in 'either the land or naval forces of the United States, nor in the militia in the actual service of the United States,' and therefore am not triable for any cause by such Court; but am subject, by the express terms of the Constitution, to arrest only by due process of law, judicial warrant, regularly issued upon affidavit, and by some officer or Court of competent jurisdiction for the trial of citizens; and am now entitled to be tried on an indictment or presentment of a grand jury of such Court, to speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State of Ohio, to be confronted with witnesses against me, to have compulsory process for witnesses in my behalf, the assistance of counsel for my defence, and evidence and argument according to the common laws and the ways of judicial courts. And all these I here demand as my right as a citizen of the United States, and under the Constitution of the United States. But the alleged 'offence' itself is not known to the Constitution of the United States, nor to any law thereof. It is words spoken to the people of Ohio in an open and public political meeting, lawfully and peaceably assembled under the Constitution, and upon full notice. It is words of criticism of the public policy of the public servants of the people, by which policy it was alleged that the welfare of the country was not promoted. It was an appeal to the people to change that policy, not by force, but by free elections and the ballot-box. It is not pretended that I counselled disobedience to the Constitution, or resistance to laws and lawful authority. I never have. Beyond this protest I have nothing further to submit." The court was then cleared for deliberation, and, after a session of three hours, their decision was made and submitted to General Burnside for his approval.

**SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.**—Science Examination of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education.—The annual May examinations of the pupils of science schools and classes by the Department of Science and Art, have just terminated, and the results show a very satisfactory increase in the number of centres of examination, and the number of pupils who have come up to be examined, although in some subjects there has been a decrease as compared with last year. In geometrical drawing the number of pupils examined in 1862 was 119, but this year they had increased to 289. In machine drawing the number has increased from 70 to 194, and in building construction there has been an increase from 45 to 107. In theoretical mechanics there has been a falling off from 52 pupils to 35, and in applied mechanics the decrease is from 47 to 22. The experimental sciences appear the most popular. In acoustics, light, and heat there is an increase from 47 to 121, and in magnetism and electricity the increase is from 105 to 207. Inorganic chemistry shows an increase from 558 to 679, and inorganic chemistry an increase from 105 to 157. It is rather remarkable that there should be a falling off in some of the natural sciences. The number of pupils in geology has decreased from 189 to 129, and in mineralogy from 81 to 46. There is a slight decrease in animal physiology, from 349 to 343; but in zoology the decrease is from 84 to 41. In vegetable physiology there is an increase from 66 to 126, and in systematic botany from 26 to 84. In mining and metallurgy, which have been lately added to the list of subjects, there were 29 pupils in the former and 63 in the latter. The centres of examination have increased from 54 in 1862 to 71 in 1863, and the number of pupils examined in the different subjects has increased from 1943 to 2672. These figures only give an approximate estimate of the number of pupils receiving instruction in elementary science, because a considerable proportion are not sufficiently advanced to attend the examinations.

**PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.**—The following were issued yesterday:—

**ROMAN CATHOLICS AND MEMBERS OF ESTABLISHED CHURCH (IRELAND).**—Number of Roman Catholics in Ireland in 1834, 6,436,000; in 1861, 4,503,265. Number of members of the Established Church in Ireland in 1834, 853,160; in 1861, 691,872. Proportion of Roman Catholics to members of the Established Church: in 1834, 100 Roman Catholics to 13.25 members of the Established Church; in 1861, 100 Roman Catholics to 15.35 members of the Established Church.

**ARMY.**—An account of the receipts and expenditure for army and militia services for the year ending 31st of March, 1862. The amount granted for army services was £14,636,751, and for the militia, £637,000. There were several supplementary grants, which made a total of £16,194,206 10s. 10d. The total expenditure had been £15,934,670 8s. 7d., and the balance unappropriated was £261,535 13s. 3d.

**FOREIGN SUGAR.**—A return of the quantity of foreign sugar entered for home consumption from 1844 to 1862 states that the aggregate of sugar of all sorts returned for home consumption was, in 1844, 104 cwt.; in 1853, there were 1,735,792 cwt.; and the amount in 1862 had increased to 4,725,763 cwt.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1863.

## Stonewall Jackson.

THE death of General Jackson is one of those events which bring home to us all the terrible realities of war. Waiting and watching here, thousands of miles away from the conflict, the anguish, the suffering, the wholesale calamity, which are desolating half a continent, move us but feebly. We cannot picture the horrors of that struggle on the Chickahominy, where 200,000 men strove for dear life, and more than life, during seven long days and nights; we cannot in our peaceful cities and smiling plains call up the blood-stained banks of the Rappahannock, the shell-lit ruins of Chancellorsville, and the roaring, crackling woods, where men smitten with paralyzing wounds, died a death more horrible than their most mortal foes would contemplate unmoved; we cannot realize the sun going down in placid splendour over fields where some 20,000 or 30,000 men, in the prime of manhood's vigour, are lying dead in every possible convulsion and distortion, or, suffering ten times worse than death, the hopeless agony of untended wounds. We skim the fearful list of casualties, the death-roll which carries affliction into thousands of homes with apathetic glance; but the truth, the whole truth of the ghastly panorama we do not see. Only when a poignant grief widens and intensifies our sympathies, when we learn that some choice companion of our youth, some dear comrade of our manhood, has died fighting on that ensanguined plain, does the full consciousness of the cruel sacrifices that war demands strike us; only then the one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin, commingles our sorrows with those of the people whose every house is a house of mourning, and whose best and bravest sons are buying with their heart's blood the priceless treasure of freedom. And the blow which has struck down General Jackson is felt as a personal grief in thousands of English homes. Not alone in the State which he loved and to which he consecrated his life, not alone in the Confederacy for which he fought and died, but here in England his name had become a household word. We had grouped around him all the most precious memories of the war. We associated him, as human nature will, with all the attributes that individually we most admire. To one he was the gallant Ney, first in and last out of the battle, the right arm of the South to strike the blow, as Lee was its head to direct it. To another he was a Wellington, not stirred by mere ambition or dazzled with the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, but teaching in his allegiance to his State the simple lesson of duty; to a third, he was the Christian soldier, another Havelock, serving his God as diligently as he served his country, and revered by his men not less for his example of Christian piety than of manly fortitude; to a fourth he was the embodiment of that religious devotion and personal daring which gave Cromwell's Ironsides their victory over the flower of English chivalry, and carried the standard of Gustavus Adolphus into the heart of the German Empire. There must have been something rare in this man's composition, to have attracted all this sympathy, and to have surrounded him with so

much of the worship the whole world pays to its true heroes. Where all testimony is so concurrent, where foes dare not assail the homage which friends affectionately offer, there must have been one of those noble natures which justify their fellow-men's attachment and admiration, and teach us how closely binding are the impulses and thoughts and hopes that sway the whole human race.

General Jackson was amongst the earliest of the Confederate soldiers to test the metal of the invaders, and from the first he has been the sword and buckler of his native state—that Old Virginia which has so proudly shown up the blood from which her sons boast their origin. In every great victory, that has illustrated the plains of the Old Dominion, Jackson's name has been conspicuous. If Lee and Johnston have planned, he it was to whom, with full confidence of success, they intrusted the execution; and wherever the invaders received the most stunning blows, it was Stonewall Jackson's division that inflicted them. One after another the Federal Generals in the Shenandoah, Banks and Fremont, were baffled, outmarched, out-maneuvred, and beaten by him. Then came the famous march from the Shenandoah's banks right through Virginia to York Town Peninsula, when with terrible suddenness Stonewall Jackson's troops rushed down upon the right of McClellan's army, and inaugurated with a glorious victory the Nine Days' struggle on the Chickahominy. Again Banks met his old conqueror at Cedar Mountain, and once more the Federals recoiled, shattered and broken from the encounter. It was Pope's turn next, and then we heard of the bold movement of Stonewall Jackson upon the Federal rear at Manassas Junction, which heralded another great shock of battle, and fresh humiliation to the Federal armies. And now his last campaign is ended. But in this, too, it was Jackson who led his men furthest into the Federal ranks, and wrung from their panic-stricken masses the greatest victory of the war. It was he who, with his 18,000 men burst like a thundercloud on the Federal rear, scattered Schurz's corps, and drove it a frightened mob to the banks of the Rappahannock. In the hottest of the fight, where the roar of cannon was loudest, where the gleaming bayonet and the bright flashing of musketry told of the closest struggle, where the mist hung in densest clouds over the field of blood, Jackson led his men, and got his death blow. In front, as was his wont, the bullets struck him down in that death grip of the two battling armies—and in the full flush of victory, driving back the foe from his native soil, amidst the ringing cheers of the Confederate soldiers—Stonewall Jackson realised the poet's sublimest aspiration—

In some good cause, not in mine own,  
To perish, wept for, honour'd, known,  
And like a warrior overthrown—  
Whose eyes are dimmed with glorious tears,  
When, soiled with noble dust, he hears  
His country's warsong thrill his ears;  
Then dying of a mortal stroke,  
What time the foeman's line is broke,  
And all the war is rolled in smoke.

The loss is a sad one, but not irreparable. The great cause will go on and prosper, though Lee and a hundred other of the dead hero's comrades share his fate. The fate of really great nations is not made or upmade by individuals. We sorrow for the loss of the man; we grieve, as every Southern officer and soldier must grieve, for the loss of that gallant soldier whose energy was an inspiration, and whose advance was a certainty of victory. But we know there are men to fill his place, and we feel that his memory will still inspire the Confederate armies to great and gallant deeds. Moore died at Corunna, but the famous Light Brigade never forgot his influence, and achieved noble successes in a hundred fights in the Peninsula. So will Jackson's name abide enduringly in the hearts of Southern soldiers. To some it will be a password for more furious onslaught and deadlier hate; to some a stimulus to duty and self-sacrifice; to all an example to be followed and a memory to be cherished. Stonewall Jackson's death alone is a loud-speaking and imperishable protest against reunion.

He is gone—he has fought the good fight. There is little to regret in such a life or such a death as his. But there will be mourning that cannot be comforted in a home in Virginia; and there will be great grief in the hearts of the veterans whom he so often led to victory. And for months and years to come the memory of this grand gentleman, commingling with the daring of the hero and the genius of the leader the tender care of the father for his troops and the solicitude of the true patriot for his country, will remain fresh in every Southern heart; until by-and-by, when the last battle of freedom has been fought, and peace has healed the wounds inflicted by this terrible war, Southerners will point with pride to the page of history on which the name of Stonewall Jackson is written, and tell their children's children what manner of men they were who in their lives, and by their deaths, laid the foundations of the Confederacy.

## The Emperor and the War.

ALL hopes of peace now rest upon one man. On his Imperial will depends whether the bloody episode on the Rappahannock shall be merely an episode, or whether it shall be the turning point of the war. That hegemony which his genius has won for France in European affairs is by tacit consent deferred to him also in the concerns of the New World. No one now asks what will be the policy of Great Britain towards America; but everybody anxiously waits on what the Emperor of the French will do.

It is true that by virtue of proximity of race, of language, and of interests, the arbitration of this suicidal quarrel between two great Anglo-Saxon societies belongs to England. It is true, also, that the national heart of England feels deeply its responsibilities, and that its pulsations are true and strong. But England to-day pays one of the inevitable penalties of free Government and of material prosperity, that of having at times at the head of national affairs statesmen who belong rather to the past than to the present, and whose skill and merit are rather the business tact and knowledge of details, acquired by long experience, than the quick and prescient comprehension of the requirements of sudden emergencies. The leading spirit of the present Administration is indeed a man of wonderful rote, and of versatility of resource but a courtier of personal popularity, who, in coquetting with the most dangerous political element in the country, does not fear to trifle with England's position as a first class Power. The nominal conduct of Foreign Affairs is in the hands of a diplomatic Malaprop, who has never shown vigour, activity, or determination, except where the display of these qualities was singularly unneeded, or even worse than useless. Thus the Government has systematically quieted the public impatience with vague promises and shadowy predictions, and the national conscience by ingeniously explaining away all inconvenient moral as well as legal obligations. It has confessedly construed international law in favour of the aggressor, and against the weaker and defendant. It has also shown itself ready to go out of its way to prevent the Confederates from building ships in English ports, and so obtaining the only supplies which they really need; while at the same time it connives at the almost open practice of recruiting in Ireland, by which the Federals fill the ranks of their wasted armies. Of late the bias of the Government has become even more decided, and the so-called neutrality has grown almost as "warm" to the North as Mr. Bright himself could wish. The official speakers have stopped short only of an avowed apology for the outrages upon British commerce, while the complainants against those outrages have been browbeaten and insulted. And the last crowning act of this "warm" neutrality, which almost staggers belief, coming from the administrators of an Empire, is the removal, one after another, of British Consuls, whose residence in Southern ports is indispensable to the protection of British interests, but who had personally become unpalatable to Mr. Seward.



From Great Britain, then, under her actual government, the Cabinet of Washington has nothing to fear, and the Confederate States nothing to expect. As the voice of Europe can alone end this war—for neither Federal defeats, nor exhaustion, nor change of purpose will end it for weary years to come—that voice, if spoken at all, will be spoken by the Emperor Napoleon. That he has the will, his past actions prove; that he has the power no one doubts. Within ten years his unfathomable genius has raised France to be the leading Power in Europe. It was he who was the master mind in the last great events in history, previous to the American Revolution. It was he who commenced, chiefly sustained, and at his pleasure ended the war with Russia. It was he who gave to Italy her unity and her freedom. It will be he, also, who, by restoring peace to the Western hemisphere, will deserve the thanks of both of the belligerents, by being the benefactor of both alike. Official pusillanimity will excuse itself by the plea that France is more under the control of a single will, that she has no contiguous frontiers upon which the infuriated maniac among nations may expend the mortification of disappointment, and that the motives of France will be less likely to be misunderstood by the North than those of hated England. These pleas may pass; but the true reason will be that England, in 1863, had not a statesman at the head of affairs capable of seeing and of grasping a great opportunity. While the English nation mourns the loss of a gallant Confederate chieftain as though it were a British loss, we cannot without a heartfelt pang arrive at the painful conviction that the people of the Confederate States must look to another nation, alien to them in kindred and in tongue, for that justice which has been so cruelly withheld.

## The War in the East and West.

It is a pleasing delusion with the Federals just now that their late movements on the Rappahannock "surprised" General Lee. In one sense of the word they did, undoubtedly. It must have astonished the Confederate commander to find an army of some 90,000 or 100,000 men launched suddenly into an enemy's country, crossing two rivers, in a district where the broken nature of the ground, and the scarcity of roads, prevented anything like a combined movement, and where the very largeness of the invading force was in itself a serious element of danger. How little Hooker knew of the distribution and numbers of the Confederate army is evident from his expressed apprehension that they would retreat without a battle, and from the efforts he made to cut off their communications with the South. There seems to be no doubt that Hooker made his principal movements in the belief that a considerable portion of the Confederate army was miles away from head-quarters, either under General Longstreet, at Suffolk, or General Hill, in North Carolina; and it was General Hooker who was surprised when he found that, after making all his arrangements for "bagging" Lee's reduced forces, he had an army before him sufficiently numerous to beat him in three pitched battles, and drive him in confusion across the Rappahannock, without the aid of a single brigade from the South. The "surprise," we repeat, was on the Federal side. It was General Lee's object to entice his enemy across the river, not to dispute the passage; and all the boasting of the Northern press about the successful *ruse*, the marvellous rapidity, and the brilliant plan of Hooker's operations amounts to this,—that General Hooker was allowed at his leisure to take up a position on about the most dangerous ground for an army that could be selected, and that the very facility with which he accomplished the first portion of his programme was fatal to its complete execution. For long before he had got his army into line, Lee had outflanked him. Whilst he was busy entrenching and announcing to his troops their brilliant success in having manœuvred the enemy out of a strong position and themselves into one, Lee's whole army had changed front, and Jackson

was moving on his extreme right; and when the day of battle came the "surprise" was complete and overwhelming. Jackson, whom the Federals supposed to be holding Fredericksburg, was on their right flank. The attack was made just where their line was weakest, and where support was least obtainable. The German troops felt their danger at once, turned and fled. Jackson's corps of 18,000 or 20,000 men at that point could do as much mischief as double the number. Hooker was busy with the spade in his front, whilst Jackson was piercing right into his rear, and but for the resistance which the entrenchments at Chancellorsville enabled the Federal commander to maintain, the whole of the Federal army would have been driven, pell-mell, to United States Ford. The truth is, the Federal War Administration has yet to learn this lesson, that, with incompetent commanders, large numbers in the field, especially in an enemy's country, are a source of weakness rather than of strength. The experience of a lifetime enables few men to handle 50,000 men easily and effectively. When a mere fighter, like Hooker, is intrusted with 120,000 men, there can be but one result—failure.

The worst of all this fighting is, that it leaves matters very much as they were. Every such defeat of the Federal army of course diminishes its confidence in itself and its leaders, and renders the task of invasion more difficult and hopeless. But so long as contractors grow fat, and foreign mercenaries can be bought, and political adventurers can rob, there is no prospect of the end. In New York the chances of defeat or victory form matter for a pleasing topic of discussion. A great national disaster only occasions a few hours' excitement, and the panic of the hour is followed by as complete a confidence in future success as reigned in Washington the day before the famous "skedaddle" at Bull Run. When the last mail left, Hooker was forgotten and Stoneman was the hero. What he has accomplished we hardly know, except a tolerably safe ride through some hundred miles of the enemy's country. He frightened the women and children, he picked up a stray Confederate soldier here and there, he tore up some miles of railway; but he could carry nothing off, for there was nothing to carry; his raid had no effect whatever upon the contest being waged on the banks of the Rappahannock; that was over before he reached the point where his services were required. With a force of 3,000 cavalry and twenty guns—a few thousand more or less is a matter of no moment to the Federals—General Stoneman marches within sight of Richmond, and then marches back again. He performs a sort of parody on Stewart's famous Maryland incursion, and returns, apparently amazed at his own hardihood, with a feeling of profound gratitude at finding "safety and rest under our brave old flag, within our lines at Gloucester Point." But it is enough for the New Yorkers, who find in it a feat of arms which inclines the balance of the Rappahannock successes decidedly to the Federal side. So in a moment the most extravagant rumours are revived. Hooker is once more advancing—has crossed the Rappahannock, and reached Gordonsville. General Keyes is in Richmond. Lee's army is in full retreat into North Carolina; and the rebellion is crushed. No doubt, when another year's correspondence is published, Mr. Seward will be found to have given Mr. Adams the earliest intelligence of these satisfactory events. The end of the story is, that Halleck is about to assume the chief command on the Rappahannock. Halleck has not the dash of Hooker, but he has more than his caution. It took him three months to advance from Pittsburg Landing to Corinth, fortifying every half-mile he marched. It is easy to calculate how long it would take this adventurous general to reach Richmond. If it be true, however, that General Keyes has reached West Point, we may expect a battle. There is already a rumour to the effect that Longstreet has defeated him, and it is, perhaps, only premature. General Keyes' advance might have been dangerous to the Confederates, had it been made simultaneously with Hooker's advance;

as an isolated movement it can only result in disaster. Apart from this, operations in Virginia seem for a time to be virtually suspended. The interest of the war is transferred to the South and West.

Charleston is again threatened; though we can hardly believe that the threat will be realized. The gathering of the ironclads is, in all probability, a feint to mask the attack that will be delivered at some more vulnerable point. The States of Mississippi and Tennessee are, for the moment, the chief theatres of the war, and it is there that we may expect all the efforts of the Federals to be concentrated. Having tried the northern, eastern, and western approaches of Vicksburg, General Grant is now directing his approach from the south. He has failed again at Haines' Bluff. He can make no impression upon Fort Pemberton, but he has landed at Grand Gulf, some few miles down the Mississippi, and, at the latest date, was making for the rear of Vicksburg, striking at Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi. His march will not be an easy one. The Confederates are in considerable force between Jackson and Vicksburg. The country through which he has to pass is cut with deep ravines, traversed by innumerable water-courses, impassable swamps, and thick forests. A small army would have no chance, a large army would meet with so many difficulties in the way of transporting supplies, that we cannot for an instant believe in Grant's success. At the same time the position of the defenders of Vicksburg is critical. They are cut off from the Red River supplies; Grierson's cavalry is devastating the country in their rear; the Federals hold the line of the Mississippi, and Grant is advancing upon Jackson from the south. Some great effort must be made at once for their relief, and recent intelligence leads to the belief that this has been made, for Grant was reported to be falling back after his victory at Port Hudson, and reinforcements from Charleston were arriving. We shall not be surprised to learn that Grant has been once more driven to his gunboats. Another month, and the Mississippi will effectually put a stop to the vaunted operations of the Federal gunboats and armies, and we may hear of the Confederates resuming the offensive.

In Tennessee the two armies still confront each other. Rosecranz's lines are contracted, and he has told his soldiers that the hour for active operations has arrived. He is a bold officer, and may strike a blow before the waters fall so low as to imperil his communications. If he delays, he will run serious risks. Both armies hold fortified positions. Advance on either side would be a dangerous enterprise; but a bold advance of the Federals, or a damaging defeat involving the loss of Kentucky, seem to be the only alternatives that present themselves to Rosecranz. It is not likely that a general engagement can long be postponed. Two armies of 60,000 or 70,000 men cannot remain quiet, facing each other's outposts during the next two months. We may look any day for another of those desperate fields of carnage which have distinguished the war in the South-West—the prize of the victors will be the States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

## Another "Indecisive" Victory.

GENERAL HOOKER has returned to his head-quarters at Falmouth; General Lee has officially announced to President Davis that the Confederates have again to thank Almighty God for a great victory; and another brief and bloody campaign in Virginia is over. By this time the dead have been shovelled under earth, except where a likely corpse has been secured by the Yankee embalmers, and the maimed and wounded are suffering *secundum artem*. It was a great expedition, a great defeat, a great victory. We have had nine days to criticise the strategy of the nine days' campaign, we have duly magnified the bravery of the contending hosts, and it seems to us that, at this juncture, when the first excitement of the battles has passed, but while yet the affair is freshly remembered, it may be proper, if not



profitable, to inquire what is the result of all this fighting and this carnage? *Cui bono?* Is peace nearer? If not, then the dead have died in vain, and who is guilty of the fearful waste of human life?

No person supposes that peace will ensue from the defeat of Hooker. So far from that, our Northern contemporaries who are the organs of the Peace Society and the Federal Government, while compelled to reluctantly admit that the Northern army has been defeated, openly rejoice that the event does not indicate the termination of hostilities, that the mad ambition, and lust, and hate of the Federals have not yet been quenched by the many rivulets of kindred blood, and that if in the East there is some cause for momentary despair, there is enough of hope in the West to sustain the war. And let us add, that no one in Europe, when the news came that Hooker was moving, imagined that, whatever might be the fortune of the campaign, it would lead to peace. We expected some lively doings because it was known that "Fighting Joe" was conceited and reckless. We were not disappointed. The *sport*—we must use the word, for it best expresses the kind of interest that Europe is now *unconsciously* taking in the contest—was excellent; and having kept his men long enough in the shambles to vindicate his own pluck, Hooker recrossed the Rappahannock. But assume that our anticipation, founded upon experience, had been disappointed. Assume that the veteran army of the Confederates had been defeated, that Hooker had captured Richmond, that the German mercenaries and their Yankee comrades had there, under the sanction of their officers, repeated the crimes which have already branded their cause with infamy,\* and that the Confederate capital had been razed to the ground. What then? Would that have ensured peace? Not at all. It has been well and often remarked by the leading journals of this country that the capture of Southern cities does not involve the conquest of the South; that the taking of Richmond, Charleston, Mobile, and Savannah, would no more aid the North than has the downfall of New Orleans. And so we are justified in saying that, unconsciously, Europe takes a sporting interest in the awful conflict. We do not mean that there is indifference to the sufferings of the respective armies and countries. We know that in England there is a deep-rooted sympathy with the Confederates, that we wish them well in their noble struggle for the maintenance of that independence which we ourselves prize so dearly. Nay, more, we are shocked, we are pained when we read accounts of Northern levity. Disgust gives place to anger when we hear of President Lincoln interrupting grave deliberations with broad jests. Allowing much for the joy that is incident to fat contracts and lucky speculations in gold, we are yet startled to find that, whilst their young men are fighting in the South, the people of New England and New York are making merry with the ravings of a bedlamite, or crowding to pay homage to Mr. and Mrs. Tom Thumb. It is not in a spirit of levity that we watch the war in America, yet we know the battles can have no other result than so many killed and wounded, so much property destroyed, and so much country desolated. We have been long aware that the North is fighting for an empire it cannot gain, and the South for an independence that cannot be taken away. Everywhere the wicked and hopeless strife is deplored. Who is responsible for it? Have we any share in the responsibility?

Who is to blame? Not the Confederates. They do not claim an inch of Northern territory. They only ask to be let alone, and to enjoy that political independence which has been their heritage and possession from time immemorial. They fight an invader—they fight to protect their property, their homes, their wives, and their children. They do not imagine that they have anything to gain by fighting. On the contrary, they confess before God and man that the war is a sad affliction and a terrible ordeal, for their armies are not recruited with foreign hirelings, and their triumphs on the field are dearly bought with

the loss of precious lives. It is, however, unnecessary to prove by argument what all admit, and which is as indisputable as a mathematical axiom. It is clear that the fault is with the invading North, for it is the Northern commanders that oblige the Confederates to try the same bloody issue half a dozen times. But are the Federals alone to blame? Has not Europe, has not the English Government, which, in this case dominates in the councils of Europe, some participation in the guilt?

Let us look calmly and dispassionately at the situation. Once more a dreadful series of battles has been fought, and once more it has been shown that the Confederates are able to maintain their independence. What do we do? We refuse to recognise the Confederate States—that is, we tell the Federals not to give in. We tell them that in the opinion of our Government the contest is not hopeless. Lord Russell bids the North have another and still another round. Is the North to be the first to confess its discomfiture? In the history of the world such an instance cannot be found. Recognition by foreign nations must precede peace, and the longer recognition is delayed the longer peace is postponed.

We do even more than encourage the North by inaction. The Federal Government thinks it indispensable to be superior at sea, and we liberally construe the law of nations in its favour to the detriment of our own commerce and the degradation of our flag. The North has need of English arms and ammunition; and whilst we are doing our best to prevent the Confederates from obtaining ships by allowing our builders' yards to be infested with Federal spies, we liberally construe the law in favour of the Federals getting warlike supplies from our manufactures. We permit the virtual blockade of British ports, but we dismiss a tried and faithful public servant, for aiding the bank of Mobile in transmitting coin to pay some interest due to English creditors. Meanwhile we rub our hands complacently. We thank ourselves we are not as our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic. We point proudly to our overflowing exchequer. We observe that the only troubles we suffer are the inconveniences of the crush at the receptions at St. James's, and the little cloud in Lancashire. Let the American war go on; it is not our concern; we are not our brothers' keeper. Again the Confederate arms have signally triumphed. But we shall lose this opportunity of speaking words of peace, as we have lost other opportunities. If now we were to recognise the South, it would strengthen the hands of the peace party in the North; it would be the beginning of the end. We shall not do so. We shall abide by the policy of Lord Russell, and by the sophistries of his friend "Historicus," and make it impossible for the Federals to give up the vain attempt to subjugate the South. We bind them to their bargain. We keep them to their rash vow. We will not give them a door of escape. Unless they choose to stoop lower than any other nation has ever stooped, the war must go on. All the influence of England shall be exerted to prevent that recognition of the South which must come before peace.

Lord Russell may think that his policy of inaction is masterly. He may think it exceedingly wise to lure the Federals on to utter ruin. Or, to put the most charitable construction on his cruel policy, he may think that anything is better than offending the Lincoln Government. Does the noble Lord believe in Nemesis? Does he not so far believe in a ruling Providence as to hold that nations, like individuals, reap what they sow? He may live long enough to see that he is wrong. He may live to see England mourn for the loss of her staple industry, to see the little cloud in sunshine darken all the land. He may live to see a continent divided in all other respects leagued together in bitter relentless hatred to England. The noble Lord boasts that the condemnation of both sides is evidence of his neutrality. It is a false assumption. He has not recognised the South; but if the South would return to the Union on the condition of a war with this country, there would be infinite gladness in New England, Lord Russell

has wronged both sides in the matter of recognition, for both sides are injured by the prolongation of the war through non-recognition. He denies to the South a right; he refuses to the North the opportunity of ending hostilities. When the contest is over, when on the morrow of peace comes reflection, the North will become our sworn foe. They will say to us, "We were mad, and you took advantage of our weakness. You knew the struggle was hopeless, but you would not tell us so officially. Why did you not recognise the South, after Manassas, or after the Seven days' Battle, or after the second battle of Manassas, or after Fredericksburg, or after the disastrous defeat of Hooker? Tell us not you did not wish to interfere. Recognition would not have prevented us carrying on the war if we had chosen, but it would have been an excuse for peace." You knew we were too proud to be the first to confess our failure, and that your non-recognition of the South forced us to continue the war! What can we answer? Nothing. The charge is true. We are not altogether guiltless of the blood of those who perish in what we believe to be a vain contest. To America Lord Russell's policy is a crime; to England it is a blunder as well as a crime.

### Queux Deus Vult Perdere.

It is a profound remark of Guizot's, in regard to the men of what is known in English history as the Great Rebellion, that even when in arms against the King and the law, they recognised and "bowed down before a law which they had not made." They refused obedience to their Sovereign; they took up arms against the Constitution; they committed high treason against their country; it might not be too harsh to say that they were rebels to Christianity; but they rebelled not in the name of lawless passion, not in the name of abstract reason, not in the name of some "higher law," or some imaginary "rights of man," which might be only a cover for the political passions or selfish designs of faction, but on behalf of a written and definite code of law, for which they claimed not only Divine sanction, but universal applicability. Their political leaders drew the sword in the name of the ancestral privileges of the people and of Parliament; their preachers hounded them on to the war with exhortations founded on the law of Moses. A law which they had not made, restrained their pretensions and controlled their passions, and gave even to the wildest excesses of fury and fanaticism a veil at least of decency and sobriety. There was no such frantic upheaval of all the worst and vilest impulses of human nature, no such fundamental overthrow of the first principles of religion, of morals, and of society, as left the leaders of the French revolution without restraint in their crimes, and have deprived the friends of French liberty in all succeeding generations of every point of support which liberty derives from faith, from tradition, from the morality of a Christian people, and without which she cannot possibly stand. The Rebellion, which was commenced by a fanatical party in full reliance on the bloodiest precedents and the sternest precepts of the Mosaic law, was conducted with something of a chivalrous spirit. It shed little blood on the scaffold; and for the worst of its crimes we must blame rather the ambitious wickedness of Cromwell himself than the fanaticism of the Parliamentary party. It ended in a military tyranny, followed by a restoration; but the good which it had wrought survives it to this day. The revolution, which commenced in France under the auspices of irreligious philosophy and lawless philanthropy, ended by handing over a people drunk with civil bloodshed to a rule which made them drunk with blood spilt in wars of aggression; and to this day France has not recovered—perhaps she never will recover—the effect of those fearful orgies of rapine and murder. France is, perhaps, the only country in Europe whose people are not ruled in a far greater degree by a law which they have not made, than by laws of their own making; and accordingly there is no European country where liberty is so uncertain and order so



precarious. But we have only to look beyond the Atlantic to see a people which stands to the French in much the same relation in which *la Grande Nation* once stood to its European neighbours—a people which has shaken off all those decent restraints which are the fruit and the security of civilization, and which, while in point of material resources and mechanical power it rivals England herself, is as little controlled by the conventional rules of public morality, religion, humanity, and national decorum as the Ashantees or the Taepings; a people wielding all the strength of a civilized country with all the savage unrestraint of barbarism, and drawing on itself at once the contempt and the fear, the pity and the indignation of the Christian world.

The genius of democracy—at least of modern democracy—revolts against the idea of restraint from without; and especially against the restraints of ancient usage, and of traditions whose wisdom is not obvious at first sight. Revolution is with a democracy almost a matter of every-day life; it is by its very nature incapable of that dislike of change, that love of institutions because they were dear to a previous generation, that limitation of the reforming spirit within narrow bounds and to matters not essential, which are absolutely necessary to the stability of governments. And the democracy of the Northern States is cursed with a misfortune which aggravates all its vices, and cuts it off from every hope of salvation and amendment. Its political creed, like the religious faith attributed to Popes, declares it to be infallible. The priests and high priests, the demagogue on the platform, the statesman in the Senate, the very President in his Message, assume rather than renounce this fundamental article of faith, and worship King Mob with a servility which no courtier since the days of Canute ever dared to offer to a Christian sovereign. Not only their political conduct, not only their official action, but their consciences, their honour, their very souls acknowledge the rule, guidance, sovereignty, almost the divinity, of the popular voice. There is nothing, therefore, to restrain a Northern populace from the wildest follies. It is insensible to shame; for it has no fear of coming into the presence of any whose superior authority, sobriety, and wisdom might awaken in it a sense of its own extravagance and unworthiness. It is incapable of self-distrust; for it has been sedulously taught that the people are never mistaken. It is above repentance; for its belief is strong and sure that the people can do no wrong. It is beyond guidance or control; for it has learned to deny all authority and all knowledge greater or surer than its own. And hence we constantly read of such violent ebullitions and such sudden changes of popular sentiment in America as would be impossible to England; and we find that Congress and the Executive change as quickly and completely as the mob. The mob can feel no shame at its own fickleness, for fickleness, practised by the people, becomes a virtue. The public men who follow the popular voice feel no shame in their own tergiversation; for no Northern statesman ever dreams of such a thing as resistance, in the name of right, to the will of the majority. And therefore in those which are now the "United States" there is no rallying-point to stem the current of popular frenzy; there is scarcely the hope of a reaction, for none are strong or bold enough to commence it.

There is a theory, gradually obtaining general acceptance among medical men, known by the name of the duality of the brain. It is supposed that one of the two great divisions of the human brain acts as a check or balance to the other; correcting its aberrations and erroneous perceptions, and restraining its extravagances; and many peculiar cases of delusions of the senses, recognised as such by the sufferers, and of tendencies towards insanity, restrained and controlled by the will, are attributed to this dual action. In the brain of a healthy society, this sort of mutual correction is continually going on between the Few and the Many; the eccentricities of the latter being constantly restrained by the coolness of the former. It is this duality which preserves the sanity of a nation, as of an individual; and where, as in the Northern States, the Many are all in all

we have a nation manifestly on the high road to that loss of reason which is the premonitory symptom of national ruin. And in truth at this moment the Northern nation appears to be in the agonies of insanity. For years past those observers have seen with alarm the development of symptoms indicating the approach of such a calamity. That moral disease which the Latin tongue emphatically describes as *impotentia*—the helpless weakness of a man or a people that has lost all power over self, and yields to every impulse of passion without dreaming of resistance—that tendency to embrace any new and strange delusion that might tickle a morbid fancy or amuse a clouded brain which produces what is called monomania—that incapacity to apply the control of common sense to the vagaries of the imagination or of the intellect, which the medical theory above described would attribute to the infection of the sound brain by the diseased one—all these melancholy premonitions of the coming affliction have been long discernible in the conduct of the people of the Northern States. "Isms" religious, physical, political, and social, have been produced among them with alarming rapidity of succession. We have seen Mormonism, Universalism, Spirittrapping, "Free-Love,"—that is, the apotheosis of unbalanced lust, Communism, Socialism, Abolitionism, Woman's Rights, Bloomerism—all the most hideous phantoms that the imagination of a demoralized people ever pictured upon the darkness of ignorance and vice, paraded, accepted, worshipped as realities, as scientific and political achievements of unrivalled importance, even as divine revelations; and we might have been sure that the end was not far off, and that unless some wonderful and most unexpected change should take place, the brain of this haunted, tormented, Heaven-forsaken nation must give way under the first heavy shock that should befall it. The shock came; and ever since the election of Abraham Lincoln—which in itself was hardly the act of a sane people—the conduct of the Northern States has been marked by symptoms of aggravated and ever-increasing insanity. The brutal savagery which distinguishes the conduct of the war—a war professedly waged, at least, in the outset, for the restoration of the Union—is hardly intelligible on any theory which does not attribute some form of national insanity to the North. The burning of defenceless plantations, the murder of unarmed citizens, guilty of no offence and charged with none, on their own threshold—wholesale, outrageous, purposeless insult to women, condemned as "infamous" even by those who speak with diplomatic reserve and under official responsibilities—expeditions sent out for no other purpose but to burn, steal, and slay—other expeditions sent, time after time, to accomplish what every general in the North must know to be impossible; are these the acts of a Christian and civilized people, in its sober senses;—or the acts of such a people, debased by insanity to the moral level of wild beasts, while retaining the destructive instincts and cunning of the savage and the physical power of the civilized man? The savage, nay, fiendish ferocity of language which distinguishes the public utterances of Northern orators—men, women and clergymen—the bloodthirsty and blasphemous prayers for the extermination of the Southern people—which are actually addressed to the God of Battles—the fearful execrations, the menaces, revolting even to read of, which are uttered by female lips and cheered by crowded audiences in Northern lecture-halls; are not all these things familiar to all medical men, as among the most painful and horrible of the incidents of insanity in some of its most hopeless forms? It is madness, if it be possible that a nation should be mad—it is the madness which springs in national, as in individual life, from extreme and unbridled wickedness; from the long repudiation of self-control, from a life spent in the habitual indulgence of the strong and fierce passions of a corrupted nature. It is that madness which some anciently believed to be the natural punishment of crimes which Heaven could no longer endure, and to be the immediate forerunner of yet more signal and terrible vengeance—the madness which falls on him whose destruction has been resolved on high.

## A Short Sketch of Lieut.-General Stonewall Jackson, U.S.A.

THIS remarkable man, who was the object of universal pride and affection on the part of his soldiers, was born in a small town in the western part of the State of Virginia, on the Kanawha River, some 200 miles from the city of Richmond, about the year 1821. His height was about six feet; his person of medium size, and somewhat angular; his eye, yellowish grey, and very calm and cold in action, but brilliant and pleasing in social conversation; Roman nose, sharp and expressive; small, forward chin, thin lips, close and compressed in action; angular brow; and light brown hair. No likeness has done him justice. The expression of his face was rather stern in action, but happy in social intercourse; he was fond of the society of ladies, with whom he conversed freely and cheerfully. He was impulsive, silent, and emphatic in all matters pertaining to his profession. His dress was official, but plain, and often became much tarnished by long marches and exposure in battles; his cap-front usually projected nearly to his nose. His tall horse diminished the effect of his size. He was a good rider, if not a graceful one; and when in the presence of the enemy, it was difficult to keep up with him.

In his religious character, he was not, as some have represented, a fatalist; but, on the contrary, he believed, most implicitly, in the great fact, that *God is a Sovereign*, and that *He is also our Father*; and he was wont, therefore, to go to Him in every emergency, and lean upon Him in every doubt, danger, and in the hour of darkness. No one placed more entire and childlike confidence in prayer than Stonewall Jackson; and yet no one exerted himself more continuously or more desperately than he; saying to the Almighty, "*Help me*;" and then acting as if he had to do it all himself.

In his moral and religious conduct, he was a model of an upright man, and a humble, devoted, and consistent follower of his Master. Entirely free from bigotry, he was a truly Catholic-minded man; and yet so zealous and devout, that he divided his Sundays between the public worship of God, and going privately among his men distributing tracts, &c.

I give a few incidents to illustrate these traits of character.

When he was under command at Bull Run, he maintained such an impassive composure, whether exposed to the terrible fire of the artillery, or the more destructive musketry of the enemy, calmly holding his ground when others wavered, that General Bee, of South Carolina, said to others:—"See how Jackson stands there like a stone wall in the face of the enemy."

In the midst of the terrible cannonade at the battle of Fredericksburg, when I counted the number of shot and shell, during fifteen minutes, that fell within a hundred yards of the position that he and I occupied, and estimated them at 500 during the action, he was seen calmly sitting on his horse, with his hand raised, as if in prayer. Just before the action, and while the enemy were getting into position on the plain, which General Lee had prepared as a slaughter pen for them, Generals Lee and Jackson, with their staff officers, were on the crest of a hill, overlooking the whole magnificent field about five miles long. They were both dressed in new military cloaks and caps. As I ascended the hill, General Lee handed his field-glass to Jackson, pointing to Sumner's corps. As they advanced to our right, he carefully examined the immense numbers of fine-looking troops as they deployed along the distant road, handed back the glass, and after watching them for a few minutes, as if he were working out a problem in algebra, he quietly turned his horse and rode directly across that plain and in front of our lines, giving those orders which resulted in saving so many of our lives. I shall never forget that scene, nor the stern composure of Jackson, as he there contemplated the dreadful work of the morrow.

Nor, on the contrary, shall I soon forget the brilliant animation of eye and features, and the warm grasp of his hand, as I lately took leave of him in his tent, at Massaponix Run; I alluded to his own views of success in battles, and that it did not depend upon numbers or munitions of war, and that his own success was because he was a simple-hearted Christian in his entire dependence upon God. He replied, "*God has done it all*."

It is proper that I should name some of the engagements in which he acted either an important part, or was in sole command:—At Bull Run, at Kernstown, at Front Royal, Middletown, Winchester, Stranburg, Harrisonburg, Port Republic, near Mechanicsville, Cold Harbour, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Cedar Mountain, Manassas, Sudley, Chantilly, Martinsburg, Harper's Ferry, Antietam, Shephardstown, Fredericksburg, the Wilderness (his last battle). In all these engage-



ments the enemy had a larger force, more artillery, more ammunition, &c.

At Kernstown, Jackson was deceived and entrapped by false information, and if he had hesitated for a moment his whole command would have been routed. He had only 6,000 men; the enemy had more than 18,000. He attacked the enemy, and maintained the action until night, and then drew off his men; the enemy also fell back. Federal loss, 200 killed, 500 wounded; and large numbers scattered through the country, some of them escaping in regiments, without guns or baggage, some sixty miles to Alexandria; Jackson's loss 260 killed and wounded, and 230 prisoners. He was remarkable for long, rapid marches, as well as brilliant actions.

He knew how to appreciate and use such men as Major-General Ewell, and Major-General J. R. Primble, who, with other like men, were the material with which he marched and fought. General Jackson was not a novice in the art of war, uneducated and unskilled, but, having had a severe military and mathematical education at West Point Academy, and much experience in the Mexican war, and taught in the military academy of Virginia, he stands prominent among his military peers as an illustrious example of the value of scientific training. May it not be said, as the grave closes over this remarkable man, that nations admire and weep over his early death?

K. J. S.

## A Reminiscence of Stonewall Jackson.

A MOURNFUL interest now attaches to all that illustrates the character of the Christian hero whose untimely death is lamented by all generous minds on both sides of the Atlantic. The following is an extract from a private letter, received some time since, by the Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge, of Richmond, now in London, from his brother, residing at Charlottesville, Virginia. Though, in homage to the honoured dead, we are now permitted to publish it, this simple narrative of a day spent in Jackson's intimacy was written only for a brother's eye:—

I have just returned from a visit to General Jackson's headquarters, at Moss Neck, the grand mansion of Mr. —, some ten miles from Fredericksburg. The General modestly occupies the lower room of one of the offices in the yard. As soon as I arrived, General Jackson claimed me as his guest, and I gladly spent what time I could with him. I found Mr. — regularly ensconced in his office, as a sort of chaplain general, not officially, of course, but virtually. His work is partly to increase the number of chaplains, placing them where most needed, and partly to preach himself wherever there is need of it in the corps. His position is very important, and his residence with General Jackson not only furthers his influence, but is personally profitable to him. Indeed, it seems hardly possible to be long in the society of that noble and honoured General, that simple-hearted, straightforward, laborious, devoted man of God, without catching something of his spirit—the spirit of toil, of patience, of modesty, of careful conscientiousness, of child-like dependence on God, of fervent, believing prayer. While I was in camp I preached five times in the Stonewall brigade. How the men crowded into their log church, how they listened, how they seemed to hang upon the word, you, of all men, need least to be told, for you have seen so much of them from the beginning of the war. On Sunday night, after preaching, the General, Mr. —, and myself, had a long talk, as we sat drying our boots in front of the open fire. When it was near 11 o'clock the General asked me to conduct worship; and afterwards, before retiring, he set us the example of kneeling again for secret prayer. He then shared his bed upon the floor with me, and we talked till long after midnight. Though usually taciturn, he led the conversation. How anxious he was for his army! How anxious for himself! How manifest it was that he is a man whose great desire is to be right in all things, and especially to be right before God! In our whole intercourse I could not detect the slightest trace of self-importance, ostentation, or seeking after vainglory. To glorify God possessed all his thoughts. "I have been thinking a great deal about our chief end lately," said he, "and I think the first answer in our catechism tells it all; man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever; and I think," he added, "we need not trouble ourselves much about the second part, if we only attend well to the first. I find my life in camp a very happy one when I am enabled to keep this aim steadily before me—to live for the glory of God." I found him very earnest also in his views as to our duties to the negroes. He used to teach a Sunday-school for coloured children in Lexington, and all the pressure of his great duties and cares does not divert his thoughts from the spiritual interests of our servants.

## The Derby Day.

On the 20th day of this month England, or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, London, paid her annual tribute of respect to the sport of horse-racing. The Derby Day, with its vivid scenes of purposed folly, ludicrous incident, grotesque combination of business and pleasure, careless riot and real anxiety,

has been a thousand times portrayed to the unwearied reader, and tested by the experience of indefatigable visitors. Its grand feature is, that, like the old god Janus, it presents itself under two forms, and thereby adapts itself to two classes of votaries. First, there is the race; second, there is the turn-out, the excursion, the picnic, for which the race is a mere excuse, and in comparison with the importance or the delight of which the race is a bagatelle—a part of the programme certainly, but by no means equal in importance to the momentous journey to and fro, and perhaps to be reckoned in the same scale as the "chaff" or the champagne. Just, then, as the mind of each individual visitor is enlisted in favour of one of these two forms, so will his opinion be of the relative amount of enjoyment extracted from any given Derby Day as compared with other anniversaries. On the whole, it is pretty clear that the lover of racing, for its own sake, occupies a more enviable position than the mere pleasure-seeker; for to him that formidable adversary, the weather, is very nearly a matter of indifference, while to his companion a north-east wind and a strong rain form insuperable obstacles to the realization of any dreams of enjoyment. Wednesday, the 20th day of May, was certainly signalized by the foulest weather that can well be imagined. It was windy, cold, and wet; the roads were miry, filthy, abominable; the mud such as even the armies on the Rappahannock would not have disdained. It was a trying time for class number two. As compared with last year, the attendance was less by one-third; yet how could the popularity of the day have been better proved? It is a marvel that any one person of the pleasure-seeking class went at all. Yet they did go, and were numbered by thousands and myriads. On the other hand, those who went to see the race came home not in the cleanest of clothes, nor in the most comfortable condition; but they had seen a wonderful race, their interest had been more than usually excited, and they were satisfied.

Of the history of this famous annual contest, it will be sufficient for the purpose to state that it was instituted eighty-three years ago, and that it rose with great rapidity to its present position as the greatest of all races. Noble names appear in the list of owners of winning horses, and the prize has been successfully contested by a Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Bedford, Grafton, and Rutland, and the Lords Derby, Egremont, Jersey, and Eglinton. As are the Two Thousand Guinea Stakes at Newmarket and the St. Leger Stakes at Doncaster, so is the Derby confined to horses of the age of three years. The entrances are made in the case of each of these three races, when the intended competitors are yet yearlings; and all the animals which eventually start for the Derby pay a subscription of £50, the absentees paying a moiety of that sum. The number of horses entered for the race of 1863 was 255, and the net value of the stakes reached the sum of £7,000. The male competitors carry 122 lbs., and the female sex is favoured with a reduction of five pounds in weight. Such are the conditions of the race. As to the course, perhaps the less said the better; but it is at least painful to think that the noblest animals are made to stake their reputation, and men are compelled to venture enormous sums in a contest waged on ground, which undoubtedly tests the endurance of the animal to a marvellous extent, but which is unfavourable to the grandest class of horses, and peculiarly adapted for the consummation of accidents. The best idea of its shape can, perhaps, be conceived by a comparison of the course to a syphon, the starting post being placed at the end of the longer leg, and the winning post at the end of the shorter leg of the instrument. The whole distance of the course is one mile and a half. The first half-mile is a steady ascent, the next half-mile a rather steep descent, and the remainder of the course rises in a very decided, though by no means abrupt manner. The turn at the lower bend of the syphon is unpleasantly sharp, and, as the hill is just at that point peculiarly steep, the occurrence of such an accident as will be presently noticed is less marvellous than the fact that the little Surrey village of Epsom, with so indifferent a course, should have acquired or retained so grand a reputation. The lower bend of the course, or "Tattenham Corner," marks the point at which the competitors burst upon the view of the spectators in the Grand Stand and at the Winning-Post; just below that point the horses reach the foot of the descent and come fairly into the "straight." Their perils are not even then at an end, for an ugly carriage-way has to be passed, which, though carefully covered with loose grass, has more than once proved sufficiently suspicious to the eye of the horse to induce him to jump the road at the imminent risk of smashing his joints, a contingency twice realized within the last seven years, and in both instances in the case of the leading horse. It we add that the last quarter of a mile has the additional aggravation of being on a side-hill, enough will have been said to show that Epsom boasts the most distressing and the most perilous of courses.

Thirty-one horses made their appearance at a quarter past 3 on the eventful day to take part in the contest, and as they cantered singly or by twos and threes past the Stand they certainly seemed not unworthy of the occasion. Maccaroni, the winner of the Two Thousand Guinea Stakes at Newmarket, was, in point of health and condition, perfect, and his victory in that race, at least, entitled him to a more favourable notice than that which audaciously placed his chance at the odds of ten to one. At the same time it is impossible to say that he is in appearance an attractive animal. Very sound, with capital points and the widest of hips, he yet lacks the style and grandeur which the Derby colt must have to be the popular favourite; and good and honest as he may be, it may well be doubted whether his fame will be handed down through a

line of victorious descendants. His stoutness may be thought to disprove the assertion that his sire Sweetmeat has the taint of lack of endurance; but it must be recollected that his maternal grandsire is Pantaloon, and his grand-dam, the celebrated Banter, the mother of Touchstone, the stoutest of all known race-horses. The Rapid Rhone, one of Lord Glasgow's three, was pronounced "a coarse coach horse" with the same assurance which despised Voltigeur thirteen years ago, and odds of fifty to one were betted against him, with Clario and Lord Glasgow's other colt thrown into the bargain. The Gillie, who with Hospodar competed for the honour of being second favourite, betrayed his sire, Tadmar, too unmistakably to justify the belief that the Derby course could be to his taste; and the French Hospodar, looking a far better horse than he did at Newmarket, had yet defied the attempts of his trainer to alter the shape of his absurd fore legs, and to render him capable of galloping down hill. King of the Vale was magnificent in stature, size, and form, and looked dangerous enough on a day that so well suited a powerful horse; and Saccharometer, who ran second for the Two Thousand Guineas, at Newmarket, was pretty as ever, but without visible pretensions for effecting the overthrow of his then conqueror. But the favourite, Lord Clifden, was the true object of admiration; faultless in shape, yet decidedly a great horse, with power and speed everywhere visible, a stride that, once seen, cannot be forgotten;—quiet and dignified, as though he appreciated the occasion and the expectations concerning him, he seemed to justify the confidence of his owner and the public as amply as Wild Dayrell had done under similar circumstances—the odds laid against him were four to one.

The race itself was remarkable. First, it was quite in vain that the starter attempted to marshal the troop of horses in line. Twenty-nine horses were obedient even to docility, but Blue Mantle studiously clung to the front, and Tambour Major hung desperately to the rear. For forty minutes in cold and rain the crowd chewed the cud of their impatience, and the owners endured the painful suspense. At length the claims of Tambour Major were disregarded, and the line was despatched without him. The order of running as far as the upper bend of the course need not be observed, but shortly after commencing the descent, which attains its greatest magnitude at the lower bend, Saccharometer and King of the Vale rolled the one over the other, and Fantastic, jumping the former, was precipitated head foremost. The chance of all three was, of course, annihilated, and now Lord Clifden rushed to the front, holding a clear lead of more than a length, as the line burst upon the view of the spectators in the Stand, and gained possession of the straight run-in. He began to climb the final ascent with the same commanding lead, Maccaroni, the Rapid Rhone, and Blue Mantle fighting, it would seem, only for second place. At the Stand matters had undergone no change, and while the rider of Maccaroni was already prepared for the use of whip and spurs, the Favourite was galloping with undisturbed tranquillity. Suddenly he changed legs, that unerring mark of fatigue, and with a dash of amazing power, Maccaroni rushed to the front; it was too late for Lord Clifden to recover his stride, and he was beaten on the post by the shortest of heads. The Rapid Rhone was third, but half a length from the Favourite, and Blue Mantle followed him. The French horse, Hospodar, was defeated as hopelessly as he had been a few weeks before at Newmarket. The disappointment at the overthrow of the favourite extended far beyond the mere interests involved in a pecuniary point of view, and was intensified by the reaction from the joy that had greeted his assumed success but a few seconds previously. It may be presumptuous to criticise the skill of so accomplished a jockey as Fordham, but it must, we think, be conceded that he was not only out-generalled by Challoner, but that he failed to show his accustomed caution in the middle, or his admirable vigour at the finish of the race. The winnings of Mr. Naylor, the owner of Maccaroni, are said to amount to £70,000, but of the half million of money that is supposed to change hands on the event of the Derby, we imagine that the principal portion has gone into the pockets of the bookmakers.

The Romans under the Empire found it quite impossible to enjoy the exciting scenes of the circus without the risk of faction, of riot and of bloodshed. The White and Red, the Green and Cærulean Blue absorbed the passions, the lives and the interests of thousands of the degenerate mob, and the patronage of these mad follies was among the worst features in the reigns even of such men as Commodus and Caracalla. Transplanted to Constantinople, the evil thrived in a congenial soil, and the Greens, under the approval of Anastasius, avenged defeat in the circus by the slaughter of three thousand Blues; while these, in their turn, destroyed half the public buildings of the city, and thirty thousand of their foes in the famous Nika faction. On the other hand, the old Greeks thought it right to proclaim by peace-heralds throughout the land that the holy month had commenced, and that warfare, while the games of Elis were being celebrated, was sacrilege. The French Government would not venture to fill the race course at Longchamps with the holiday folk of Paris, except under the guardian care of two thousand bayonets. Yet at Epsom a small body of police, whose time is alternately occupied in seizing pickpockets, and carrying off those of their own body who have found the scene too joyous and the malt liquor too potent, are amply sufficient to keep the peace among the vast multitude. The love of order is characteristic of Englishmen, but on this great festival, which is to them more than the carnival to the Italian, or the bull-fight to the Spaniard, they surpass themselves; and neither the most miserable weather, nor even the melancholy defeat of the horse which they had



chosen for their favourite, can make them forget that the day is sacred, and that to be morose or violent, irritable or turbulent, would be an offence, not only against the festival, but also against that confidence which is fearlessly placed in them.

#### A SECOND "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."\*

It is almost a maxim in English criminal practice that "an alibi is the worst defence that can be made to an indictment." Not because it is not logically conclusive, for nothing can be more certain than that, if A was dining with B and C at Greenwich at seven on Tuesday night, he could not at the same hour have been engaged in the robbery of D's house at Hampstead; nor because it is liable to fail in default of evidence, for nothing can be more easily susceptible of proof; but simply because it is of all defences the most easy to invent, the most likely to be resorted to by the guilty and supported by perjury, and therefore the most open to suspicion. Similarly, we may say that the publication of the journal of one who has lived on a Southern plantation is radically bad as evidence in favour of the assertions of Abolitionists, disproved as they are by a mass of reliable testimony on the other side; not because such a journal, if thoroughly truthful, honest, and impartial, would not furnish the most conclusive witness, as regards the sphere of the writer's observation, that could be given; but simply because nothing can be more easy than to get such a journal written to order, or to procure it from some Southern renegade, some man afflicted with that bitter hatred of his former friends which characterises the whole race of apostates, or some woman who desires to revenge her own misconduct and disgrace upon those who are conscious how she earned her present position. Of all such witnesses, had we an Abolitionist conscience and the management of the Northern case, we should probably prefer the last, both as more likely to win public credence, and as capable of more wilful, wanton, wicked, and malignant untruthfulness than male ingenuity can attain,—

"For men at most differ as Heaven and Earth,  
But women, worst and best, as Heaven and Hell.

And if there were presented to us an Englishwoman willing to give the testimony, most likely to excite the feelings of her countrymen, and furnished with that knowledge of Southern life which would enable her to give her story the benefit of a true local colouring; one, too, whose intimacy with an Abolitionist family in the North had made her thoroughly familiar with the tricks of their trade, while her marriage with a planter would seem to the public to render her a competent and fair witness, and her divorce from him would assure, to any one who knows the evil side of female nature, that she would be towards him and his class the most malignantly and unscrupulously hostile witness that we could possibly produce; a woman whose profession had made her name familiar to all of us, while it had caused her marriage to be looked upon with a jealous eye, and excluded her from the best society of the South; a woman who had shown the tenderness of her conscience by her passionate denunciations of the wickedness of slavery, and the wrongfulness of living on the unpaid labour of slaves, while she proved the strength of her mind by nevertheless marrying a slaveowner, and freely enjoying the profits of his iniquity; a woman who, on her own showing, was well, kindly, and generously treated by her husband, and who nevertheless was all the time writing to a female friend letters reviling him, his order, and the institutions to which he was attached as a proprietor and as a citizen; a woman who could play the spy in her husband's household, and the agitator among his people, and who could tell us without shame that she had made it her business to do so; a woman who, after leading her husband to waste his money in ruinous speculations, or in the gratification of feminine extravagance, could desert him and turn upon him in his adversity; and who, when the laws of his country were invoked to release him from a hateful and unhallowed union, and to put asunder "them whom God had nowise joined," could defend herself by threatening to publish the results of her domestic treachery and espionage—we should certainly consider that Fortune had given the Southerners for the time into the hands of their enemies. What might not be made out of such a witness, if only her evidence were carefully pruned and toned down to the semblance of probability and an affectation of the modesty of nature? Something of coarseness would always be perceptible; vulgarity, bad faith, and malice would always be discernible by the close observer, but with a prejudiced court, and that lax cross-examination which the criticism of the press generally accords as the right of women, her evidence might surely be trusted to secure a verdict.

\* Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-39. By Frances Anne Kemble. London, Longmans, 1863.

We say that a journal might be written by such a person, in the spirit and temper we have described; and that, if so written, it would undoubtedly be caught up eagerly by the Abolitionists, and published in London with a preliminary flourish of trumpets under the special patronage of the American Embassy, and the organs which receive inspiration and support from that quarter. And because such things are conceivable, we look with suspicion on this kind of evidence; and even though the journal now before us bears the signature of Frances A. Kemble, formerly the wife of Mr. Pierce Butler—an estimable Pennsylvanian gentleman and Georgian planter—we decline to put implicit faith in its statements until such time as we shall know the circumstances which led to the publication of such a book by a lady in that position at the present moment; the reasons why it was not published twenty years ago; and all the other particulars which a cross-examining counsel might fairly demand, in order to test the credibility of the witness. Until this essential condition is fulfilled we do not think it necessary to examine the details of her evidence. It is hardly worth while to ask what they prove, until we know whether any credit is to be given to them. The lady's veracity may be as unimpeachable as her professional reputation; or her ideas of truth may be as peculiar as those notions with regard to the construction of the English language which lead her to speak of trees, men, birds, and beasts by the generic name of creatures, and to pronounce the Shad of the Altamaha the "heavenliest creature" in existence. Her sense of justice and her love of accuracy may be as exquisite as the taste she displays in reading Shakespeare's English, or as eccentric as that displayed by some passages of her own composition. But until we know something more of her credibility as a witness, we must remain in absolute uncertainty; remembering only on the one hand that she is an Englishwoman, and on the other that she is a *divorcée*; and in the meantime we forbear from entering into a minute examination of her book.

We have only a very few words to say which bear upon the value of her evidence rather than on its credibility. Mr. Butler was a Pennsylvanian, though he had adopted the name of an excellent Carolinian family, and received a Southern inheritance. He was, therefore, no fair specimen of a Southern planter; for he was not a man born and brought up among his slaves. Again, he was habitually an absentee; and absentee planters naturally have the worst plantations and most miserable labourers, just the same as the estates of absentees in Ireland are distinguished by the wretchedness of their appearance and the squalor of the peasantry. Absenteeism is proverbially fatal to the well-being of the absentee's dependants, free or slave, and Northern men are proverbial in the South as harsh, unkind, and unpopular masters. We believe, moreover, that the conduct of Mr. Butler, in some subsequent dealings with his property, was such as to cause a good deal of coolness between him and his neighbours, who considered that he had hardly shown that care for his people which a Southern slaveowner should show. Therefore, he is on the whole an unfavourable example of his class, as stranger by birth and absentee by choice; and from any charges established by him, no general conclusions can be drawn applicable to the great body of Southern gentlemen.

Again, we notice a curious inconsistency in the statements of the journalist with regard to the treatment of the slaves. She represents them as suffering terribly from neglect, want, and scanty supplies of food and clothing; she speaks of the women as having their health destroyed by overwork, and as losing above half their children from the treatment they received. And this though food and clothing for slaves were admittedly very cheap, and slave property exceedingly valuable. Nor was Mr. Butler a harsh, cruel, or indifferent master. We are told how, on more than one occasion, he, the doctor, and the overseer, sat up all night with a sick or dying slave—and these not house servants, but field hands; we are told how once, after being abused by his wife about the separation of a family, which was no fault of his, in such a tone that even she, on reflection, felt ashamed of herself, he went without giving her a word of reply, and bought the wife and children of his slave, to prevent their separation; and then we are expected to believe that he was not only cruel enough, but foolish enough, to sacrifice the health of his female slaves by allowing them to be systematically put to work too soon after their confinements;—and that of all his people by leaving them to fall victims to disease engendered by want of sufficient food, by unavoidable filth, by inadequate shelter, by scanty clothing, and all the evils which attend on abject poverty in lands where slavery is unknown. Now it is possible that a cruel man might neglect his immediate interests in order to gratify the passion of the moment, or that a careless man might allow his property

to go to ruin for want of adequate attention. But that a man fairly humane and tolerably alive to the considerations of prudence should allow negroes to perish for want of things so cheap and easily bestowed as food and shelter, or should ruin his own property by over-tasking women at a time when interest—to say nothing of higher considerations—would induce him to be peculiarly tender towards them, is simply a moral impossibility. The authoress does not seem to perceive the absurdity of the conduct she attributes to her husband; but it must be plain enough to every rational observer. Where corn is almost too cheap to have a price, and pigs may be reared by simply giving them the range of the woods, it is impossible that negro children can have been allowed to die for want of adequate sustenance and care, if for no other reason than that they would cost their owner little or nothing till they reached the working age, and would then be worth at least £100 apiece.

But there is one piece of evidence in this book to which we may certainly give credence. Negroes at the South are slaves; but they are neither spurned as offensive nor neglected as worthless animals. At the North they are free; but how they are treated let our Abolitionist witness tell us:—

If, in the early portion of their life, they escape the contempt and derision of their white associates—if the blessed unconsciousness and ignorance of childhood keeps them for a few years unaware of the conventional proscription under which their whole race is placed (and it is difficult to walk your streets, and mark the tone of insolent superiority assumed by even the gutter-urchins over their dusky cotemporaries, and imagine this possible)—as soon as they acquire the first rudiments of knowledge, as soon as they begin to grow up and pass from infancy to youth, as soon as they cast the first observing glance upon the world by which they are surrounded, and the society of which they are members, they must become conscious that they are marked as the Hebrew lepers of old, and are condemned to sit, like those unfortunates, without the gates of every human and social sympathy. From their own sable colour, a pall falls over the whole of God's universe to them, and they find themselves stamped with a badge of infamy of Nature's own devising, at sight of which all natural kindness of man to man seems to recoil from them. They are not slaves indeed, but they are pariahs; debarred from all fellowship save with their own despised race—scorned by the lowest white ruffian in your streets, not tolerated as companions even by the foreign menials in your kitchens. They are free certainly, but they are also degraded, rejected, the offscum and the offscouring of the very dregs of your society; they are free from the chain, the whip, the enforced task and unpaid toil of slavery; but they are not the less under a ban. Their kinship with slaves for ever bars them from a full share of the freeman's inheritance of equal rights, and equal consideration and respect. All hands are extended to thrust them out, all fingers point at their dusky skin; all tongues—the most vulgar, as well as the self-styled most refined—have learnt to turn the very name of their race into an insult and a reproach.

*Subjectos tanquam suos; viles tanquam alienos.* This is how those treat the negroes who do not hold them in servitude. Can the sympathies of reasoning men, after such evidence as this, go with the Northern champions of negro emancipation?

#### FEDERAL OUTRAGES ON CLERGYMEN.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America has been duly organised; a constitution has been adopted, two general councils have been held; and every arrangement made for its future work. At the last general council, held in Savannah, George Bishop Elliot presided. Owing to the scarcity of books, &c., the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, formerly of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, was requested by several of the clergy and vestries to proceed to England, and procure a supply of Religious and Sunday School Church Literature. He was arrested, while on his way, by the Federal Government, and taken to Washington, where, having learned the errand on which he was sent, he was incarcerated in the "old Capitol Prison," with which the clergy of the Episcopal Church have become very well acquainted; there were three Episcopal clergy in that gaol at that time. One of them, the Rev. S. F. Cameron, had been requested by Dr. Stewart and others to proceed to Baltimore, and procure Bibles for the use of the army and Federal prisoners in the Libby Prisons. The agents of the Federal Government caught him with a trunk full of Bibles, and some children's shoes; so they cast him into the Bastille at Washington. Tears were in his eyes, and the officers asked him why he wept. He replied, "Those shoes were for poor little bare-footed orphan children, whose parents you have killed, and whose homes you have burned down." Dr. Cameron had been unwearied, in many battles, ministering to the wants of wounded and dying Federal officers and soldiers, many of whom will remember how, in Stonewall Jackson's battles, he gave them his own bread, water, and every aid in binding up their bleeding wounds. If any of them should see this, will they not take some trouble for him, as he languishes in prison?

Another clerical prisoner was known as Stonewall Jackson's chaplain; he was taken from his bed at night,



when at home with his family. A detachment of Federal officers and soldiers lately proceeded to Leesburg, Virginia, and attempted to arrest the Rev. Charles E. Nourse, a Presbyterian minister; while sick and in bed at home and at midnight. Mr. Nourse declined going with them, stating "My daughter is recovering from a typhoid fever, and I cannot leave her." But when the captain attempted to call in his guard and force him off, Mr. Nourse knocked him down, and escaped. The chief honour is, however, accorded to the Episcopal clergy in these persecutions. A late military edict establishes an "interdict!" in all that part of Virginia now in Federal possession near Washington city, and no minister of that Church is permitted publicly to worship God, unless he deigns himself to change the Liturgy of the Diocese to accord with the wishes of the General in Command!!

This does not apply to the Church of Rome, for it would seem that the Federal Government was more afraid of the Irish than of God; or that the English and anti-Puritan element in the Episcopal Church was peculiarly obnoxious to them. During the occupation of Stafford Heights, Falmouth, &c., by the Federal army they took possession of a church for commissary purposes, and used the communion table as a butcher's block! One who heard of it, and contemplated the pews doors covered with blood, repeated the old words, "*Proh pudor!*" They drove all the Episcopal clergy from Alexandria, took possession, forcibly, of the Theological Seminary (the training school for ministers), the chapel, professors' houses, &c.; destroyed the choice libraries of the clergy; used the buildings for barracks, hospitals, &c., writing indecent and impious things over the walls, burnt houses, destroyed fences, imprisoned ministers, even taking them from the altar on the Lord's Day while celebrating divine worship, and carried the priest, robed in his surplice, through a mob of street loafers, and shut him up under an armed guard,—and for no other cause than that, when the Secretary of State sent an agent into the Church who interrupted the Litany, and demanded that the minister should offer up such a prayer as he should dictate, the minister simply proceeded with the prescribed Litany, without taking any notice of the officer. But time and space would fail to state the sufferings of the clergy of the Episcopal Church, not to speak of others. When Stonewall Jackson was conversing with the writer just before the late battle, it was observed: "General, it does not depend upon man, money, numbers, or munitions of war; your own past success has resulted, and your future will result from the fact that God is King, and that thousands of widows orphans, homeless wanderers, and ministers of religion, are pointing to their desecrated churches, their ruined homes, and new-made graves, and crying day and night to Him who says, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." "Ah!" said he, "that is my dependence."

Notwithstanding Dr. Wilmer's imprisonment, an effort is being made to procure Sunday school and other books in this city for the Confederate States.

Yours, &c.,  
RICHMOND.

#### A SOUTHERN REPLY TO "HISTORICUS."

(From the Charleston Courier.)

(No. 1.)

A letter signed "Historicus" appeared in the London Times, of the 7th of November, 1862. It has been considered an exposition not only of the policy adopted by Great Britain in regard to the Confederate States, but of the principle upon which that policy rests. It is intended, as we suppose, to challenge for its own concurrence and respect. If the policy of Great Britain at this time in the determination of its conduct towards the Confederate States rested upon any principle now recognised by the nations of the world, as that which governs them in their conduct towards any political community; claiming its right to be admitted to the family of nations; no complaint or remonstrance would be uttered or heard. If without its adoption by the nations of Europe, Great Britain itself and alone, had in any manner declared that principle to be her guide, which now "Historicus" asserts directs her conduct; the Confederate States would scarcely compromise the self-respect dear to nations as to individuals; by a persistence in their efforts to secure their recognition. For these Confederate States have rights which they are justly entitled to claim from the United States; and they have rights even now, which they can with equal justice claim from the nations of the world. These rights, we will now consider, as they affect other nations; and such rights produce in their turn their correlatives, among which are high and solemn duties to be performed by those upon whom they devolve.

It will not be assumed too hastily that the Confederate States have asked more from Great Britain than was their right. Nor will it be denied that although not recognised, they have rights which are not the less clear because they may not be enforced. We have seen this in the declaration that the Confederate States are entitled to the rights of belligerents. They have this, and they have other rights; because all political communities, in whatever condition they exist, occupy certain relations to all other political communities. Out of these relations, certain rules are derived. Whether founded in selfishness or philanthropy they are nevertheless rules which must be recognised. One of these is, that communities must war with each other according to the mode which the consent of nations has determined to be proper. Every organised community has a right, therefore, to this rule.

When civil war is developed, and breaks the bonds in which

Government has held and controlled the society over which its authority was administered, it creates two parties, who occupy to each other the relations of public enemies. They have not, nor can they have a common judge. The international rule recognised everywhere, gives to each, the rights of equal parties in the contest. It is only thus that interference is avoided in their domestic concerns; the right secured to each to manage their affairs in their own way; and no violence done to "the essential attributes of their respective sovereignty." "For a nation to be entitled to respect in foreign States to the enjoyment of these attributes, and to figure directly in the great political society, it is sufficient that it is sovereign and independent; that it governs itself by its own authority and laws."

If, then, the Confederate States have certain rights, it will not be considered that Great Britain has discharged herself of the duties which are the correlatives of those rights, if by the neglect or denial of such rights such duties have not been performed. In the discussion of this question, there will not be any occasion to resort to argument, however easy and inviting it would be, to establish the rights of the Confederate States, or the duties of Great Britain. It will be sufficient to refer to her own acts; to repeat her own declarations; to insist upon no higher right than that she concedes; to impose no higher duty than that she admits. It is by her own faith we shall consider her professions; it is by her own standard we shall examine her conduct. And if it shall be made to appear, that with the most careful reflection, the Government of that country has published to the world the principles which it declared would govern it in a case like this; and now with the first occasion for the application of these principles, denies them and their application; the reproach of that Minister who said that Great Britain had two interpretations of every rule, one when applied to its own interest, another when it affected the interests of other nations, will have found a new justification for the severity involved in the rebuke.

It seems to have been assumed for the purpose of the argument of "Historicus," that the several States which composed the United States of North America sustained the same relation to the Government of the United States, as subsisted between Spain and the Spanish American colonies. Perhaps no illustration could be found more expressive of the confusion which is entertained of the relation of these States with each other, than that which is thus presented. And probably not even now, in the States which still adhere as the United States, would this illustration of their present political union by a reference to the connection between the Spanish American colonies and Spain, be received by them as historically or politically true. But the case of the Spanish American colonies, nevertheless, has a very decided influence upon the question now to be discussed. It will illustrate a principle of great consequence in determining the duty of Great Britain, and it will prove how enlightened was the statesmanship which then directed and controlled her policy.

It was in the correspondence which took place concerning the recognition by Great Britain of these Spanish American colonies, that the principle which governed Great Britain in relation to new Governments was placed by Mr. Canning upon those grounds—which have always subsequently been reiterated in explicit and positive terms—creating rights for those who are entitled to recognition or intervention, and duties for those who become bound to recognise or intervene. It was thus that the doctrine now contended for by "Historicus" received that qualification, which changed it from a cold and meaningless formula, to an active, living principle; reflecting the sentiment which the civilization of the age demanded. The statement too of the principle was in terms clear and direct. And there was no room for misconception, when at the same time it was practically adopted and applied to an existing state of public affairs. That principle has been since then expanded; high motives have been admitted to affect it; wide considerations enlarge its application. It was gratifying to all who watch the progress of civilization to believe that in such cases as now call forth this discussion, that conduct would be pursued by the leading Powers of the world, so solemnly announced, so consistent with every sentiment of justice and humanity.

It is true the Spanish American colonies had been engaged with Spain in a struggle which lasted many years. But it may surely be presumed that in this great question of public right there is not to be enforced any analogy to a statute of limitations. The fact of a present capacity for independence is the test. Its demonstration may be made in two years as well as twenty. No one has ventured to announce the proposition, that a certain number of lives must be lost, with which a new community must purchase an admission to the family of the Christian nations of the world. If these States were but revolted colonies, their citizens but rebellious subjects, the fact of a final separation from the Government of the United States—the fact of the capacity of the Confederate States to maintain that separation—the fact that the authority of the Government of the United States is not recognised in their limits—the fact that its laws are not, and cannot be enforced—are at this day unquestionable. In the Confederate States, therefore, internal sovereignty is indisputable. If so *de facto*, it is sufficient to establish it *de jure*. It is a State, says a publicist of repute, because it exists. This does not depend on recognition, but recognition follows as the consequence.

In the case then of a political community so circumstanced and yet not recognised, a question is presented for the consideration of the nations of the world, which seems in the case of the Confederate States to have been wholly overlooked. In that condition, of any political community, which is now exhibited by the Confederate States; the nations of the world have found the causes which may affect their own peace. To secure that peace, principles have been declared; and a course of conduct adopted in consistency with them. All organized Governments are mutually responsible to each other for the good conduct of those over whom their authority extended. All political communities must have an organized Government, for the control of those who compose it, and responsible to other nations for its duty in this respect. And if a portion of that people who have been under a common Government throw off its authority, other nations will require them to substitute, by the adoption of an organized Government, new obligations towards them. Recognition, therefore, of a new political community, is but the admission of the capacity of that community to maintain a separate political existence, and the imposition on the Government adopted by it, of the duties and obligations of every Government towards other nations.

It will be observed, that we are not now referring to the considerations which may affect recognition, so far as the welfare of the political community is concerned, which has been struggling for its freedom. We are directing attention to what may be called, but not invidiously, the selfish motive which prompts the action of the nations which do recognise.

It is a duty to themselves to place all communities under the safeguard which secures the good conduct of those who acknowledge a Government. That safeguard is the responsibility of the political community in its organized condition. Intervention, therefore, when it is necessary, and recognition are the modes in which the peace of the world is secured. New guarantees are thus obtained in place of those which have ceased to be effective; because the Government by which they were given has been overthrown; its authority is no longer obeyed, and its responsibility, therefore, cannot be enforced.

If this were not so, that a political community which has thrown off the authority of the Government, which formerly directed it, would be, with the evidence of its ability to maintain that independence, admitted to the family of nations, one of two consequences must ensue. The members of such a community must be either totally irresponsible as an unrecognised State; or they must be treated as pirates or outlaws. The first of these alternatives Mr. Canning declared to be "too absurd," the latter "too monstrous." And the necessary consequence, therefore, in the opinion of that distinguished statesman, "was to recognise in due time their immediate existence as States, and thus to bring them within the pale of those rights and duties which civilized nations are bound mutually to respect and are entitled reciprocally to claim from each other." That there should be a present capacity manifested by any political community, which has asserted its right to an independent national position, to maintain that position, is at once clear and just. The welfare of the civilized world requires that a premium should not be offered for tumult and confusion. Yet even in cases where there has not been exhibited such ability, in a revolutionary Government, to sustain itself; nay, in a remarkable case, where the authority of the former Government was about to be restored by force of its arms, Great Britain became a party to a compact by which the separation of Greece from Turkey was consummated; even at the moment when Turkey was about to reassert its authority and resume the exercise of its power.

It is far from aiding us in the consideration of so large a question, if we should confuse ourselves by an attempted discrimination, which, closely tested, has in it much more of sound than substance. It serves not to elucidate any doubt in this matter to rest substantial consequences upon an argument as to the difference between recognition and intervention. Intervention may become, as in the case of Greece and Holland the result of recognition. But recognition should precede intervention. Otherwise intervention would be but an interference with the domestic concerns of another State. Nor is the distinction taken between what is called the creation of a political community and the recognition of it, one that has any true basis for its support. Neither in the case of Greece nor Belgium did Great Britain create, as it is said, the political independence of either, except by its recognition of their rights to a separate Government, and intervention in support of that right. In each there was an organized political community; in each there had been exercised the authority of a Government, with which Great Britain maintained friendly relations; in each that Government had been resisted, and its rule denied; in each did Great Britain interfere, and in each by force compel the acknowledgment of that independence, which each of the two communities desired, but could not, unaided, accomplish.

Such was the condition of Greece and Belgium when their independence was recognised and secured by foreign intervention. Yet we are told in the argument of "Historicus" that to justify recognition, the independence of the Confederate States, *de facto*, must be established "beyond the probability or almost the possibility of reverse." The palpable contradiction between the doctrine of "Historicus" and the practice of Great Britain is too manifest to need explanation. And the consequence necessarily follows that the doctrine is not correctly stated, or that Great Britain in its conduct towards Greece and Belgium did flagrantly, and in violation of its interpretation of international rule, commit an act of gross injustice to Holland and Turkey.

It is not easy to perceive what weight was intended or expected to be added to the argument by the reference to the "declaration" by Great Britain of its causes of war with France. In that paper it is said that Great Britain treated the negotiation of a treaty of commerce with "the insurgent colonies," while she was engaged in a contest for their subjugation, as a lawful cause of war. And "Historicus" adds that he has never heard her right to do so disputed. If this was just cause of war with France, then did Great Britain, in the case of Greece and Belgium, voluntarily engage in an unjust war. But if "Historicus" has never heard the right of Great Britain to make war on France for this cause disputed, he has been inattentive to those declarations made by Great Britain; in which the denial of such an act as just cause of war, although not admitted in terms, is yet the necessary logical consequence. Nor will it be out of place here to say that the period to which this reference is made, is scarcely that to which he would properly turn for a true exposition by Great Britain of the principles of International Law. There was about this time, somewhat of confusion between might and right. It was about this period that Great Britain, in the waters of a neutral Power, and in a neutral vessel, seized and took the papers of the ambassador of a Power with which she was at war—and but for his fortunate escape would have seized his person. It may be safely presumed that Great Britain would not now assert that this conduct was supported by any rule of International Law. And yet no one can say that he ever heard, by the authority of her Government, "that her right to do so had been disputed."

When Russia was applied to, with other European States, to recognise the United States, she declined to do so, until that recognition was made by Great Britain. France did not consider herself bound to wait the recognition of Great Britain, and Spain and Prussia evidently agreed with France. The papers of that day will show the peculiar circumstances operating upon each of these Powers, which delayed their recognition. But the principle then asserted by Russia, and attempted to be enforced by Great Britain in the war with France, was wholly abandoned by Great Britain in the case of the Spanish American colonies. She acted then upon the principle as announced by the Government of the United States, "that the people of Spanish America do notoriously govern themselves; and the right of the United States to recognise the Government they have instituted is unquestionable." How completely Great Britain has modified the doctrine she held at the time of the American Revolution, will presently appear, when her conduct in relation to the Italian question is considered. To sustain, therefore, her present policy towards the Confederate States upon the principle she maintained in 1776, is to re-affirm, as of present



authority, a doctrine she has abandoned, a principle she has renounced.

The declaration of Mr. Canning, in the case of the Spanish American colonies, shows that the right of recognition or intervention is asserted for the purpose of preserving the peace of the world. But the case of Greece goes a step beyond this, and asserts the same right for the sake, among other things, of the convenience which it affords to the commerce of neutral Powers. In the treaty for the pacification of Greece, concluded in 1827, between France, Great Britain, and Russia, the preamble sets forth, that the contracting parties were "penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which by delivering up the Greek Provinces and the Isles of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European States." In addition to the philanthropic obligation which is acknowledged and involved in this right asserted to interfere in the contest between belligerents when the terrible evils of war pass beyond the confines of those who are the immediate parties to it, and involve others, in the case of Greece, is the distinct assertion of the same right, when the prosecution of a war affects the convenience by disturbing the commerce of a neutral Power. It is true the justification was not wholly without precedent. When Portugal revolted from Spain, within a year of the proclamation by the Cortes of the Duke of Braganza, a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between Charles I. of England, and John IV. of Portugal, wherein John is mentioned as a lawful sovereign and the King of Castile as a dispossessed ruler. The King of England sets forth, among other reasons for the treaty, his solicitude "to secure the liberty of trade" for "his beloved subjects."

But it would not be just if we should stop here, and in so doing lead to the conclusion that the principles which govern nations in such cases are determined by considerations of a purely selfish character. The most recent occasion in which this question has passed under the review of the leading Powers of Europe was in the contest of the Italian States. Great Britain then declared that "the people of Italy ought to be free to choose how they would be governed, provided they did not injure their neighbours." It further declared that "it had always recognised as a sacred rule of international obligation that no country has a right authoritatively to interfere in the internal affairs of a foreign State; or with sound policy long withheld its acknowledgment of any new form of Government, which may be adopted and established, without territorial usurpation or absorption, by the spontaneous wish of its people." By the same Power it was also then declared that "she uniformly withheld her consent to acts of intervention by force to alter the internal Government of other nations; she uniformly gave her countenance, and if necessary, her aid, to consolidate the *de facto* Government which arose in Europe or America." In 1850, Sir Robert Peel said, in allusion to the French Republic, that he advocated "the policy of recognising the Government which appeared to be most conformable to the will of the French people. I go further," said he, "and I think such a recognition ought not to be a cold, reluctant acquiescence in an unavoidable necessity."

The declaration of this principle by Great Britain did not command the acquiescence of Russia. The terms in which that Great Power expressed itself were careful and guarded. On the other hand the declaration of France was even more liberal than that of Great Britain. But that of Great Britain was liberal enough for all purposes; broad enough for all cases. It illustrated in the most striking manner the progress of liberal opinions; it was the crowning triumph of these opinions over the dogmas of absolutism. It expressed the great idea of the age, that the interests of government are not to be considered distinct from the interests of the people for whose welfare government was instituted. It solved the problem of the relation of the ruler to the ruled. It made the welfare of the people the standard by which the power of the ruler should be tested. And when that welfare was exhibited by a change of government in accordance with the "spontaneous wish of the people," no antagonistic principle was admitted to control or disturb it.

It is, then, of little advantage if, in the consideration of this question, we attempt to expound, for the purpose of a practical application, the general terms in which publicists in text books explain, in this connection, the rights and duties of nations. We need not inquire what should be the principle, or what should be the conduct of Great Britain; we have here the declaration by the Government of Great Britain of what is termed her "policy;" and which, as is said, "appears to have been directed by a consistent principle." This declaration of the principle adopted by Great Britain—this avowal of her policy, in consistency with it—was given to the world under circumstances calculated and intended to secure for it great attention. It was the rule, of which all the nations of the world were then informed. But it was also the pledge given to those political communities which, in the future, might struggle for existence. They had a right, a high right, when preparing to undertake the perils of their struggle, to expect that Great Britain would preserve inviolate her solemn declaration. It is this, and only this, which the Confederate States have ever asked. It is this which, up to this time, Great Britain has refused.

And this now brings us to consider what are the rights of the Confederate States, and the duties of Great Britain. But, to do this more completely, it is proper that we should consider in what manner the Government of the United States has been accustomed to consider the "rights" and "duties" which are involved in the discussion. If this "policy" of Great Britain, "directed by a consistent principle," has been recognised by the United States as proper—if the United States have insisted upon even a more latitudinarian rule—there can be no room for complaint by that Government, because of its exercise. To understand the "principle" and the "policy" of the United States, two cases may be referred to: those of Hungary and of Cuba.

In the case of Hungary two remarkable principles were enforced. Russia interfered, and the Czar justified the act upon the ground that his safety was affected by the condition of Hungary. The United States, speaking through Mr. Webster, claimed, that if they had formally acknowledged the independence of Hungary, though no benefit would have resulted from it to either party, it would not have been an act against the law of nations, provided they took no part in her contest with Austria.

In the case of Cuba, the Ministers of the United States who met at Ostend, and afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle, advocated, in certain contingencies, "wresting it from Spain," if the United States possessed the power. And Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, does not dissent from the conclusion, if self-preservation "necessitates the acquisition of Cuba." It is beside the present purpose to discuss how far the principle of the Czar as applied to Hungary, or that of the United

States as applied to Cuba, is true. It is sufficient to show that the interpretation of the law of nations upon this point of the right not only of recognition, but also of intervention, is not in the United States affected by any qualifications which would antagonize the application of that declared by Great Britain.

We are fairly, then, at the point in this discussion where we can understand the rights of the Confederate States and the duties of Great Britain. They both spring, to a certain extent, from the same sources. Thus, if the rights of a people to select that form of Government under which they can live happily, be, as it must, conceded; then must follow the duty of other nations to recognise the right. The "principle" and "policy" of Great Britain goes beyond this. She gives aid when necessary. The Confederate States seek not her aid. They only seek her recognition of their right. If they have any right, they have that. If the civilized nations of the world do not expressly adopt, they will not expressly dispute, the proposition of Sardinia, that "it is in opposition to the precept which modern civilization proclaims, that there is no legitimate Government but that which the people accept, if not with gratitude, at least with resignation." The next source of these rights and duties is in the right of a people able to maintain their independence, to be admitted to the family of nations; and to benefit the human race by the influence which they may exert upon its happiness and prosperity; and with this is the duty of other nations, by their recognition of that people to admit them to the family of nations, and impose upon them the responsibilities of its several members. The right of a people struggling for their independence to be guided in their approach towards the relations they are about to assume with the nations of the world by the declarations of those nations as to the principles which in such cases will govern their conduct, will not be disputed. And if so, then must follow the duty of such nations to maintain inviolate their declarations in the letter and spirit; and to believe that the character and fame of a nation involve its regard for truth as well as its repute for wealth and skill in arms.

When the Confederate States dissolved their connection with the United States they knew the nature and extent of the necessity which impelled them. They knew, or supposed they knew, the terms which the nations of Europe had prescribed for those who undertook for themselves the adoption of a new Government. They have come up to every term, performed every condition, executed every requirement. In extent of territory, in the sources of wealth, in the number of population, in the scale of civilization, they not only present the right to be recognised as an independent Power, but they exhibit the folly of anticipating their subjugation; the cruelty of a persistence in the effort to attempt it. Recognised or not, the fact of their separate national existence is beyond dispute. It is not to create that separate national existence that recognition is desired. If not with the same arrogance, so far as regards the fact of a separate national existence, they may say with the same truth as did Napoleon I., before the peace of Campoformio, when it was proposed to recognise the Empire, it is as unnecessary as to recognise the sun.

But when the fact is established "that there is the existence of a Government, acknowledged by the people over whom it is set, and ready and able to acknowledge and to prove its responsibility for their conduct when they come in contact with foreign nations," it is due to humanity that its recognition should not be withheld, when to withhold it is to multiply the miseries of such a war as that which is waged. In the language of one of recognised authority in Great Britain, "recognition is a right which other States are under an obligation to render, in such a case, for various reasons." The recognition of the Confederate States would be the evidence that the nations of the world regard the question of Right as determined—and then the question of Might could not be continued with the suffering it involves. Recognition is not a cause of war. "There is no proposition of law (says one of the authors already referred to) upon which there exists a more universal agreement of all Jurists, than upon this, viz., that the virtual and *de facto* recognition of a new State gives no just cause of offence to an old State." It could not bring war to Great Britain, but it would bring peace to America. If there was no rule of International Law—no declaration of Great Britain—no precedent in her history for her conduct in such a case—it would seem as if she could not hesitate. But with the rule plain, her declaration positive, her precedent uniform, the hesitation she exhibits is more than strange.

With the motives which prompt her present conduct we have no controversy. As they exist in reality, they have not been disclosed. They can only be judged when time will disclose them. But we have controversy with the statement that her position is in consistency with the obligations of International Law—with her own principles or her own policy. She may do whatever may be consistent with her pleasure. But in so doing it will be well for those who advocate her policy to claim for it other sanctions than those which have yet been produced. The obligations of International Law have often been said to hang too loosely upon her, to be agreeable to the weaker Powers of Europe. But in this case her own law has been as powerless in its control as in other days has been the Law of Nations. And that high morality which is preserved by nations, and is placed even beyond that of individuals, is exposed to fearful hazard, by contrasting at this time her declarations with her actions.

#### JURIDICUS.

#### THE LATE BATTLE IN VIRGINIA.

The following Northern accounts have appeared in the columns of the *Times* and the *Morning Post*. The subjoined is an extract of a letter from an officer of the Army of the Potomac:—

"Dear Brother,—Here we are, back again to our own camp at Falmouth after a raid with 150,000 men across the Rappahannock,—at least what are left of that number we started with, for the reports this morning are that some 30,000 are missing from all the various *corps d'armee*. Well, after six months' careful preparation, General Hooker came to the conclusion that he had repaired all the damages of the last defeat at Fredericksburg, re-inspired the troops, and had, as he said, now got 'the finest army on the planet,' and was determined to place it in Richmond within a week at the latest. You are aware that the term of some 40,000 men of this army expires in May, and, of course, they could only be made use of by an early attack upon the enemy. So last week the whole force was suddenly and quietly put in motion to surprise the rebels, who, it was said, had only some 30,000 troops at Fredericksburg. To effect this, and doubly outflank them, our whole army crossed in two places, one about 20 miles

above and one about eight miles below that town. The latter seems to have, in fact, found but a small force of the enemy at Fredericksburg (by some it is said not over 10,000 men), because the heights so strongly and successfully defended last time were carried without any very serious resistance. It is probable that General Lee had due notice of the portion of our army that crossed above, but not of that below. This we cannot know, but it is certain that he at once massed an equal or greater force than ours at Chancellorsville; besides outflanking us by sending General Jackson to our rear. A fierce and general battle ensued. General Sigel's German division at the first shock broke and scattered at once. The rebels rushed in with fury, and our army was gradually forced back to the bank of the river. As soon as we began to give way General Lee seems to have transferred a heavy force to Fredericksburg, which at once retook the heights, and completely defeated that portion of our army. So passed that eventful Sunday. Monday but little fighting was done. Tuesday the same, but it was evident that the enemy were receiving large reinforcements. So about noon General Hooker issued orders to recross the river to our old position, and here we are after a complete defeat, which shows General Lee to be the first General of the age if he was surprised, and no mean one if he was not, and proves that his troops are as fierce and brave in attack as resolute in defence. The immediate results of this battle are difficult to learn. We have left the whole of our dead and wounded in possession of the enemy. At the early part of the first day we took about 2000 prisoners. The rebels boast to have taken 5000. As both sides were at times the attacking party the loss in killed and wounded may be about equal—say, 10,000 to 15,000 each; but, as the rebels will naturally take care of their own wounded first, we may expect to lose a vast number who might have been saved. It is said that about thirty guns are missing, while we have captured five or six of the enemy's. As it is probable that many of the troops whose time is so nearly out will desert, it is not at all unlikely that the Army of the Potomac will have lost some 30,000 men by this stupendous raid across the Rappahannock. The loss of *prestige*, both in this country and Europe, by the defeat of an army drilled and prepared with so much care no one can well estimate. Will France and England now say that there must be no more of this awful fratricidal strife? It will be galling to our pride, yet, perhaps, may best satisfy both sides."

The following is an extract from a private letter, dated Washington, May 8:—

"You are no doubt anxious to hear in regard to the great battle that has just been fought. I can only say, the same practice heretofore observed by the Government in all such cases is done in this, only to a much greater extent, and that much more to their shame. We have it announced this morning that the movement towards a new base is 'only a failure, not a disaster.'"

"It is known in Washington and publicly admitted by all parties connected with the army, that this is the most terrible disaster which has yet happened to the Government. The fact is, that not one-half of the army will ever get back, and the loss of artillery and stores is enormous. It will all come out in due time, but the Government wants to break the blow by putting out such a despatch as that published in the morning papers. Never before have such efforts been made to keep the public from learning the true state of affairs. Telegraphic-offices have been seized, and even correspondents of papers have been detained, when *en route*, to carry in person despatches that were refused even in the mails. The estimated loss of Hooker's army is not less than 25,000 killed and wounded, besides thousands of prisoners and innumerable pieces of artillery. He was shelled by the whole Confederate artillery at every point from the time he started until he reached the other side, and the only artillery saved was that sent over before he crossed. All that left to protect his crossing and his rear fell into the hands of the enemy. Whether or not he is being pursued of course no one here knows. For anything like particulars we must await the letters of correspondents. When the different advocates of the different generals get quarrelling among themselves, then we will have it all brought out. You may rest assured of one thing, there will be no further spring campaign in the east. We are expecting hourly to hear that Lee is either threatening Washington or has sent his army to Tennessee to crush Rosecrans, and thus get possession of Tennessee and Kentucky. The near approach of the end of the term of enlistment of some 250,000 men is now the great drawback of Government, and this battle was fought in hopes of winning it with these very troops before their term of enlistment expired."

THE DURATION OF THE WAR.—If the interests of the belligerents alone were at stake, it would be of little consequence to the rest of the world whether the war was of long or of short continuance. But it is otherwise. War or peace between the two American Confederations means to a large portion of the manufacturing population of England distress and starvation or happiness and prosperity, and may mean to the manufacturing population in France these and something more. The French nation has not the same ground, supplied by a long experience, for trusting implicitly in its Government as the English, and the present ruler of France is in a proportionate degree obliged to anticipate its wants, and to prevent, so far as in his power, distress pressing too heavily on any portion of his subjects. Some months since the French Emperor manifested unmistakable symptoms of impatience; and the recent *fiasco* of the Federal army, with the inactivity which is certain to succeed it, will not in all probability remain unnoticed by the French Government. Nor should it. As a principle of international law it is undoubtedly true that neutrals have no right to interpose between belligerents; but on the other hand, in order to claim this immunity from foreign intervention, belligerents are bound to prosecute the war in which they are engaged with reasonable despatch, and with such earnestness as would promise its tolerably speedy termination. It could not, for instance, be maintained that the North would be entitled to seek to tire out the Confederates by maintaining a strict blockade of their ports, and keeping in the field a sufficient army to secure the Northern States from the risk of invasion. Such a course of proceeding would not be war, and neutral Powers could not be expected to respect it.—*The Morning Post* of 25th May.

THE CONFEDERATE LOAN was dull during the morning at 2 to 1 discount, but after regular hours the price was 1 discount to par. It appears that Mr. Mason, the Confederate Commissioner, left London yesterday evening for Paris, and consequently increased strength has been imparted to the rumours lately circulated regarding the probability of French mediation. From Federal sources in London there is as yet, however, no symptom of an alteration in the tone such as to encourage a hope of the probability of an early and reasonable effort for a pacific adjustment.—*Times* City Article, May 27th,



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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 58.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 4, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

### LATEST SOUTHERN NEWS.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND: 12th MAY.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS: 9th MAY.

JACK IN OFFICE.

WHAT THE NORTH IS FIGHTING FOR.  
VICKSBURG.

OUR SOUTHERN EXCHANGES.

"STONEWALL" JACKSON: LETTER FROM DR. HOGE, OF RICHMOND.

THE FEDERAL FLEET AT ST. THOMAS.

COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

Adoption of Confederate Flag.

Discussion on Confederate Motto.

Southern War Telegrams.

President Davis on Education.

Letter of Vice-President Stephens.

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME NEW BOOKS.

MAGAZINES FOR JUNE.

THE BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

We wish we could give a reliable account of the movements in the West, but it is impossible. We cannot make bricks without straw. Our latest direct advices are to the 12th May, and therefore we have only Northern accounts of the events that have transpired since then, except when it has pleased the Washington and New York papers to give an extract from Southern journals. Suppose we had full faith in Northern veracity, we should not be relieved of our difficulties. At the beginning of the week the Anglo-Federal organs announced that the Confederates had evacuated Vicksburg; and upon looking to the authority for the statement it really seemed authentic. The words of the telegram were as precise and emphatic as they could be. "Despatches from General Grant state that the Confederates had evacuated Vicksburg, and that the entire Confederate force was moving northwards to reinforce General Bragg, for the purpose of attacking Rosencrans." Here we have an official statement that Vicksburg had been evacuated; and more than that, we are told what had become of the Confederates—the entire force was moving to reinforce Bragg. Well, what follows? Of course the next news is that Grant has marched into Vicksburg. Not so. The latest New York advices inform us that "official reports" received in Washington state that a battle was still raging, "with the prospect of capturing the entire Confederate force in Vicksburg." Not being gifted with the prophetic vision of Mr. Seward we cannot indicate the result of Grant's operations, and there may or may not be a prospect of capturing the Confederate force. But it is manifest that if Vicksburg had been evacuated, and the entire Confederate force had been en route for General Bragg's army, the entire Confederate force could not be captured in Vicksburg. What reliance can we place on Federal official reports?

That there has been severe fighting is, however, certain. On the 14th May General Grant occupied Jackson, Mississippi. After burning the State capitol and half destroying the city—a feat of arms that highly delights the Federals—Grant left the place. On the 16th there was a battle at Edward's Point. The Confederates, numbering 12,000, were under the command of General Pemberton, the Federals under General Grant numbered 24,000. It was a stoutly contested and sanguinary engagement. The Confederate General Tilghman is reported killed, and we learn from the Mobile papers, *via* New York, that the Confederate loss was 3,000 and the Federal loss 9,000. If these estimates approximate to the truth Grant sustained a serious

disaster. After the battle was over General Pemberton retired in good order to his entrenchments beyond the Big Black River. And here anything like an intelligible narrative of Grant's doings ends. Dates and movements are all contradictory and confused. Some reports fix the battle of Edward's Point for the 18th instead of the 16th. Then we are told that Grant, after the battle, marched eight miles, and encountered General Johnstone. One account says Grant has taken possession of the railroad bridge over the Big Black River, and another that he has been defeated and driven back. The last report is to the effect that Grant had captured Haines' Bluff and the works of Vicksburg, and that the battle was still raging. Perhaps the next mail may give us the result of the battle, upon which it would be idle to speculate. Grant has broken his connexion with Grand Gulf, taking with him provisions for eight days. There is, or was, much anxiety in Washington about his operations.

The raid of the Federal Colonel Grierson through a part of Mississippi terminated on the 1st of May. The Northern accounts say that Grierson injured the railroads and destroyed \$4,000,000 of property. The amount is probably exaggerated, but we may be sure the invaders destroyed as much property as they could.

Port Hudson was bombarded on the 8th and 9th of May, without result. There is a rumour in the Southern papers that Admiral Farragut has burnt his flag-ship, the Hartford.

Alexandria, on the Red river, an undefended town was occupied by the Federals on the 6th of May.

Captain Dwight has been killed in the neighbourhood of Opelousas, and General Banks has ordered 100 of the inhabitants of that district to be arrested and kept in close confinement, until the "guerillas" are given up. It would be as well for Federal officers to recollect that they are invaders, and that they have no right to expect any consideration. Our New Orleans correspondent gives a full account of the state of affairs.

The Army of the Potomac has made a movement. It has taken up a line where it can better defend Washington in case that city is attacked. There are renewed rumours of General Hooker's downfall, and of General Halleck's assumption of the command. The Cabinet is divided on the question, and if this programme is carried out, General Butler and Mr. Sumner are to replace Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton.

Besides the loss in men, the Federals lost heavily in material at the battles at Chancellorsville. The *Richmond Whig* says, there is an immense booty of small arms, estimated from 30,000 to 50,000, and "an almost infinite quantity of overcoats, knapsacks, coats, and blankets." It has been deemed necessary to reinforce Hooker with the troops around Washington and Baltimore.

The Confederates have surprised and cut up two companies of mounted rifles; and they have also captured a company of Federal cavalry, a portion of two infantry companies and forty waggons, in the Kanawha Valley. Two Federal despatch boats, Emma and Arrow, were captured on the 15th of May. This interrupts the Northern internal communication with Newburn.

Colonel Parker, commanding in Jackson County, Missouri, informed the Federal General Blunt, that if another Confederate citizen or soldier was executed without process of law, he should retaliate and execute five Federals. General Blunt did not deny that Confederate citizens and soldiers were executed without process of law, but in a letter full of vulgar abuse, in which Colonel Parker is compared to "a Hottentot or a South Sea Islander," he says, "every rebel or rebel sympathiser who gives aid, directly or indirectly, shall be destroyed or expelled from the military district. These resolutions will not exempt females from the rule."

The arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Vallandigham is still causing great excitement in the West, as well as amongst the Democratic party throughout the United States. After a mass meeting at Indianapolis, at which resolutions were passed denouncing the arrest and the war measures of the Government, forty or fifty persons were arrested for shouting for President Davis, and the soldiers were fired on from the railway trains. About 500 pistols and revolvers were taken from the passengers. In the Western cities all the newspapers are under military supervision, and in Indiana free discussion is entirely suppressed by General Hascall.

At a meeting held in Albany a letter was read from Governor Seymour, in which he says the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham "is an act which has brought dishonour upon our country. It is full of danger to our persons and our homes. \* \* \* If this proceeding is approved by the Government and sanctioned by the people, it is not merely a step towards revolution—it is revolution; it will only lead to military despotism—it establishes military despotism. In this aspect it must be accepted, or in this aspect rejected. If it is accepted our liberties are overthrown." At a meeting of the Anti-Abolition State Rights Association, several strong resolutions were carried. One was, "That, in the meantime, it is the right of the citizen to protect himself against the violence of lawless power, where legal remedies are denied, with whatever force God and nature may have provided him, remembering always that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God'—that 'the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.'" At a meeting held in Union-square, resistance to the Government was advocated. Mr. M'Masters told his audience that they should "organize by tens and hundreds, by companies and regiments, and they should send to their Governor and ask him for commissions as soon as they had their regiments formed. It was written in the Constitution that the people had the right to have and to bear arms for the defence of themselves, and not of the Union, but of the State." Mr. Mallaly "predicted that the Conscription law would never be carried out in the State of New York, and judging from the character of the meeting he thought they were in favour of a discontinuance of this Abolition war." Mr. Mallaly referred to Stonewall Jackson, and said, "He would tell them that there had been new glory added to the name of Jackson. (Loud cheers, and "Bless the good boy!") There had been new glory added to it by the great hero, whose funeral solemnities were but lately celebrated in Richmond. That might be called treason, but was it treason?" ("No, no.") Captain Rynders addressed the meeting as subjects of Abraham the First, and came forward to see if the Lincolmites would dare arrest him. Professor Mason bade the New Yorkers remember "that the State was old when the Union was born, and that four millions of freemen having the mouth of the Hudson, and the canals and railroads reaching into the far West, can be a great empire, even if the enemies of the Constitution should succeed in breaking it into as many fragments as there are States. (Great applause.)" Mr. Van Loan appealed to the people to use their strong arms.

The *New York Daily News* has recommenced publication under the auspices of Mr. Benjamin Wood. It announces itself as opposed to the further prosecution of the war, and attributes to the Administration purposes ulterior to the reconstruction of the Union, and not according with the spirit of Republican institutions.

The resignation of General Meagher has been accepted by President Lincoln. The Irish Brigade, of which he had the command, was 5,000 strong when it took the field, and it now numbers less than 400 men.

The *New York Caucasian* calls attention to the profits



made by New England contractors. As an example, it states that "The James Steam Mills Corporation of Newburyport, Massachusetts, declared on the 10th of May a semi-annual dividend of 20 per cent.—the *third* dividend for the year; the total dividends being in the time 80 per cent., or a return to the stockholders of \$200,000 on the original stock subscription of \$250,000. In addition to this enormous profit, the reserve fund has been added to in the sum of \$40,000, showing a grand income, in the short space of twelve months, of \$240,000, or within \$10,000 of their entire capital."

The steamer *Eugenie* and the British schooner *Linnet* have been captured by the Federals.

Latest advices announce the safe arrival from London *via* the Blockade, of Messrs. Beverley Tucker, of Richmond, and J. G. Gibbs, of Columbia, South Carolina.

Gold in New York on the 23rd of May was 49 per cent. premium.

### ENGLAND.

The returns of the Poor-law Board show a diminution for the last week in the pauperism of the manufacturing districts of more than 6,000. At the same time it does not appear that there is any material or general improvement in the condition of the trade. In that respect the process which seems to be taking place is this. At the beginning of our troubles, there were large stocks of cloth held in various markets, which have been slowly cleared out at the advanced prices consequent on the condition of the cotton market. While these stocks remained it was impossible for any manufacturer to obtain a remunerative price for his goods; and therefore the quantity of cotton worked up was less than the very small quantity which the stock held and the imports coming in would have allowed the consumers to use. Now, there are much smaller stocks of cloth, and though high prices still limit the demand, still in certain kinds it is possible for the most successful manufacturers to work at a profit. Also, the home demand, which was kept for a long time as low as possible, in the hope of peace, naturally improves a little from quarter to quarter as no prospect of a speedy peace appears. But, as a whole, the cotton-trade cannot cease to be a heavy loss to all concerned in it, until there shall be sufficient cotton to employ at full time all the mills which are able to work—*i. e.*, whose proprietors are not utterly ruined: and until prices of cotton and calico shall reach a point at which there shall be a remunerative sale for all that the manufacturers can produce. And of this, for years to come, we see but little hope.

Miss Rye, in a letter to the *Times*, virtually confesses the utter failure of her female emigration scheme. But she has nothing to tell us which might not have been told beforehand. Every one knows that a scheme which proposes the emigration of large batches of women to colonies where women are scarce, must of necessity bear an aspect not very agreeable to feminine delicacy; and that, therefore, the class of persons who are likely to be enrolled as emigrants will be women who, for the most part, are not too modest to go in search of husbands. Every one knows, too, that young women in large numbers are exceedingly difficult to manage. Whenever it has been attempted to assemble together large numbers even of female children, trouble and scandal have been the invariable consequence; and, as has been seen in the case of the Patriotic Fund Schools, the choice appears to lie between virtual anarchy and inappropriate discipline. In the case of grown-up girls there is no choice whatever; they simply please themselves; and the pleasure of young women of that class from which the greater part of Miss Rye's recruits were necessarily taken, when they break loose from control, is to behave with very little regard to conventional rules of decorum. In the dulness of a long voyage, when subject virtually to no rule whatever, many are sure to go beyond this. Of these things Miss Rye might have thought beforehand. Again, if she had condescended to inquire of those who know what is the ordinary condition of an emigrant ship, she would have learned that the evils which so astonish her and scandalize her readers are found inseparable from the practice of allowing young women to go out in such ships without parents or brothers to look after them; and that the presence of 100 young women at once in the capacity of emigrants on board any ship would ensure a scene of constant and flagrant immorality. We are sorry for a well-intentioned woman; but we can hardly excuse her for taking such a responsibility on herself without fully comprehending the nature and the difficulties of the task she had undertaken. For what goes on at the other end we must hold the Colonial Government answerable; and in this case the remedy, if not easy, is at least obvious and practicable. The colony can find proper accommodation under proper rules; the emigrant ship cannot. But the truth is that at present

New Zealand is in no state to receive any other female immigrants than such as go out under the care and authority of their natural guardians and protectors.

There has been a serious accident on the South-Eastern Railway, between Croydon and London. For once, the blame appears to rest with the engine-driver, who got behind time, put on steam to recover the lost minutes, threw his engine off the rails, and brought the train to what the Yankees call, "eternal smash." Several lives were lost, and many serious injuries inflicted. Possibly, if the matter were sifted, the greed of the Company, in omitting to provide engines up to their work, may prove in this, as in almost every other case, to be the real cause. Most railway accidents are due to no other cause than a lust of profit, which induces the directors to crowd trains close to each other's heels, and neglect costly precautions. It is found cheaper to pay for two or three accidents a-year, than to work the line safely. Collisions, at least, might be rendered impossible, but only at a cost which no railway board will ever incur while "accidents" merely entail pecuniary damages. If juries would in all cases return verdicts of manslaughter against directors, where it is shown that the rules of the line were likely *à priori* to result in a certain number of homicides per annum, and if judges would do their duty in carrying out the law which makes homicide by wilful neglect amount to manslaughter, we should seldom or never hear of a railway "accident."

On Thursday night, Mr. Walpole made an attempt, on behalf of the Conservative party, to rescind the vote taken a fortnight before in Committee of Supply to fulfil the contract for the carriage of the Dover Mails made with Mr. Churchward by Lord Derby's Administration. Mr. Walpole dwelt rather on the inconvenience and irregularity of the course pursued by Government than on the merits of the case; but this omission was amply supplied by Lord John Manners and Lord Robert Cecil. The Ministers relied on votes, not on argument and Mr. Gladstone was not supported by a single colleague or independent member of his party. After shouting "divide" at intervals for about an hour, the Liberals had their way, and carried the day by a majority of 14, in a house of 396. The only other notable parliamentary business of the week was the rejection of Mr. Somes's bill for "robbing poor men of their beer," by closing public-houses on Sunday. It is plain that the gentlemen whose religious and philanthropic zeal leads them to propose such a measure understand nothing whatever, either of its moral effect on the temper or its practical bearing on the comfort of the London working-men.

Mr. Bernal Osborne, the other day, entertained his constituents at Liskeard, by delivering, in his peculiar style, his views upon everything in general and nothing in particular. He spoke with approval of the American policy of the Government as one of strict and prudent neutrality, but expressed the same sympathy with the Confederate cause, which is felt by all educated and most uneducated Englishmen—save and except always those who believe in the divine right of the rabble, and those who have no other political faith than a hatred of slavery as profound as their ignorance of its character. Mr. Osborne said, whatever a man's feelings might be in regard to North or South, he could not look upon the gallant stand made by the South in defence of their liberties without wishing them success. (Cheers.) Englishmen, too, would also regret the loss of that brave and noble hero, "Stonewall" Jackson, over whose tomb a nation's tears would fall (applause), and whose memory would be consecrated for ages to come. It was impossible to say at present what would be the result of this war. It seemed to him that there must soon be exhaustion of credit on the one side, and exhaustion of men on the other; for, after all, the resources of both North and South in respect to men was limited, although he knew that the North were at this moment recruiting in the sister country. But take it as we might, a struggle of mercenary soldiers against a gallant band, however small, who were fighting for a good cause, could not succeed, and he did not believe that the Union would ever be restored. There can be no doubt about the thorough unpopularity of the Federal cause in nearly every constituency in England. Indeed, we could count on our fingers the boroughs in which an advocate of the Union, or of President Lincoln, would have any chance of favour.

The City of London, in the absence of a Conservative candidate, has elected without opposition a young Liberal of the name of Goschen ("Gosling") who distinguished himself at school some twelve or thirteen years ago, and of whom, since then, no one has heard any harm—or indeed anything whatever.

The Brazilian Minister has demanded his passports, and the Legation is withdrawn. The cause of this strong

but inevitable measure is the refusal of Lord Russell to apologise for the seizure of Brazilian vessels in the territorial waters of the Empire, in order to enforce the preposterous claims set up by Mr. Christie to compensation for a shipwreck, and to the punishment of a police-guard which arrested three British officers out of uniform on a tipsy frolic. No independent Power could patiently submit to such an outrage. If, however, the affair should end in the removal of Mr. Christie from Rio, the interruption of diplomatic relations may, perhaps, prove the opening of a renewal of friendly feeling between the two countries.

### EUROPE.

ALTHOUGH no official confirmation has yet been given to the rumour to which we referred last week, of an agreement between the three Powers to present to the Russian Government demands founded upon an amalgamation of the propositions of England and Austria, it is now placed almost beyond doubt that such an understanding has been arrived at. The three Powers will invite Russia to offer Poland a purely Polish administration, a provincial representation, full liberty of religion, the establishment of the Polish as the official language; a system of military recruitment according to the laws of 1859, *i. e.*, by lot or ballot, and a full and complete amnesty. They also ask her, in case she accepts their proposal, to agree to a suspension of hostilities. The form and details of the peace, as we may term it, would then be settled by a conference, and the definitive arrangement would be guaranteed by Europe. The proposal is to be conveyed to the Russian Court in identical notes. If this scheme has been determined upon, we must assume that Earl Russell has not really made the application to the Russian Government for an armistice, and still less to the Polish national Government, as a Ministerial organ has stated. He could hardly, after acting isolatedly in so offensive a manner, take part in a joint intervention. Will the Russian Government accept the terms suggested? We fear not; and if it would the insurgents certainly cannot. The intervention of the allies is confined to Congress Poland, and Congress Poland now forms but a small portion of the country in insurrection. The men who have been fighting for the last three months in Lithuania and Ruthenia, will not lay down their arms because liberty is given to Congress Poland. The *Chas*, of Cracow, the principal organ of the revolution, has already declared the Austrian proposals altogether insufficient. Moreover, even if the Poles should be satisfied, of which there is not the slightest chance, Russia would still have an insurrection to contend with. The movement has ceased to be Polish. It has spread, so the Poles assert, to provinces which have no sympathies or associations with Poland, and certainly have no notion of forming part of a Polish kingdom. The journals of the insurrection declare that it has now spread far beyond the Dnieper, and possesses the whole south of Russia. They describe it as existing in the governments of Tchernigov, Kiev, Poltava, Kharkov, Jekaterinoslov, Kherson, down to the very gates of Odessa, and even to the far-off Kazan. Nay, some even represent Moscow as in insurrection. These stories are, no doubt, for the most part, pious frauds, designed to keep alive the spirit of the combatants and impress Europe; but there can be no doubt that in a portion of this immense territory there have been some disturbances. These disturbances can have nothing to do with the claims of the Poles to independence. They evince a dissatisfaction natural enough under the present circumstances of the Russian empire, but a dissatisfaction which no concessions to Congress Poland can remove.

The war news is as conflicting as ever. The Russians report numerous victories. The insurgents claim signal successes. The Russian generals report the extinction of bands and the re-establishment of order throughout provinces which the insurgents insist have risen *en masse* against the Muscovites. What credit is to be attached to these stories it is hard to determine. Unfortunately, we cannot adopt the easy method of accepting the accounts of both sides as correct, and setting off the one list of achievements against the other; inasmuch as unfortunately both sides sometimes claim the victory in a particular engagement. How are we to decide between the two following stories? A telegram from Cracow declares that Okoinski gained, on the 25th of May, a brilliant victory over six Russian companies at Koniecpol, in the palatinate of Cracow; 150 Russians were killed, and the rest dispersed. That was the one story which the telegraph purveyors considered suitable for English readers. The French papers, however, which printed this telegram, printed another for Warsaw, dated the 29th of May, which says that the insurgent bands which had united at Koniecpol, under the com-



mand of Delacroix and Lettich, were attacked on the 25th of May by a detachment of troops under Major Benkowski. Koniecpol was taken by assault, and the insurgents routed. They lost 100 men killed, and 30 prisoners, and dispersed into the woods. We must wait a week to see which bulletin has "told the truth." There is no presumption in favour of either story.

The general tenor of the news is, however, unfavourable to the insurgents. The Russians seem to be learning guerilla tactics, and they have evidently the peasants on their side. The traditional hatred of the peasants to the gentry has been confirmed by the severe measures which the insurgents have taken against all the peasants whom they have supposed to be hostile to them. We do not accept the Russian commander's reports of the atrocities committed upon the peasant class by the insurgents. But it has been proved by the admission of the insurgents that they have hung and shot without the slightest hesitation any person whom they suppose to have given information or aid to the Russians, as traitors. The peasants do give that aid; and it is no uncommon thing for the Russians, on returning to a village, to find some half-dozen swinging to the trees. The two or three sympathizing correspondents who have penetrated a few miles into Poland, have been surprised to find so many of these victims of Jack Ketch. The insurgents may plead self-preservation as the excuse for these arbitrary measures—we do not discuss them; but it is certain that when such a system is pursued no promises of emancipation and land will allure the peasants to the national cause.

The most remarkable feature in this contest is, perhaps, the power which the secret National Government exercises in Warsaw. Under the very eyes of General de Berg, it prints its proclamations, collects its taxes, and executes its sentences. The chief of the city, a few days since, issued an order of the day, in which he announced that the decree of the National Government had been executed upon the person of J. Miniszewski (assassinated as he was leaving his home in the morning), condemned as a traitor to the country by the public voice; denounced every person collecting taxes for the Muscovite Government as a traitor, and required the citizens to denounce him, that the National Government might take measures to execute sentence upon him. The position of the public functionaries in Warsaw has thus become a very painful one. On the one hand, if they do not do their duty they may be shot or deported. On the other hand, if they do it they are sure to be assassinated. So great is the terror which the National Government inspires, that the wife of Miniszewski dared not even attend his funeral, or accept a pension from the Government; she was warned that if she did the fate of her husband would be hers. It is said that, thanks to this system, the National Government collects taxes with great facility, whilst the Russians can get nothing.

Public attention in France has been almost entirely monopolised this week by the elections. As the eventful days drew nearer the contest became more exciting and, we are sorry to say, more acrimonious. M. de Persigny and the prefects rained circulars and *communiqués*. Official journalists quoted the allied candidates against each other, and the opposition journalists quoted the prefects and the official journalists against themselves. The bishops stepped forward to satisfy the scruples of some members of their flock. Three archbishops and four bishops published a reply to some inquiries addressed to them, in which they vehemently censured the policy of abstention, and professing to leave it to the consciences of each citizen to decide how he should vote, gave a pretty strong recommendation to vote only for candidates who would resolutely support the temporal power and maintain religious liberty. The letter is drawn up with very great skill, and adopts a very liberal tone. It has earned for the prelates a rebuke from the Minister of Public Worship, who declares their combination to be in opposition to the obligations of the Episcopate.

The result of the elections is, of course, generally in favour of the Government. It will have a very large majority in the Chamber. But it has received some decisive defeats. In eight of the nine districts of Paris the Opposition candidates have been elected in the first ballot. In the ninth, one of the Opposition candidates is at the head of the poll, but had not the requisite majority, and a new ballot, in which we may suppose he will have no competitor of his own side, will no doubt return him. MM. de Berruyer and Marie have been returned for Marseilles, and in Bordeaux an opposition candidate, M. Lavertujon, was at the head of the poll, although, owing to the number of votes given to M. Dufaure, he had not the requisite absolute majority. The enemies of the Empire will attempt to represent this rejection of the Government candidates

by the great cities as a declaration of their hostility to the Empire, and unfortunately the language of M. de Persigny and the Prefects gives them but too much pretence for the assertion. The fact, however, is that the elections imply no such thing. The Opposition candidates frankly accept the Empire;—that was the necessary condition of their candidature, and they have taken care to leave no doubt upon the point. Rightly regarded, their return to public life is the consecration of the Empire. There are no longer any adherents of the old dynasties and systems. The men who represented them have now accepted the accomplished facts, and giving up their dreams, seek to take their proper part in the development of the power and glory of France and the Empire.

The attention of the Parisians has not been given entirely to the elections. The race for the *Grand Prix de Paris* on Sunday was a counter attraction to the ballot boxes. *Messieurs les Anglais* were in great force. The betting ring was there combining pleasure with business, and under able leadership defied before the Emperor and Empress and saluted them with a British cheer. The Parisians, with whom racing has lately become a passion—the interest in it used to be confined to the upper classes—turned out in great numbers to see an English horse, Ranger, defeat the French mare, *La Touqueuse*, and to learn by their own observation, that there are a great many Englishmen who only keep Sunday strictly when they are at home.

The Prussian Constitution empowers the King in urgent circumstances, when the Chambers are not sitting, and under the responsibility of the whole Ministry, to decree ordinances not contrary to the Constitution, which shall have the force of law. Herr Von Bismarck and his colleagues have availed themselves of this clause to issue a decree empowering the Administrative authorities to prohibit, temporarily or altogether, after two warnings, the publication of newspapers whose attitude is upon the whole dangerous to the public welfare; and also to prohibit the introduction into Prussia of foreign newspapers. It has long been apprehended that some *coup d'état* of this kind would be attempted. We may expect to see the suppression of the freedom of the press, followed up by attacks upon individual liberty. The gross illegality of the measure is apparent. The Chambers are not sitting, because the Government has brought the session to an abrupt conclusion: they might be called together again in a few days. There are no urgent circumstances, and the principles of the ordinance are in violation of the Constitution. Hitherto the King of Prussia has been able to vindicate his acts by a narrow interpretation of the Constitution, and none of these were absolutely inconsistent with a belief that he was honestly adhering to his oath. Now he has entered upon a path for which it is impossible to find the slightest excuse—a path which may lead him and his reckless advisers into exile.

The acceptance of the Greek throne by Prince William seems determined. The official organs of the Danish Government join with those of the English Government in announcing it. The chief difficulty appears to have been the civil list. It is said that the Prince is to have 1,200,000 francs and two domains in the Ionian Islands, worth about five thousand a-year. Of course these statements are not deserving of much credit, any more than the programme of the Prince's journey, according to which he is to travel by land to Ancona, then embark upon a Danish vessel of war, to be transferred in the Adriatic to a Greek squadron, which is to convey him, unaccompanied by a single Dane, to Athens. How a mere lad is to restore order at Athens and throughout Greece, we cannot tell. Every mail brings a worse account of the state of affairs in the kingdom. There was an *émelée* the other day with the object of restoring Bulgaria, the chief of the Provisional Government, to power. Two companies of the National Guard had a regular engagement in the streets of the Piræus. The brigands approach to the very gates of Athens, which is filled with adventurers from all parts of Greece. The army is utterly undisciplined. It commits the grossest crimes with impunity. We hope that the Conference now sitting in London for regulating the question, and which has already got so far as to declare the throne of Greece vacant, will be able to devise some means by which the hapless Prince will at least be secured a chance of establishing his authority.

The Spanish Protestants who had been condemned to long terms of *travail forcé*, have had their sentences commuted to banishment. It will be hardly credited that some Spanish journals explain away this act of clemency by saying that the Queen wished to preserve from Protestant contagion the *baynes* in which the condemned persons must have suffered their punishment.

A commission has been appointed to reform the ancient etiquette of the Court of Spain, and harmonise it with constitutional customs; the leading men of all parties are members.

The Italian Parliament has begun the work of the session. A number of diplomatic documents, of no great interest out of Italy, have been laid before the Chamber, together with some projects of law for the imposition of new taxes. The committee appointed to inquire into the Neapolitan brigandage has presented a project of law which has startled and surprised the warmest friends of Piedmont. The law establishes the state of siege in the provinces in which brigandage exists. It directs that at the capital of every such province, a commission is to be appointed, presided over by the prefect, to draw up the list of persons suspected of brigandage. If these persons do not present themselves within a certain time, they may be arrested and pursued by arms by all citizens; military tribunals are alone competent to judge crimes of brigandage. Brigands when taken with arms in their hands are to be shot. Brigands taken without arms and their accomplices will be condemned to transportation. The Prefect may take rigorous preventive measures. Seventy has been tried already, and failed. It was hoped that the committee would recommend justice, even indulgence, but they have preferred to give the reactionists something like authority for their charges of inhumanity.

#### BRAZIL.

The session of the Brazilian Chambers as opened by the Emperor on the 3rd of May. His Majesty said, that through God's mercy there had been no scarcity of provisions, and that the public health had generally been satisfactory, although in some provinces the cholera had made great ravages. Adverting to the "deplorable dispute with the British Legation," he said "its complete solution depends upon the arbitrament of the King of the Belgians, and on the satisfaction and compensation we claim from the British Government." His Majesty noticed the satisfactory arrangement of a dispute with Peru, and announced that on the first half of the current year, the public income had decreased. The great subject of interest in Rio is still the dispute with England. On the 5th, the Chamber went in a body to congratulate the Emperor on the position he had taken, and to declare "the firm resolution of every Brazilian to make every necessary sacrifice to maintain and protect the honour and dignity of Brazil as a free and independent nation." This feeling will not be diminished by the refusal of the British Government to give the satisfaction to which the Emperor alluded, and the consequent departure of the Chevalier Moreira.

#### THE EAST.

A telegram gives the leading features of Sir Charles Trevelyan's Indian budget. A surplus for 1862-3 of £937,000,—a revised estimate, we presume, as the original showed a deficit—and a surplus for 1863-4 of £815,000; a reduction of duty on iron, beer, and wine; 1 per cent. taken off the income tax; and the expenditure of five millions and a-half for public works and education respectively, in which year—62-3 or 63-4, we are not told. There is much agitation amongst the foreigners in Japan. Admiral Kuper has arrived at Jeddo with four ships of war. The French Admiral was expected.

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

Mr. Roebuck has given notice that on the 30th of June he will move the following resolution:—"That a humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to enter into negotiations with the great Powers of Europe for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of North America."—Lord R. Montagu and Mr. Conyngham have given notice of their intention to move amendments.

[Owing to the pressure upon columns of direct Southern News received at a late hour, we are compelled to omit our Parliamentary Notes.]

A NEW ALABAMA AT CARDIFF.—A good deal of commotion has been caused among the shipowners and brokers of the docks, through the strange conduct of the United States' Consul of the port attempting to interfere with the loading of the steamship *Lord Clyde*. This splendid vessel arrived from Greenock, a distance of 450 miles, in twenty-four hours, and is stated to be of extraordinary swiftness and power. Her paddle-boxes being too large for entrance into the East Bute dock, her cargo has been shipped alongside, and from the fact of its neat appearance, has caused considerable interest and much speculation. This consists of several boxes tightly bound with iron and brought by the South Wales Railway. The American Consul attempted to interrogate the captain as to the nature of the contents of the boxes, and induced the Controller of Customs to accompany him. It need hardly be said the attempt was unsuccessful; and on Saturday morning the splendid steamer steamed down the Channel, not before a scene had occurred, by the agitated manner of the Consul who arrived at the docks shortly after 2 o'clock in the morning. The ship has cleared for Nassau with a cargo of wool-n goods.—*The Times*.



## LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

### PRESIDENT DAVIS ON EDUCATION.

At a Teachers' Convention, lately held at Columbia, South Carolina, the following letter from the President was read:—  
Executive Office, Richmond, Virginia,  
April 22, 1863.

Messrs. C. H. Wilcy, J. D. Campbell, and W. J. Palmer, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour to acknowledge your invitation to attend a meeting to be held in Columbia, South Carolina, to deliberate upon the best method of supplying text books for schools and colleges, and promoting the progress of education in the Confederate States. The object commands my fullest sympathy, and has for many years attracted my earnest consideration.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of primary books in the promotion of character, and the development of mind. Our form of Government is only adapted to a virtuous and intelligent people, and there can be no more imperative duty of the generation which is passing away than that of providing for the moral, intellectual, and religious culture of those who are to succeed them. As a general proposition it may, I think, be safely asserted that all true greatness rests upon virtue, and that religion is in a people the source and support of virtue. The first impressions on the youthful mind are to its subsequent current of thought what the springs are to the river they form, and I rejoice to know that the task of preserving these educational springs in purity has been devolved upon men so qualified to secure the desired result. I have only to regret my inability to meet you, because it deprives me of the pleasure your association would give.

With my best wishes, I am, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,  
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The delegates to this numerous-attended Convention were conveyed by the railways without charge. A resolution was passed to admit no more Yankee books into Southern schools.

### THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

The *Richmond Examiner* says:—"In the true national standard, the battle flag is not a mere scrap, like the union of the Federal banner; it occupies two-thirds (not one-third) of the whole width of the flag. When properly constructed and displayed with honours due, by the civil and military authorities of the Southern Confederacy, it will, we hope, present a very noble and splendid appearance.

"To prevent any more mistakes of this sort, we think it proper to publish here the words of the law, which read as follows:—

"AN ACT TO ESTABLISH THE FLAG OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

"The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows:—The field to be white, the length double the width of the flag, with the union (now used as the battle flag), to be a square of two-thirds the width of the flag, having the ground red, thereon a broad saltire of blue, bordered with white, and emblazoned white mullets or five-pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States.

"Approved May 1st, 1863. "JAMES M. MATTHEWS.

"A true copy, "Law Clerk, Department of Justice."

The *Charleston Courier*, of May 5th, says, "Both Houses of Congress, on Friday, passed a Bill establishing the flag of the Confederate States, and it has been approved by the President. It differs from the one adopted by the Senate, a few days ago, only in the omission of the blue bar, and consists of a pure white field, with our battle flag as the union. It will be seen by the following despatch to Mr. Villere, of Louisiana, that it is a favourite design with one of the greatest leaders of the Confederate army.

"C. CHARLESTON, South Carolina, April 24, 1863.  
"To Hon. C. J. Villere,—Why change our battle flag, consecrated by the best blood of our country on so many battle-fields? A good design for the national flag would be the present battle flag as Union Jack, and the rest all white or all blue.  
"G. T. BEAUREGARD"

### THE CONFEDERATE MOTTO.

The Confederate Senate has proposed a substitute for the motto adopted by the House of Representatives for the seal. In the course of an elaborate speech Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, observed:—

The Committee are dissatisfied with the motto on the seal as proposed by the House resolution. The motto proposed is as follows:—"Deo Duce vincemus," "Under the leadership of God we will conquer."

The word "duce" is too pagan in its signification, and is degrading to God, because it reduces Him to the leader of an army; for scarcely does the word "duce" escape the lips, before the imagination suggests "exercitus," an army for a leader to command.

That it degrades the Christian God to the level of Pagan gods, goddesses, and heroes, is manifest from the following quotation:—"Nil desperandum Teuero duce." This word "duce" is particularly objectionable, because of its connexion with the word "vincemus," we will conquer. This connexion makes God the leader of a physical army, by means of which we will conquer—not must conquer. If God be our leader we must conquer, or He would not be the God of Abraham and of Isaac, and of Jacob; nor the God of the Christian. This very doubt implied in the word "vincemus," so qualifies the omnipotence of the God who is to be our "leader," that it imparts a degrading signification to the word "duce" in its relation to the attributes of the Deity.

The word "vincemus" is equally objectionable, because it implies that war is to be our normal state; besides it is in the future tense, "we will conquer." The future is always uncertain, and therefore it implies doubt. What becomes of our motto when we shall have conquered? The future becomes an accomplished fact, and our motto thus loses its significance. In addition to this there are only two languages in which the words "will" and "shall" are to be found, the English and the German, and in those they are used to qualify a positive conclusion of the mind, and render it uncertain—they are repugnant to repose, quiet, absolute and positive existence.

As to the motto proposed by us, we concur with the House in accepting the word "Deo"—God. We do so in conformity to the expressed wishes of the framers of our Constitution, and the sentiments of the people and of the army. The preamble of the Provisional Constitution declares that "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina,

&c., invoking the favour of Almighty God, do hereby ordain," &c.

The preamble of the Permanent Constitution is more explicit still; it declares that "We, the people of the Confederate States, &c., invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain," &c.

In this respect, both our Constitutions have deviated in the most emphatic manner from the spirit that presided over the construction of the Constitution of the United States, which is silent on the subject of the Deity.

Having discarded the word "duce," the Committee endeavoured to select, in lieu of it, a word more in consonance with the attributes of the Deity, and, therefore, more imposing and significant. They think success has crowned their efforts in the selection of the word "Vindex," which signifies an assertor, a defender, protector, deliverer, liberator, a mediator, and a ruler or guardian, as may be seen from the following examples:—

1. A defender: "*Habet sane populus tabellam quasi vindicem libertatis.*"—Livy. The people hold a bond, the defender as it were of their liberty.

2. A protector: "*Vindicem periculi Curium, res suppeditat.*"—Livy. The circumstances suggest or afford Curius as a protector against danger.

3. A mediator: "*Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus incidit.*"—Horace, *Arts Poetica*. Let not God intervene unless the catastrophe be worthy of such a mediator or interpositor.

4. Ruler or guardian: "*Vindicem eum regni reliquit.*"—Justin's History. He left him ruler or guardian of the kingdom.

Vindex also means an avenger or punisher.

1. "*Furia vindices facinorum.*"—Cicero. The furies the avengers of crime.

2. "*Me vindicem conjunctionis oderunt.*"—Cicero. They hate me the punisher of their conspiracy.

No word appeared more grand, more expressive or significant than this. Under God as the assertor of our rights, the defender of our liberties, our protector against danger, our mediator, our ruler and guardian, and as the avenger of our wrongs, and the punisher of our crimes. We endeavour to equal, or even to excel, our ancestors. What word can be suggested of more power, and so replete with sentiment and thoughts consonant with our idea of the Omnipotence and justice of God?

The debate resulted in the adoption by the Senate of the motto "*Deo Vindice*," and the rejection of the proposed addition.

### THE LATE BATTLES. GENERAL LEE'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

General Orders No. 59.

Head-quarters, Army of Northern Virginia, May 7.  
With heartfelt gratification, the General Commanding expresses to the army his sense of the heroic conduct displayed by the officers and men during the arduous operations in which they have just been engaged. Under the trying vicissitudes of heat and storm, you attacked the enemy in the strongly entrenched depths of a tangled wilderness, and again on the Hills of Fredericksburg, fifteen miles distant, and by the valour which has triumphed on so many fields, forced him once more to seek safety beyond the Rappahannock. While this glorious victory entitles you to the praise and gratitude of the nation, we are especially called upon to return our grateful thanks to the only Giver of victory for the signal deliverance He has wrought. It is now, therefore, earnestly recommended that the troops unite on Sunday next in ascribing to the Lord of Hosts the glory due to His name. Let us not forget in our rejoicing the brave soldiers who have fallen in defence of their country, and while we mourn their loss, let us resolve to emulate their noble example. The army and the country alike will lament the absence for a time, of one to whose bravery and skill we are so much indebted for success.

The following letter from the President of the Confederate States, is communicated to the army as an expression of his approbation of its services:—

"I have read your despatch, and reverently unite with you in giving praise to God for the success with which He has crowned our arms. In the name of the people, I offer cordial thanks to yourself and troops under your command, for this addition to the unprecedented series of great victories your army has achieved. The universal rejoicing produced by this happy result will be mingled with general regret for the good and brave numbered among the killed and wounded."  
(Signed) R. E. LEE, General Commanding.

### CAPTURE OF COLONEL STRAIT'S COMMAND.

Official Report of General Bragg.

To General S. Cooper, A. and I. General.

TULLAHOMA, Tenn., May 5, 1863.—On the 18th April the enemy, moving from Corinth towards Tusculumbia, crossed Bear Creek with five regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, and ten pieces of artillery. Col. Roddy, commanding, fought them on the 18th with one regiment, killing a large number and capturing more than one hundred prisoners and one piece of artillery, with horses and caisson, losing six killed and twenty wounded. The enemy, after burying their dead, fell back, and on the 10th were reinforced to three full brigades, the whole under command of Gen. Dodge. Skirmishing continued on the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd.

On the night of the 19th the enemy landed troops at Eastport from a large number of steamers and burned the town, and houses on several plantations. On the 24th Roddy fought them. Their loss was heavy, ours slight. He contested every inch of ground, but falling back before overwhelming forces, the enemy advanced and entered Tusculumbia on the 25th. The enemy advanced towards Decatur as far as Town Creek.

Nothing more occurred until the 28th. On that day Forrest, with his brigade, having been ordered by me from Columbia, arrived, and engaged them all day, with the loss of one killed and three wounded; the loss of the enemy heavy. Forrest falling back.

On the 28th Forrest discovered a heavy force of cavalry, under Col. Strait, marching on Moulton and Blountsville. Gen. Forrest pursued this force with two regiments, fighting him all day and night at Driver's Gap, at Sand Mountain, with a loss of five killed and fifty wounded—Captains Forrest and Thompson it is feared, mortally. The enemy left on the field 50 killed, 150 wounded, burnt 50 of his waggon, turned loose 250 mules and 100 negroes, and pursued his way towards Blountsville, Gadsden, and Rome, Georgia.

On the 3rd of May, between Gadsden and Rome, after five days and nights of fighting and marching, General Forrest captured Colonel Strait and his whole command, about 1,600, with rifles, horses, &c.

(Signed)

BRAXTON BRAGG.

### THE RICHMOND PRESS OF THE 7TH OF MAY ON THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLES NEAR FREDERICKSBURG.

The *Enquirer* says:—

"As to the materials of war, we have heard no estimate, but are informed that, as for knapsacks, haversacks, overcoats and coats, the ground was literally covered. Thousands of arms were scattered over the field. Fifty-three pieces of artillery were captured. The prisoners are said to number ten thousand.

"The condition of the wounded brought to the city is most remarkably good. The very large number that walked to the hospitals, apparently but slightly wounded, was most gratifying.

"The estimate of our loss has decreased from 10,000 to 8,000, and many that we have conversed with do not think it will reach 8,000, including killed, wounded, and missing."

A correspondent of the *Enquirer* writes concerning the main battle at Chancellorsville:—

"Our losses are fully 5,000, whilst those of the Yankees are confessed to be fully 25,000, and about thirty pieces of artillery. We have captured very near 8,000 prisoners, and have lost, I suppose, about 1,000 prisoners. These results of the fight point most conclusively to a most brilliant Confederate victory. We have captured one brigadier-general and any quantity of field and staff officers.

"Generals Slcomb, Howard, and O'Neill, of the Yankee army, are reported killed, and 'Fighting Joe' said to be slightly wounded. There are also many other good and true officers and men who have fallen, but our report would be too lengthy to enable us to make mention of all, so, presuming that my report is long enough, I will close."

The *Examiner* reports:—

"Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing is roughly estimated at ten thousand. The enemy's killed and severely wounded alone, it is thought, will amount to that number, leaving out of the account his slightly wounded who escaped, and the seven or eight thousand prisoners who have been taken. A gentleman who walked over the ground after the battle informs us that for ten miles around Chancellorsville the Yankee dead almost literally cover the face of the earth. From a casual observation he estimates the enemy's loss as five times greater than ours.

"We have been unable, in the confusion attendant upon the arrival of the wounded, to obtain any satisfactory details of the respective loss of our different regiments and batteries. There are many wild stories of regiments being 'cut to pieces,' which are unworthy of credit or repetition. The army intelligence office will, in a few days, be able to give to all who have friends or relatives in the army, authentic information regarding them."

The *Sentinel* says:—

"It is now certain that the late victories near Fredericksburg were the most decisive of the war. General Lee himself has so declared. The number of prisoners captured is still uncertain—six to ten thousand. The loss of the enemy supposed to be five to ten times ours. The number of our killed estimated by some at eight hundred to a thousand."

CONFEDERATE NOTES FUNDED.—The amount of Treasury Notes funded in 8 per cent. bonds up to the 22nd of April, inclusive, has been as follows at the points mentioned:—Charleston, \$13,245,700; Columbia, \$6,039,000; Greenville, \$1,000,000; Augusta, \$2,500,000; Atlanta, \$1,234,000; Mobile, \$8,000,000; Montgomery, \$8,000,000; Petersburg, \$3,000,000; Lynchburg, Virginia, \$1,700,000; Staunton, Virginia, \$5,000,000; Columbus, Georgia, \$1,497,000; Macon, \$1,000,000.

### THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

MAY 1.—The Senate to-day passed the House Bill placing in military service, after the first of July next, all citizens of the United States, including Marylanders, residing or sojourning in the Confederate States. The House amendment to the Bill establishing a Confederate flag was concurred in.

A message was received from the President, returning, with his disapproval, the Act to authorise the transmission of newspapers to soldiers free of postage.

In the House nothing of interest transpired except the adoption of the amendment to create the Bill establishing the Confederate flag.

Congress adjourned *sine die* after passing an Act relative to the Congressional election in Tennessee. All Bills have been approved and signed by the President, except the Acts relating to staff officers, and the Acts for the conscription of Marylanders, which were not signed.

The *Wilmington Journal* says:—

"We are deeply pained to hear of the death of Major Henry McRae, of the 5th Regiment North Carolina Train, which took place in Charleston, on Wednesday last, the 22nd inst. By his death the Army of the Confederacy has lost a brave and true man, and a gallant soldier, and this, his native town, one of her worthiest sons. Though not falling on the battle field, his life was none the less a sacrifice to the cause of his country."

Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright died on the 2nd inst., at the residence of H. H. Smythe, Esq., near Jackson. At the time of his decease he occupied the position of Assistant Surgeon General of the Western Department.

The steamer *Charleston*, Captain H. S. Leiby, while going into Wilmington, on the morning of the 23rd, got ashore through the negligence of her pilot, but was got off by her energetic captain, through a heavy fire from the blockading fleet, and ran the gauntlet of the enemy's fire up to Fort Fisher, having 136 shots fired at her, but received no damage.—*Columbia Guardian*.

MARTIAL LAW.—The following resolutions from the Committee on the Judiciary have passed the Confederate House of Representatives:—

I. That Martial Law, in the sense of an arbitrary suspension of all the laws and civil jurisdictions, cannot exist within the Confederate States.

II. That Martial Law, in any sense, if it can exist within the Confederate States, can exist only by virtue of Legislative authority.

III. Military Law (for the government of the forces) is distinct from Martial Law, and it is enacted by Congress in pursuance of the Constitution.

IV. Without Martial Law military commanders may sometimes exert extraordinary powers at and near the places occupied by their troops, and may be justified by the nature and necessities of the service, and, therefore, by the laws au-



thorizing the employment of the forces; but they assume the hazard of responsibility according to known principles of law.

V. For the security of liberty and the certainty of law, powers which are necessary to be conferred on the President, or on military commanders, in lieu of the power to declare Martial Law within the Confederate States, ought to be conferred by distinct enactments.

The resolutions passed by the following votes:—Yeas—Messrs. Arrington, Ashe, Atkins, Baldwin, Batson, Boyce, Bridgers, H. W. Bruce, Chambers, Chambliss, Chilton, Clapp, Clark, Clifton, Collier, Curry, Davidson, Davis, De Jarret, Farrow, Foote, Foster, Gaither, Garland, Garnett, Goode, Gray, Hanly, Herbert, Hodge, Holcombe, Marshall, McLean, Perkins, Raile, Read, Russell, Sexton, Singleton, Smith, of North Carolina, Strickland, Vest, Villere, Wright, of Georgia, Wright, of Texas—45. Nays—Messrs. Barksdale, Conrad, Conrow, Currin, Dargan, Dupre, Elliott, Ewing, Freeman, Graham, Hilton, Holt, Jones, Kennan, of Georgia, Kennan, of North Carolina, Lewis, Lyons, Machen, Martin, Miller, Munjelynn, Pugh, Royston, Swann, Tripple, Welch, Wilcox—27.

**AN ENERGETIC WAR MEASURE.**—The Senate has passed a bill from the House of Representatives, turning out of office all the clerks in the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments who are capable of shouldering a musket, and authorizing the detail of disabled soldiers to fill their places. The following is a copy of the Act:—

"The Congress, etc., do enact, that the Act entitled 'An Act to provide for an increase of the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments,' approved February 15th, 1862, be and the same is hereby amended by striking out the proviso at the end of the same, and inserting in its stead the following:—

"Provided, That no Quartermaster, Assistant-Quartermaster, Commissary, or Assistant-Commissary be authorized to employ as a clerk any one liable to military service. And the commanding officer of Quartermasters, Assistant-Quartermasters, Commissaries or Assistant-Commissaries, may detail from the ranks under his command such person or persons as may be necessary for service in the offices of said Quartermasters, Assistant-Quartermasters, Commissaries and Assistant-Commissaries; Provided, That only disabled soldiers shall be so detailed, while one can be found for such service."

—*Charleston Courier.*

#### AUCTION PRICES FOR IMPORTED GOODS AT CHARLESTON.

(From the *Charleston Courier*, of May 1.)

Congou tea, \$4.75 to \$5.37½ per lb.; gunpowder tea, \$8.25 per lb.; young Hyson tea, \$7.75 per lb.; whiting 17 cents per lb.; coppers, \$1.12½ to \$1.25 per lb.; London starch, \$1.60 per lb.; mustard, in bad order, \$2.10 per lb.; Lucca's cet oil, \$53 per doz. for pints; Low's Windsor soap, \$15 per doz.; men's elastic calf boots, \$23 to \$24 per pair; youths' elastic calf boots, \$13 per pair; ladies' kid heeled boots, \$20.50 per pair; ladies' cloth laced gaiters, \$21.50 per pair; ladies' kid Congress gaiters, \$23.50 per pair; misses' button and cloth Congress gaiters, \$12.50 per pair; ladies' Congress summer gaiters, \$23 per pair; men's Bluchers, \$11.75 per pair; English calomel, \$10.50 per lb.; blue pill, \$7.25 per lb.; mercurial ointment, \$5.50 per lb.; Turkey opium, \$30 per lb.; essence of burgamot, \$34 per lb.; oil of lemon, \$16 per lb.; oil of lavender \$7.50 per lb.; oil of orange blossom, \$7 per oz.; benzoic acid, \$4 per ounce; Dover's powders, \$5.25 per pound; gum arabic, \$8.75 per pound; balsam copaiva, \$18.75 per pound; quicksilver, \$3.40 per pound; quinine, \$45.50 per ounce; tannic acid, \$1 per ounce; sulphate morphine, \$30 per ounce; chloroform, \$15 per lb.; extract of logwood, \$3.22½ per lb.; hooks and eyes, \$3 to \$4.50 per gross; solid head pins, \$9.25 per pack; jet pins, \$3 per pack; American pins, \$9.75 per pack; mixed pins, \$8 p'r lb.; iron and composition thumbles, \$4.50 to \$8 per gross; needles in fancy boxes, \$11 per M; fish hooks, \$7.50 to \$8 per M; horn dressing combs, \$9 to \$18.25 per doz.; scissors, \$21 to \$32 per doz.; agate shirt buttons, \$16 per great gross; metal patent buttons, \$2.35 per gross; gilt vest buttons, \$4.75 to \$5.62½ per gross; gilt coat buttons, \$13 to \$13.25 per gross; percussion caps, \$15 to \$16.50 per thousand; Baylis' needles, \$8.25 to \$15 per thousand; knitting pins, \$26 per gross; jet hair pins, \$14 per doz. boxes; English horn dressing combs, \$19 per doz.; white bone strap buttons, \$20.50 to \$21 per great gross; black bone brace buttons, \$32.50 to \$38 per great gross; metal brace and strap buttons, \$36 per great gross; lasting vest buttons, \$3.20 per gross; lasting coat buttons, \$10 to \$16.50 per gross; fancy mohair buttons, \$8.50 to \$19 per gross; pearl shirt buttons, \$3.30 to \$3.40 per gross; shoe thread, \$10.50 to \$14 per lb.; sewing awls, \$13.50 to \$14 per gross; pegging awls, \$22.50 per gross; saddlers' awls, \$17 per gross; iron and steel tacks, \$14.50 to \$16 per gross; Britannia table spoons, \$8 to \$13.50 per doz.; Britannia tea spoons, \$5.25 per doz.; Britannia table forks, \$16 per doz.; pocket knives, one blade, \$11.50 to \$14 per doz.; pocket knives, two blades, \$41 to \$66 per doz.; pocket knives, various, \$64 to \$118 per doz.; shears, \$16.50 to \$51 per doz.; tooth brushes, \$16 to \$17 per doz.; crown horse shoes, 70 cents per lb.; black, white, and fancy prints, \$2.50 to \$2.70 per yard; cambrics, \$2.75 to \$2.77 per yard; fancy gingham, \$3.85 to \$4 per yard; black and white gingham, \$3.82½ to \$4.12 per yard; de bage, \$3.05 per yard; bleached longcloth, \$2.76 to \$2.90 per yard; coloured handkerchiefs, \$14.50 to \$19 per doz.; Madras handkerchiefs, \$21 to \$30.50 per doz.; plaid handkerchiefs, \$25.50 per doz.; fancy braces, \$38 to \$41 per doz.; mixed and brown cotton hose, \$13.50 to \$13.75 per doz.; Berlin gloves, \$13 per doz.; Men's cotton gloves, \$7.50 per doz.; silk chenille, 90 cents per piece; black lace veils, \$14.50 to \$31 per doz.; black lace veils, \$6 to \$7.50 each; cotton hair nets, \$29 to \$43 per doz.; black insertion sprig lace, \$1.50 per yard; black Chantilly lace, \$2.60 per yard; Brussels' lace, \$1.25 to \$2.25 per yard; Clark's coloured spool cotton, 200 yards, \$5 to \$5.25 per doz.; Brooks' white glue cotton, 160 and 200 yards, \$5.05 per doz.; Brooks' white glue cotton, 200 yards, \$5.05 per doz.; Brooks' black glue cotton, \$5.35 per doz.; Linen cambric handkerchiefs, \$28 to \$37.75 per doz.; hair brushes, assorted, \$22.50 to \$23 per doz.; black doeklin, \$12 per yard; French soft fur hats, \$27 to \$32 each; super rubber dressing combs, \$31 per dozen; ivory fine tooth combs, \$18.50 per doz.; pocket knives, \$20 to \$150 per doz.

#### SOUTHERN WAR ITEMS.

The following are from the files of the *Charleston Courier*, May 1 to May 11:—

Vicksburg, May 7.—Nothing new from the front to-day. The enemy has made no movements this side of Big Black river. The enemy's cavalry is reported about Cayuga. A

party of Yankee cavalry crossed at Hankerson's Ferry on Tuesday night, captured Mr. Owen and son, planters, and recrossed the Big Black again.

Vicksburg, May 8.—All quiet to-day along the lines. The enemy is reported to be using the spado on the other side of Big Black river. The Yankees, it is said, occupy Utica, Illinois county, Mississippi.

Jackson, Mississippi, May 3.—Governor Pettus has received official information that our troops have driven the Yankees from Tupelo, and we now hold that town.

A gentleman who has arrived from New Orleans, says Banks has published an order requiring all registered enemies by the 1st of May to take the oath, or prepare to leave the Yankee lines on the 15th of May. The negroes are disgusted with Yankee freedom, and prefer to be whipped by Confederate masters to being shot by Yankees.

The new oath promulgated by Banks is far more binding, and will subject all who take it to Yankee conscription.

A riot had taken place at the Varieties Theatre, New Orleans. H. M. Gunners struck Mrs. Baker, who was acting on the stage, because she would not play the Yankee Authors.

Vicksburg, May 9.—Nothing new from the front to-day. The enemy have been landing troops at Young's Point. It is supposed that they are destined to reinforce Grant. The *Whig* newspaper office was destroyed by fire this afternoon. Origin of the fire unknown.

Richmond, May 9.—Imboden's Confederate force has destroyed the great Cheat River Brad lock, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, built at an enormous cost, and regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of science.

From Georgetown.—Yankee re-appearance at Marrell's Inlet.—Our attentive friend and correspondent at Georgetown sends us the following account of the Yankees' re-appearance off Marrell's Inlet. It will be seen that the Yankees were well received, and left several trophies behind, as mementoes of their visit:—

Georgetown, May 6, 1863.

The Yankees, on the 31st inst., under cover of the fire from their steamer, landed again a boat's crew on Magnolia beach. A detachment of Captain Snowden's men met them and extended a hearty welcome. The Yankees left, deeply impressed with our hospitality. One decided to remain and attach himself to the soil. Captain Snowden's men allotted him a small farm, taking in exchange three fine rifles with accoutrements to match, four hats, and sundry other tokens of the Yankees' visit.

The Yankee steamer opened fire on the five vessels in port, and succeeded in striking the schooners Julia and George Chisholm in the hull, the Antoinette in the spars, and the Rover in the rigging. The wind since Sunday has been from the East, and doubtless prevented them from renewing their firing. As soon as there is a lull they will probably open again.

Vicksburg, May 4.—A Yankee craft with two barges in tow, loaded with medical stores and rations for the army below, attempted to run past our batteries last night, and was set on fire by our guns. The craft and barges were all burnt to the water's edge. The crew were taken off in skiffs and brought here.

Jackson, May 2.—A special despatch to the *Mississippian* from Snyder's Bluff, states that the enemy maintained a steady fire yesterday on our works at Grave Yard Hill, temporarily dislodging one gun. Deserters report General Sherman in command on board the flag-ship De Kalb. He has only ten regiments with him, averaging 3,000 men. The deserters state that the present demonstration is only a feint, and that no real attack is intended. They also report two persons killed on board the turreted gunboat Choctaw. Over forty of our shots struck the Choctaw.

A despatch from Cairo says:—"Jeff. Thompson with 2,500 men had attacked Cape Girardeau, but withdrew with a loss of forty killed. The Federal loss was small. Colonel McNeill was commanding."

The mouths of the Arkansas and White Rivers had been connected by a canal. Grant's head-quarters were at New Carthage. An important movement is afoot.

The enemy made several furious assaults on our troops in their entrenchments at Grand Gulf, and were badly repulsed. Bands of our troops have been placed at different points, where, in all probability, they will intercept and capture Grierson. Grierson had destroyed the Government tannery near Magnolia.

Jackson, Mississippi, May 1.—Grierson's Yankee force was at Summit, Mississippi, last evening. Dan Rice, the famous circus rider, is one of his captains. The Yankees burned a wood shed at Summit, but burned no cotton or private property. They have 200 negroes mounted on mules. Fighting just below Grand Gulf commenced at 12 o'clock last night. General Tracy is reported killed. The Yankees bombarded Snyder's Bluff furiously for several hours yesterday, but unsuccessfully. Our works remained uninjured. The only casualties on our side were two or three wounded. Lieut.-General Pemberton went to Vicksburg yesterday.

The *Memphis Bulletin*, of the 27th ult., says the river had fallen twenty-four feet in all.

A Cincinnati despatch of the 24th ult., says the shipment of stores in the past week had been the largest ever known.

The Commissary department at St. Louis is very active. Three hundred thousand rations were being got ready for Grant's army.

Several ladies of Covington, Kentucky, have been arrested for writing secesh letters, and are to be court martialed.

A skirmish had taken place at Patterson, Mobile. The Federals lost eleven killed. They burned the town and then evacuated it.

General McNeill, of the Palmyra Massacre notoriety, is reported captured.

Two regiments of militia replace the garrison at St. Louis, which goes into the field. It is believed the rebels have captured Cape Girardeau. A report from Louisville, Kentucky, states that Morgan, with a numerous force of cavalry, is in Wayne county, Kentucky. An order has been received in Nashville requiring the entire population, ladies included, to take the oath of allegiance within ten days, or be sent South.

Jackson, Mississippi, May 1.—The enemy advanced, and fighting began at Grand Gulf to-day, about one o'clock, continuing until four o'clock, at which time the enemy were repulsed. The battle was renewed at eight o'clock this evening. The enemy took Wade's Virginia battery, which was re-taken this evening. The Yankees have been driven one mile from the battle field, and the firing has ceased. The loss is heavy on both sides. General Bowen's horse, was struck four times in a charge on the enemy.

Jackson, Mississippi, May 2.—A despatch from Woodville says:—"The enemy is advancing on that point from above and below. The citizens are hastily organising, and will make the best defence possible."

Natchez, May 1.—A gentleman who left Alexandria on Wednesday morning, brings intelligence that Banks's army is not now, nor has it been, nearer than within fifty miles of Alexandria. He also reports that General Mouton, with fifteen hundred cavalry, gained the enemy's rear, and destroyed 175 waggons belonging to Banks's advance trains.

It is reported that the late movements of the Yankees on the Teche river, in Louisiana, were checked in great part by our torpedoes, and were thus prevented from working greater injury to us.

#### THE GULF DEPARTMENT.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

Saturday, May 9th, 1863.

We had heard nothing from General Banks, save a telegram two days ago, that his advance was thirty miles from Opelousas, and that he was following with the rest of the army on the road towards Red River. To-day, however, to the surprise of all of us, Admiral Farragut, with three or four of his officers, arrived in town. He left the flag-ship Hartford, in Red River, took a smaller gunboat, came down through the Atchafalaya and Grand Lake to Brashear City, and thence by rail to this city. He has not been to Alexandria; but Admiral Porter, with two or three gunboats and his iron-clads, went up the river and occupied Alexandria on the 6th inst. The advance of Banks's column arrived on the 7th inst., and Banks was expected "with the rest" on the following day. The occupation was easy; there was no Confederate force there, and the few inhabitants, of course, made no opposition. I did not think there would be any very serious resistance to so large a force as was brought against the place. The nearest encampment of Confederate troops in that section of the country is at Archidelpia, on the Wachita river, in Arkansas, under command of Kirby Smith. They could have come down by means of the steamboats lying at Camden, fifty miles below, through the Black River into the Red; but it would have been at the risk of the loss of their boats, and at the sacrifice of lives that can be lost—if lost they must be—on far more noble and important fields. So Alexandria is quietly occupied, and, although it is not the season therefor, we may look for a speedy and greedy cotton gathering.

Grand Gulf, too, is gone. It is on the Mississippi, one hundred and eighty-five miles above Port Hudson, and sixty miles below Vicksburg. There was a battery there of three 8-inch columbiads, and two 42-pound rifled guns. On the night of the 29th ult., Porter shelled the place, while Grant crossed the river with his troops to get in the rear. The Confederates retreated to Fort Gibson, eight miles inland, taking with them fifty field pieces. There was a considerable force at Port Gibson, and Grant marched upon the place. Report says he has taken it.

These things indicate that the places have been held by very small forces, while Vicksburg and Port Hudson have been strengthened. There will be no diffusion of Confederate troops to places of little or no importance, when a great battle is impending in Tennessee, and another at Vicksburg.

Banks's campaign is probably ended with the occupation of Alexandria. The return of Farragut to the city leads me to believe that he intends to take the fleet below Port Hudson, while Porter acts with the iron-clads above, and that they will bombard the place within a few days. You may be very sure there will be no more attempts to pass the batteries.

I had nearly forgotten to tell you that before Porter went to Alexandria, he sent the gunboats Arizona, Albattross, and Estrella up Red River, to reduce a small earthwork known as Fort de Russy. It was reduced, or evacuated, and a little boat belonging to the Confederates was disabled, while another boat escaped. The Federals lost two killed and three wounded.

Those persons, in this city, who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States when Butler came here were registered as enemies. There were about 4,000 in all. An order has recently been issued that they must leave on the 15th inst. Most of them will go gladly. The business season is over till autumn. Many of them have their families and plantations in the Confederacy. They must, by the order, go into the Confederate lines, though a few of them would be glad to go to Cuba or to Europe. Circulars have been issued to many of them, within a day or two, calling their attention to the order, and inviting them to get ready.

Men who have property here are notified, while some of the young men without means have received no circulars. No one will be allowed to take anything with them, beyond ten days' provisions, their clothing, their Confederate money, and all the greenbacks they choose to carry, but no gold or silver. It may be policy to send these "registered enemies" into the Confederate lines just now, and, as the Federal authorities insist upon it, of course they know best; but the enemies go home with a full knowledge of the Federal forces and many of their plans. All the young men will at once join the Confederate army, and the others will be conscripted. The movement adds at least 2,000 good fighting men to the Confederates. Moreover, the exodus of the "enemies" will occasion another display similar to the one when two hundred exchanged officers and soldiers recently went away by boat to be "restored" to the Confederacy at some point above Baton Rouge. There were nearly ten thousand people, a large majority of them ladies, on the levee to see their friends off. Cheers were given for Jeff. Davis, and the "red, white, and red," was seen everywhere. This, for a "Union city," was somewhat striking, particularly as it was



found necessary to scatter the crowd at the point of the bayonet.

An attempt was made, a few nights since, by a few disorderly persons, to force the orchestra at the *Varieties* to play *Hail, Columbia*. It resulted in the closing of the theatre. The very same persons attempted it again at an amateur concert in the Opera House this week, and amidst much confusion the concert was broken up. Scarcely any of the Federal officers here approve of the proceeding; and General Sherman, commanding the city in Banks's absence, issued an order to-day requiring all programmes of entertainments to be submitted to him, and stating that no programmes approved shall be departed from, under any circumstances, and that persons disturbing entertainments, as laid down in the programme, shall be punished. But as he recommends the inclusion of national airs, we shall probably have no more amusements this season.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, May 6th, 1863.

Pending the arrival of the iron-clads, expected from Port Royal so soon as they recover from the terrible "banging" received at Charleston, when there may be another attempt in conjunction with Porter's and Farragut's fleets upon Port Hudson, we are watching with interest the movements of General Banks in Western Louisiana. In the advance upon Alexandria, after four fights with comparatively small opposing forces, and the capture of, he says, two thousand prisoners, to say nothing of a general gathering in of all the horses, mules, and cattle in the region, he rested at Opelousas with Weitzel and the larger part of the army. Meanwhile, Grover was sent with two brigades to Barre's Landing on the Bayou Courtaubeau, and Dwight with one brigade advanced to Washington, eight miles above.

This happy triangular arrangement afforded the following advantages,—an opportunity to gather in at Opelousas all the district could possibly afford: to send cotton and cattle in any quantity to Barre's Landing, for shipment to Berwick's Bay, while Dwight was in advance to warn them of any danger which might threaten them from Red River. But Farragut, with two gunboats, was known to be in the vicinity of Red River, and it was supposed that by this time Porter must have joined him with four iron-clads and one or two gunboats. It was desirable that the two naval officers should be informed of General Banks's position, so that they could co-operate in the advance upon Alexandria.

Accordingly last week Banks hazarded the sending of the gunboat Arizona through the Atchafalaya and into Red River to communicate with Farragut. She successfully performed her mission, finding Farragut and Porter at the mouth of Red River, delivering her despatches and safely returning. Meanwhile, Banks was by no means idle. Large quantities of cotton and numerous droves of cattle were sent to Barre's Landing. I do not know that the object of the expedition was to collect cattle and cotton; but the Opelousas correspondent of the Government official organ in this city writes yesterday as follows:—

On both sides the bayou, at Barre's, cotton was piled bale upon bale over several acres; along the road from there to Opelousas, immense army waggons, each containing a half dozen bales, lined the road, each waggon driven by a jolly contraband, who seemed to think the millennium had come. Reaching Opelousas, the first object that attracted my attention was a warehouse, with a large yard attached, piled high with a fleecy cloud, and the surrounding streets were filled with waggons, mules, and darkies, waiting to haul it away to some bayou landing, to be shipped from thence to New Orleans.

He thinks that at least 200,000 bales have been collected; but I entirely discredit his account. The parishes, St. Mary, St. Landry, St. Martin, Lafayette, and Vermillion, have never yielded in any season more than 20,000 bales. It is the sugar region. When Banks gets to Alexandria he will find cotton in abundance.

Now as some persons were willing to lose their character as Confederates, for the sake of saving their cotton and cash, and as many came in to head-quarters to take the oath of allegiance, I am charitable enough to believe that some of this cotton will be shipped on account of its owners. But it should be remembered that the larger part of the cotton and cattle belonged to avowed secessionists, and was summarily confiscated. When Butler was here he made it his business to find out, first if a man was a secessionist, and then the amount of his property. Banks is not rapacious, nor is he a thief. But I think he is willing to make the secessionists pay smartly for the war, while he would not use his position to enrich himself.

It is certainly hard upon those men who have professed to be Union, but who have contributed liberally to the Confederate cause, to have a Federal army come and strip them of all the rest—even to the last chicken in the coop. Banks announced that what was taken for the use of the army should be paid for. He issued orders against "straggling and pillaging," and Dwight shot one man therefore, last week. But beyond the little the tailors put in the coats to "swell the martial breast," soldiers do not use cotton, and armies do not need it. An invading army cannot go through a country without feeling that all that is in it belongs to the army. In the first Teche movement, which extended no further than Pattersonville, and which resulted in no more than the destruction of a miserable old steamboat, and the loss of several lives—after Weitzel had ordered the return of his regiments, several lawless men went back on the Bayou, entered two deserted mansions on Mrs. Mead's plantation, stripped them of everything that was portable down to the pitchers in the pantries, "smashed" the black walnut furniture, and then burned the houses to the ground. There is a general idea among the soldiers, that silver spoons and clothing are "contraband of war"—at all events, it isn't stealing, if they are "conveyed" from a "d—d rebel."

What a perfect farce it is to think of thus "concilia-

ting" the States called by Mr. John Van Buren "our wayward sisters," and restoring them to the Union! There are claims enough now for damages against the United States' Government to make up an amount that never can be paid—no, not even in "greenbacks."

But to return to Banks. We know by telegram from Opelousas last night that Porter was advancing with his iron-clads up Red River; and Banks's column was to advance upon the same place this morning. They will meet with but little resistance. The Confederate troops are concentrated in more important positions, and they will not weaken those places at present, for the sake of saving the cotton and sugar of all Opelousas. The place can be seriously damaged, and an extensive foundry and machine shop will doubtless be destroyed. The loss of communication by Red River to Texas, which is wholly in the hands of the Confederates, and this with the mouth of the Rio Grande, the great outlet for cotton and inlet for supplies, will be a serious calamity. But let no Confederate croak yet—let us see what happens.

There is a little more news. The Opelousas telegram of last night says that "Grand Gulf (on the Mississippi) is captured with all its guns." Porter found it annoying, no doubt, but he will find warmer work at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. General Grant was reported to be on the east bank of the Mississippi "driving the enemy before him," and he was said to have taken 400 prisoners. What adds to the exuberance of this telegram is Porter's belief that "Vicksburg will be evacuated."

At Opelousas, Monday, Captain Dwight was sent with despatches, and was shot on the road by three men. They probably ordered him to surrender and shot him as he was trying to escape; but Dwight, a younger brother of the General who had the advance, was much loved in the Federal army, and General Banks issued an order to arrest 100 men in the vicinity and send them under a strong guard to New Orleans, where they will be kept in close confinement, "as hostages for the delivery of the murderers into the hands of the military authorities of the United States."

In this city two general orders just issued are important; one requires all the "Registered Enemies of the United States" to leave the department before May 15th. You may expect many summer visitors abroad—though many will go into the Confederate lines. The next order says that "Any person who shall be convicted before the Commanding-General of this Department of furnishing supplies to the enemies of the United States in arms, shall suffer the penalty of death." Last week, before the issue of this order, Mr. W. G. Batten was convicted of concealing articles contraband of war, in barrels, supposed to be beef, and sending them into the Confederacy. He was sentenced to pay a fine of \$25,000 (£5,000), and to imprisonment at hard labour one year, in Port Pickens.

Business here is dull—inexpressibly so, and will grow duller as the season advances. There is no yellow fever as yet, but vessels coming from Havannah and other Gulf and West India ports, are already, thus early, subject to fifteen days' quarantine. Of course, summer is already here, with a profusion of strawberries, blackberries, peas, and new potatoes in our markets. I will advise you of the progress of the Banks' movement by the next steamer, which leaves for New York on Sunday.

#### THE FEDERAL FLEET AT ST. THOMAS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

ST. THOMAS, West Indies, May 12, 1863.

The Federal war vessels seem to have possession of this harbour, and there are, at this moment, no less than three here,—the Vanderbilt, Commodore Wilkes, the Wachusett, and Sheppard Knapp;—the Gembok is being dismantled, and laden with coal for the use of the fleet. The Consul is receiving large quantities of coal for that purpose.

My advices from Bermuda state that the Robert E. Lee, Captain Wilkinson, late Graffe, arrived there on the 15th ultimo, from Wilmington, with about 1,000 bales of cotton, &c., and that she left Bermuda on the 25th; the Beauregard had arrived at Charleston, and the Merrimac, from Bermuda, at Wilmington, on the 22nd ultimo; more steamers were expected on the 13th. I have been furnished with the following list of the Federal war vessels, in port, up to last evening—two arrived yesterday after my having written you:—

U.S. Steam Frigate	Vanderbilt,	Adml. Wilkes,	14 guns.
" "	Corvette	Wachusett,	Fleming, 9 "
" "	"	Alabama,	Nichols, 10 "
" "	"	Oneida,	Lieut. Allen, 9 "
" "	Gunboat	Chippewa,	Boysen, 4 "
" "			from Capo de Verdes.
" Ship	Shep. Knapp,	Estrange,	8 "
" Barque	Gembok,	Canendy,	7 "
			to be a coal depot.

One left last night, supposed to be the Wachusett. I understand that the Governor has notified Admiral Wilkes that this harbour is not to be used as a depot.

The Columbia had also arrived at Bermuda, from Wilmington, North Carolina.

#### THE PARIS PRESS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, June 2nd.

ELECTION WEEK.—These two words are the summary of the Paris Press for the last eight days, and if there had not been also the great £4,000 race on the Course of Boulogne last Sunday, I should have little but the elections to write about. As a serious man, I begin, of course, with the race to which all Paris crowded, leaving the polling-booths deserted. The ground is so well watered, that the slight shower which fell just before the race came off was only required to lay the dust which the hundreds of equipages of all kinds had raised along

the road, and was slight enough not to spoil the running. The Emperor made his appearance just before the great race was run, looking in excellent spirits, and the animation with which the Empress entered into the sport seemed to prove that she has quite recovered from her late illness. I need not speak of the race and its result in favour of Mr. Saville's Ranger, but I may mention the applause with which his gift of a tithe of the prize to Paris Charities was received. Nor can I dismiss the subject without referring to the Derby, which supplied the *Presse* with a most instructive article on the origin and decorations of the Garter. Taking Mr. Disraeli's celebrated comparison literally, it announced that the winner had just received the blue ribbon, and then went on to explain the great part played in England by blue ribbons. They are the highest prize for all species of excellence—the successful statesman, the aristocrat who unites broad acres to long lineage, the fleetest racer, are alike distinguished by this enviable decoration. The writer forgot to add that this privilege of the blue ribbon was formerly not confined to England, but was worn also by the French knights of "the King's orders," and metaphorically (but he does not understand metaphors), by those female benefactors of mankind whose culinary preparations are pronounced above par.

French elections offer no subject to a Hogarth. They develop no humours but bad humour. The *Constitutionnel* has for a week filled its chief columns with attack on M. Thiers, consisting of ingenious if not always candid quotations from his writings and speeches. In England the author of the "Romance of Revolution and Empire" has a very different value to that which he had in France. It may be doubtful if it was good policy to expose the inconsistencies of a man to whom the Napoleon dynasty owes so much, and whose credit as a historian would, on the showing of his present adversaries, be so terribly weakened by his opinions as a statesman. A the world moves on it is folly to require the Minister who should move with it to maintain views which new events must alter. The most mischievous acts of M. Thiers, including the perpetration of his History, are not those which are brought forward as accusations. His warning against unlimited credit, which reminds him of the assignats and scaffolds of the Terror, his disbelief in the conveyance of private messages by the telegraph, his opposition to a uniform rate of postage, are among the crimes laid to his charge. He is the spoiled child of Fortune, who, not content with loading him with her favours in his early years, draws him now from a retreat in which, his part played out, he had disappeared from public view, to make him again one of the foremost figures in France.

The elections are over, and although the result is not yet officially proclaimed, it appears that all the opposition candidates, with one doubtful election, have succeeded in Paris. It cannot be denied that, thanks to M. de Persigny's and M. Haussmann's active interference in urging the danger of such an election "of lawyers and journalists," the Government has unquestionably received a severe check. The worst mischief of the present system of patronised candidates is, that in the popular mind the candidate and the Government are necessarily identified; and in voting against the one, the electors are told by the Ministers themselves that they are voting against the other. Thus the whole principle of Government is submitted to the *placet* of the population every six years, and the day that a majority of opposition deputies is returned to the Legislative Chamber, a revolution will have been voted by universal suffrage. The opposition newspapers have carried their entire list in Paris and there are many parts of the country where the Government candidate is hardly expected to be returned. After all, the number will be insignificant, fewer than any English minister would wish to see on the opposition benches, but the French opposition is elected as the avowed opponents, not of the ministers but of the Government, and the mere fact of their election, on this understanding, must render nugatory all attempts to limit the nature of their opposition. Thanks to M. de Persigny, it is not his Majesty's opposition, but the opposition to his Majesty.

The elections being thus concluded, Poland, which has been somewhat neglected during the last week, will probably resume its place in public sympathies. The last news have been all of a kind to justify the hope that the peace of Europe would not be disturbed, but it must not be concealed that the result of the elections here may react unfavourably on this question. The opposition press, which has just returned two of its editors to the Chamber, will now write with greater authority and not less strongly in favour of an armed intervention in Poland. How this may affect the Emperor's decision will probably, in a great measure, depend upon the tone of these papers in other matters. I remarked, as significant, the appearance in the *Opinion Nationale* of last night, of long extracts from a Life of Carnot, by his son, highly unfattering to the first Consul.

From Berne there come news which may have an important bearing on American affairs. Many of the Swiss emigrants to the United States have applied to the Federal Council for protection from the effects of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation for a general conscription. The Swiss Government has a treaty, concluded in 1850 with that of the United States, by which its subjects are exempted from military service. The Council regards the claims of its citizens to exemption from the conscription as well founded, as the mere fact of having declared an intention of being naturalised in America cannot withdraw them from the protection of their native Government. Such a declaration must be regarded, not as a contract entered into, but as a promise of a contract which can entail no duties till it has been completed. Nevertheless, the Council hesitates to interfere, not from any doubt on the subject, but because England and France have treaties of the same tenor with the United States, and it feels that if they are silent, its representations at Washington have little chance of being



listened to. It is well known that by English law, a natural born subject of the Crown cannot escape his allegiance; but as England would not protect him from the consequences of his acts, in case of his naturalization in a foreign country, it may be doubted whether the Government, which has always shown such unwillingness to raise difficulties with the Northern States, will now do so in favour of men who have declared their intention of abandoning its protection. France, which permits the naturalization of its citizens abroad, is likely to take the same view of its duties as the Federal Council of Switzerland, in which case the Emperor will interfere to save French blood from being spilt in this hopeless struggle.

The *Moniteur*, in publishing the details of the battle of Chancellorsville, remarks in its bulletin that the Confederates were again victors, but with a loss of 15,000 to 18,000 men on either side, and without the gain of one inch of ground by either army. The accounts of the military operations of the war, which have appeared from time to time in the *Moniteur* are remarkably well written, and evidently by a professional pen. In this report it especially praises the military *coup d'œil* of General Lee, who, with the intuition of a great general, at once divined the enemy's object, and so signally baffled him. It concludes thus:—"We have here another proof of how little value must be attached to the theoretical generalship which plans its campaigns in the cabinet. The position of Chancellorsville had been carefully studied. Hooker and the generals under him knew both the weak and strong points of the position. They brought the plan of the battle in their baggage, and fancied they had brought a victory along with it. But the enemy was expected from the North, and he came from the South."

The Paris *quid-nuncs* have been busy with conjectures about the cause of Mr. Mason's visit. I need not say that they are mere conjectures caught in the air, as Germans would say. The last has been too busy a week in Paris for negotiations on any subject not bearing on the elections.

Your readers probably take little interest in the fossil man, the discovery of whose jaw, near Abbeville, in a gravel bank, along with a large number of flint hatchets and fossil bones of elephants, rhinoceros, &c., led to a congress of French and English *savans* in the beginning of last month. M. Elie de Beaumont, the greatest authority on such matters, has pronounced judgment against the pretensions of the owner of the jaw to an antediluvian or pre-Adamite existence. He was simply a workman of the period called the age of stone, surprised in his manufactory of arms by one of those sudden inundations which from time to time overwhelm a district, overturning whole tracts of land, and laying bare the deposits of ages. It was thus that the truly fossil remains of a far earlier date came to be mixed in the gravel-bank of Moulin-Luignon with the handiwork of man and a part of their maker's skeleton, and Bishop Colenso must draw no new argument from the discovery.

#### THE DEATH OF STONEWALL JACKSON.

(From the *Richmond Inquirer* of May 13).

General Jackson, having gone some distance in front of the line of skirmishers on Saturday evening (May 2), was returning about eight o'clock, attended by his staff and part of his couriers. The cavalcade was in the darkness of the night mistaken for a body of the enemy's cavalry, and fired upon by a regiment of his own corps. He was struck by three balls, one through the left arm, two inches below the shoulder joint, shattering the bone and severing the chief artery; another ball passed through the same arm between the elbow and wrist, making its exit through the palm of the hand; a third ball entered the palm of the right hand about its middle, passing through, and broke two bones. He was wounded on the flank-road, about 50 yards in advance of the enemy. He fell from his horse, and was caught by Captain Wormley, to whom he remarked, "All my wounds are by my own men." He had given orders to fire at anything coming up the road, before he left the lines. The enemy's skirmishers appeared ahead of him, and he turned to ride back. Just then some one cried out, "Cavalry, charge!" and immediately the regiment fired. The whole party broke forward to ride through our line to escape the fire. Captain Boswell was killed, and carried through the line by his horse and fell among our own men. Colonel Couchfield, Chief of Staff, was wounded by his side. Two couriers were killed. Major Pendleton, Lieutenants Morrison and Smith, escaped uninjured. General Jackson was immediately placed on a litter, and started for the rear. The firing attracted the attention of the enemy, and was resumed by both lines. One litter-bearer was shot down, and the General fell from the shoulders of the men, receiving a severe contusion, adding to the injury of the arm, and injuring his side severely. The enemy's fire of artillery on this point was terrible. General Jackson was left for five minutes until the fire slackened; then placed in an ambulance, and carried to the field hospital at Wilderness Run. He lost a large amount of blood, and at one time told Dr. McGuire he thought he was dying, and would have bled to death, but a tourniquet was immediately applied. For two hours he was nearly pulseless from the shock. As he was being carried from the field frequent inquiries were made by the soldiers, "Who have you there?" He told the doctor, "Do not tell the troops I am wounded."

After the reaction a consultation was held between Drs. Black, Coleman, Walls, and McGuire, and amputation was decided upon. He was asked, "If we find amputation necessary, shall it be done at once?" He replied, "Yes, certainly, Dr. McGuire—do for me whatever you think is right." The operation was performed while he was under the influence of chloroform, and was borne well. He slept on Sunday morning, was cheerful, and in every way was doing well. He sent for Mrs. Jackson, asked minutely about the battle, spoke cheerfully of the result, and said:—"If I had not been wounded, or had an hour more of daylight, I would have cut off the enemy from the road to the United States Ford, and we would have had them entirely surrounded, and they would have been obliged to surrender, or cut their way out. They had no other alternative. My troops sometimes may fail in driving the enemy from a position, but the enemy always fail to drive my men from a position." This was said smilingly. He

complained this day of the fall from the litter, although no contusion or abrasion was apparent as the result of the fall. He did not complain of his wounds; never spoke of them unless asked. On Sunday evening he slept well. On Monday he was carried to Chancellor's house, near Gurness's depot. He was cheerful; talked about the battle, the gallant bearing of General Rhodes, and said that his Major-General's commission ought to date from Saturday, the grand charge of his old Stonewall brigade, of which he had heard; asked after all his officers; during the day talked more than usual and said, "Men who live through this war will be proud to say, 'I was one of the Stonewall brigade' to their children." He insisted that the term "Stonewall" belonged to them and not to him.

During the ride to Guinea he complained greatly of heat, and, besides wet applications to his wounds, begged that a wet cloth might be applied to his stomach, which was done, greatly to his relief, as he expressed it. He slept well on Monday night, and ate with relish the next morning. On Tuesday his wounds were doing very well. He asked: "Can you tell me, from the appearance of my wounds, how long I will be kept from the field?" He was greatly satisfied when told they were doing remarkably well. He did not complain of any pain in his side, and wanted to see the members of his staff, but was advised not. On Wednesday his wounds looked remarkably well. He expected to go to Richmond this day, but was prevented by rain. This night, while his surgeon, who had not slept for three nights, was asleep, he complained of nausea, and ordered his boy Jim to place a wet towel over his stomach: this was done. About daylight the surgeon was awakened by the boy saying, "The General is in great pain." The pain was in the right side, and due to incipient pneumonia and some nervousness, which he himself attributed to the fall from the litter. On Thursday Mrs. Jackson arrived, greatly to his joy and satisfaction, and she faithfully nursed him to the end. By Thursday evening all pain had ceased. He suffered greatly from prostration. On Friday he suffered no pain, but prostration increased.

On Sunday morning, when it was apparent that he was rapidly sinking, Mrs. Jackson was informed of his condition. She then had free and full converse with him, and told him he was going to die. He said, "Very good; very good. It is all right." He had previously said:—"I consider these wounds a blessing. They were given me for some good and wise purpose. I would not part with them if I could." He asked of Major Pendleton, "Who is preaching at head-quarters to-day?" He sent messages to all the generals. He expressed a wish to be buried at Lexington, in the valley of Virginia. During delirium his mind reverted to the battle-field, and he sent orders to Gen. A. P. Hill to prepare for action, and to Major Hawks, his commissary, and to the surgeons. He frequently expressed to his aides his wish that Major-General Ewell should be ordered to command his corps. His confidence in General Ewell was very great, and the manner in which he spoke of him showed that he had duly considered the matter.

#### MR. ROEBUCK'S MOTION.

(From the *Morning Herald*, of June 2.)

It seems to us to be high time that the Government should reconsider the propriety of that policy which they have hitherto obstinately pursued towards the American belligerents—a policy which they, in common with the great majority of Northern partisans in this country, dignify by the title of a strict and impartial neutrality, but which is generally considered, both at home and abroad, to savour of an unworthy timidity, and to involve much practical injustice and not a little possibility of future peril. No one can pretend to say that this policy has been successful. It has, indeed, allowed us to maintain peace; and this is all; for we cannot say that it has averted war. We have been constantly threatened with war. If we are to judge the intentions of the Federal Government by its official demeanour, or those of the Northern people by the language of Congress, of the press, and of public meetings, we must say that we have been once at least in every ninety days on the verge of war, and have only avoided it by a series of unjust, unrighteous, and undignified concessions. We have seen our flag insulted, our ports blockaded, our commerce pillaged by Federal cruisers acting under distinct orders from the Navy Department at Washington, while the Secretary of State has amused us with apologies never followed by amendment, and with promises never meant to be fulfilled. The policy of partial concession and one-sided conciliation, which ministerial special pleaders call neutrality, is a complete and ignominious failure. It is time for a change of measures. We would rather that such a change should be initiated by the Government themselves, and that no serious division of opinion should be apparent in the national councils. But we are convinced that such division would be no more than apparent; and that more than three-fourths of those who would feel it their duty to support Lord Palmerston in adhering to his present policy would much more willingly and heartily follow him in a more manly and more English course. And, therefore, we heartily approve and wish success to the motion of which Mr. Roebuck has given notice, requesting her Majesty "to enter into negotiation with the Great Powers of Europe for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of North America," a course which we conceive to be the only course consistent with justice and with the honour and interests of Great Britain. We believe that the success of such a motion would administer a wholesome and very necessary rebuke to the outrageous insolence of the Federal Government; that it would tend to promote the restoration of peace; that it would be a blessing to the North, to the Confederacy, and to the world at large; and that it would secure for generations to come the peace and prosperity of our possessions in North America.

We think—and nine Englishmen in ten think with us—that the argument as to the right of recognition, which has been discussed with ample ability and deliberation on both sides, has been definitely decided in our favour. It has been shown that this right has been repeatedly exercised by foreign powers on much more slender grounds; that it has been asserted and acted on by the United States wherever their convenience or their sympathies prompted; and that England has exercised it in the case of Governments not half as strong or well-established as that of the Confederate States. The Confederacy has a constitution which works as regularly and quietly as our own; its laws are administered and obeyed as well and as generally as those of any country in the world; everything goes on as if the Government had been in existence for twenty years, and as if the title of Mr. Davis were as indisputable as that of Queen Victoria. We need not contrast the maintenance of liberty and order in the South with the alternation of anarchy and military despotism in the North, or with the turbulence and civil conflicts of the Spanish-American republics ever since they sprang into existence. We will merely say that no one

of the various states which from time to time policy or principle has induced us to recognise had so stable or so respectable a Government as that which now rules at Richmond, and that if such a Government be not entitled to recognition we do wrong in recognising the kingdom of Italy, and we did wrong in recognising Texas, or the Spanish American States, or the empire of Brazil. It is true that the Confederate States happen, one and all, to be slave-holding communities. So is Brazil; so is Spain; so are the United States; so were we but a generation back. We have nothing to do with the internal institutions of foreign countries—with polygamy in Turkey, or despotism in France, or slavery in Cuba. It is true that the limits of the Confederacy are in some sense undetermined. Recognition does not involve us in any question of frontiers; it simply brings us into relations with a Government, not with its territory. The frontier question must be settled afterwards—by negotiation, by foreign intervention, or in the last resort by the sword. It is true that the enemy's armies still occupy a certain number of places on the Confederate territory—that is to say, war and invasion are still going on. But this fact does not disturb the independence of the Confederacy. France was an independent power while England held Calais; Spain is independent, though we hold Gibraltar; Russia was independent, even when a French army penetrated to Moscow. There is no shadow of a chance that the North should subdue the South. The "Grand Army" has been for the fifth time hurled back, in defeat and disgrace, from the road to the Confederate capital. It has sustained such reverses and disasters as would have taught any nation not devoid of its senses that the war was a hopeless one. It has been thoroughly beaten at Charleston; it has accomplished nothing but rapine, pillage, and devastation in the West. The God of Battles has decided on the appeal of the combatants; we cannot be bound to submit to the madness which induces the aggressor still to refuse to listen to the decision, and renounce an enterprise as desperate as it is wicked. We are not bound to refuse recognition to the Confederate States simply because the folly and frenzy of the North refuse to understand that the arbitrament of war has been given in favour of those who are fighting for independence and against those who are fighting for empire or for vengeance.

By withholding recognition we are actually doing our utmost to prolong the war. The appeals of those patriots who are endeavouring to save the prosperity and liberty of the Northern States by inducing them to withdraw from this wanton and impossible endeavour to subjugate an unlimited territory and an Anglo-Saxon people, are answered by the taunt that while the European Powers refuse to acknowledge the independence of the Confederacy it ill becomes citizens of the North to advocate the abandonment of their country's claims—that it is not for Unionists to be the first to proclaim the disruption of the Union, and come before the world, like the unfortunate Cope, "with the news of their own defeat." Nothing would have so great an effect on the public opinion of the North, nothing would do so much to prove to statesmen and to people that peace must be made and that separation must be endured, than the formal recognition of the South by two or three of the Great Powers. They might bluster, they might rave, they might threaten, but they must and would submit. They might hate us, and vow vengeance against us; but their hatred would be utterly impotent, and it could hardly be more savage than it is at present. As to war, that is utterly out of the question. War against France and England would be too wild an act of suicidal madness, even for a nation already, to all appearance, afflicted with that insanity which falls on those whose ruin is decreed on high. We have yielded already too much to our fear of an open breach with the United States. For the last two years our American policy has been governed wholly by that fear. We have submitted to wrong, and we have done wrong to the South, in order to avoid at any price an open quarrel with Mr. Lincoln and the unfortunate people over which he rules. It is time that there were an end of this; time that England should act with a sole regard to her own dignity, duty, and honour; leaving the Americans of the North to learn at their leisure that they are powerless either to avenge or to control her. It is time that we should do justice to the South, and show by the first token of kindness she has received from a European Power that England knows how to value the heroism, and sympathise with the struggles of a thoroughly English nation—a nation English in its character, temper, and tendencies; English in courage, constancy, and endurance; English "in blood, in language, in religion." English in the calm resolution which counts all individual sacrifices cheap for the sake of national independence and national honour. It is time that we should pay somewhat less deference to the countrymen of Seward, Wilkes, and Butler; and somewhat more regard to the country in whose cause such men as Stonewall Jackson have fought and died.

#### THE FEDERAL EXPECTATION OF GETTING THE ENGLISH COTTON TRADE.

The *New York Herald*, of May 20, says:—"The failure of the cotton supply from America—one of the direct results of the Southern rebellion and consequent blockade of the rebel ports—has created such distress among British operatives as they never before, and, perhaps, will never again experience. Manufactories that have hitherto employed thousands of men, women, and children, are totally deserted, and some of the hitherto most extensive and flourishing mills are now as silent as the grave. Nor is there any indication that there will be an early resumption of trade and industry in the English manufacturing districts. The probability is that matters will grow worse instead of better; and the people are beginning to foresee the terrible evils which must arise out of a continuance of the paralysis of the most important branches of industry in the United Kingdom. For this reason we see so many of the trained and experienced operatives in the manufacturing districts of England and Ireland breaking up their once happy homes on the other side of the water and coming to cast their lot among us. No man can undertake to say what will be the result, in less than fifty years, of this wholesale emigration of skilled and accomplished artisans. Coming to a land where they will meet with nothing but hearty encouragement and the highest wages for their industry, these men will lay the foundations of manufactories in America that may hereafter rival, if not surpass, anything that has ever been seen in Europe. Let us then welcome, heartily welcome, every operative who comes to us from any part of Europe, whether they be connected with the cotton or any other manufacturing interest. Here they will find wealth and capital in abundance; and, although the nation is in the midst of a devastating revolution, we are, for all that, more prosperous than England or any other country in Europe. Let all active and industrious operatives come to the West, and we can safely guarantee them not only continuous prosperity, but such a future as they can never hope to achieve in the land of their birth."



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through

HENRY ROTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at

London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect

during the continuance of the blockade.

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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1863.

## BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

We cheerfully comply with the request of several correspondents to lend our assistance to the collection of a fund, by British subscription, for the purpose of erecting a monument to Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A., at Richmond, Virginia. According to the desire of the originators of the movement, Mr. J. B. Hopkins, of this office, will receive subscriptions to this fund, and hold the same at the disposal of any association that may be organized here or in Liverpool to carry the object into execution.

Mr. J. B. Hopkins acknowledges receipt, for the British Jackson Monument Fund, from the Editorial Staff and Employées of THE INDEX Newspaper, of £10 10s.

## What the North is Fighting For.

THE fact was first announced to the British public some months since by Commander M. F. Maury, in a letter to the *Times*, but has since been abundantly confirmed by the official statements of the Confederate States Treasury, that the receipts from customs at the Port of Charleston have been larger since the commencement of the blockade than at any previous period within thirty years. In other words, the blockaded Confederate port, under a reduced and exceedingly moderate tariff, imports a larger quantity of foreign merchandise than it did in the same space of time as an open port of the United States. Or, to state the case still more clearly, the commercial system of the old Union proved a more effective blockade upon the direct importation of European goods into Southern ports, than do the fleets of men-of-war actually stationed at their entrance. In this pregnant fact will be found the solution of most of the mysteries which still enshroud, to the eyes of many, the great Transatlantic Revolution. If we examine it ever so little in detail, we shall be at no loss to discover what it is that the North is so obstinately and desperately fighting for.

We have now before us the official report, published by order of the United States' Congress, of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the "Commerce and Navigation" of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1859. From this report it appears that in that year, the last but one of the existence of the Union, the total value of the foreign imports of all the States was \$338,968,130. Of this amount the twenty-two Southern ports of entry imported only \$32,865,557, or less than one-tenth. In the same year, according to the same report, the value of the total exportation of all the States to foreign countries was \$335,894,355, of which the Southern ports furnished \$186,521,527, or more than one half. If, then, we assume that the South consumed, of foreign imported merchandise, only its *pro rata* share according to its white population, omitting the negroes altogether as consumers of foreign merchandise, say eight twenty-sixths of the whole, it follows that it bought from the North, at second-hand, of such merchandise to the value of at least £14,000,000, that being the difference in round numbers between the amount directly imported and

actually consumed. If, however, we estimate the capacity of the South for consuming foreign goods by its share of the exports, the amount of such goods bought from the North, or of Northern manufacture substituted in their place, swells to largely upwards of £30,000,000.

Eloquent as these figures are, they do not nearly tell the full truth of the enormous gains annually derived from the Southern trade. First, because the direct foreign exportation from the Southern ports, large though it is, does not represent the whole amount of exportable and exported values annually produced by the South. The cotton and tobacco crops are exclusively Southern, but not the only Southern staples, and these two alone are estimated in the official statistics at \$207,710,102; or more than the entire Southern exportation to foreign countries. A vast portion of Southern products—cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, naval stores, etc.—are therefore sent to the North as raw material for its manufactures, or are consumed there, or are reshipped from Northern ports. Secondly, the North has itself long been the most successful competitor with Europe in the Southern market, and has supplied that market with its own manufactures far more than with those of its rivals. The value of the annual product of nineteen leading manufacturing pursuits in all the States, was, by the census of 1860, estimated at over one thousand million dollars in round numbers, deduction being made for exportation abroad. As the same authority places the value of the entire manufacturing industry of the South at less than 150 millions, it is clear—even if we were again to omit from the calculation the 4,000,000 of blacks—that, to have consumed its share of the domestic manufactures, the South must have bought from the North, in these nineteen articles alone, to the value of over \$150,000,000.

We have thus the means of forming an idea, albeit still an inadequate one, of the truly magnificent prize for which the North is contending. A writer who has profoundly studied the commercial statistics of the United States, and whose figures have never been impugned, has drawn the international balance-sheet between North and South with a nearer approach to precision than we in a newspaper article could venture to do. He estimates the credit side of the Southern account, annually, and for bills upon Europe for produce shipped directly, and for raw material and produce of every description furnished the North, at \$462,000,000; against which he places the debits as follows:—

	Dolls.
Domestic Goods (Northern manufacture) . . . . .	240,000,000
Imported Ditto (supplied by the North) . . . . .	106,900,000
Interest, Brokerage, and Commissions . . . . .	63,000,000
Southern Travellers . . . . .	53,000,000
	\$462,000,000

The same writer, Mr. T. P. Kettell, a Northern man, in a book written and published at the North, and with a view of averting, if possible, the danger of disunion, then only impending, thus commented on these facts three years ago:—

This is the vast trade which approximates the sum of the dealings between the North and the South. These transactions influence the earnings, more or less direct, of every Northern man. A portion of every artisan's work is paid for by Southern means. Every carman draws pay, more or less, from the trade of that section. The agents who sell manufactures, the merchants who sell imported goods, the ships that carry them, the builders of the ships, the lumbermen who furnish the material, and all those who supply means of support to them and their families. The brokers, the dealers in Southern produce, the exchange dealers, the bankers, the insurance companies, and all those who are actively employed in receiving and distributing Southern produce, with the long train of persons who furnish them with houses, clothing, supplies, education, religion, amusement, transportation, &c., are dependent upon this active interchange, by which at least one thousand millions of dollars come and go between the North and South in a year. The mind can with difficulty contemplate the havoc and misery that would be caused on both sides by the breaking up and sundering of such ties, if indeed it were possible. If we were to penetrate beyond a rupture and imagine a peaceable separation, by which the South should be sundered without hostilities, we might contemplate the position and prospects of each. From what has been detailed above, as revealed to us from the returns of the census, it is quite apparent that the North, as distinguished from the South and West, would be alone permanently injured.

Its fortune depends upon manufacturing and shipping; but, as has been seen, it neither raises its own food nor its own raw material, nor does it furnish freights for its own shipping. The South, on the other hand, raises a surplus of food, and supplies the world with raw materials. Lumber, hides, cotton, wool, indigo—all the manufacturer requires—is within its own circle. The requisite capital to put them in action is rapidly accumulating, and in the long run it would lose—after recovering from first disasters—nothing by separation. The North, on the other hand, will have food and raw materials to buy in order to employ its labour; but who will then buy its goods? It cannot supply England; she makes the same things cheaper. The West will soon be able to supply itself. The South, while having the world as an eager customer for its raw produce, will not want Northern goods; but she will supply with her surplus manufactures the Central and South American countries, as now, with her flour. As the world progresses, manufacturing nations will deal less with each other, because they make the same things. Their customers must be tropical and agricultural communities. But if they quarrel with the manners and customs of these countries to the extent of attempting to force upon them a new system of morality, their piety will be its own reward, and the crown of commercial martyrdom may be mistaken for a Zany's cap.—*"Southern Wealth and Northern Profits,"* p. 75.

The agricultural semi-tropical South has, in fact, been to the North what the Eastern and Western Indies have been, and still are, to many European countries; with this additional advantage, however, that the Indies of the North lay at its very door, instead of athwart the broad ocean. It is upon this Southern trade that great cities like New York and Philadelphia have been built; it is upon this Southern trade that the merchant marine of the United States has thriven, until it equalled that of Great Britain; it is this Southern trade upon which the whole dazzling fabric of Northern prosperity has been reared these fifty years. No nation, without a desperate or even a death struggle, ever surrendered such imperial wealth and domain; and the very greatness of the prize compels the North to persevere. National pride and popular madness have, doubtless, much to do with the obstinate prosecution of the war, but these are not the real obstacles in the path of peace. These passions, and even the still fiercer one of fanaticism, are at last controlled and made subservient to the cool calculating instinct of commerce and monopoly. New York and Philadelphia might have prevented this war at the outset; they might have stopped it any time these two years; they have not done so because peace implied to them a greater sacrifice than the war has yet exacted. Indeed, the war has heretofore afforded a fictitious compensation for the losses of the Southern trade. A country not actually invaded or blockaded, seldom feels the sufferings of war until the reaction sets in. On the contrary, it almost always enjoys for a time a sort of feverish prosperity, and as in certain diseases, the approaching dissolution is concealed by a morbid exhilaration. The ponderous figures which represent the annual war expenses of the nation take the place of its legitimate and profitable trade, and so long as the bubble lasts there is an intoxication of prosperity. All the cotton and tobacco and rice and sugar and naval stores of the South could not have bought more labour, more manufactures, employed more tonnage, and yielded larger apparent profits, than the "greenback" issues of Mr. Chase have done. It is a mere truism to say that a system so hollow cannot last for ever; the practical truth is that political economy has not yet discovered the formula by which to compute its precise duration. France, tenfold ruined and bankrupt, defied all Europe in arms for twenty years. Left to itself, the North must some time or other abandon its attempt at subjugation, but at what precise moment that time will arrive, the boldest speculator may well hesitate to predict. At present, there are no such symptoms of exhaustion and collapse as to warrant a hope that this time will come this year or the next, or even the next succeeding.

We have endeavoured to direct attention to the magnitude of the stake for which the North is contending, and which in a measure justifies the tenacity of purpose that has surprised the world. We cannot conclude without adverting to the blindness with which the European statesmen of the period, who, by a word, might command a peace, seem smitten. The greatness of the interest which the



North has in the war, measures the interest which Europe, and especially England, has in peace. The monopoly which the North loses, gives to Europe a customer who is able to pay annually for upwards of £80,000,000 of goods. If a colony of such unparalleled resources were suddenly added to the British empire, without the expense and anxiety of its management and political government, every trade and every industry in the home country would feel the impulse of additional activity and increased profits. This is virtually what peace with an independent South would do. Even assuming that the North, by its proximity and its ingenuity, should recover a portion of the trade which before the war it monopolized, enough would be left to swell the gains of every wholesale house in Great Britain. We have, in the preceding computations, purposely, and very unfairly to the South, omitted the entire negro population as consumers of imported goods. It will be sufficient to illustrate the vastness of this single branch of the Southern trade to say, that for negro shoes, boots, and hats alone, the South has heretofore paid the North upwards of £2,000,000 annually. The annual consumption of agricultural implements, machinery, and hardware, for plantation use alone, is by careful and accurate calculations placed at over double this amount. In these two items the North has hitherto admitted no European competition. Were a list made out of the values of the chief articles of foreign production which the South in a state of peace is able annually to consume and to pay for, and which it either cannot itself produce or finds it cheaper to buy, it would astonish even those who believe themselves best acquainted with the statistics of the Southern trade. It would leave no doubt on the minds of practical business men what it is that the North is fighting for, and why Europe, in her own interest, as in that of common humanity, should exert its moral authority to make peace.

### Jack in Office.

If we could imagine that a shadow of self-distrust, a twinge of shame and remorse could cross the mind of our confident and complacent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, we should conceive that Lord Russell's reflections, in the leisure allowed to him by the dignified quiet of that happier place to which he has been translated from the din and bustle of the Commons, must sometimes be of a painful and humiliating nature. He has tried every kind of political functions in turn, and he has failed in everything. He has had the charge of Reform, and he has made Reform the abomination of one half of the people, and the laughing-stock of the other half. He undertook to lead and to profit by the Anti-Catholic excitement, called forth by the so-styled Papal Aggression; and he contrived to reduce that excitement to so utter an absurdity, that if the Pope were to send over to-morrow a Legate *latere* with the fullest powers and in the utmost pomp of ecclesiastical dignity, it would scarcely be possible in any sane assembly to talk of "aggression" without provoking an outburst of laughter. In due course, we may hope he will take up the ballot, abolition of Church-rates, peace-at-any-price, and other public nuisances of the same sort, and extinguish them and himself in a general storm of ridicule; for it needs only that he should handle a question to make it obviously and irresistibly ludicrous. He has been Prime Minister, and in that capacity he succeeded in reducing Her Majesty's Government almost beneath contempt, and in making the highest office in the Sovereign's gift seem scarcely respectable. He has been a self-important Paymaster of the Forces, an insignificant Secretary for the Colonies, a leader of the House of Commons sheltered from open ridicule, though not from visible contempt, by the presence of such colleagues as Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert. He has been Ambassador to Vienna on a great occasion; and there he was, in the first place, thoroughly outwitted by the Russian negotiators, and led to pledge himself to inadmissible terms of peace; and in the second place irritated by his defeat to a degree which seems to have

deprived him for a time both of the sense of truth and of the sense of political discretion. He came home, and in his place in Parliament told something so like a falsehood, that when his diplomatic rivals, indignant at the slur cast upon them, proclaimed the real facts which he had suppressed or perverted, the country was utterly disgusted; and the wrathful protest of influential members of his own party, jealous of the honour which he had compromised, compelled his resignation. In no capacity has he ever conducted himself as a loyal and honourable gentleman; never has he taught his colleagues to feel that they could depend on his good faith; never has he been able to inspire even that degree of confidence which is essential to all harmonious relations between gentlemen. No one ever felt sure, while acting with "Lord John," that he might not be at any moment tripped up by his insidious friend, and discover that while they had been concerting measures together for a common and creditable purpose, the Whig leader had been devising underhand an intrigue, by which to raise his own popularity or secure his own escape from danger at the expense of his colleagues. By one such disreputable trick—by pledging himself to strong measures of Reform without a word of consultation with his Cabinet—he forfeited the friendship and support of the most high-minded member of the old Whig party—the present Lord Grey—who has never again been reunited with his old allies. An intrigue still more cowardly, because more deliberately planned, and carried out with more wanton and wilful treachery, resulted in his evasion from the Aberdeen Ministry on the eve of its overthrow—an overthrow which was currently believed to have been planned with his foreknowledge and connivance, and which was certainly due in no small degree to his sudden but not unpremeditated defection. He is a traitor by taste and temper; and if they could only rely on his fidelity to his employers, the Federal Government could hardly choose a more efficient man to conduct their system of espionage in England. Unfortunately for himself, his treachery is so completely a matter of natural disposition, that he could not possibly be true to any party for twelve months together; he would always be considering some means of making a profit out of a new treason. We do not mean to say—despite his Vienna escapade—that he would tell a lie; first, because lies are terribly apt to be found out, and secondly because we are not quite sure whether his theory of constitutional law embraces the doctrine that mendacity is one of the privileges of a Minister of the Crown. He would look for a precedent in the history of Lord Somers, Marlborough, Charles James Fox, and other eminent Whigs, and failing to find one, he would probably shrink from incurring so serious a risk on his own responsibility. We might, therefore, in most cases depend upon his word, if it were so explicit and distinct, that no double interpretation or secret reserve were possible, and if the circumstances were such that an untruth would be immediately exposed and held up to public odium. But beyond this no man can trust him; for he loves always the shady and the tortuous path, and can no more deal frankly with friend or foe than a reptile can walk erect.

There could hardly be a greater contrast than between Lord Russell and his former subordinate and present chief. Lord Palmerston is able, as an experienced diplomatist should be, to mislead and bewilder impertinent questioners. But he is frank wherever frankness is possible; and if he has on grave occasions stooped to tamper with official documents and suppress inconvenient evidence, yet when charged with the act he attempted neither shuffling nor concealment, and defended what few believe him to have done rather than try to shift the blame on deceased colleagues. He has made most unpopular appointments to gratify the memory of old political friendship; he has stood manfully by the unreasonable and unpopular measures of his colleagues; he risked his tenure of office on the Chinese war rather than abandon a subordinate whom he did not choose, and who was no particular friend of his; and he sacrificed power somewhat later rather than refuse to the Emperor of the French a satisfaction which he

thought due to an alarmed and perhaps an injured ally. Lord Palmerston never betrayed a colleague, never abandoned a subordinate, never forgot a friend; in a word, he is, with somewhat too much of the tactician and diplomatist, a loyal English gentleman at heart; and this is just what Lord Russell is not. And, therefore, though Lord Russell is a Liberal, and Lord Palmerston is more than half a Tory, the Liberal party trusts Lord Palmerston and distrusts Lord Russell; while the Tories despise Lord Russell almost too much to hate him, and admire Lord Palmerston so heartily that they almost forget to oppose him.

As a Foreign Minister, Lord Russell's genius for intrigue, and his still more remarkable genius for being found out and exposed in every intrigue he undertakes, are almost eclipsed by a quality more extraordinary and un-English still—a restless love of meddling, lecturing, and bullying, which was never equalled, unless in the composition of some strong-minded lady of the Bloomer persuasion from the New England States. But both peculiarities have been constantly apparent, with results varying in kind, but always disastrous to the honour and dignity of England. In Denmark the lecturing propensity was most perceptible; and by advising the King practically to dismember his kingdom, and hand over one half of it to Prussian domination, Lord Russell contrived to create so much mischief and arouse so much displeasure, that little notice was taken of the proceedings of a certain consular spy of the Schleswig-Holstein faction, despatched by the Foreign Minister of England on a journey of observation through Southern Denmark, to report on the condition of that country under the rule of our ally, its present Sovereign. But if the utterly unintelligible character of the German claims upon Schleswig, and even upon Holstein, had not deterred Parliament from a searching inquiry into a question from which the guilty Minister was certain to escape in a bewildering fog of myths and forgotten technicalities of mediæval law, we might have had an edifying history of this very curious transaction. The intrigues which have been going on in Italy for some years past are not yet unravelled; but we know enough of Lord Russell's proceedings to understand why France grows more angry and impatient at every reference to the Roman question, and why England has no influence whatever over the destinies of that unfortunate country. The little plot laid to inveigle the Pope from Rome to Malta was so sure to be found out, and so certain to put the French Government into a state of great and just irritation without achieving any practical result, that it could only have been devised by a brain to which intrigue for intrigue's sake is a positive enjoyment. Intrigue has cost us still more dearly in Greece. First Greece was held in suspense, and even England was allowed to doubt whether Prince Alfred would accept the Hellenic crown of thorns, until Lord Russell had enjoyed the pleasure of a diplomatic victory over Russia, who seems to have affected resistance for no other purpose than to afford him the delight of such a grateful triumph. Then she was told that Prince Alfred could not be her king; and to bribe her to forgive the treacherous unkindness with which she had been treated, and still to lean on the protecting arm of the English Foreign Office, the bait of the Seven Islands was held out. The well-being of the miserable Ionians and the power of England in the Eastern Mediterranean are sacrificed that Lord Russell may enjoy the sport of king-hunting. He has a crown to give away; and he has three times offered it, and induced the Greeks to endorse the offer, to no purpose. Meantime, anarchy reigns in Athens—*Δίνος βασιλεύει, τον Δ' εξεληράκως*—and the prospects of the future king grow darker and darker with every week's delay. Heaven only knows how much of English treasure, and perhaps of English blood, may be spent hereafter in undoing the mischievous work of John Earl Russell in this quarter alone.

What he is doing in Poland and in Russia, we do not know. Rumour affirms many things which seem far too bad to be true. It is even said that



Lord Russell proposed to France and Austria an intervention with a view to an armistice between the Czar and the insurgents; that, being refused by France and Russia, he made the proposal to the Czar; that, meeting there with an indignant negative, he has addressed himself to the so-called "National Government of Poland,"—a secret committee, of whose members not one is known even by name. If but one of these statements be true, or approach the truth, Lord Russell ought to be shut up for the rest of his life, in safe keeping, as a desperate and dangerous lunatic. No one in this country, except a few maniacs, a few hundred ignorant politicians of the pothouse (who don't pay income-tax), and a certain number of gentlemen who see in war with Russia the best security for peace with America, is ready to go to war for the restoration of the kingdom of Poland; and this being the case, it is either utterly mad or desperately wicked to offer any deceptive encouragement to the resistance of the Poles. They have been cruelly, horribly wronged; they may be quite right in fighting, quite right in deeming it better to die fighting to the last than to submit;—we should so choose to die, if we were Poles; but there is no hope for them, and no stranger has a right to encourage a nation in a war of sheer despair.

In regard to Brazil, Lord Russell's conduct has been of a kind which cannot be described in Parliamentary language. From first to last, Brazil has been wronged; and has been treated, with right on her side, as France or Russia would not have been treated, however thoroughly they might have been in the wrong. Lord Russell sent there a minister, whose own despatches prove him unable to control his passion so far as to write the language of a diplomatist, and whose temper constantly involves him in personal altercations disgraceful to him as a minister and as a gentleman. No one would have dreamed of sending Mr. Christie to the court of a great Power. A shipwreck occurs; a Consul, troubled with mental hallucinations, insists that there has been a general massacre of the crew and plunder of the vessel; the Government acts at once; it is decided by its tribunals on sufficient evidence that there has been no murder; that there has been pilfering; that some of the persons accused by the Consul are quite innocent, and that others have fled the empire. Those who are caught and convicted are punished. England demands satisfaction. Brazil denies her liability, but does all in her power to settle the affair peaceably. Lord Russell refuses arbitration on the merits, and refuses to have the case referred to London. Meantime three British officers go ashore in mufti, quarrel with the police, and are locked up for being drunk and disorderly, but released on proving their character and nationality. Mr. Christie demands an apology, and the punishment of the police. Brazil refuses, as of course. Whereupon Admiral Warren is ordered to seize Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters; and Brazil yields to force. The end of the matter is that diplomatic relations are interrupted between ourselves and Brazil; a Power eminently friendly, respectable, and well-conducted. This is Lord Russell's policy towards the weak, who cannot resent his insults.

An officer in the Federal service seizes four gentlemen on board a British mail-packet bound from one neutral port to another, kidnaps them, and carries them into port, where they are kept in close confinement. Lord Russell is satisfied with their surrender, in the least formal manner possible; he neither asks an apology, nor the punishment of the guilty officer. That officer is appointed to the command of a squadron in West Indian waters—Lord Russell takes no notice of this act of flagrant discourtesy. He seizes British ships on their way to British ports; the owners remonstrate; Lord Russell bids them give up a trade which, however legitimate, is offensive to American feelings. He blockades British ports; he intercepts British trade by a regular system of illegal captures; Lord Russell apologises for him, and bids the victims rely on American Prize Courts for redress. British subjects are arrested and imprisoned for months in the United States, without charge and without trial;

British officers are imprisoned at Washington, and threatened with death without trial; and Lord Russell is silent; for silence and endurance are his policy towards a Power ready to maintain her own quarrel.

In private life, a man who maltreats the weak without provocation, and submits without resistance to affronts from the strong, is called a bully and a coward. We leave it for Lord Russell's friends to select the terms which most fitly describe the character of his conduct as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, towards Brazil and towards the United States. For our own part, we would only say that, since his accession to office, the influence and the prestige of England have constantly and rapidly waned; that she has been alienated from all her allies, and placed on the verge of war with several of her old rivals; that she has gained a character for brutal injustice to the weak and timid servility to the strong, which she never had before; that she has lowered her high repute by a series of mean, petty, underhand intrigues of a peculiarly unworthy and un-English character; and that this is not the result of any change of temper or disposition on the part of the nation, but is due simply to the individual bent and temperament of the present Foreign Secretary. We think it highly probable that he is fully satisfied with what he has achieved; but we conceive that the country desires to be somewhat differently served, and that she would do well, therefore, to select a statesman of a somewhat different character.

### Vicksburg.

ALTHOUGH there is nothing in the latest official accounts received at Washington to warrant the report that Vicksburg had fallen, it would be useless to deny that the position of the Confederates in the State of Mississippi is a very critical one. We should feel much more assured of the safety of the army holding the key of the defences of the South-west if we knew anything of its numbers; but the inviolate secrecy, which has everywhere surrounded the movements of the Confederates, has completely left us in the dark as to the strength of the forces they can bring into line against the invaders, and we can only speculate upon the amount of resistance they can offer. It is inconceivable that a post whose retention President Davis long ago pointed out as of vital importance to the Southern cause should have been left weakly garrisoned, or unsupported by an available army in the field, when it was known that the Federals were directing the whole resources of the West to its capture. Nor is it likely that General Johnstone, whose ability and daring marked him out as one of the ablest generals of the Confederacy, would be sent into Mississippi rather as the leader of a forlorn hope, than the conductor of a great and probably successful campaign. We are justified, therefore, on these grounds, in assuming that the defences of Vicksburg have been intrusted to an efficient and powerful army. On the other hand, General Grant's forces, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, do not fall far short of 50,000. They are assisted by a very formidable flotilla of gunboats and transports, and they have cut the railroads by which Confederate reinforcements from the East could reach Vicksburg. It is possible that the call for troops in Tennessee, and North and South Carolina may have deprived General Johnstone of an adequate force; it is possible, too, that the restriction of the area from which supplies could be drawn, by the closing in of the Federal armies and flotillas, may have compelled the advance of that portion of the army which was not absolutely necessary to hold the river defences at Port Hudson, at Grand Gulf, at Warrenton, at Vicksburg, Haines' Bluff, and Fort Pemberton. However this may be, it is perfectly certain that the Confederates have not a soldier too many in Mississippi, and that unless reinforcements are forthcoming they will have hard work to hold their own against the invader.

General Grant, after having shattered army after

army against the strongest portion of the Vicksburg lines, has now struck at the weakest. We have repeatedly pointed out that the only assailable point of the defences was the rear of the city, and that the march for a successful attack should be from Jackson. How to get at the rear of Vicksburg was the problem. The river batteries, on the Mississippi banks, were not to be passed. The Yazoo River was barred by the guns of Haines' Bluff and Fort Pemberton. At last, some half-dozen gunboats ran the Vicksburg batteries, and, with Farragut's flag-ship, destroyed the forts of Grand Gulf, some seventeen miles below Vicksburg. Once in possession of a secure footing, the landing of the Federal army was an easy matter. They crossed in overwhelming numbers from the Louisiana banks, and the inland march commenced at Boulingsburg, a mile or two below Grand Gulf. Moving in a North-west direction, the Federal advance under McClernand came upon a Confederate force at Thompson's Hills, the defences of Port Gibson. According to the Federal accounts, an action took place here, lasting a whole day, and resulting in the retreat of the Confederates, at sunset, into Port Gibson. The ground was well contested, the Federals meeting with severe losses. Not less than 20,000 men were engaged on their side, whilst General Bowen had only two brigades to oppose to them. Nevertheless, he retreated in good order upon Port Gibson, which he reached unmolested. Threatened by the continued advance of the enemy, the Confederate general retreated across the Big Black River; from that point the reports of the movements of the two armies are so confused, that it is almost impossible to credit them. General Bowen's army, if it crossed Big Black River, must have fallen back upon Vicksburg, but Grant's army appears to have continued its march upon Jackson. It is next heard of at Raymond, a few miles south of Jackson, where another battle is fought, in which General Greg, with 5,000 men, after fighting for two hours is compelled to retire. Two days afterwards, Jackson is reported in the hands of the Federals, after a whole day's engagement, the capitol and half the city in flames. Grant's forces seem to have marched forward in two columns, one striking at the Vicksburg and Jackson railroad a few miles above Black River Bridge, the other moving on Jackson. In this case the Confederate army must also have been divided, the force which defended Jackson retreating northward, the force detailed for the defence of Vicksburg holding the approaches along the Vicksburg and Jackson railroad. On the 14th, General Johnstone is reported to have marched northward towards Livingston. On the 16th, he telegraphs that the column under General Pemberton has been attacked by General Grant, and driven back across the Big Black River. The loss of Pemberton's army is estimated at 3,000, and that of the Federals at three times this number. Thenceforth, the accounts become more perplexing than ever. From Murfreesboro' it is reported in twenty-four hours, that Grant has been beaten and driven out of Jackson, and that he has crossed the Black River bridge and attacked Vicksburg. Of General Johnstone's movements there is not a word. But on the 20th official despatches at Washington clear up all doubt. It is officially stated that Haines' Bluff and the entire works of Vicksburg have been captured, with a large number of prisoners, and fifty-seven guns. Now it is quite possible that General Grant has captured Haines' Bluff and fifty-seven guns. The works there were for the defence of the Yazoo River. It is possible that General Grant had turned them. They were then no longer defensible, and were probably abandoned. But the capture of Haines' Bluff is one thing, and the capture of the entire works of Vicksburg is another, and the account that the entire works of Vicksburg had been captured whilst "a great battle was raging" for its defence, casts an air of doubt on the whole statement, which dispels much of our anxiety. No doubt the Confederates are "cornered." The Federals are in their rear and on both flanks, and their only hope of safety lies in the defeat of the enemy in the field; but they have a



great advantage in their leader, who is reputedly a very able officer, and in their superior knowledge of the country; and we shall not be surprised to learn that the statements of the Washington press are not only premature, but unfounded. The report that "a great battle is raging" can hardly be quite satisfactory to the North. Whenever that report has reached Washington, it has invariably been ominous of disaster and defeat. Its very incompleteness is suggestive of doubt. It has nothing of the confidence of assured success; we may reasonably, therefore, suspend our judgment, and refuse to believe that a brave and numerous army, under one of the most skilful Confederate commanders, has been either annihilated or captured, on the faith of what may be a manufactured bulletin, from General Halleck's bureau. The Federal authorities want a victory badly enough. They may be pardoned in their present straits if they have invented one. At the same time, we do not disguise from our readers our conviction that Vicksburg and its defenders are in serious danger, and that the rapid movements and continued successes of General Grant's army have somewhat dispelled our estimate as to the strength of the forces the Confederates would bring into the field in Mississippi. But the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. We have faith in the gallantry of the Confederate troops, in the skill of their leaders, and in the justness of their cause. We still hope that Vicksburg will remain a Confederate stronghold. But if the worst is to be feared, if Vicksburg is to fall, not the less will its desperate defence have been an honour to the Confederate arms. For two years it will have resisted successfully the land and river forces of the Federals; attack after attack it has beaten off, army after army has been dashed to pieces against its entrenchments, or wasted away in sight of its batteries. If it falls now, the work of its brave defenders will not have been in vain. The North will find itself, after its two years' struggle, in possession of a barren conquest. There will be new Vicksburgs where the fight will have to be fought again. Not a jot nearer will its capture bring the Federals to the subjugation of the Confederates. Only deeper and wider and more impassable will flow the river of blood which for ever separates the people of North and South.

### Our Southern Exchanges.

THANKS to the vigilance of our friends, we are in receipt of Southern newspapers to the 11th of May, from which copious extracts will be found in another part of our impression. Some of our quotations are unusually interesting. It will be gratifying to those who sympathize with the South in her gallant efforts to defend that independence which has been her immemorial possession, and which was solemnly recognised by Europe in the last century, to observe that in the midst of the trying contest the important subject of the education of the young is not neglected. The letter which we publish, addressed by President Davis to the Teachers' Convention lately held at Columbia, South Carolina, adequately represents the national anxiety to provide sound text books, as being essential to a sound intellectual development. Then, again, the care manifested in reference to the adoption of a Confederate flag and a Confederate motto is significant. The Confederates naturally desire that the symbols of that independent Government, for the maintenance of which they are pouring out their best blood as though it were water, and expending their treasure as though it were dross, should be expressive of the character and greatness of the people. The speech of Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, in which he discusses the propriety of the proposed motto, must commend itself warmly to those who believe that it is good for a nation at all seasons and at every opportunity to pay reverent homage to the Almighty.

We have also reprinted a number of the Southern war telegrams, particularly those which relate to the movements on the Mississippi. Although they do not give us the latest war news they will be found

useful in explaining and correcting the reports of the Northern newspapers.

When we last glanced at our Southern files, which came down to April 14, we remarked that the clamour about raising an abundant supply of food had nearly subsided, because the patriotic entreaties had not been in vain, and in every State and in every county the land had been sown with those things necessary for the sustenance of man and beast. The hopes then expressed, that the coming harvest would be plentiful, have been wonderfully strengthened; and at the beginning of May the Confederate newspapers were teeming with accounts which not only warrant the expectation that the fertile South will yield enough to feed all her inhabitants—for that was never doubted, except by the Federal partisans—but that there will everywhere be a surplus of necessary provisions, and that wherever the armies are moved they can be kept without any extraordinary exertions, and without any considerable aid from railroad transport. Nor is this all. There is a promise of a superabundant supply of meat as well as of bread, for there is now little fear that there will be any lack of food for raising and rearing cattle. The *Charleston Courier* presents some valuable reports upon the crops. A correspondent, who had been travelling through Georgia, writing from Macon, says:—"From personal knowledge and information from others, I know that the coming wheat harvest, should no accident befall it, will be such an one as the oldest inhabitant has never seen. The whole State is literally one great wheat-field. The severe cold of last winter has destroyed the 'fly' and all other insects. Nothing can now damage it except 'rust,' but as we have had a dry spring no danger from that is apprehended. Unless there is an entire failure in all the other States, wheat will sell here before the first day of July for less than one dollar per bushel. Georgia alone will be able to furnish the whole Confederacy in wheat bread for twelve months. After harvesting the wheat farmers intend to plant the fields in corn, making two crops in one year. This can be easily done in our Southern climate." Another correspondent in Noxubee County, Mississippi, writes:—"Notwithstanding the season here has been rather unpropitious, we have fine stands of corn, which we are now working. The wheat crop is exceedingly fine, and promises an abundant and overflowing yield. It is now heading out, and it is altogether too late for rust. The oat and rye crops are also remarkably good. Little or no attention has been paid to King Cotton in this section." A correspondent writes from Abbeville District, under date April 21,—"Our wheat crop is fair, and the corn a good stand for the season. The wheat crop in the district is very encouraging, more so than it has been for some time. I trust there will be from 75,000 to 100,000 bushels for sale in this district. In Edgefield it is generally promising." A correspondent from Selma, Alabama, under date May 4, says,—"The crops in this section will be immense. Harvesting will commence in our lower counties next week." The *Yorkville Enquirer* of April 25, says,—"The weather has set in most beautifully, and our farmers are busily engaged in planting their crops, which promise to be the largest grain crop ever before known in these quarters. 'Speed the plough,' gentlemen, and God will speed you and our gallant soldiers. Large quantities of the Chinese sugar cane will be planted this summer." But the anticipation of a bountiful harvest does not make the Confederates less indefatigable. The rigid laws against the distillation of whisky are not relaxed. We have already recorded the conduct of the patriot soldiers, who are saving what they can to buy Confederate Bonds in order to relieve the pressure on the currency, and employing their leisure at stationary camps in cultivating vegetables for their own consumption, and now we learn from the *Charleston papers* that the soldiers on the coast have set to work to make salt, and that the produce of their labour is now being sold in Charleston. The waters also are yielding their increase. At suitable localities—and they are very numerous in the Confederacy—the troops are being supplied with fish. The *Richmond Examiner* reports that "The fisheries

on the Rappahannock are being worked for the benefit of the soldiers in that section, and that daily rations of fish are being issued to the soldiers. This supply from Neptune's repository comes very opportune at this season, when fresh beef is scarce, and transportation difficult."

The benevolent attempts to prevent suffering from the high prices have, in some instances, been crowned with an unlooked-for success, for they have reduced the market prices of food. We are told by the Savannah papers, that "The proceeding of Mr. G. B. Lamar has settled the question that, so far, at least, as one article of food is concerned, there is not such a scarcity as to warrant the high price previously asked for it. This gentleman gave notice that he would sell 300 tierces of rice to soldiers' families at ten cents a pound. At the time the offer was made rice was held at twenty-two cents, but in one week thereafter it went down to thirteen cents. Rice would doubtless have been thirty cents in Savannah but for the course of Mr. Lamar." The Planters' Committee of Sumter, as we learn from the *Watchman*, fixed the following prices for May:—Bacon and lard, \$1 per pound; corn, \$3 per bushel, delivered at the nearest railroad depot; peas, \$3; fodder, \$3 per hundred, delivered; and the Committee will allow two cents per mile for every 100 pounds transportation for meat and lard. No sooner were these prices announced, than "Captain F. H. Kennedy agreed to furnish the Committee with 500 bushels of corn at \$2.50 per bushel less than the price fixed." Another effort to aid the poor deserves mention. We are informed by the *Mobile Register* that "Major Samuel B. Marks, of Montgomery, Alabama, has sold 10,000 lbs. of bacon to the poor at twenty-five cents per pound. He has also brought 7,000 pounds of bacon to the Commissary Department to be exchanged for sugar." There will probably be little further need of this kind of benevolence. Prices are already coming down, and we may now understand that if the planters had the most distant prospect of selling cotton, they have had to make a heavy sacrifice in cultivating cereal crops. The *Columbia South Carolinian*, of the 2nd May, states that a heavy fall in flour had taken place.

The same ceaseless activity is exhibited in all departments. It is stated that Messrs. Haiman, Brother, and Co., of the Firearm Company of Columbus, Georgia, have their machinery nearly ready, and will then be able to turn out twenty-five pieces of arms daily for Government. We also learn that a company is being formed under the auspices of Mr. T. E. McNeill, of Macon, Georgia, who is represented as "an accomplished machinist and mechanical engineer," for the manufacture of locomotives, cars, axles, wheels, and railroad findings generally. Then, to come to matters of less moment, we find from the *Charleston Courier* that vinegar is being made from sorgho syrup when molasses cannot be procured, and also from persimmons. Ladies have been plaiting straw hats, and are now trying what kind of hats can be made from the pine leaf. If any stimulus were needed to induce the Confederates to render themselves independent of foreign aid, it is supplied by a statement of the Richmond correspondent of the *Knoxville Register*, to the effect that the Yankees, not satisfied with the fat war contracts they get from the Federal Government, are so jealous of the trade done with the South by Europe, that they manage to smuggle in some cargoes through the blockade under false pretences, and that the Federal Government furnishes private signals to protect their vessels, so that they can afford to laugh at their European competitors, because they run no risk of capture. Even Lord Russell must admit that this is rather an ultra-liberal construction of the law of blockade, though, in his opinion, it may be a proper punishment for English merchants who dare to infringe upon what the Yankees consider their particular monopoly—trade with the South. One article, however, the Yankees do not smuggle in, for it is unsaleable. No one in the South will buy a Yankee book, or even a Yankee reprint of an English book. The Confederates who have, as our readers are



aware, passed a law of international copyright, would be glad to get English editions, whilst paper and printing materials are so scarce, but as they cannot do so Messrs. S. H. Goetzel and Co., of Mobile, are reprinting foreign books. This is the firm which voluntarily remitted to an English author a sum of money as compensation for the re-issue of his works.

The supply of native medicine continues to enlist attention. We learn from the Georgian papers that "At the Druggists' Convention, in Augusta, an interesting statement from Dr. J. B. Walker, of Virginia, was made in regard to ipecacuanha found in our country, equal in efficacy to the imported article. He also dwelt on the manufacture of sulphuric acid from iron pyrites. Dr. J. L. Large presented some facts connected with the manufacture of chemicals at the Chemical Works, at Hamburg, South Carolina. Dr. Large is making sulphuric ether, spirits nitrous ether, chloroform, chlorate potass, sulphate potass, nitrate silver, and other articles." The *Charleston Courier* has an article on "Our Botanical Resources," in which it notices a book entitled, "Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, Medical, Economical, and Agricultural; being also a Botany of the Confederate States, with practical information on the useful properties of Trees, Plants, and Shrubs. By Francis Peyre Porcher, Surgeon, P.A.C.S. Prepared and published by order of the Surgeon-General, Richmond, Virginia." Dr. F. P. Porcher gives an account of 400 substances possessing every variety of useful quality. The list includes textile fibres, grains, silks, seeds, oils, gums, resins, dyes, starch, acids, liquors, materials for paper and cordage, medicines of all qualities, wood for all uses, &c., all of which abound in the greatest munificence, and need but the arm of the authorities, and the enterprise and energy of private citizens, to be made sources of utility and profit. We may also notice that the poppy, which is found to yield salad oil as well as opium; the castor oil bean, which is so necessary for the health of the army; and the potato fly, a capital substitute for the Spanish blistering fly, are being produced in large quantities.

Truly the resources of such a country, in the hands of such a people, are wonderful, and its natural riches inexhaustible. Thrown open to the commerce of all the world, it will again be an overflowing source of wealth. No wonder the North is maddened at the prospect of Europe sharing in what they have hitherto considered their own to use and abuse.

#### GENERAL T. J. JACKSON.

At this time everything relating to the life and character of the lamented Patriot Soldier, General T. J. Jackson, is interesting to the British public; and we take pleasure in laying before our readers the following communication from the Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., one of the pastors of Richmond, Virginia, and chaplain in one of the camps in the vicinity of that city.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—During my temporary absence from my native land, and engaged, as I am, in a mission which has for its object the supply of our army with Bibles and religious books, like others of my countrymen here, I have been filled with grief at the death of one who, as I have reason to know, regarded my errand to England with deep and abiding interest, and for whom I cherished the profoundest respect and affection.

I readily comply with your request to give you some impressions of his character and worth, derived, in part, from personal acquaintance with him. I feel it to be a privilege to add, if possible, a single leaf to the wreath which so many grateful hands are now weaving for the urn, beside which a nation weeps.

Since the commencement of this cruel war, Virginia, in common with her sister States of the Confederacy, has often had occasion to lament the fall of the noble and the good; but in no former instance has she sustained a loss which so many mourn as if it were a personal bereavement, as well as a public calamity. While General Jackson commanded the highest respect by those qualities which ennobled him as a man, and excited an admiration which readily kindled into enthusiasm by his successful heroism as a soldier, he had also the happy faculty of attracting the kinder regards of those who knew him, and of exciting in the popular mind and heart emotions of commingled reverence and love.

There was something in the brilliancy of his exploits which dazzled the imagination, in the suddenness and unexpectedness of his military movements which kept alive the public curiosity, so that it happened that he was, more frequently than any other officer in the service, the subject of conversation among the soldiers, and among the people at large. On the march, in the bivouac, around camp fires, in family circles, in all places of popular resort, he was the favourite theme of discourse. The people were ever eager to know where he was, what he was doing, what he intended to do; and all information respecting his acts, his plans and probable purposes, was received with an avidity which showed how deep was the interest felt in everything with which he had any connexion. Nor was his name a household word in Virginia, and in the Confederacy alone. No name has been more widely honoured abroad; and the spontaneous and touching tributes to his memory now daily appearing in British and continental journals, give expressive testimony to the estimate in which he was held wherever courage, and patriotism, and piety, are revered throughout the world.

It may be interesting to dwell for a moment on the characteristic qualities which secured to General Jackson this universal homage.

As before the war he was comparatively little known, it was his military reputation, of course, which at first arrested the attention of the country. But this does not account for the peculiar estimation in which he was held. Other commanders have been as skilful and as fortunate, who have failed to elicit the kind of admiration he excited. It was not to his achievements in the field alone that we must ascribe the peculiar reputation he obtained, but to certain moral excellences, most happily blended, which gave to his character that symmetrical development which has so rarely been exhibited by men of his profession. And first among these I would specify his single-eyed devotion to duty, unaccompanied by any selfish aims. No man was ever more devoid of personal ambition. The question with him was not what will men think or say, but what is right. He cared nothing for criticism, nothing for the misrepresentation that might temporarily result from measures which others did not comprehend, because the time had not come for making known the reasons that led to their adoption. He was willing to wait for the verdict of time—the great vindicator, or if the verdict did not come, was willing to do without it if he but had the approval of his own conscience. He was singularly reticent with regard to his own purposes. His own officers were not always advised of his plans, and they were sometimes restive under the seeming want of confidence which such silence appeared to imply. He kept his own counsel, and when he had decided upon what he thought to be best, he went forward to its execution with a directness which nothing could deflect. He shrunk from no responsibility where he believed himself to be right. And regardless of his own fame, absorbed as he was in his intense devotion to duty, he obtained what he never sought, and though he cared little for the discovery—in only aiming to do right, he was rewarded in finding that the world gave him renown.

It need not be added that no such mean emotion as that of envy or jealousy could find a place in such a bosom.

While detraction and slander have been rife in the camp of the enemy, and one general after another with basest arts has striven to supplant his superior, it is refreshing to note how those highest in command in our army have only vied in laying laurels at each other's feet. The admiration and love of Jackson for Lee was unfeigned and intense—and it was all returned. On hearing of Jackson's wound, Lee wrote:—

I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. If I could have directed events I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead. I congratulate you upon the victory, which is due to your skill and energy.

Another characteristic trait was his rare modesty of demeanour, and freedom from everything like pretension in his intercourse with others. In private circles he preferred to let others lead in the conversation. When with a congenial friend, he talked with animation, if the topic were one in which he was interested; but in mixed companies he was more inclined to listen than to speak. I never knew a man, in any position in life, more free from stilted, artificial dignity. Nothing could be more simple and unpretending than his manner. Unlike some military men, who seem to delight in making subordinate officers feel their disparity of rank, he never seemed to think of rank at all, and was as polite to a private as to the President. In riding through his camp, when the men saluted him as he passed, he invariably raised his cap from his head, instead of returning the abrupt recognition of their courtesy with which some officers content themselves. He never courted, but rather shunned observation and marked attention. Sometimes in going to the camp of another officer,

when he suddenly came in view of a body of troops and the men began to cheer, as they always did when they caught sight of him, he would spur his horse into a rapid gallop, as if anxious to escape the clamorous homage so joyously accorded to him. One Sunday morning, when our army was encamped near Richmond, he rode to town, unattended, dressed in a well-worn and faded suit of Confederate grey, and coming into my church very quietly, took a seat near the door without being recognised except by those who sat nearest him; but when the congregation was dismissed, finding himself the object of general observation, he was evidently disturbed by the attention he attracted, and hastily withdrew, to pay a visit of sympathy to an afflicted mother, who had recently sustained a sore bereavement, and then rode back to his camp. That afternoon there was Divine service in his camp, at which he was present, of course. When the service ended, he invited the minister who had officiated to go with him to his quarters, and giving his own horse to an orderly to lead, he got into the buggy of the clergyman that they might converse more conveniently on their way to his tent. At the foot of a very long hill the horse refused to pull, when the general immediately got out, and taking the refractory animal by the bridle, insisted on leading him, in view of hundreds of his men, to the very top of the hill, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the minister, who was not willing to ride while the General walked, and who greatly preferred to change places with him. But such was his simple, unaffected courtesy and respect for the office of the man about to be his guest, that all remonstrance was unavailing. In riding through the woods where his division was encamped, if he saw two or three of his soldiers cooking their plain rations, if he chanced to be hungry or fatigued, he would stop and ask permission to share in their homely meal, or he would lie down on the leaves, and catch a few minutes' sleep, watched by the men who felt honoured by his presence.

If such incidents seem too trivial for a place in the portraiture of such a man, you will suppress them. They are mentioned only because such incidents often give to others a more distinct impression of character than any didactic reflections; and it may be that you will regard them as illustrative of that sweet simplicity of spirit, that freedom from ostentation, and condescension to men of low estate, which formed one of the most winning characteristics of the lamented Chief.

Though a strict and rigid disciplinarian, he never exacted of those under his authority more than he was ready to yield to his superiors in command. If he required implicit obedience to his orders, he set the example of prompt and unhesitating compliance with those he received himself. The length and rapidity of his marches were unsurpassed in military annals, but whatever were the fatigues, the privations or the dangers to which his men were exposed, he shared equally with them, in all. When exposed, as he often was, to the most terrible fire of the enemy, his calm and imperturbable demeanour awoke the admiration, while it excited the apprehension of those who were more solicitous than himself for his personal safety. On one occasion, in the midst of an engagement, while writing an order, a shell struck and shattered the tree beneath which he sat, without arresting the movement of his pencil, or seeming to attract his attention. Yet no man was ever more free from that rashness that recklessly encounters peril. His was the lofty and serene courage, which, while it appreciates danger, meets it fearlessly, because personal considerations are not to be weighed when the path of danger is the path of duty.

The possession of qualities like these would have made General Jackson deservedly dear to his army, and secured for him the admiration of his countrymen, even could nothing more be added to the enumeration. But these traits, so admirable in themselves, were all heightened and hallowed by the pure and elevated piety which pervaded every utterance and act. "A Christian is the highest style of man." Piety towards God is the surest incentive to the full discharge of all duties toward man—the most unfailing inspiration of honour,—the strongest safeguard of personal integrity,—the truest source of the sublimest courage. For many years General Jackson had been an active and efficient member of the Presbyterian church under the pastoral care of that beloved and honoured minister, the Rev. Dr. White, of Lexington, Virginia. As an office-bearer in that church, as a teacher in the Sabbath school, and in every department of Christian labour, he sought to make himself useful to the community in which he lived. He was especially interested in the religious instruction of the negroes, and when at home, spent a portion of every Sabbath in teaching a class of coloured children. His solicitude for the spiritual welfare of this portion of our population was intense, as it was a frequent subject of conversation



with him after he joined the army. All his great cares and responsibilities as commander did not divert his attention from this interesting field of Christian philanthropy.

But in the army he had another field of Christian activity. In every possible way he laboured to elevate the moral and spiritual character of the soldiers. He gave to chaplains, to colporteurs, and to the clergymen who occasionally visited his camp, all the encouragement and co-operation in his power. When the Holy Sacrament was administered, he assisted in the distribution of the elements. And when revivals of religion occurred among the troops under his command, he rejoiced with a joy which even victory did not inspire.

In the last conversation I ever had with him he said he intended to make every effort to increase the number and the efficiency of chaplains in the army.

None, save those who are familiar with camp life, and who know how much soldiers are affected by the example of their officers, can estimate the influence for good exerted by a general whose piety was as conspicuous as his patriotism, and who was as well known in the army in his character of a Christian as in that of a commander.

There was nothing morose or ascetic in his piety. He was a genial, warm-hearted, cheerful Christian. He told a minister who occasionally visited his camp, that he had never enjoyed the hopes and comforts of the gospel so much as he had done during the war. The secret of his happiness is easily explained. He lived in close communion with God, by prayer and the diligent study of His Word. No pressure of military duties caused him to neglect these necessary offices of religion. Prayer was mingled with all his plans and acts. A distinguished officer, who ascribes his own religious impressions to his association with General Jackson, told me that on one occasion he went with a comrade to the General's tent to consult him about the plan of a battle, soon to be fought. After some interchange of views, the officer said, "General, what is your decision?" "Call to-morrow morning," was the reply, "and I will inform you." On leaving the tent, his comrade said to the officer, "Do you know why the General said he would give us his decision to-morrow?" "No: I suppose he wants to think it over," was the answer. "Not exactly that," rejoined the other, "he wants to pray it over." In about half-an-hour the officer had occasion to return to the tent on some other errand, and on thoughtlessly entering, without being announced, was struck with awe at seeing the General on his knees, engaged in prayer. He then remembered what his companion had remarked, somewhat jocosely, about praying over the plan of the battle, and he believed that what had been lightly conjectured was a serious truth; for there was the man who knew how to stand up like a stone wall against the enemies of his country, bowed humbly before God, begging his guidance and powerful aid.

The voice which once trembled in prayer, or rang out like a clarion in battle, is now for ever hushed. The soldier has gone from the assault to the victory—from the camp to the palace—from the earthly tent to the "House not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens." But his spirit will still live to nerve the limbs and fire the heart of every soldier in the army that adored him. Like all the other disasters which have befallen our Confederacy, this, the greatest, will, as I devoutly believe, be overruled by Divine Providence for our good. If with minds chastened, and hearts purified by affliction, it leads our people to "cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils," and to look with more implicit faith and earnest prayer to Him whose right hand and holy arm hath so often gotten us the victory—then this sad bereavement will have accomplished its salutary purpose.

This much is certain: another undying name has been added to the muster-roll of the immortal; and as was said on another occasion, when this calamitous war is over, and Virginia, *viatrix at vidua*, leaning on her bloody spear, shall raise her mailed hand to wipe away the tear that starts as she recalls her martyred sons, no prouder memory will thrill her heart than that which is awakened by the name of JACKSON.

Very truly yours,

M. D. H., of Richmond, Virginia.

3, Clarence-terrace, Regent's Park,  
London, June 1.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Confederate Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, May 12.

The past fortnight has been crowded with stirring and important events. The hour of trial has come to us again, and the great heart of the Confederacy within that time has throbbled with almost every emotion save that of fear. At this moment the gloom of an immense sorrow overshadows the land. Jackson is dead!

This solemn fact arrests me at the very threshold, in the attempt to gather up the story, so full of interest, of these last eventful twelve days. I write amid the tolling of the death bells and the wail of the funeral music. The honoured remains of the mighty captain lie in state in an apartment of the Capitol near at hand, to which they were this day borne with such imposing solemnities as befitted his memory and his worth. It is impossible to pen a line concerning the recent battle until some recognition, however imperfect, has been taken of the all pervading grief over this immeasurable loss, and some effort, however feeble, has been made to characterize a genius so marked, and so extraordinary.

The reflection which the most readily occurs to every mind in contemplation of the career thus so suddenly and gloriously terminated, is the little space of time in which it was comprised. Jackson, the man, had not reached the age of forty—Jackson, the soldier, has been before the eyes of men but two brief years. He served, indeed, creditably in the war with Mexico, and for some short period thereafter was in the army of the United States. But within two journeyings of the earth round the sun were compressed all those wonderful achievements which have turned upon him the attention of the first military men of Europe. The breaking out of hostilities found him lecturing to a class of boys in the Virginian Military Institute, not upon the art of war, but upon the imponderables and the laws of physics, following Mr. Faraday, not Jomini—little known even to the people of his own State, and yet, before we see the beginning of the end, he falls lamented by millions, with the respect, may we not say the admiration of mankind. Perhaps no man ever rose more rapidly to greatness, or gave, in so short a time clearer proofs of a commanding ability that was unrecognised before, even by himself.

As a military man, your correspondent, all unlearned in such matters, might well hesitate to speak of him in comparison with the great captains of antiquity, with the masters of war of modern times, or with his contemporaries of other wars of other countries. But it is hardly too much to say that his campaigns in the valley of Virginia will compare without damage with those of Hannibal, nor shall I be accused of extravagance in declaring that he was of that small family of inspired conquerors to which belong Cæsar, the great Frederick, and Napoleon the First. He had, in an eminent degree, that wonderful celerity of movement and quickness in the formation of his plans, which were the prime elements of success in the Gallic War. He possessed that unfailing fertility of resource and unbending purpose which retrieved the fortunes of old Fritz, when nothing else remained to him. And he exerted over his fellow men that rare magnetism which enabled the "Little Corporal" to subdue and assimilate to his own temperaments of his followers. The Stone-Wall brigade was built of hard material originally, but Jackson's nature was the cement which bound it together into the unmovable mass against which the columns of the enemy, like the waves of the ocean against a headland of the Hebrides, could only dash to break themselves. If it be said that Jackson effected no results which justify the comparisons here instituted, let it be remembered that his opportunities were small, as viewed with those of the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Prussian, or the Corsican. He had only a handful of men, and those he could neither clothe nor feed; he was badly provided with arms and ammunition; he fought in a country where the modern enginery of war must of necessity be conveyed over roads absolutely Scythian; he fought always in a subordinate position, where his own plans were liable at any moment to be over-ruled, and he was led on by no vulgar ambition, following no star of destiny, in quest of no empire, grasping at no glittering prize of earthly honour, but impelled by a sense of duty alone, and acting only in obedience to the call of his country in her hour of agony. Like most successful leaders, he was the object of much unfavourable criticism. If the heavy old Austrian martinet thought Napoleon a madcap, many men of routine in the Federal, some even in the Confederate, army deemed Jackson an idiot. "That young man will come to ruin one day," they said. The great Yankee generals who had learned war out of General Halleck's text-book shook their heads as they traced his careerings up and down the Shenandoah, and went out to meet him, each in the confident belief that he would bring the idiot a prisoner to Washington. One after another—Jackson whipped them all. Banks, Shields, Fremont, Milroy, Pope—these heroes went down successively before him. He was always about to be demolished, and yet he always demolished the other party. He never was, but always to be, thrashed. Numbers, position, opportunity were frequently against him, yet he overcame all, and the destruction that

might have overtaken other men *in simili casu*, passed Jackson by to fall upon his antagonists. Checks he knew, disasters almost, but he never knew defeat; and from the hour when he hurled back the advance of Patterson's column beyond Winchester, in the early summer of 1861, to that memorable moonlit night of the week before last, when he came like a whirlwind through the Wilderness upon the rear of Hooker's army, his onset was ever fatal to the hosts that stood in his way. Some men may see in this brilliant career only a succession of happy accidents; but the thoughtful student of life and character will discern the assured success of a master spirit bending circumstances to his will, and making difficulty but an agent in the furtherance of his purposes.

The traits of his private character were scarcely less noticeable than the qualities that individualized him as a leader of armies. A most strict conscientiousness was the rule of all his actions. He followed duty, like Wellington, wherever it led him. A taciturn man, given much to introspection, and having that rare faculty of silence in larger gift than any man since William of Orange, and modest withal well nigh unto diffidence, he passed for a dull man with many who little thought what measurement he was making meantime of their own mental and moral stature; for he read men at a glance, and if at times he was perplexed by some strange nature, a little study enabled him to comprehend it as thoroughly as by examination he comprehended the gyroscope in his *specialité* of Natural Philosophy. This taciturnity combined with a certain abruptness of manner, led many to think him wanting in sympathy, and yet no man ever had a kinder heart or was more devoted in his friendships. He shared the hardships of the private soldier, and was prompt to recognize and reward meritorious conduct in his followers. "Tell General Lee," he said upon his death-bed, "that my last request is that General Rhodes shall be made a Major-General." In self-discipline, Jackson was severe almost to asceticism. He took no stimulants whatever. His table, in times of abundance, was simply and frugally served. His piety was a vital principle underlying his whole nature. His belief was strong and unwavering in a special Providence, and in every event of the war he saw the hand of God, and by consequence he was a man of prayer. His servant, a faithful negro that attended him, throughout his campaigns, declared that whenever his master got up in the night and went to praying, he always packed his haversack, for he knew there was going to be "the debble to pay" the next morning. And yet Jackson did not insult the Deity by making constant supplications and neglecting the means through which the favour of Deity is alone secured. If he prayed hard, he fought hard. "Watch and pray" was his motto. He seemed, with all his deep and fervent religious feeling, to have believed with Cato the Censor—"Non votis, neque supplicio muliebribus auxilia neorum parantur: *Vigilando agendo bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt*: ubi securiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam Deos implores; irati infestique sunt."

On the night of Saturday the 2nd of May, after he had successfully gained the rear of the enemy, as he was riding back to his lines, from a hasty visit to his skirmishers, attended by his couriers and staff, the group of horsemen was mistaken in the darkness for a body of the enemy's cavalry, and fired upon by a regiment of his own men. Jackson fell, his left arm shattered, and his right hand pierced by Minié balls. Captain Boswell, his Chief of Engineers, was instantly killed. Colonel Crutchfield, his Chief of Staff, was wounded at his side. Two couriers fell dead at his feet. The prostrate General was as soon as possible placed upon a litter, and borne to the rear, but had been moved only a short distance when a second volley struck down one of the bearers and threw their precious burden to the ground. Jackson lived eight days after this sorrowful casualty. He bore amputation without suffering any alarming deprivation of the vital energy, and until Friday his condition was hopeful. But an attack of pneumonia, superinduced by the too abundant use of cold water, despite the earnest protestations of his medical director, began then to excite the gravest apprehensions, and he continued to sink until Sunday, the 10th May, when at fifteen minutes after three, p.m., his brave spirit passed into eternity. For some little time before death he was in a delirium, and his thoughts wandered to the field of battle, such broken sentences as he uttered having reference to the disposition of his troops. "Tell Major Hawks," were his last words. We are reminded of the "*Tûte d'Armée*" in the little chamber of Longwood, when the lips of Napoleon gave utterance for the last time to the workings of his busy brain. After all, it is some little poor consolation in our grief, to know that our hero wore throughout a charmed life against the bullets of the enemy; that the wounds he received at



the hands of his own men were not in themselves mortal; that by the hand of God in disease he was taken from us; while it is a great consolation to feel that even this sore calamity is sent to work out the will of the Great Ruler of the universe. Jackson is gone, and perhaps has not left his peer, but the mighty cause will be carried forward—the work before us depends not on the life of one man, (else might we well tremble in view of the peril which surrounds our incomparable Lee)—and the Providence which raised up Jackson, in the hour that he was needed, will bring to us other stout-hearted and skilful captains as the work goes on.

And so we part with the glorious "Stonewall" hero. One look at his marble features through the glass of the metallic sarcophagus, and we let fall for ever the flag which enwraps him as a pall, and he slips into the past. How he will be regarded by those who shall come after us, no one shall say. But most probably, while the student of the art of war shall dwell upon his campaigns, the poet will sing of him, and the romancist weave the stirring story of his life into the warp and woof of fiction, and for generations to come the traditions of his deeds will be handed down in the cottages of the valley of Virginia, as Beranger tells us the achievements of Napoleon are recited to the children of the French peasantry.

Accounts will have reached you before this letter can possibly get to London, of the recent battles near Fredericksburg, as made up by the New York press for the transatlantic reader and the uneasy public of the United States. It would protract this letter to a wholly unreasonable length, should I undertake to collate from the many descriptions of the several days fighting, which have appeared in our papers, anything like a narrative in detail of the operations, from first to last, which should set forth the part borne in them by the divisions engaged, not to mention instances of individual heroism, or incidents of special interest. All I can hope to give you is an outline. In the postscript of my last letter I mentioned that Hooker had certainly crossed the Rappahannock in force, and that a battle was imminent between the two armies. On the 28th April a body of 20,000 men was thrown over the river at a point some four miles below Fredericksburg, as a feint to divert attention from the passage of the main body, which the next day crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's and the United States' Fords, and the Rapidan at Bank's Ford and Germania Mills. The body of troops below the town was withdrawn simultaneously with the advance of the bulk of the army, 128,000 strong, which, after passing the Rapidan, moved to attack General Lee in flank, along the plank road leading through Chancellorsville to Fredericksburg. This movement was well conceived on the part of Hooker, and might have prevailed against less wary and skilful generals than were in command of the Confederate army. On Friday, the 1st of May, General Lee, leaving Early's division and Barksdale's brigade to hold the lines before Fredericksburg marched out to meet the Yankee commander. He came up with the opposing force near Chancellorsville that afternoon, where line of battle was formed, at the same time that the brigade of Mahone, being a portion of McLaws' Division, engaged and repulsed the enemy's advance near Banks' Ford, after a spirited skirmish. On Saturday the position in front of the enemy was maintained by the divisions of McLaws and Anderson, while Jackson, fighting his way with indomitable resolution, and carrying three lines of entrenchment, had gained the rear of the main body of Hooker's army. The circuit made by Jackson was long and difficult. At times his men were exposed to a terrible fire of grapeshot and canister, and in assailing the enemy's works were compelled to pass over heavy *abatis*, but they never once recoiled, and when their noble leader fell beneath their own volleys, they had the "finest army on the planet" completely within their power. One hour more of daylight, or one hour more of Stonewall's life, and Hooker had capitulated. After the dreadful accident, the command of Jackson's corps fell upon General J. E. B. Stuart, who quickly gathering in his flushed and confident regiments, and streaming like a meteor along the extended lines, his sabre gleaming in the moonbeams, led them upon the masses of the foe, but the moment of destruction had passed by. And so they awaited the dawning of the morrow for the renewal of the conflict. The morrow came clear and beautiful, and as all over England, Christian men and women were winding their way to Church on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, through roads smiling with the bloom of English May, two hundred thousand men in Virginia were engaged in murderous combat from the rising to the setting sun. During the night the enemy had repossessed themselves of a portion of their entrenchments, and the struggle for these had to be fought over again. And fought it was, with the same result as before; and when the

May-day sun went down in blood and fire, the whole body of the Yankee army had sought shelter in a bend of the Rappahannock, where, from the peculiar nature of the ground, they were for a time safe from attack. No more terrible fighting has been done, since this infamous war of Lincoln's was commenced, than on Sunday, the 3rd of May, at Chancellorsville. Our own loss was severe—that of the enemy, as they acknowledge, was immense.

Whilst these memorable scenes were enacting in the Wilderness County, near Chancellorsville, a large force had engaged General Early near Fredericksburg, and by a flank movement had overpowered Barksdale's brigade on Marye's Heights, and carried that position, taking some two hundred prisoners belonging to a Mississippi regiment, and six guns, forming a battery of the well-known Washington artillery of New Orleans. These trophies, with the prisoners, they hurried quickly across the river to avoid recapture; and not a moment too soon, for early the next day the heights were assailed and carried in an instant by the troops of Anderson and McLaws, the Yankees making scarcely a show of resistance, and flying precipitately to their pontoons. They were slaughtered in great numbers in their retreat, and paid dearly enough for the little short-lived glory of their success the previous afternoon, over which the Northern papers make such a jubilation.

The afternoon of Monday and the morning of Tuesday were spent in the removal of the wounded and the burial of the dead; but on Tuesday afternoon General Lee left Fredericksburg with the intention of attacking Hooker in his strong natural position in the bend of the Rappahannock, twelve miles distant. A drenching rain, which set in about three o'clock, and continued to fall heavily throughout the night, greatly impeded the march, and before the main body of his troops could arrive upon the spot, Hooker had escaped.

Such was the *denouement* of the five days' fighting on the Rapidan and the Rappahannock, a "most lame and impotent conclusion" for the Yankee General when viewed by the light of his boastful General Orders on the eve of the battle, in which he asserted that General Lee had been placed by him in the distressing alternative of inglorious flight or utter extermination! Not satisfied with this official braggadocio under the signature of his Adjutant-General, Seth Williams (who was killed upon the field), Hooker repeated it in a speech to his troops on Saturday evening, wherein he encouragingly declared that his position was absolutely impregnable, and the Rebel army was now wholly at his mercy. The cheering of the Yankees in response was distinctly heard along our lines just before the fight begun, and in four hours afterwards the army which was doomed to utter extermination was in possession of that impregnable position.

Our losses during this series of engagements were about 900 killed, 6138 wounded, and 2500 prisoners. Ten pieces of artillery fell into the enemy's hands. The enemy's loss will not fall short of 50,000, by which I mean that the "finest army on the planet" has been reduced by that figure since it crossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan to attack us. Their killed and wounded may be set down at 15,000; 10,000 prisoners have been sent to this city, and there are not less than 25,000 stragglers and deserters who have profited by the confusion and disorder to run off. 15,000 in killed and wounded is rather under than over the correct number. We took fifty-three pieces of artillery and many standards.

This record of the operations of Hooker's army would be altogether incomplete if I omitted to mention the cavalry raid of General Stoneman, who, simultaneously with the advance of the main body, dashed into the region of the country lying between Gordonsville and Richmond, at the head of a large body of horse, for the purpose of cutting off General Lee's communication with the capital. Dividing his forces into three parties at Louisa C.H., he despatched them to various points on the Central, Fredericksburg, and York River Railways, and the James River Canal, which lines of transportation they interrupted for a time, though without doing serious injury to any one of them. They pillaged all the houses in the line of their march, carrying off horses, mules, and negroes, and might have burned some important bridges, had they not feared to attack the guard stationed at them. This raid has called forth the liveliest transports of joy throughout the North, where it is thought a far more brilliant affair than any of Stuart's, Jack Morgan's or Wheeler's daring expeditions; and so it might be considered here, were it not evident that Stoneman never intended to make a fight if attacked by equal numbers. On the contrary, it was clearly undertaken upon the deliberate calculations that ten thousand horses, saddles, bridles, sabres, Enfield rifles, and Yankee troopers, would be a small price to pay for the utter destruction of the railways and canal

connecting Richmond with the upper country and General Lee. And it would have been a small price, had the cavalry accomplished its work and fallen into our hands. In proof this pre-determination to surrender if pushed to extremities on the part of Stoneman, I need only refer to the capture of a similar cavalry force in Georgia by General Forest, sixteen hundred bold dragoons giving themselves up as prisoners in preference to attempting Jack Morgan's mode of cutting his way through the hosts sent to surround him. The want of serviceable horses prevented an attack on Stoneman's main force, and thus it made its escape, but the detachment sent to the James River Canal was attacked and driven back by General W. H. F. Lee, and a body of 600, which appeared on the York River Railway, was met by Colonel Duke, in command of a battalion of the 46th Virginia Regiment, and repulsed, at Tunstall's Station, with a loss of six killed, seven wounded, and seventeen prisoners. Not a man of Colonel Duke's battalion sustained the slightest injury. Altogether about sixty prisoners of Stoneman's cavalry found their way to the Libby prison in this city.

At this moment there are about 12,000 Yankee prisoners here, the greater part of whom are under guard, upon an island in the James River, known as the "Belle Isle," where they have comfortable tents, fresh air, large range of locomotion, and the privilege of the bath. This morning, as the body of General Jackson was about to be conveyed from the Governor's house to the Hall of Congress in the Capital, and the funeral procession was forming, a line of 3,000 of these amiable captives, just from Guiney's Station, passed through the town. No taunts, no jeers, no indignities of any kind were offered them, but, for the honour of human nature, I regret to say that some of them indulged in ribald exultations over the death of our glorious chieftain, crying out, "Where's your Stonewall now!" It is creditable to the forbearance of the armed escort, and the people on the side-walks that they were not hayonnetted or stoned to death on the spot.

Advices from Tullahoma and Jackson, Mississippi, lead us to believe that there will be heavy fighting in the South and West, upon which the fate of Vicksburg and Memphis will depend, in a few days' time.

I regret to announce the death by violence of General Earl Van Dorn. He was shot and instantly killed at Spring Hill, Tennessee, on the 8th instant, by Dr. Peters, of St. Louis, Missouri, whose domestic happiness he had ruined. Earl Van Dorn was as gallant an officer as ever wore a sword, but his dissolute life had lost him the respect of society. The Confederacy might, perhaps, have "better spared a better man."

Congress adjourned on the 1st of the month. Among its last acts were the adoption of a Flag and Seal. The Flag is white, with the battle ensign as a Union. Its heraldic designation is as follows:—"Argent, on a canton *gules*, a saltier *azure*, fimbriated of the field; charged with thirteen *etoiles* of the last." It has been raised upon the capitol, and the effect is brilliant. It was used as the pall of Jackson, which may be regarded as a fit consecration of it. The Seal is Washington on horseback, after Crawford's statue; motto—*Deo Vindice*.

Summer has set in "with its usual severity," and before its time. The thermometer to-day marked 90 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade.

Another letter from our correspondent, dated Richmond, 29th April, containing much interesting information, is unavoidably delayed to our next impression.

#### THE MAGAZINES FOR JUNE.

*Blackwood* opens with a "A Glance at the Italy of Cavour," which is worthy the attention of those who rejoice at the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, as well as of those who regret that there is no longer a King of Naples, that the domains of the Church have been diminished, that Austria has been forced to give up a part of her Italian territory, and that the Duchies have been merged into the dominion of Victor Emmanuel. We need not discuss whether Italian unity is necessary to Italian freedom, or whether the liberty and strength of Italy would have flourished better under a Confederation of free States. But whether we think Italian centralization good or bad, whether we think the North and South will in due time grow into one people, or that Victor Emmanuel and his successors will live to rule over hostile peoples, we must admire the singular ability and devotion of Cavour, the founder of the Kingdom of Italy, even while we must not less earnestly protest against the means by which he accomplished his great work. We may be fascinated with the brilliant success of Cavour, but we cannot sympathize with his policy of cool, persistent deception. When we hear the reactionists denounced, we should remember that it is but natural there should



be a strong feeling of pity for the dethroned and exiled princes. Grant that they were guilty of all the crimes alleged against them, and that they deserved the punishment of ruin and exile, we cannot help regretting that they were cunningly hunted down and trapped. Take the case of Tuscany. *Blackwood* justly observes, it was "the model State of the peninsula. Mild laws mercifully administered, peace and prosperity everywhere, were what struck the traveller as he crossed the frontier; and the most inveterate grievance-hunter would have been puzzled to find a flaw, except in certain religious intolrances, which are common to all Catholic countries, and which here were almost entirely provoked by the defiant attitude of a propaganda." But Tuscany was necessary to the plan of Cavour, and accordingly M. Buoncompagni was, under the guise of a Sardinian envoy, sent to the capital of that State to foster a revolution. He accomplished the task assigned him, and by unscrupulous craft Tuscany was annexed to Piedmont. Or take the case of Naples. Whilst the expedition of Garibaldi was known to and encouraged by Cavour, foreign Governments were assured that the attempt was discountenanced and would be repressed. "No gloss of excuse, or even of palliation, can cover the conduct of Cavour as regards the Neapolitan Government. It was one whole course of duplicity." The cause of Italy will not be promoted by concealing the truth, or by pretending that the exiled princes have not been wronged. A candid exposition, such as "A Glance at the Italy of Cavour," will do more for Italy than the partisan attempts to paint the exiled princes black, and to represent Cavour and his coadjutors as men without guile or blemish.—"A Letter from Poland," though not giving any decided opinion as to the issue of the momentous struggle, indicates the main source of the weakness of the Poles, and explains some of the revolutionary movements that have appeared so mysterious to Europe. The revolution, though unexpected by the general public, had been long preparing. Its incubation was known to leading politicians, but the question had become a bore, and the cry of revolt had been raised so incessantly since 1848, that no one believed in it, when at length the outbreak was at hand. Certainly the Russian Government was not taken by surprise. So far from that the authorities at St. Petersburg seem to have known that the summer of 1863 was fixed upon as the time for the revolt, and accordingly the conscription was ordered for the past winter, so that the young men might be removed at a season when the climate made resistance desperate, not to say impracticable. It happened, however, that last winter was peculiarly mild, and so far the calculations of the Russian Government were disappointed. It must not, however, be supposed that the revolution in embryo was a united national movement. The national Poles, that is, the Poles who were anxious for national independence, were divided into three parties. The upper classes thought that by patient waiting the cause of Polish liberty would be promoted, and they did what they could to prevent a premature outbreak; the party of action, consisting of what we may call the middle classes, was divided into two sections,—Mieroslawski being at the head of the smaller section. The Agricultural Society, which represented the party of order, was broken up before the revolution, and when the revolt took place the members of it joined the national movement. They did so, not only from patriotic motives, but as a means of self-defence, for otherwise Russia might have taken a lesson from the events that had taken place in Galicia in 1846, and have checked the movement by offering the peasantry the lands of the nobles. The parties of action seeing the necessity of union, conjointly selected Langiewicz as Dictator. No sooner was this done than the fatal spirit of intrigue sprang up, and Mieroslawski, at the head of a faction, succeeded in driving Langiewicz from power. The position of affairs was critical. Mieroslawski was discountenanced, and the contending factions were reunited. How long will the union last? Will not the first gleam of prosperity give renewed vitality to action? This always has been, and still is, the weakness and danger of Poland. If the determination arrived at when the amalgamation was made, after the fall of Langiewicz, that "henceforth there was to be no party of action, no moderate party; each and all were to combine to make Poland independent of Russia, and to allow no sectional jealousy to interfere with the one great national aim," is kept, then there is some hope for Poland. If not—if, in the future as in the past, the spirit of faction is stronger than the spirit of patriotism, Poland will not have gained, nor Russia lost by the revolution.—In a review of "The Life of Charles James Blomfield, late Bishop of London," we have a pleasant biographical sketch of a good and learned, though not a great man. In early life Bishop Blomfield was celebrated for his Greek scholarship, and his capacity for tuition. He would, perhaps,

have been more useful to his day and generation, and have done more for his posthumous reputation if he had devoted himself entirely to his early pursuits. Bishops ought, no doubt, to be good Greek scholars, but Greek scholarships ought not, *per se*, to be a passport to the episcopal bench. Bishop Blomfield was the enemy of pluralities, yet he was at one part of his career a pluralist—that is, he was receiving pay for work that he was forced to do by deputy. We do not mean to infer that he was an inefficient priest and an inefficient bishop; on the contrary, he was at all times zealous in the discharge of his ministerial offices. As a proof of his activity, we may cite his success in increasing the number of churches in the metropolis, and that during his episcopate he consecrated two hundred churches in the diocese of London. In the Puseyite controversy—"in the rank disputes about forms and ceremonies, the putting up of crosses in churches, the ornamentation of altars with flowers, and the preaching in surplices instead of black gowns, the Bishop got inextricably involved; and he further managed by his attempt to satisfy all parties, to satisfy none." He placed himself at the head of what he considered a reform, and had not the strength or capacity to check the movement when it became a reaction towards Romanism. The close of Bishop Blomfield's life is remarkable for his retirement from the bench of bishops when he found that illness prevented him efficiently fulfilling his duties. There is no lack of clergymen willing to episcopate, but it was rather a startling novelty to find a bishop anxious and willing to give up his exalted position.

*Fraser* has a very strong article on the Polish question. It is assumed that the weakness of Russia will be a gain to Europe, and that, though it is not our business "to stir up the subjects of the Russian Empire to rebel," we are bound to help the rebels as far as we can. "Whether England has, or has not, a duty, a high duty to perform, evidently depends upon our ability." The writer in *Fraser* thinks "the very least"—the italics are not ours—"which we ought, at any rate, at present to enforce" is to send a fleet into the Black Sea by permission of the Sultan, and by the diversion of Russian arms, caused by the establishment of free-trade with Circassia, help the Poles; and, moreover, such an event might cause "a Garibaldi to presently appear among the Cossacks." The writer also thinks that this would not necessitate a war with Russia. "If we insisted on forcibly putting down the blockade in the Black Sea, while avowing that we had no war with Russia elsewhere, we have an invincible belief that the Emperor will, however reluctantly, submit without forcing a war." In support of this view the case of Holland is cited, when we informed the King of Holland that we had no war with him, but we intended to drive his troops out of the citadel of Antwerp. Whether Russia would accede to a similar arrangement is more than doubtful. But the writer in *Fraser* does not ask us to avoid war if war is needed to benefit the Poles. "A real neutrality in such a strife is unworthy of England, which is bound to aim openly at the freedom of Poland." If, for example, "the Finns in general still remember with regret their old connexion with Sweden, nothing could be more righteous than to help them to regain it, even at the expense of an avowed Russian war." \* \* \* "If simultaneously we kept open the Circassian trade, Poland and Finland might, by the assistance of France and Sweden, become independent of Russia, with glorious advantage to Europe." We do not dispute the nobleness of the idea, that for the sake of aiding the Poles to win back a long-lost independence, we are to help the Finns, to open up free trade with Circassia by force of arms, to encourage a Cossack revolt, and to encounter a European war. Is it not strange that such a sentiment—and we believe it is not unpopular in this country—should be entertained? And yet for the sake of free trade with the Confederate States, which would do more for the prosperity and commerce of Europe than a hundred independent Poland and Circassias, for the sake of helping a gallant people, to preserve their independence, and for the sake of doing what we lawfully can to put an end to a deadly and wicked war between a kindred people, we hesitate even to recognise the South, lest we may offend the Republican faction in the North. We must, however, in justice to *Fraser*, observe that that magazine has always manifested a warm sympathy with the South.—Amongst the other papers in the current number of *Fraser* we may mention "Bolingbroke as a Statesman," in which all that can be said is said in favour of his political career. A contribution entitled "An American Refugee in London," gives a graphic account of the tyranny of the Federals, and concludes with expressing the conviction that if the North "will heed no warning and accept no help, she must lie a gigantic wreck in view of all the nations of the earth." This writer holds that England has been wise in not "intervening," because the proposed mediation of the Emperor of the French was rejected. It occurs to us that the rejection of mediation

might possibly be a reason for intervention, but could not by any possibility be a reason for non-intervention. But nobody has asked England to intervene. Her fault is that, by refusing to recognise the independence of the South, which is not in any respect an intervention, she has and still does encourage the North to carry on a hopeless war. Non-recognition is, in fact, a moral intervention in favour of the Lincolnite and Republican faction of the United States.

The *Cornhill* has a well-timed and able contribution on "Spiritualism." It commences by stating, that "Three years ago an article was published in this magazine, under the title of 'Stranger than Fiction,' which contained a report of the writer's personal experience of one of Mr. Home's sittings, and which, in some quarters, has produced the remarkable inference that the *Cornhill Magazine* was a ghostly organ, favouring the practices of spirit-rappers, and others of the same or analogous persuasion." No doubt about it. No doubt that an article in a highly influential magazine, then under the avowed editorship of one who is in the foremost rank of living authors, helped the spirit-rappers in their pursuit of gain and victims. It was, we think, the duty of the magazine, finding how greatly the article had been misunderstood, to have taken an early opportunity of explaining that no more faith was placed in the tricks of Mr. Home than in the jargon of a fortune-telling gipsy. It is better late than never, and we are glad to have this emphatic protest against spiritualism, as we are convinced it will tend to comfort many weak-minded persons who are somewhat deluded by the pretences of the Spiritualists. The contributor to the *Cornhill* has read the books of the Spiritualists—Mr. Howitt's, Mr. Home's, and Mr. H. D. Owen's, and other publications of the same kind, and his conviction is, that "he does not believe a single word of them from one end to the other. The stories which they contain run off his mind like water off a duck's back, and appear to him altogether unworthy of credit." As to "the idiots who rap to those who are idle enough to listen,—Mr. Home floating about the ceiling, with the ghosts holding up his coat-tails, tables climbing on to ottomans, and arm-chairs cracking their joints at their masters," the writer says:—"I shall simply dismiss from my mind the whole subject as a mass of rubbish."—The light article in the *Cornhill*, entitled "Paint, Powder, and Patches," would never have been published if anonymous writing was unlawful. We dare say that ladies will read it, and they cannot help being amused by it, but they will stand upon the privileges of their sex and give no heed to the playful hints and broad insinuations.

Any one undecided as to the whereabouts for an autumn or summer tour, will probably get an idea from *Bentley's Miscellany*. There is, first of all, a pleasant account of Heligoland, the smallest of British possessions. It is not a lively place, but on the contrary, "is so utterly dull, that the very dullness constitutes an unexpected charm." Next there is a narrative of "A Visit to Denmark and Sweden in the Autumn of 1862," and besides its inherent charms, Scandinavia has the advantage of not being done to death like the "beautiful Rhine." "Transatlantic Sketches" may be very good, but they have rather too much Yankee slang in them to be intelligible without a closer study than we can afford to give them.

*London Society* is, as usual, profusely illustrated, and has an unusual number of light, amusing articles. "London Society Abroad" is a faithful sketch of the idiosyncracies of Englishmen on the Continent. "Cricketers" denounces the system of employing professional players in county matches, and is likely to do good service for the manly sport, which, since it is patronized by the Prince of Wales, is sure to become more popular than ever. If we were to mention all the good articles in the present number of *London Society*—good, we mean, because they are appropriate for a magazine "of light and amusing literature," we should have to transcribe the entire table of contents.

*Macmillan* is rather dull. We do not think that Mr. Bonamy Price's article, "The Great City Apostasy on Gold," will induce people to esteem a paper currency so highly as a metallic currency. He regards the suspension of specie payments as a mere temporary measure. "For, even if any of the issuing banks could not, for the moment, procure gold enough for the demand on them, if their business were otherwise well conducted, no public evil of any consequence would ensue. No one would be kept out of his money beyond a few days at the longest." This may be political economy; but if so we trust our financial system may never be based upon that science.

**DONATION FROM CALIFORNIA.**—Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, the Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund at Liverpool, has received the following anonymous letter from San Francisco, inclosing a donation of £10 to that fund. In answer to the inquiry of *Bond Fide* we would suggest that no better arrangement for the collecting and remitting subscriptions from California can probably be devised than that in which he has already been so unexpectedly successful:—

San Francisco, April 23, 1863.

J. H. Ashbridge, Esq.

55, Brown's Buildings, Liverpool.

Sir,—Please find 1st of Exchange on Messrs. N. M. Rothschild and Sons, London, for £10 sterling drawn payable to your order. It is the small donations of several friends of the South in California. We saw in the *LONDON INDEX* the "Appeal to Southerners, on behalf of the Southern prisoners of war now in Northern prisons," and learned from that that you had permission to relieve the sick and wounded soldiers of the South now in bondage at the North. May God bless your labours!

P.S.—If you would acknowledge the receipt of this small sum from California in the *INDEX*, and point out some way for receiving subscriptions, I think you would get a large sum from this State. BONA FIDE.



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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III—No. 59.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 11, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

### AN ADDRESS TO CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Signed by nearly one hundred Ministers of the Gospel, of all denominations of Protestant Christians in the Confederate States.

THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

THE APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS.

MR. ROEBUCK'S NOTICE OF MOTION.

ROYALTY AT ETON COLLEGE.

A BRIEF NOTICE OF SOME NEW WORKS.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

LETTER FROM PARIS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

On the 24th of May, President Lincoln informed the Northern papers that "A despatch from Mr. Fuller, manager of the telegraph at Memphis, late in the night, says the Stars and Stripes float over Vicksburg, and the victory is complete." On the 30th, advices from General Grant to the 25th are published, in which he represents the siege "to be progressing favourably." The rejoicing of the North was, at least, premature, and the intelligence of the Federal Government, as usual, false. Our object in noticing this is to repeat the warning we gave last week of the utter unreliability of Northern accounts, and to explain the uncertain tone in which we refer to statements that are not authenticated by Southern reports.

Another week has elapsed, but until the moment we write, the news of the issue of the contest for the possession of Vicksburg has not reached Europe. We must confess, however, that what has transpired leads us to think that the situation, though critical to both sides, is favourable to the Confederates. And first, let us take the Northern position, accepting the statements of the Northern press and the Northern officials. Grant, in making his advance, relied upon a rapid success, and so gave up his communication with Grand Gulf. We learn from Admiral Porter's despatch that, on the 18th of May, he succeeded in opening a communication with Grant on the Yazoo, and that the Federal commander requested him to send up provisions. From this we may surmise that Grant would be in a difficulty if his advance was checked, at least, for any considerable period. What has been his progress? He was not stopped by General Pemberton, but forced that General to fall back to his entrenchments. He has captured Jackson, and Haines' Bluff. He has advanced on Vicksburg, and besieged it. What have been his losses? The Southern accounts say he lost 9,000 men in killed and wounded in the engagement with Pemberton; and the Northern account goes very far to confirm this estimate. The loss in three corps is thus set down,—in Hovey's, 1,600, Boomer's 500, and Surgin's 400, being 2,500 men in the three corps. Then there were losses at Jackson, and finally the losses before Vicksburg. On the 22nd, the Federals estimate their loss at from 1,000 to 5,000, and the fighting was still "continuing furiously." The Southern papers estimate the Federal loss at 10,000 before Vicksburg, up to the 22nd or 23rd. With these losses, all that General Grant could report on the 25th was, that "the siege was progressing favourably, that he was fully able to maintain the investment, and to repel any attack upon his rear." Instead of taking Vicksburg by a *coup de main*, Grant had to undertake a siege. Six of his assaults were repulsed, and between him and the Confederate works his dead and wounded were lying by thou-

sands. The security of Grant's army, in the opinion of his Northern friends, depended to some extent upon General Banks effecting a junction with him. We are not venturing an opinion as to whether or not Grant could maintain himself without Banks. Let the Federal statements speak for themselves. We are only reciting the Federal position up to the 25th of May, as reported by the Federals. In New York the loss of 20,000 men is called a cheap price to pay for the capture of Vicksburg. The blood has been spilt, whether spilt in vain we know not; but on the 30th of May, when Grant's latest advices of the 25th were published, we think the Federals had more ground for anxiety than for jubilation.

And now let us glance at the Confederate position. It was, we admit, calculated to inspire a patriotic public with anxiety. The advance of Grant had not been checked by Pemberton; but that Commander, after a gallant fight and inflicting a heavy loss on a superior force, had to retire to his entrenchments. The capital of Mississippi had been temporarily occupied by the Federals, and partially burnt. Haines' Bluff had been captured by the enemy. Vicksburg was besieged. Such were the reasons for anxiety: and now for the grounds of hope and confidence. The garrison of Vicksburg, though small, was amply provisioned, and capable of making a desperate defence. Six assaults of the Federals had been repulsed with great slaughter. On the 25th of May, eleven days had elapsed since General Johnstone, one of the ablest and most active of the Southern commanders, had left Jackson. During that time he had not been idle. He had been collecting forces, and if he had gathered together a sufficient army, he would undoubtedly attack Grant in the rear.

This is, we think, a fair account of the situation; and whilst it justifies the expectation of the Confederates, that Vicksburg would be successfully defended, there is certainly nothing in it to excuse the Federal assumption of certain victory.

Vicksburg was to be taken by a combined attack of gun-boats and land forces; and we have in an official despatch from Admiral Porter, dated Haines' Bluff, May 20th, an account, in his own peculiar vernacular, of how he "pushed" and "shoved" about his gun-boats; but in justice to General Grant, we are bound to observe that the admiral did not render any important aid. When Admiral Porter ascertained that Haines' Bluff was evacuated, he sent a gun-boat—or, to be exact, let us quote his own words:—"Lieutenant Commander Walker, in the De Kalb, pushed on to Haines' Bluff, which the enemy had commenced evacuating the day before, and a party remained behind in the hopes of destroying or taking away a large amount of ammunition on hand.

"When they saw the gun-boats they ran out and left everything in good order—guns, forts, tents, and equipage of all kinds, which fell into our hands.

"As soon as the capture of Haines' Bluff and fourteen forts was reported to me, I shoved up the gun-boats from below Vicksburg to fire at the hill batteries, which fire was kept up for two or three hours. At midnight they moved up to the town and opened on it for about an hour, and continued at intervals during the night to annoy the garrison.

"On the 19th I placed six mortars in position, with orders to fire night and day as rapidly as they could."

We sincerely wish that Admiral Porter had added to his other accomplishments an elementary knowledge of English composition, as we might then possibly be able to make something out of the passage we have quoted. It is surely somewhat curious, if the Confederates had been evacuating Haines' Bluff the day before, and had left a party behind for the purpose of destroying the ammuni-

tion, that on the appearance of Walker in the De Kalb they should have run out leaving everything in good order. We were under the impression that the work of destruction was comparatively easy, and that in twenty-four hours, at least some of the guns might have been spiked, and some of the ammunition burnt. Then how are we to explain this little discrepancy? First, we are told Walker pushed on in the De Kalb, and in the next paragraph we are informed that the Confederates ran out when they saw the gun-boats. Now, we might have supposed that the De Kalb was accompanied by other vessels, but for the next paragraph; therefore, we must assume that it was a single gun-boat that so alarmed the Confederates. Admiral Porter says, as soon as he heard of the capture of Haines' Bluff and fourteen forts he shoved up his boats from below Vicksburg. The concluding sentence of that paragraph we are unable to construe. Whether the gun-boats moved up to the town, or the batteries moved up to the town is not very clear; and how on earth the fire of the boats or batteries could have annoyed a garrison that had long since evacuated the place altogether passes our comprehension. The next sentence in this remarkable despatch is equally funny and indefinite. On the 19th Admiral Porter placed six mortars in position, with the extraordinary order to fire night and day as rapidly as they could. What they were to fire at we do not know. That part of the despatch which we have not quoted is equally humorous. For example, he talks about destroying the encampments, "which were permanently constructed;" then he says he burnt the gun-carriages, for fear they might fall into the hands of the Confederates; blew up the magazine, and destroyed the works generally. But, as we have seen in this very despatch, he records triumphantly that the Confederates ran out at the sight of Walker in the De Kalb, and left everything in good order, instead of destroying the ammunition. How kind then of the Federals thus to carry out the wishes and intentions of their enemy, especially as Admiral Porter, on the 20th of May, was able to gladden the heart of his Government by an intimation that the reduction of Vicksburg was "a mere question of a few hours." It is surprising that an officer can write such a despatch, but still more surprising that any Government could publish it. In such a case editorial revision would have been kind as well as judicious.

There is no other war news that calls for comment. General Hooker is advancing towards Washington to protect that capital in case of need. General Rosecranz having announced to his troops that the hour for action had arrived, has done nothing since. There are rumours of the Confederate forces entering Kentucky, and General Lee is preparing for a campaign—some say in Maryland, others in Pennsylvania, and others that he intends to attack Washington. As usual, the Federals are profoundly ignorant of the intended movements of the enemy.

The Northern press has been in ecstasies over the supposed capture of Vicksburg. That event was to be the end of the "rebellion." Rosecranz was urged to forthwith rout the army in front of him; and Hooker was warned, under pain of being eclipsed by Grant, to take Richmond without delay. The most singular part of the business is that this exuberant confidence was based upon the tone of the Richmond press. An article from the *Richmond Whig* was quoted as a proof of Southern despondency. It seems to us that never did any journal, under any circumstances, publish an article that was less despondent and more courageous. The *Whig* assumes the worst to have happened. It says,—"Suppose Vicksburg has fallen, the army inside the fortifications captured or destroyed



Port Hudson reduced or abandoned, the Mississippi in its whole length controlled by the enemy, and the Confederacy temporarily, or even for the remainder of the war, cut in twain; suppose, further, that this really great success to the foe and cruel disaster to ourselves, is attended with consequences as certain as they were deplorable—increased enthusiasm at the North, the triumphant vindication of the tyranny at Washington, conscription enforced even in the North-west, without opposition, perhaps a revival of the spirit of volunteering, peace parties crushed for ever, men and money to an endless sum obtained, and Europe, busy with its own troubles, awed into permanent silence—suppose all this, for it becomes us now to consider the worst possible aspect of the news, what then? Our duty will then be precisely what it has always been—to maintain the cause unflinchingly, and to exhibit a spirit more indomitable and persistent than that of the enemy. Nothing is to be gained by despondency. All that has been lost may be regained by fortitude and perseverance. \* \* Within two years we have withstood 1,400,000 of the Vandals. What shall hinder us from withstanding as many more during the year to come? Nothing but a want of manhood, which the South has never yet failed to show. We have veterans commanded by great generals—the enemy have recruits commanded by generals inferior to our own. Let them come on; we will see whose heart is the stoutest, let the war last as long as it may.” We have quoted sufficient to show what the Federal Press means by Southern despondency. For our own part, we have more reliance on the spirit of a people not unduly elated by victory, and who prepare for defeats that may never happen, than in the spirit of a people that rejoices in and boasts of victories that never may be won. When will the North learn that Holdfast is a better dog than Brag?

The Northern accounts of the capture of the despatch steamers Arrow and Emily, and of two schooners laden with corn, at the same time, are very emphatic as to the generous manner in which the Confederates treated their prisoners. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* says, “A gentleman, formerly a resident of Elizabeth City, was also taken and subsequently released, it appearing from documents in his possession, that he was a subject of her Britannic Majesty. Although the baggage of the passengers was searched, no money or other valuables were taken. They inquired for whisky, and found that one of the soldiers had a couple of bottles, which he was using as medicine. They gave him \$10 in North Carolina money for the liquor, uncorked the bottles, and invited all their captives to take a drink. The conduct of the rebels is represented as having been in every respect gentlemanly and courteous to their prisoners.” We can readily understand that the Federals are surprised at such conduct. It is altogether opposed to their own practices. When Jackson was in their possession, the inhabitants were robbed of their valuables, in addition to so many houses and public buildings being destroyed.

The Alabama and Florida have been hard at work. Besides the eight captures reported in New York on the 26th May, and of which the total value of the stocks and cargoes is estimated at upwards of \$800,000, we learn by the last mail that the Commonwealth, of Boston, from New York for San Francisco, has also been taken. This vessel and her cargo are valued at \$350,000.

It is quite natural that New York should be very angry at the doings of the Alabama and Florida. There are those who are glad enough when the Confederates capture and destroy Government property, because that necessitates war contracts, but who feel acutely the loss of their own property. The war may go on for ever, so long as it does not hurt New England and New York; and particularly as it enriches the contractors of New England and the speculators of New York. The *Herald* has a very bitter editorial on the subject. On the faith of its London correspondent, it announces that “two more rebel privateers, built in English yards, have escaped to sea.” The *Herald* says that English merchants are delighted at the prospect of driving the Northern ships from the ocean by privateering, and that Earl Russell and his subordinates are not excessively vigilant. It is even hinted that the Virginia may have “secured the connivance” of the British authorities. Therefore the *Herald* casts about for a remedy for the evil. “But our merchants are beginning to think it is high time to put a stop to this business. They say that if the rebels burn and destroy private property at sea our armies have a right to burn and destroy their private property on land. Though this is not according to the usages of modern warfare, there is nothing in it unjust, and it is possible the United States’ Government may yet be driven to adopt it, making a new law for itself. Some time ago our Government proposed to the Powers of Europe to abolish the capture of all private property at sea; but they refused to accept the proposi-

tion, and it may become necessary now to take the matter into our own hands, and either abolish the capture of enemy’s private property by sea and land, by agreement with the rebel Government, or insist upon capturing it indiscriminately upon either element.” To say nothing about the inconsistency of uniting about entering into an international compact with a rebel Government, we may observe that the Vandalism and robbery of the Federal troops make the threat of retaliation by land ridiculous. Already they destroy and plunder where and when they can. Look, for example, at Banks’s expedition in Louisiana. Look at the burning and plunder of Jackson. Or, as one of a thousand instances, take a paragraph from the latest telegram, which says, “The Federals have made an expedition from West Point, Virginia, into the neighbouring counties, sacking the grain warehouses and burning the mills, and capturing horses, cattle, and sheep. They took from the farmers everything that could be of use to the Federal army, and destroyed their agricultural implements.”

Mr. Lincoln is likely to have some difficulty in disposing of Mr. Vallandigham. Upon reaching the “rebel” lines, Mr. Vallandigham said:—“I am a citizen of the State of Ohio, and of the United States. I am here against my will. I therefore surrender myself to you as a prisoner of war.” Under the circumstances he of course refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, and, therefore, will, it is said, be returned to the North. With every desire to shelter the victims of Mr. Lincoln’s tyranny, the Richmond Government will not permit the Confederacy to be made a penal colony for the North. In an article on this subject, the *Richmond Sentinel* of the 19th May observes:—“Lincoln has, of course, no more right to send any one here than to send him to England or France. Not so much; because we are at war, when no liberties are allowable. We should refuse to receive any one thus offered to us, who does not personally solicit it, and unless interest or humanity dictates it. We must refuse all who would make us weaker. We must require of all who are received that they join their efforts with ours against the common enemy. They must assume our allegiance and its duties, and must contribute, in some way, their skill and industry and valour to the common cause.”

The people of Ohio are clamouring for Mr. Vallandigham’s release.

Though Mr. Lincoln will not pardon Mr. Vallandigham, but threatened if he returned to the Federal lines to imprison him for the rest of the war, he is now and then moved to mercy by policy or inclination. Three Confederate soldiers who were captured by the Federals were citizens of Maryland, and being tried by a military commission under the presidency of that judicial personage, General Sickles, were sentenced to be hanged. Naturally enough, General Hooker strongly approved of the sentence, for next to taking Richmond, hanging prisoners in cold blood must be deeply gratifying to the fighting but, owing to Confederate obstinacy, unsuccessful Joe Hooker. Mr. Lincoln, however willing to please his general, would not endorse the sentence, but declared that the men who were taken as prisoners of war were to be treated as prisoners of war. If Mr. Lincoln had arrived at any other conclusion, it would have been awkward. It would, for instance, have justified the Confederates in hanging all the prisoners taken from the so-called Kentucky and Maryland regiments—regiments which Mr. Lincoln knows are not raised in Kentucky or Maryland. If Mr. Lincoln does not trouble himself about mercy or justice, he is prudent enough to temper hate and despotism with discretion.

We have also to record a more touching instance of Mr. Lincoln’s discretion. Last October Mr. Albert Horn was convicted in the United States Circuit Court of fitting out the slaver City of Norfolk, and sentenced to five years’ imprisonment. On the 21st of May Mr. Lincoln granted him a free pardon, and he was released from custody the next day. Mr. Albert Horn ought to feel very grateful that he had not to appeal to a President elected by Southern votes, for in that case he would have had no chance of pardon. If, however, the pious New Englanders suppose that by destroying as many of the negroes as they can, they will cause such a demand in the South as to give them a chance of renewing their long lost, but dearly remembered, slave trade, they are self-deceived. In that respect they will gain nothing by the misery they are bringing upon a portion of the black population in the South.

What a constant trouble the Negro is to the North! The Newbern correspondent of the *New York Herald* mentions that a coloured major called on an officer whom he did not know, and without ceremony “commenced overhauling some papers in a desk.” The coloured major was ejected, complained to the colonel, and the white quartermaster was put under arrest. This same major

insists upon wearing shoulder straps contrary to the order issued, forbidding all negroes from wearing them or military buttons. The result of this assumption, supported as it was by the commanding officer, is, that “a large number of the nine months’ men, whose term of enlistment has just or is about expiring, have shown considerable bitterness of feeling since the advent of the coloured surgeon with his major’s shoulder straps. They do not like the idea, they say, of being obliged to ‘salute a negro;’ that they will ground arms first, and that instead of re-enlisting after a month’s stay at home, as they had intended, they will not re-enlist at all.”

The negro who goes North is to be pitied. The *Free South*, a Northern publication, remarks that “the transition from slavery to freedom appeared to them only a change of masters, the difference being that the new master was more easily imposed upon than the old one.” In order to counteract this notion, General Paxton has ordered the rations for negroes to be discontinued, so that “they will be taught by the pangs of hunger a lesson that will not be lost. Their former condition as slaves gives them no claim on the United States. On the contrary, they owe the Northern Government a debt of gratitude for favours conferred.” The negroes would feel particularly grateful to the Northern Government if it would confer no more of its favours, seeing that they lead to starvation and death.

There has been a negro riot at Hamburg, Pennsylvania, or rather an anti-negro riot. There was a dispute between some slaves and a negro who kept a drinking store. The negro complained, and some of the soldiers were arrested. Upon this the entire regiment turned out, completely gutted the negro’s house, and proceeding to the negro quarter of the town, damaged every building it contained.

General Milo L. Hascall is actively employed in putting down the press in the department of the Ohio. We noticed last week that he stopped one paper because the editor called him a donkey. The *New York Herald* says, that Hascall has suppressed another journal, “because the printer had commenced his name with an R, instead of an H, which was only a typographical error.” It was rather an unpleasant error. The *Herald* says, General Hascall “wrote a letter recently, in which he expressed regret that his power did not extend to this city, in order that he might be able to suppress the journals of New York.” Let him not be impatient. The last remnants of liberty are fast being swept away in the United States.

The Federal Colonel Jones made a raid from Newbern, attacked the Confederates at Gum Swamp, took some prisoners, was followed by the Confederates in his retreat, attacked in his lines, and killed behind his breastworks. How many other Federals were killed is not stated.

Amongst items of Northern news we may mention that the Federal Government is in some difficulty with regard to the exchange of prisoners, because the South has taken nearly double as many as the North. The “Halleck” captures do not count.

Summary execution is now the substitute in the North for law and justice. “A prisoner at the Old Capitol Prison, Washington, has been shot dead while looking out of window by the guard on duty. This prisoner was charged with having furnished military appliances to the Confederates at Richmond. He is said to have been a British subject.” If the victim is a British subject, this deed will be very popular. The execution of fifty British subjects without process of law will not disturb the harmony between Earl Russell and Mr. Seward. Our Foreign Secretary will liberally construe the law in favour of the North, and in case of need Mr. Seward will apologize.

It is reported that General Butler is to succeed General Burnside in the command of the department of the Ohio. He is peculiarly fitted for the office of reducing the citizens of that department to obedience. He will, no doubt, gain many victories over the women, and add to his New Orleans reputation. Besides keeping the men in order, he is to enforce the Conscription Act, and to organize negro levies.

The Suttlers of the Federal army are charged with supplying the Confederates with nearly a million dollars, worth of supplies. If they have had the opportunity, no doubt they have done so.

A good judgment of the legal effectiveness of the Federal blockade may be formed from an official statement that “the length of coast blockaded by the Federal squadrons from Alexandria, Virginia, to the Rio Grande, is 3,500 miles. There are 189 openings in this line of coast.”



A Federal schooner that ran aground at the mouth of the Neuse River was captured and burnt by the Confederates, and her crew taken prisoners.

A great peace meeting was called in New York for the 3rd inst.

Gold in New York on the 30th of May was at 45 per cent. premium.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

(Per North American.)

NEW YORK, May 30, Evening.

Nothing decisive has been yet received from Vicksburg. The New York Democratic Committee has passed resolutions against any negotiations for peace by the Administration, except upon the basis of the preservation of the Union and the Constitution.

June 1.

Advices from Vicksburg are to the 27th of May. The Federals had been repulsed in three assaults. The last assault was made by General Sherman with 20,000 men, and he lost 600 killed and a large number wounded. The Federal outer lines were within 100 yards of the Confederate works.

The Confederate fortifications consist of a chain of forts 800 yards apart, connected by deep intrenchments, and extending several miles.

It is supposed that regular siege operations will be necessary to capture the city.

Apprehensions are entertained of an attack in General Grant's rear.

General Johnstone was reported to be in the neighbourhood of Jackson with 15,000 men, short of provisions.

Southern journals assert that two gunboats had been sunk at Vicksburg, and that General Banks had crossed the Mississippi at Bayou Sara, seven miles above Port Hudson.

Commodore Porter officially reports that he has destroyed the navy yards at Yazoo City, together with three powerful steamers, a formidable ram, all kinds of machinery, and property valued at \$2,000,000.

Despatches from Murfreesboro' state that the Confederate General Manaduke was reported to have captured Helena, Arkansas, and many negro soldiers, all of whom, together with their officers, he had hung. The public await further advices before crediting this report.

General Burnside has informed General Bragg that he should hang ten Confederate officers if the Confederates retaliated for the two whom General Burnside asserts were spies, tried and condemned in accordance with the usages of war.

Gold advanced to-day from 45 to 48 per cent. premium.

## SPECIAL DESPATCH TO SOUTHERN CLUB.

NEW YORK, May 30, 12, A.M.

All the assaults upon Vicksburg repulsed with fearful loss to the Federals. Grant is in need of reinforcements before renewing the attack.

It is rumoured that Banks is pouring in troops at Haines' Bluff and Warrenton to assist Grant. The Confederates are in fine spirits, and confident they can repulse all assaults by land or water. Gun and mortar-boats are continually bombarding, but without effect. It is rumoured that Grant had captured the outer works of Vicksburg, which is false. At the last accounts his army was entrenching itself, and building rifle pits. Federal losses thus far 15,000 men. Confederate loss small, owing to protection of their batteries. Johnston is in a strong position in Grant's rear, and rapidly receiving reinforcements. Beauregard has detached 20,000 men to aid in the assault upon Grant, which will probably be made by Johnston in a few days. A rumour has been in circulation that assaults had been made, and that a large portion of Grant's army had been captured, but not credited. Grant's supplies reach him from Yazoo.

There is nothing reliable known regarding the alleged contemplated invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, though our papers generally credit it.

The town of Austria, on Mississippi River, has been burnt by the Federals.

Rosecrantz's army is reported moving, and a battle is anticipated in ten days. Bragg has 45,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry to meet him.

An unknown steamer has been sunk by fire of the Federal fleet off Charleston, while running the blockade on the 20th May.

The Governor of Pennsylvania asks Government to protect his State against invasion. The Confederates refuse to receive Vallandigham unless he takes the oath of allegiance to the Confederate Government, which he declines. He will, therefore, be returned and liberated.

The Navy Department are sending vessels after the Alabama and Florida.

No change in war risks since the recent captures.

Middling cotton, 52 cents.

Gold, 45 per cent. premium.

Sterling, 57.

## ENGLAND.

There was again, last week, according to the returns of the Poor-law Board, a diminution, though a trifling one, in the pauperism of the manufacturing districts. The reduction is under 1800, and is made up, for the most part, of very small items from fourteen out of twenty-one unions. The whole reduction in the number of paupers, since the tide began to turn, amounts to 109,000. We fear, however, that there has been no corresponding reduction, as we have before said, in the number of persons out of employment and virtually dependent on alms.

The Bill empowering Government to provide, by loans of public money, means for the employment of these people on public works in Lancashire and Cheshire has been brought in and read a first time; and we trust that before very long it will be in active operation.

Meanwhile, there is one class of sufferers by the cotton famine whose condition ought not to be forgotten. A very considerable proportion of the lower section of the middle class of Lancashire, especially in the towns,

were directly or indirectly dependent on the cotton trade, and are now deprived of their subsistence, never having had any capital, or having been forced to consume all they had. There were a multitude of small manufacturers, men owning their twenty, fifty, or a hundred looms, hiring a shed and "power"—that is to say, the use of a steam-engine—to work them and providing their materials on credit or with borrowed capital. These men are ruined, and hardly know how to find bread. There were the smaller agents, who provided these manufacturers with capital, and lived on their businesses. These agents are involved. There were the dealers in cotton waste, and a multitude of similar traders, in a small way, dependent on the cotton manufacture, and serving it in one way or another. These men are deprived of their business and of their livelihood. Then there was the whole multitude of small tradesmen, who lived by supplying the wants of a class which earned high wages and spent them freely. These gave credit and took it; they had not much capital, but they drove a good trade, and they paid high rents. Their customers are gone; their credit is at an end; their capital is either consumed, or locked up in advances to insolvent debtors; they cannot meet their engagements; they cannot pay their rents; they can scarcely even meet the rates imposed upon them by the necessities of their neighbours: some of them are already beggars—all of them are on the verge of beggary. These men are almost more to be pitied than the operatives themselves. They are less fitted to contend with privation, and they have lost more, for they had more to lose. For them prosperity will return in vain if she do not return at once. And we do not see what they can do for themselves, or what the country can be asked to do for them.

Much attention has been excited by the memorandum recently issued by the Commander-in-Chief, in regard to the case of Sergeant-Major Lilley, of the 6th Dragoons, now quartered in India, under command of Colonel Crawley. Before the appointment of that officer to the command, the regiment was in a thoroughly satisfactory state of discipline. Colonel Crawley involved himself in numerous quarrels with his officers, and in particular with Paymaster Smales, whom he brought to a Court-martial. Upon that Court-martial a question was raised touching the frequent absence of the Colonel from regimental parades. Colonel Crawley learned that three Sergeant-Majors of the regiment were likely to give evidence very unfavourable to him upon this point. He sent for them, cross-examined them severely in the presence of his friends, and ordered them into arrest on a charge of conspiracy. He forwarded such a report to his superior officer, that the latter directed the prisoners to be kept under close arrest—that is, confinement to their quarters with a sentry at their door, which, in India, is a sentence of barbarous cruelty. This punishment, be it observed, was inflicted without trial or inquiry. But it was not sufficient to gratify the vindictive passions of Colonel Crawley, who gave orders that the sentry should stand not outside, but inside Lilley's door. He was reminded that Sergeant-Major Lilley was a married man, and he replied that he did not care, and repeated his order. Mrs. Lilley was in delicate health. Her husband was seized with apoplexy, and then the sentinel was removed from inside his room—but the Colonel's vengeance was satisfied, and his victim died, followed a few days afterwards by his unhappy wife. This achieved, the Colonel tried to shift the blame from himself to the officer who had received, protested against, and finally obeyed his order; and the General commanding the division appears to have taken his part, rebuking the officer, who tried to clear himself by stating the facts of the case, for insubordination. The Duke of Cambridge, as Commander-in-Chief, has issued a memorandum censuring Colonel Crawley in strong terms, but allowing him to remain in command of his regiment. The matter has been taken up in the House of Commons, but without effect. It appears that Col. Crawley, having contrived to obtain the sanction of his superior officer, cannot be punished for the death of Lilley by any military law. It does seem, however, that he has been guilty of conduct for which a Court-martial might certainly award fitting punishment, and for which he cannot plead the sanction of his superiors. As to the more heinous crime with which he stands charged, Colonel Crawley might safely be left to the civil law.

Mr. Gregory's motion for the opening of the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens on Sundays, though it was defeated, gave warning of future success in that direction. The Sabbatarians in general were silent, feeling that by speaking they would run the risk of defeat; those who spoke against the motion opposed it avowedly on no other ground than that the Scotch generally would not like it; and Lord Palmerston, who closed the debate,

took care to guard against any suspicion that he himself shared the bigotry which he undertook to shelter from so rude an assault. The defeat of the motion by only sixteen in a House of two hundred and thirty foreshadows coming victory.

Poland has again engaged the attention of the House of Lords. The Earl of Ellenborough undertook the easy task of showing that Poland had been ill-treated, and deserved to be helped; Lord Russell had the harder duty of at once expressing warm sympathy for her sufferings, and pointing out the utter impracticability of all schemes suggested for her relief. His speech was sensible, if somewhat evasive; but it was by no means reassuring on the all-important point. It did not declare that he had never entertained, or that he had ceased to entertain, the absurd notion of proposing an armistice between insurrectionary bands of guerillas, without a Government and without any recognised status as belligerents, and the armies of him whom Europe treats as their sovereign.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with his Royal bride, has made two public appearances this week; on Friday at Eton College, to the great satisfaction of the boys, who are as enthusiastic in their loyalty as becomes the ancient and aristocratic character of the school; and on Monday at the Guildhall, to the equal delectation of a vast assemblage of citizens and guests of the City.

The Hall had been decorated for the occasion with more than usual felicity and good taste, and the entertainment was a decided success. The absence of several of the chief officers of State, who had been invited, was much remarked upon, but it was due probably to the business which required their attendance in Parliament.

## EUROPE.

At last we have some definite and precise information as to the position of the negotiations on the Polish question. Earl Russell explained to the House of Lords on Monday that no communication had yet been made by the allies to St. Petersburg, but that England and France had agreed upon certain propositions, which they had submitted to Austria for her assent. There the matter at present rests. The Austrian Government has not yet given its decision, but Lord Russell's language suggests that Austria will propose some modification of the scheme, and we may therefore assume that some days will yet elapse before the allied demands are despatched. The character of the proposition to which England and France have agreed is, probably, nearly identical with that which rumour has assigned. Earl Russell, by vindicating the plan of an armistice against the criticism of Lord Ellenborough, admitted that it formed part of his scheme; whilst his declaration, that the English Government takes its stand upon the treaties of 1815, and his emphatic repudiation of war on behalf of Poland point to a scheme which refers to Congress Poland only, and asks for it only the privileges accorded by the Treaty of Vienna. Those privileges will not satisfy the Poles. If Russia could be induced to grant, they will not be persuaded to accept such a settlement.—We have an indication of the *minimum* of concession with which Poland will be content in the letter of Archbishop Felinski to the Czar, written so far back as the 15th March. The Archbishop, who has been suspected by his countrymen of sympathies for Russian rule, tells the Czar plainly that the institutions granted by his Majesty are insufficient to assure the happiness of the country. Poland will not be content with an administrative autonomy, she has need of a political life. "Sire," he proceeds, "take with a strong hand the initiative in the Polish question; make Poland an independent nation, united to Russia only by the bond of your august dynasty. It is the only solution which can stay the effusion of blood and afford a solid basis for a definitive pacification." The Archbishop has assuredly asked here as little as he possibly could if he wished to maintain his position amongst his countrymen. They will have an independent Poland, or they will fall back again beneath Russian absolutism. It is not for us to condemn their determination, although it is one which makes it impossible that Europe can help them, and is, in fact, political suicide.

The Turkish despatch to St. Petersburg, on behalf of Poland, has been published. It is very apologetic in its tone. The Porte admits that it has no right to interfere, but the indefinite prolongation of the actual agitation in Poland exercises a pernicious influence on some of its provinces, and this consideration compels it to join in the desires expressed for the restoration of peace. It will not presume to indicate any measures by which that result can be effected. It relies upon the wisdom of the Czar.



Mr. Seward has pronounced upon the Polish question. Invited by France to give its co-operation to the appeals made on behalf of Poland, the American Government, flattered by the proposition, finds an insurmountable difficulty in its way. Mr. Seward goes back to the foundation of the Republic, and traces the development of the doctrine of non-intervention, "which has become a traditional policy, only to be abandoned on a pressing occasion of manifest necessity"—we translate a French translation—and, therefore, the Polish question, presenting no urgent character—that is the argument implied, although not expressed—the American Government cannot associate itself with the Governments of Europe. We must do Mr. Seward justice, it is partly out of regard for the feelings and rights of the South that he adheres, in this case, to the doctrine of non-intervention. "It would be," he says, "still less expedient to derogate from it, when a local rising, although, as we hope, transitory, deprives our Government of the advice of a part of the American people, for whom a so-grave derogation from its adopted policy would be far from indifferent." However, Mr. Seward is easy about Poland: he has entire faith in the Emperor, "who will receive the appeal of Europe with all the good-will compatible with the general welfare of the vast States, which he governs with so much wisdom and moderation." Prince Gortschakoff has not delayed an instant in expressing his great satisfaction with Mr. Seward. He is delighted to find the policy and intentions of the Emperor so well appreciated by the American people, and he expresses his warm hopes for the pacification of America.

We might almost leave the line stereotyped, "The war news from Poland is this week as contradictory and confusing as ever." There have been many telegraphic reports of engagements, principally in the Government of Kalisch on the frontier of Posen, and in parts of Lithuania. The general impression which they leave, however, is that the Russians are gaining the upper hand, Upon the Austrian and Prussian frontiers they have, indeed, very great difficulties, but in other parts of the kingdom, and even in Lithuania, every band which attempts anything more than its own maintenance, seems to experience defeat. It is quite true that the dispersed patriots unite again, but they nowhere seem to make any head. The grand uprising in Lithuania and the South of Russia was a failure. There are bands of insurgents scattered over these vast provinces, but they are condemned to think entirely of their own safety. So far to the East, indeed, as the provinces on the banks of the Volga, there have been, as the Russian papers state, persons arrested distributing revolutionary manifestoes, but any discontent upon which the authors of those manifestoes may have calculated, can have nothing to do with Poland. A very instructive account given in a letter, published in a German journal with strong sympathies for Poland, of the fate of the movement in the Governments of Mohilew and Witebsk, in which it will be remembered the Polish accounts have represented the insurrection as general, will show what has been its fate in other parts of Lithuania, from which we have not such candid reports.—The insurrection broke out on the 23rd of April; the measures of the movers were well taken; they had plenty of arms, their forces consisted principally of students at the University of Moscow and the higher schools, and of the nobility. At first all went well; they obliged the troops, in the first few engagements they had with them, to lay down their arms, but the Government sent instructions through the Popes—the Greek priests—to the peasants to seize the nobles and proprietors, and deliver them, chained, offering a reward of three roubles ahead. The peasants at once assembled, and set to work to execute these instructions. In a few days not a single proprietor or his manager remained in the country. Those the peasants did not take, fled. And the insurgents, after two or three encounters with the peasants, fled too. The story comes from a Polish source; we do not guarantee its correctness, but it has an air of verisimilitude.

The Russian Government has apparently convinced itself that its Polish functionaries have been playing it false. It must be remembered that at the commencement of the year there were only eight Russians employed in the administration of Poland. It has arrested the Procurator-General Wolowski, and several more of the highest functionaries.

According to some reports, great agitation prevails in Finland; the students of Helsingfors and the municipalities of that and other cities have refused to sign addresses of devotion to the Emperor. According to other accounts, Finland is perfectly satisfied, and as eager for the suppression of the insurrection as the rest of the Empire. It appears certain, however, that the Russian Government is strengthening the fortifications

of the towns along the Gulf, not so much, probably, to resist a rising of the Fins as an invasion of the Swedes, prompted by France.

The new elections to the *Corps Legislatif*, rendered necessary by the failure of any one candidate to obtain an absolute majority, take place on Sunday and Monday next. It is supposed that in most cases they will result in the return of an Opposition candidate.

The Archbishop of Tours has replied to the circular of the Minister of Public Worship, rebuking the Bishops who published the advice to the electors, to which we referred last week, in a very trenchant letter, in which he treats the minister with very little ceremony.

To relieve the public anxiety which the prolonged resistance encountered at Puebla has occasioned, the *Moniteur* has published a statement to the effect that the troops were amply supplied with provisions, and has given a list of the stores with which they were equipped.

According to *La France*, large reinforcements are about to be despatched. The *Moniteur* has also announced that news had been received from Puebla to the 27th May, at which date the health of the army was excellent. There is evidently some error in the date. No news from Puebla to the 27th May could reach Paris by the 7th of June.

The new Prussian law, or rather ordinance against the press, has not been long in coming into operation. Six of the principal Berlin journals published a declaration to the effect that they deemed the decree unconstitutional, and what is more they proved it so. The answer of the Government came immediately in a first warning. The Municipalities are also to be gagged. That of Berlin had resolved upon an address to the King requesting a return to a constitutional state of things. Whereupon the Minister of the Interior issued an order to the Presidents of the Provinces, declaring all discussions by the municipalities upon political or constitutional questions in excess of their functions, and directing them to put a stop to such proceedings. Strictly speaking, this measure is perhaps legal. The only ray of hope for the peace of Prussia is to be found in the remarkable speech addressed by the Crown Prince to the Burgomaster of Dantzic, who, upon the occasion of the Prince's visit, had expressed his sorrow that circumstances would not permit any manifestation of public rejoicings. "I also," said the Prince, "regret that I have come here at a time when disagreement has taken place between the Government and the people, the news of which surprised me greatly. Being absent I was unaware of the ordinances which have brought about this position of affairs and took no part in the deliberations when they were resolved upon." The Prince could not well say more, and the confidence in the intentions of his father, by the expression of which he concluded his speech, was a remark due from him under the circumstances. Public feeling in Prussia is very excited, and if the Ministers go much further in their measures of repression, they may succeed in provoking the outburst which they are deliberately attempting, in the belief that it will give them the opportunity to make a clean sweep of the Constitution. It is more likely to make a clean sweep of them.

The Commission of the Diet charged to examine the Holstein question has made a report, in which it proposes the rejection of the proposition of Oldenberg—the restoration of the *status quo ante* 1848, and the repudiation of all the agreements and treaties of 1851-2—and the address, after a delay of a month, of a last invitation to Denmark to withdraw the patent of March, and to observe strictly the agreement of 1851, the invitation to be enforced by the menace of execution in case of refusal. In the present condition of Prussia and Europe these resolutions may, indeed, be adopted, but they will not be carried out.

Let us salute George the First, King of Greece. The protocol of the formal acceptance of the throne by the Prince was signed by the Ministers of France, Russia, Denmark and England, at the Foreign Office on Friday; and on Saturday the King of Denmark formally accepted the crown on behalf of the Prince from the Greek deputation. In announcing that acceptance, the King said he had stipulated for the annexation of the Ionian Islands, and it is probable, therefore, that much of the delay which has taken place in the settlement of the question has been caused by efforts to obtain the consent of the Great Powers to the transfer of the islands. The King gave the Prince some good advice. "Let it be your constant endeavour," he said, "to gain and preserve the love of your people; without boasting, I speak from experience when I say that in this consists the true happiness of a king." The deputation then had

an audience of the King, when Admiral Kanaris, the veteran of the War of Independence, said, "As for me, Sire, I have lived long enough, after having seen this day, to exclaim with Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'" And the Prince promised to keep in mind the words of the King of Denmark, "The love of the people is my strength." The King of Denmark gave the deputation a great banquet. According to one account, the new King is to start for his kingdom at the end of the month. According to another story, which we do not, of course, believe, but give as a sample of the gossip which is always flying about in French newspapers, the young King will stay another year in Denmark to finish his studies, will marry the third daughter of the Queen of England at the end of next May, and start on the 1st of June, 1864, for Greece. What is to become of Greece in the meanwhile?

A few weeks since Cardinal Antonelli resigned in consequence of the arrest by the Papal police of a certain Chevalier Fausti, a member of his household. Fausti has just been found guilty, after a long trial, of complicity with the proceedings of the National Revolutionary Committee, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

The *Diario* of Havannah announces the arrival of the French steamer *Daria* with despatches from General Forey to the Emperor Napoleon, announcing the capture of Puebla on the 17th of May, and the unconditional surrender of General Ortega and the garrison.

General Forey is said to have captured the Mexican commander-in-chief, 23 generals, 900 officers, and 7,000 privates.

One division of the French army had started for Mexico.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

### THURSDAY, MAY 28.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The report of Committee of Supply was brought up. Mr. Walpole rose to move the omission of the words prohibiting the application of any part of the sums voted for the packet service to the satisfaction of the claims of Mr. Churchward, contractor for the packet service between Dover and Calais and Dover and Ostend. He objected that the form of this vote was altogether unusual. Questions of policy and grievances are discussed on the motion to go into Committee of Supply. The sole business of the Committee is to fix the sums which shall be given to the crown for the service of the year.—Mr. Gladstone said that the House ought to consider principles rather than usage; and that Mr. Walpole's strict adhesion to precedent savoured of political superstition. He remarked that Mr. Churchward's contract had been made on condition that Parliament should vote the money; and that if Parliament did not vote the money, no wrong would be done to Mr. Churchward. After an animated discussion the House divided on the question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Ayes 205; Noes 191. Government majority, 14. The effect of the vote is to deprive Mr. Churchward of his remedy at law.

Mr. Gladstone then moved and carried his proposal to tax all railway traffic at 3½ per cent. instead of taxing at 5 per cent., and excepting trains running at the lowest class of fares.

### FRIDAY, MAY 29.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply. Mr. Gregory reviewed at some length the present condition of Turkey and her dependencies, and the policy adopted by her Majesty's Ministers in upholding an empire that was in the last stage of decrepitude and decay. Constantly recurring insurrections on the one hand and threatened massacres on the other were but the premonitory symptoms of an impending dissolution; and in anticipation of that event speedily and inevitably taking place, he urged upon Ministers the duty of following such a course with regard to Turkey as would render the break up as innocuous as possible, so that England would not be found fighting in behalf of Mohammedan barbarism as it is against Christian civilization as it might be. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving for papers.—A long discussion followed.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the whole hope of attaining really satisfactory results with a view to European, Christian, or any other human interest in the East, must depend in a principal degree on the existence of a thoroughly good understanding between England and France; and it would be the duty of Her Majesty's Government by every endeavour in their power to uphold the civil and political privileges of the Christian, whilst not forgetting the Mussulman subjects of the Ottoman Empire, at the same time that they were loyal to their treaty engagements with the Porte. He should not be sorry if the declarations made in the course of the present debate had the effect of proving that, whatever had been said by British Ministers to the Porte upon the subject was but the faithful expression of the feelings which were entertained by the House of Commons, and the people they represented.—After some remarks from Mr. Darby Griffith, the motion was withdrawn.

### MONDAY, JUNE 1.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lords met for the first time after the Whitsuntide recess. Lord Brougham inquired whether the Government intended to legislate for the protection of life from railway accidents by reducing the maximum speed of trains?—Lord Granville replied in the negative.

In reply to a question from the Earl of Derby with reference to the late "extraordinary conduct of the British Minister to Brazil,"—Earl Russell said the papers would be laid upon the table immediately.

Lord Ebury moved an address to the Crown, praying for the appointment of a commission to consider what steps should be taken to obviate the evils complained of arising from the present compulsory and indiscriminate use of the burial service of the Church of England.—The Archbishop of Canterbury could not agree to a course, which, in his opinion, would afford an opening for a wide and extensive revision of the



Liturgy. At the same time, he thought there were portions of the burial service which were open to exception. He did not see why a clergyman should be exposed to penalties for conscientiously objecting to read the burial service over the body of a person who had died in the open avowal of disbelief in the truths of Christianity. For his own part, nothing would induce him to comply in such a case, and he would prefer incurring the risk of any proceedings that might be taken against him.—After some discussion the motion was withdrawn.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 1.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to a question from Lord J. Manners, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that an arrangement had been come to (subject to the approval of Parliament) for the purchase of the interest of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 in the site of the present building for £120,000, and for the purchase of the building itself (less the annexes) for £80,000.

In answer to a question from Mr. Hopwood, Sir R. Peel said there was reason to believe that a great many young men in Ireland had been induced by their friends in the Federal States, at the instance of the Federal Government, to take passage for America, with the intention of enlisting in the army. The Government of her Majesty were making inquiries, and would do all in their power to put an end to the practice.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. John Abel Smith called the attention of the Under-Secretary for War and of the House to the report of the Patriotic Fund, and the causes of the resignation of the majority of the members of the ladies' committee of the Royal Victoria Patriotic Asylum; also to the circumstance that one girl had been burned to death while undergoing a sentence of solitary confinement, that another of sixteen had been flogged in the establishment, and that the act had been condoned by the executive committee.—The Marquis of Hartington having, on the part of the War-office, repudiated all control over the institution in question,—Sir J. Pakington (one of the royal commissioners, and a member of the executive committee of the "Asylum") offered some explanations, in the course of which he said that the majority of the ladies' committee had resigned because the executive committee refused to dismiss the lady superintendent and the chaplain. A resolution was, however, passed by the committee to the effect that they disapproved and regretted the conduct of the lady superintendent and the chaplain. They also disapproved the whipping of the girl, and had taken steps to prevent the recurrence of such a punishment.

After the Speaker resumed the chair, a Bill for the enforcement of the Treaty in reference to the Slave Trade recently concluded with the United States was read a second time; Lord Palmerston complimenting the Federal Government on the "honourable and liberal" manner in which it had conducted the negotiation.

The House soon afterwards adjourned, at twenty minutes to two.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 2.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Whalley moved that the House should go into Committee to consider the Act by which the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth receives a grant from the Consolidated Fund, with a view to its repeal. After a short discussion the motion was negatived—100 to 198.

#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Somes moved the second reading of his Bill for the suppression of the sale of intoxicating drinks on Sundays, by closing public-houses during the whole of that day. The Bill was supported by Mr. Pease, Mr. Baines, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Lawson, (teetotaler), Sir Hugh Cairns, and some other gentlemen, chiefly on Sabbatarian grounds.—Sir George Grey, and a number of other gentlemen opposed it, on the ground that it would cause great irritation, and inflict great inconvenience on the working classes.—Mr. Wykeham Martin quoted from the letter of a clergyman the very sensible remark, that "public-houses are the cellars of the poor," who cannot keep beer or other liquors in a wholesome state at home. On a division the Bill was lost by an immense majority.—Ayes 103; noes 278.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 4.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of interest was done.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 4.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Crawford asked whether any compensation had been demanded for the capture of the schooner *Will-o'-the-Wisp*, seized by Federal cruisers in Mexican waters, and released by the Prize Court at Key West.—Mr. Layard said that there was no proof that the vessel was seized in Mexican waters. The Government of the United States had declined to give compensation, pointing out that, from the refusal of the Court at Key West to do so, an appeal lay to the Supreme Court.—Mr. Crawford said the vessel was released as having been seized in Mexican waters.—Mr. Layard understood that she had been released because, having been charged with having on board munitions of war, the gunpowder which she carried was not under the special circumstances of the case held to come under that category.

Mr. Tollemache complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared that the Holyhead Harbour Committee was so unfairly constituted that the Government could pay no respect to any conclusions at which it might arrive. He requested the right hon. gentleman to move that he (Mr. Tollemache) be discharged from the Committee, and promised to second the motion.—Colonel Pennant followed with a similar complaint.—Mr. Gladstone said that he had meant nothing personally discourteous towards the members of the Committee, but that he did not think it fairly constituted.—Mr. H. Herbert said that in that case the Government ought to have proposed a different Committee, instead of agreeing to that proposed, and then using insulting language in regard to its constitution.—Mr. Gladstone complained of the word "insulting."—Mr. Herbert offered to quote the words, but the Speaker ruled that this could not be done.—Mr. Gladstone declared that he had no intention of giving offence or pain to any one.—Colonel French vindicated the Committee.—Mr. Disraeli said that, if Government did not approve the names proposed, they ought to have suggested others.—Mr. Hennessey said that the Committee having been appointed by the House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was precluded by the rules from impugning the decision of the House without moving to rescind it.—Mr. Bright said that the warmth displayed seemed to indicate that the Committee was not fairly constituted. He had often heard the fairness of Committees appointed by Government called in question.—Lord John Manners said that this was done when attempts were made to

obtain a differently constituted Committee; but no such attempt had been made in this case.—The Speaker here interposed, and finally succeeded in closing the discussion.

On the order for going into Committee on the Volunteers' Bill, Mr. Bagwell complained that Ireland was excluded from the provisions. He moved an amendment, permitting the formation of Volunteer Corps in Ireland.—Major Knox expressed doubts of the loyalty of the Irish Catholics, for which he was rebuked by Sir De Lacy Evans.—The Marquis of Hartington (Under-Secretary of War) said that Government did not distrust the loyalty of the Irish, but were afraid that the bitterness of their religious animosities would render them too likely to turn their arms against each other.—Colonel French declared that the Government might rely on the loyalty and discretion of the Irish.—Lord Palmerston replied that he did not doubt the loyalty of the Irish, and had only too lively a faith in their pugnacity. He thought that they might use the arms intrusted to them for purposes for which they were not intended, and therefore he should oppose the amendment. After some further debate the amendment was negatived, and the House went into Committee. After a searching examination of its clauses, the Bill passed through Committee. The House resumed, and went into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates. Several votes were passed; some further business was transacted, and the House adjourned at twenty minutes to two.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of interest was transacted.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 5.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Several questions were asked in regard to the Ionian Islands, extracting from Lord Palmerston no important information.

A debate took place on a motion of Mr. Baillie Coclaine for the appointment of a permanent Commissioner of Public Works, which was resisted by the Government and eventually withdrawn.

Mr. Fortescue called attention to the case of Sergeant Major Lilley, confined in his quarters in India, as were two other sergeant majors of the 6th Dragoons, by order of Colonel Crawley, on a charge of conspiracy in regard to evidence to be given at a Court-martial then pending. Those three men were confined in close arrest for several weeks, although such arrest was never resorted to except in very extreme and exceptional cases, and although the Articles of War expressly provided that no man should be kept in confinement for more than eight days without the sanction of a court-martial. The result was that one of them was transferred to a hospital a raving maniac, and that another of them, namely, Sergeant Major Lilley, was taken ill after four weeks' confinement, and that he died in the course of a few hours. After a *post-mortem* examination, the surgeon by whom he had been attended declared that his death had been produced by apoplexy, induced by a sedentary position, and by the peculiar and painful circumstances in which he was placed. It was no wonder that the surgeon should have described these circumstances as "peculiar." The man was confined to a single room in a bomb-proof building, and which was more like an oven than a human habitation. That room was shared by him and his wife. Outside of it a sentry was at first placed; but when Colonel Crawley discovered that she had held some communication with a visitor, he ordered, with an inhumanity which could hardly be credited, that the sentry should remain inside the building; and in his presence the poor woman, who was dying at the time, had to perform all the functions of nature. He (Mr. Fortescue) understood that Colonel Crawley pleaded ignorance of the latter circumstance; but it was shown upon evidence that it had been distinctly brought under his notice, and that he then used language which he (Mr. Fortescue) would not attempt to repeat. An endeavour had been made by Colonel Crawley to show that the death of Sergeant Major Lilley had resulted from the excessive use of intoxicating drinks; and Sir Hugh Rose had been led to believe in the truth of that statement, and had given it general currency in his remarks on the subsequent court-martial. Colonel Crawley relied for the truth of that allegation on the fact that large quantities of wine and spirits had been sent to the room in which Lilley was confined. But it was clearly proved by incontestable evidence that the wine and spirits were ordered by her medical adviser for the use of Mrs. Lilley, who was dying of consumption. He trusted that, though it was too late for reparation, it was not too late for punishment.—Mr. Coningham supported Mr. Fortescue.—The Marquis of Hartington pointed out that, as Colonel Crawley had taken the pleasure and obeyed the orders of his superior officers, it was not possible to punish him for what has taken place. A pension would be given to Sergeant Major Lilley's relatives.—Mr. Alderman Sidney expressed his dissatisfaction with this explanation.—Colonel Barttelot, observing that the speech of Lord Hartington would be read in India with some regret, said Colonel Crawley was anxious and willing to meet the charges against him in every particular. There were many circumstances connected with the court-martial which were not known, and Colonel Crawley should not be condemned unheard.—Mr. Sergeant Pigott regretted that Colonel Barttelot, in alleging that Colonel Crawley was not to blame, had not told the House who was to blame for acts that were not denied. He hoped there would be an inquiry, and that whoever was to blame would not escape punishment.

After a few remarks by Captain Archdall and Mr. Headlam, the discussion terminated, and the House went into a Committee of Supply upon the remaining Civil Service Estimates. Several votes were passed. The remaining orders were disposed of, and the House was counted out at half-past two.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 8.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Ellenborough, in asking whether the progress of the negotiations with respect to Poland was such as to afford the prospect of a satisfactory settlement, observed that he did not think the question was in any sense premature, seeing that the revolution which the Emperor of Russia had ordered to be put down in ten days had now lasted four months, and whilst diplomacy was busy Poland was the scene of a most cruel and frightful war. This result had been brewing for the last thirty years; for the Poles had not only been deprived of their rights, but so oppressed as to be driven into rebellion. In 1815 diplomatists had a very different state of things to deal with. Russia had then just performed great services to Europe, and her influence might be said to be paramount. Now, however, that influence and the dread of Russian designs upon Western civilization had been dissipated; and further than that, it was not desirable to lower her legitimate position. It was as the friend of Russia, then, quite as much as the friend of Poland, that he hoped the present state of things would be put an end to, and that the question would be arranged by restoring to Poland a constitutional government. To effect this perfect confidence must be brought

about between the Poles and their foreign despotic ruler; but hitherto there had been no attempt to do that; on the contrary, we had seen only a series of the most violent acts of despotism perpetrated. He hoped, however, that it was not utterly impossible to establish that confidence and obtain guarantees for the good government of Poland. But there was only one course by which to effect this twofold object, and he trusted that Russia would return to a wiser policy, and offer to create a kingdom of Poland under the sceptre of one of the members of the Imperial family. He understood that her Majesty's Ministers, in concert with France and Austria, were urging an armistice; but an armistice was totally incompatible with the existing state of things; and if the Poles laid down their arms, how were they to resume them, supposing they were not satisfied with the arrangements of the diplomatists? for diplomacy had little weight unless there was strength to back it. His advice to the Poles, therefore, was that they should persevere, and not abandon their arms. They had risen in despair, and if they persevered they would either effect their object or earn the respect of the civilized world.—Earl Russell said it was hardly consistent with his position to enter into the details of the question put to him by the noble earl. The Russian Government had replied to the notes of the Three Powers at great length, especially to that of Great Britain, and alleged that as the Powers had offered no suggestion Russia was placed in an unsatisfactory position. Consequent upon this the English and French Governments had decided upon offering a suggestion, which they communicated to the Austrian Government on Saturday last, and a reply was expected from Vienna on Wednesday. This being the case it was not expedient for him to enter further into the nature of the agreement which the French and English Governments had arrived at. With regard to restoring the kingdom of Poland, the difficulties in the way of accomplishing that object were such as in 1815 to completely baffle all the efforts of Lord Castlereagh. No doubt an armistice could not be easily carried out; but humanity and policy alike dictated that the ruthless and terrible war now raging in Poland should be speedily put an end to, for it would be impossible for diplomacy to do anything so long as the country was the scene of such a struggle. He believed, indeed, that an armistice must be the first step to any useful or satisfactory negotiations, and the noble earl should remember that England was a party to the Treaty of Vienna, and was bound, therefore, to propose those terms only that were in accordance with that treaty. It was not her duty by herself to propose the restoration of the kingdom of Poland, but to endeavour to obtain the concurrence of the other Powers as to the best settlement that they could mutually devise. Under these circumstances he entreated the forbearance of their lordships until the result of the step which had just been taken was known, lest a question already surrounded with difficulties might be still further complicated.—The debate was continued by the Duke of Rutland, Lord Brougham, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and Lord Denman.—Earl Grey said that in his opinion any diplomatic interference, if it were understood that it would not be followed up by force, would only aggravate the evils that prevailed, and as intervention by arms was not contemplated, the less they interfered with advice the better. The subject then dropped.

The Duke of Somerset moved the second reading of the Prisons Ministers Bill, which was opposed by Lord Berners.—Lord Derby said his opinion of the policy and justice of the Bill was so strong, that however much he lamented to differ from many of his friends, he felt bound to give a vote in its favour. Having appealed to the life-long support he had given to the Established Church as a proof that he would not consent to any measure mischievous to its interest, he denied that the Bill was the commencement of placing the Roman Catholic Church on an equality with the national Establishment, or of endowing the Church of Rome in this country. The state of the law was unjust to Roman Catholic prisoners, and was only rendered not intolerable by the good sense of the magistrates, who *proprio motu* allowed prisoners to send for ministers of their own persuasion. Considering, however, the previous lives of prisoners they were not likely to avail themselves of this permission; and the natural consequence was, that Roman Catholic prisoners, unless they themselves sent for a priest, obtained no ministrations of any clergyman whatever. He could not for one moment admit a proposition of Lord Berners, that, because the teaching of Roman Catholicism was considered erroneous, therefore no Roman Catholic chaplain should be provided; because, whatever he might think of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, there was no doubt that the ministrations of that Church were alone acceptable to those who believed in it. He exposed the injustice of advocating the course that Roman Catholic priests, if allowed to attend their co-religionists, should do so without payment, and concluded by again referring to the sacrifice it cost him to differ from so many of his friends.—After some further debate, in which the Bill was opposed by the Bishop of London, the second reading was carried—content, 65; not content, 30. Their lordships adjourned at a quarter to nine.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 8.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Gregory moved a resolution that the Royal Botanical Gardens of Edinburgh should be open to the public after the hours of Divine service on Sundays, as is the case of other botanical gardens supported by Parliamentary grants. Among other arguments in support of the motion, he urged the success that had attended the experiment elsewhere. He mentioned facts which showed the manner in which signatures had been obtained to a petition against the proposal.—The Lord-Advocate opposed the motion, on the ground that there was no necessity for a measure that would give offence to a large portion of the community in Scotland. He pointed out distinctions between the cases of the Dublin and Edinburgh gardens.—Mr. Stirling supported the motion. He admitted that a large majority of the clergy of Scotland opposed the proposal, but he did not believe that they represented the intelligent opinion of the laity. He stated additional facts, showing the "scandalous" mode in which petitions were got up. The resolution was supported by Mr. G. Duff, and opposed by Mr. Black and Mr. Kinnaird.—Mr. Mure likewise opposed the motion, concurring with the Lord-Advocate that the great preponderance of public opinion in Scotland was against the measure, and that there was no necessity for it.—Major Hamilton testified that the feeling of the people of Edinburgh, high and low, was against the opening of the gardens on Sundays.—After some observations by Mr. Scully, Lord Palmerston said, although he could see no harm, but good, in the measure proposed by Mr. Gregory, there was another consideration which ought to guide the House—namely, the religious, sincere, and honest feeling of the people of Scotland, to which they ought not, he thought, to do violence without very powerful reasons. Now, the feeling of the people of Scotland was said to be against the opening of the gardens on



Sundays, and the Lord-Advocate had shown that there was no necessity for the measure.

Upon a division, the resolution was negatived by 123 to 107.

The House then went into Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, and was counted out at about a quarter past eight.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 9.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Carnarvon moved the second reading of the Bill, sent up from the Commons, for flogging persons guilty of robbery with violence. He pointed out that whipping had proved an effectual cure for crimes of other descriptions, and expressed a strong conviction that it would prove equally salutary to the garrotter.—Lord Cranworth vehemently opposed the Bill, which he stigmatized as a return to the barbarous usages of former times. He thought that no judge would pass sentence under this law.—Lord Wodehouse defended the measure.—Lord Granville opposed it strongly; but, seeing that the opposition benches were crowded, he recommended that it should be read a second time without a division, which was done. The House soon afterwards adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 9.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Clarence Paget, in reply to an inquiry from Mr. Addington, stated the circumstances under which a French vessel had been detained by her Majesty's ship Zebra, off the Congo, on the African coast, in the month of February last. It appeared that the detention was caused by the Frenchman, being in a suspicious position, refusing to display his colours when summoned to do so by the captain of the Zebra, and declining to produce his papers. The vessel was then sent under charge of an officer and crew to Sierra Leone for adjudication by the Admiralty Court, when the French consul produced her papers and apologised for the behaviour of his captain. No demand had been made for compensation for the capture and detention of the suspected slaver.

Mr. Buxton moved a resolution to the effect that, in the opinion of the House, the subscription required from the clergy to the Thirty-Nine Articles and to the Prayer-book ought to be relaxed. He argued that the subscription was unnecessary and mischievous, and that it did violence to the consciences of many scrupulous men. The question was one essentially for the laity (as represented by Parliament) to deal with, and it was their duty to relieve the clergy from what they felt to be a grievous burden, and to open the way to the Church of England for many who were now excluded.—Mr. Monckton Milnes moved an amendment to limit Mr. Buxton's resolution to the subject of subscription to the Prayer-book. In adopting this suggestion the House would not, he said, derogate from the integrity of the Church of England, or damage her power or influence, but would do a simple political right in expiation of a political wrong.—Sir George Grey saw many grave objections to adopting either the suggestion of Mr. Buxton or that of Mr. Milnes. He was not, however, prepared to say that the present law might not be amended without inflicting injury upon the interests of the Church of England. In his opinion the law was not satisfactory, because it imposed obligations upon clergymen which might be met by a simple declaration. No change ought, however, to be introduced without the most careful inquiry into the subscriptions now required, the object to be attained by a change, and the nature of the relaxation to be effected. Believing that both the motion and the amendment would only create uncertainty and unreasonable expectations with regard to the length to which Parliament might be disposed to go on this subject, he would suggest that the amendment should be withdrawn, in which case he would move "the previous question" to the original motion.—The amendment was withdrawn, and Sir George Grey moved "that that question (Mr. Buxton's) be now put." This is the means by which an inconvenient subject is shelved—the mover voting, of course, that the question be not put.—Mr. Newdegate expressed his regret that the Government had not taken a more decided course on this subject, for the motion of Mr. Buxton would, if adopted, give far greater latitude of teaching to the clergy. The subscription to which exceptions were taken were the security to the laity that when they went to church they should hear the doctrines of their Church faithfully expounded.—Mr. Walpole warned the House how it tampered with those safeguards under which the Church of England had grown up to be the most pure and tolerant establishment in the world.—Mr. Morrison supported, and Sir Stafford Northcote opposed, the motion.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer defended the retention of the subscriptions, which he said had grown up out of the real *bona fide* necessity of the Church from the time of the Reformation.—The debate was continued by Mr. Hadfield and Mr. Butler Johnstone, who supported the motion, and by Mr. Lefroy, who opposed it.—Mr. Henley would have been better satisfied if the Government had met the motion with a direct negative, because although the Chancellor of the Exchequer had eloquently argued against change, the public out of doors would gather from the speech of the Secretary of the Home Department that the Administration was not opposed to some alteration.—Mr. H. D. Seymour was of opinion that, in moderate times like these, it would be desirable to do away with tests which had been opposed in an epoch of great excitement. That such tests were not necessary was proved by the history of the Episcopal Church in America, where declarations were used in lieu of them.—Lord R. Cecil thought that the reason why young men were not entering the Church as heretofore was to be traced to causes far deeper than an objection to subscribe the Articles—namely, an objection to the Articles themselves. There could be no doubt but that there was an intellectual movement against the truths in which the Articles were enshrined, and that higher minds of the day were casting about for something to believe. He did not regard the subscription as an obstacle to Episcopal ordination, and therefore he would vote for its retention.—Mr. Disraeli said the Government, in moving the previous question, had consented to a course which conveyed an implied assent that there were grounds for the House to consider the desirability of making some alteration in the existing law. He disapproved of this attempt to tamper with the ancient documents of the Church. There was nothing in the constitution which could not be cancelled, at, questioned, and "improved;" but he feared that if these assaults were made upon the safeguard of the Church the result would be to sap the foundations of that edifice of public rights and liberties which had been built up with so much pains and consolidated at so much cost. If there was to be inquiry at all, the proper course would be to appoint a Royal Commission, who could submit the result of their deliberations to Convocation and ultimately to Parliament. For his own part, he preferred rather to stand upon the ancient landmarks of the Church than to lend himself to the new and dangerous philosophy indicated by the motion of Mr. Buxton.

After a few remarks from Sir G. Bowyer, the House resolved "that the question be not now put."

A short discussion subsequently took place on the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, after which the House adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Ward Hunt moved the second reading of a Bill to prevent the withdrawal of election petitions without cause shown; which, after some debate, was agreed to. No other business of interest was discussed.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

##### LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 10.

Our market, during the last week, has been quite devoid of animation, and the tendency has been towards lower prices.

On Thursday the sales reached 5,000 bales, and on Friday 4,000; a very heavy import had again swelled our stock to 370,000 bales, and prices were rather easier.

On Saturday the business again reached 4,000 bales without material change.

On Monday a like amount was again sold at rather lower prices.

Yesterday business was almost at a stand-still, the sales only reaching 2,000 bales, with a very desponding tone in the market.

To-day 5,000 bales have been sold at the low prices of yesterday.

We quote Middling Orleans 22½d., Fair Egyptian 21d., Fair Dhollerah 18d., and Fair Sawginned Dharwar 19d.

The main cause of the depression at present existing in our market is the uncertainty regarding the issue of the struggle now going on in the West, and the fear that Vicksburg may fall and cotton be lost in quantity.

The last accounts, however, read more favourable to the Confederate cause; the garrison at Vicksburg had severely repulsed the attacking force, and appeared in a position to hold their ground till reinforcements should arrive.

##### MANCHESTER, Tuesday, June 9.

The amount of business effected in this market during the past week has been on the most limited scale, owing to the suspense which has taken hold of people's minds with reference to the ability of the Confederates to hold Vicksburg against General Grant's attacking forces, and various are the surmises as to the effect on this market, in case the Federals should carry their point in that quarter, there being a general impression here that a considerable quantity of cotton would be brought to New Orleans for shipment to Europe, through the Mississippi being open to the Federals for a time, but whether there are to be 100,000 bales or 1,000,000, no one can tell, all sorts of guesses being prevalent. Besides this, there is another matter which has affected our market very materially, and that is the large imports of cotton into Liverpool from all parts during the past week, amounting to about 80,000 bales.

The latest news from Vicksburg, per the America, via Cape Race, stating that the Federals were entrenching themselves, does not look very like the Federals taking Vicksburg, and in case they are driven back, we shall have a re-action in the state of feeling here, and a better business doing, but meantime, we must await further intelligence from the other side of the Atlantic.

Grey cloths have been very quiet all the week, but prices remain very steady, there being no stocks held, and manufacturers generally being well in order, with contracts taken some four or five weeks back.

Continental shipping yarns are quiet, but prices are firm, with no disposition shown to give way at all in value.

India mules and home trade yarns are the weakest, and to-day they might have been obtained at ½d. per lb. reduction on last week's quotations.

Pending the next steamer's news our market is almost stagnant.

#### THE GULF DEPARTMENT.

(From our own Correspondent.)

##### NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, May 12.

We left Banks's army at Alexandria in quiet occupation, i.e., the occupation of collecting cotton. The arrival of Farragut here led us to believe that, so far as operations were concerned at and near Alexandria, all was finished for the present, and that there would be no effort made to extend the Federal lines north or west of that point. We naturally look next to Port Hudson. We have not heard from Banks for four days, but I shall be much mistaken if he has not come down Red River with the larger part of his men on transports, and there is scarcely a doubt but that he will land at Bayou Sara to-night or to-morrow. It is but a short distance above Port Hudson. Dudley, with 4,000 or 5,000 men, is ready to advance up from Baton Rouge, and there are the two gunboat fleets—Porter's above and Farragut's below. Moreover, a portion of Grant's army, which, since the Grand Gulf affair, is supposed to be marching towards Vicksburg, can be brought down to the scene in transports, and can assist in the reduction of Port Hudson.

Meanwhile stirring events have happened in the vicinity of Vicksburg, and at Fredericksburg; but these things reach you from New York. Indeed, we are as far from Virginia, when we get the news by mail from New York, as you are; but now and then a stray copy of the Jackson (Mississippi) Appeal gets through the lines, with a telegraphic summary of news from the North. One of these Appeals readily commands from fifty to 100 dollars at either of the newspaper offices. But it must be terribly emasculated, if it contains bad news for the Federals, before an "extra" can be issued, and sometimes the paper must be submitted to the Federal authorities; for we have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech, now that the city is in the hands of United States' officers, and under martial law.

The Provost Marshal has to-day issued an order compelling the places of public resort and St. Charles and the city hotels to display the United States' flag; and all places of public amusement, where there is an orchestra, will be compelled to play the United States' national airs at the opening and close of each performance. This will have the effect of closing the places of amusement; or else "orchestras" will be difficult matters to find in New Orleans.

The "registered enemies" who are to go through the lines into the Confederacy on the 15th instant, have received permission to form themselves into parties of sixty and more, and to charter vessels to go across the Lake, or up the river, to any of the points designated in the order of the Provost Marshal. Small favours are, proverbially, thankfully received, and 'tis of them. I shall be much surprised if there is not a demonstration on the day of their departure—an immense gathering of sympathizers and friends, for, as yet, there has been no order issued against leavetakings, or gatherings on the Levee and at the Lake for friendly farewells to those who are going into "Dixie."

It is reported that an order will be issued soon to prevent physicians from leaving the city, on account of the apprehended approach of the yellow fever. As yet the city is comparatively healthy, but there is much sickness among the unacclimated soldiers.

Soon after Butler's arrival in New Orleans, to make up in some degree for the deficiency in his forces, he commenced the organization of negro regiments. These regiments were to do guard duty, and occupy posts, thus enabling Butler to bring all his white regiments into the field. After weeks of work in the way of recruiting and gathering in idle free blacks and runaway slaves, two regiments were raised, and the nucleus of a third, which is "recruiting"—as it is facetiously called—to this day. The blacks were clothed in the United States' uniform, armed, drilled mainly by half-drilled coloured sergeants and line officers—the blind leading the blind, blacks drilling and driving blacks, and they were stationed along the line of the Opelousas railroad, from Algiers, opposite the city, to Berwick's Bay.

Just before Christmas time, I went over the road, and saw these "regiments." Their excellent drill and discipline, good order, subordination, and so on, had been profusely praised in Northern Abolition journals, published a thousand or fifteen hundred miles from the nearest negro camp. It was desirable to see these model soldiers through the medium of one's own eyesight, rather than through such very farsighted spectacles. The train left Algiers at 10 A.M., and after running half a dozen miles we came to the first squad of negroes, who were cooking breakfast at a fire beside the track. They drew up awkwardly and presented arms to the train. Soon another squad—also cooking breakfast; and, in brief, as we dragged along in the slow train, reaching Lafourche crossing, near Thibodeaux, at 3 P.M., wherever there was a company or half company of blacks they were cooking and eating something—their rations, a trapped coon, or a stolen chicken or turkey.

That was their idea of military life—wearing good clothes and shoes, "guarding" and cooking something, presenting arms to passing trains, setting coon traps, robbing all the hen-roosts within five miles, debauching the negro girls on the plantations, demoralizing and making discontented the negro labourers by loafing about the estates, and "putting on airs," and by generally making themselves more of a nuisance than the wildest fanatic could possibly desire. At this time the whole district was in Federal hands. There was a camp of some 4,000 men under Weitzel at Lafourche Crossing, and all the plantations along the line of the road had been abandoned or confiscated. The few places which were making sugar were doing so under Government, that is, Butler's agents, or had been let for the season to Northern adventurers. The labour consisted of the few negroes who had not run away and joined the camp-kettle brigade, and who were willing to stay for their food and a small monthly pay. The agents and adventurers complained bitterly of the "nigger regiments," and said that it would be impossible to make a crop while these vagabonds in uniform were in the vicinity of the plantations.

Northern men, of all other Americans, are the most bitter in their intense prejudices against negroes. An out-and-out Abolitionist feels a positive disgust whenever he sees a negro, always excepting that beautiful ideal black of coloured literature. As Weitzel's men were nearly all from New England, they were particularly "worked up" about the close proximity of the "Native Guards," and the officers were by no means nice in expressing their opinions of that branch of the Federal service. This combined pressure of plantation-workers and white regiments, induced General Banks to remove the negroes from the Lafourche district.



He did this soon after his arrival to supersede Butler in the command of the Department, sending one regiment of them to Baton Rouge, and the other to Ship Island to relieve a white regiment in guarding the political prisoners. We were in hopes that we were rid of them. They are worthless to the Federal Government, except as they add to the gains of the Government's friends, the contractors, by eating rations and wearing out shoes and "shoddy." The third regiment, so long raising, was looked upon as a mere resort for straggling runaways, and we supposed here that the nigger regiment business was suspended.

But no. Within a few days, General Banks has issued an order proposing "the organization of *Corps d'Armée* of coloured troops, to be designated as the *Corps d'Afrique*." "It will consist ultimately," says the order, "of eighteen regiments, representing all arms,—infantry, cavalry, artillery—making nine brigades of two regiments each, and three divisions of three brigades each, with appropriate corps of engineers, and flying hospitals for each division. Appropriate uniforms, and the graduation of pay to correspond with the value of services, will be hereafter awarded."

This, then, is the scheme—These regiments, if they are ever raised, must be composed of the plantation slaves, which now know the use of nothing but the hoe, and who are to be drilled, armed, and instructed in the art of war. There are objections and obstacles, besides the stupidity of the black to overcome. Thus, with regard to the coloured regiments already raised, Banks, in his order says of the officers—"their discipline has been lax, and in some cases the conduct of their regiments unsatisfactory and discreditable. Controversies unnecessary and injurious to the service have arisen between them and other troops." Nor do I know how General Banks can conscript slaves in the "occupied" districts of the State, which are exempted in Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation, while in the unoccupied districts neither Banks nor the Proclamation can have any effect whatever.

We will assume, however, that there is no difficulty in collecting the proposed number of negroes from the free coloured and the runaways. A second-rate New York lawyer, called by courtesy and a commission from Washington a General, is already here with a large number of able officers, to organize and take charge of this *corps d'Afrique*. The Government organ in this city says, editorially, that "from the commencement of the rebellion the best strategic minds of Europe have constantly suggested the arming of slaves as the most effective movement towards its suppression." Moreover, many articles in the leading Abolition journals of the North have been for months preparing the public mind there for a renewal of the horrors of St. Domingo at the South, under the sanction of Federal authority.

This proposition of Banks to raise the *corps d'Afrique* tears away the last shred of the flimsy veil which covers the purposes so piously presented to the world by the President of the United States. It is a farce to suppose that there is any desire to "restore to the Union" a people whose slaves are first stolen and then armed to murder their masters. It means that the South is not to be "conciliated," but exterminated. It is, moreover, a frightful, but, to the Federal Government, a most humiliating confession, that the white North, with its immense preponderance of population and means, after two years' hard fighting, has been unable to conquer the South; and now "restoration" is to give place to revenge—legitimate warfare is to be thrown aside as unavailable, and, under the farcical programme of a *corps d'Afrique*, the black slaves are to be marshalled on to the murder of the whites, with all the nameless horrors attending such a march, and the South is to be wiped out of existence in fire and blood.

This may be "the suggestion of the best strategic minds of Europe;" but it is hardly probable, scarcely possible, that the civilized nations of the world will calmly look on and witness a warfare which disgraces humanity.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, June 9.

The effervescence of the elections has not yet passed off, and the Paris press still devotes the greater part of its space to their discussion or that of subjects connected with them. In a few electoral districts, the majority not having been decisive, the candidate at the head of the poll having less than one half of the votes given, a new election takes place on Sunday and Monday next. In one circumscription, when a fresh ballot takes place, the editor of the *Opinion Nationale* will be the liberal candidate. His success is generally considered certain, but the wordy battle rages round his name with as great activity as it did when there were nine such

Richmonds in the field. French journalism is, however, a less dangerous calling than it used to be; there have been no duels, no bloodshed in consequence of the effusion of ink, and the only passage of arms to be recorded is the action brought by the *France* against the ministerial papers, the *Constitutionnel* and *Pays*, for defamation.

At the end of the week there were busy rumours of a meditated *coup d'état* to upset the Paris elections, and strange to say there were people silly enough to believe them. The Paris papers were of course silent on such reports, but in more than one it was said that the Council to be held on Saturday, for which the Emperor came from Fontainebleau, would be of more than usual importance. Any such measure was not for a moment contemplated, and the Emperor, whose claim to the confidence of France and Europe is the re-establishment and maintenance of legal order, would be the last man to listen to such a proposal. After all, the whole number of opposition members is only some twenty, and of these several owe their election to the indiscreet if not unconstitutional manifestoes of the Minister himself. It may be galling to M. de Persigny to find that he has created a Thiers instead of the cipher he intended, but there is nothing in this to give the Emperor the slightest uneasiness. Even the unanimity of the liberal elections in Paris has not the meaning which some of the English papers ascribe to it. The opposition was admirably served and thoroughly organised. The Government seemed to think that covering the walls with placards, distributing 100,000 copies a day of the *Constitutionnel* or the *Nation*, and other such devices, would ensure success. One elector received no fewer than sixty-three voting papers, all bearing the name of the same candidate; but of electioneering machinery there was none. Of the whole body of electors, one-third abstained from voting, and these are certainly not inimical to the dynasty. Thus, in the two first circumscriptions, 45,517 votes were given, of which 17,149 for the Government candidates, while there were nearly 22,000 abstentions, and the same proportions are true in all the districts. In some the abstentions would have been still more numerous, but for a letter of the Prefect of the Seine, which had the effect of sending crowds of voters to the poll on the afternoon of the second day. It was remarked to me that the Parisian may be coaxed or thrashed, but he will not be brow-beaten.

The statistics of the bills posted show more than one for each vote. The *Compagnie Générale des Chiffons* put up 99,600 placards; one candidate, who had 168 votes, put up 20,000, another 30,000, and a large number of the other candidates also employed their own posters. This superabundance of paper is said to have suggested a new company, which has just been formed with brilliant prospects of success. It is called the *Compagnie générale des Chiffons*, or Universal Rag Company. Its capital is to be £125,000, and its promoters promise a dividend of 30 per cent. on the shares. Few of your readers who have been in Paris can have failed to remark the *chiffonnier* about midnight plying his humble craft. With a basket slung behind his back, a lantern in his left hand, and a stick armed with a hook in his right, he may be seen bending over the heaps of rubbish thrown out for the morning dust carts. Every scrap of rag or paper which these contain is hooked out, and with a dexterous jerk deposited in his basket. He is the object of the present speculation. The company proposes not to take his place, but to purchase his gatherings, and its profits are to be found in judicious sorting and cleansing.

Few traits of modern French character are more remarkable than the avidity with which joint stock companies are received, although they are of very recent introduction in France. The general success which attends them is also in singular contrast with the fate of most of those which have been brought out in England, although they often, as in this instance, seem formed on the most trivial bases. The ultimate success is due, of course, to good management; but their popularity is owing to the passion which has seized all classes for investments in industrial pursuits. It is not the English that should be called a nation of shopkeepers.

The elections were no sooner over here than the Minister of Education and Worship published a severe admonition to seven of the bishops, who had signed a sort of opinion on the duty of all citizens to take a part in the elections. One of these prelates, the Archbishop of Tours, has sent him an animated reply ending with the following sentence:—"Your letter, M. le Ministre, will be registered by the Ecclesiastical Historian of our country, but I trust that this already too celebrated document will be preserved as the evidence of a solitary incident in the relations of the State with the Church."

In the scantiness of American news the Paris papers are generally silent on the subject. The *Moniteur* publishes, without comment, the series of General Banks's orders concerning registered enemies and runaway negroes. There have been reports of renewed negotiations between England and France for a joint action at Washington and Richmond, but such rumours are devoid of all foundation. The *Nord* publishes the text of Mr. Seward's answer on the Polish question, with an analysis of Prince Gortschakoff's reply. Nothing could be more embarrassing for the so-called liberal press than these despatches, and it will demand all the mastery in special pleading, of which its writers have often given proof, to reconcile their declamations in favour of the Union, with Mr. Seward's indifference to the sacred cause of liberty in Poland, so affectionately endorsed by Prince Gortschakoff. After urging, as they do, three empires to go to war in favour of Poland, they can hardly coincide with the American statesman in thinking that this is not one of the extreme cases to which he refers as alone justifying the expression of an opinion. The chances of an European war seem this week less threatening. The French public is little inclined to embark in such an adventure; and I heard, a few days ago, a man who knows it well, say, that if the Emperor wished to punish the electors of Paris, he had only to go to war with Russia, in compliance with the wishes of the members, they have returned. The second note, of which the terms were settled at Saturday's council, is said to be of a conciliatory character, in accordance with the draft of that which will be forwarded by Austria. The Marquis Pepoli, one of the most considerable of the Italian Liberals, and a relative of the Bonapartes, has just arrived here from St. Petersburg, where he is Minister of Italy. He may be considered a representative man of Italian liberalism, and he is said to be strongly impressed in favour of Russia, and especially of the Emperor Alexander.

The last news from America has had the effect of strengthening the prices of cotton in the Havre market.

#### FREEDOM UNDER THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The arrest of Mr. Vallandigham, and the other acts of violence with which it has been accompanied, have revealed the existence of another and still more surprising ingredient in this strangely compounded character. To the recklessness of Irishmen and the doggedness of purpose peculiar to Scotchmen, it now seems that they add the servility of Russians. Perhaps it is doing injustice to Russians to name them as examples of the intense disregard and contempt for liberty which is now prevalent in the North-Western States. The condition of mind which seizes in a despotism that has existed for centuries is a far milder form of servility than that which is now to be seen in the North-Western States. The most daring patriot may shrink from overthrowing an ancient form of government unless he sees some security for the character of the new institutions that are to fill the void. But a community that submits, without striking a blow, to see the most essential liberties which it had long enjoyed wrenched from it by a military officer, can have very little love of liberty left. The measure is one that strikes at personal liberty and at political liberty with the same blow. To prevent a representative from giving an account of the views he has maintained to those who selected him for the purpose of giving effect to their political opinions, is to cut off the channels through which the wishes of a people are brought to bear upon the machine of a government. To imprison a man for condemning the measures of an Administration is to destroy the one crucial distinction that marks the difference between a despotic State and a free State. And to do all this in the face of a written Constitution, by the authority of a military officer in a State that was loyal and at peace, and to do it through the agency of soldiers acting partly as policemen and partly as spies, is an aggravation of the offence which even the despotic Sovereigns of the European Continent generally contrive to avoid. The suppression of the newspapers without even the ceremony of an *arrestement*, and the disarming of the people, executed in plain defiance of the Constitution, are only less heinous instances of the same tyranny.—*The Saturday Review*.

MOLLE PATTI IN CHANCERY.—Seldom has a more curious and romantic case been brought before the Court of Chancery, than that of Patti v. Patti. Some time since a bill was filed for Mdlle. Adeline Patti, by her next friend, Mr. J. W. Macdonald, praying that the Court would appoint a guardian to protect Mdlle. Patti, and to administer her estates during her infancy. The bill averred that she was cruelly treated by her father, Salvatore Patti, and her brother-in-law, Maurice Strakosch; that she was kept from communication with her friends; that she had no control over her earnings and her jewellery; that her letters were opened; and that her marriage with Baron de Ville was opposed, &c., &c. Mr. J. W. Macdonald did not know Mdlle. Patti, but any one may act as next friend to a minor. The Bill was founded on letters written by Mdlle. Patti, and it was supported by an affidavit of Baron de Ville, Hester Day, and Sarah Eliza Elliott. To the surprise of the next friend, the reply to the Bill was an affidavit by Mdlle. Patti, in which she declares that she is in loving terms with her father and brother-in-law; that she has always been kindly treated by them; that her liberty was never controlled, that her father takes care of the bulk of her savings, and that she is satisfied with every arrangement he makes. To add to the complication, the Baron de Ville writes to a contemporary to state that the engagement has been broken off. He says, "Every one who knows me will pity Miss Patti, when she could be induced to swear that she did not believe that I entertained honourable intentions to her. Whether she was so prevailed upon, or whether she did this of her own free will, I was once determined to give up all thoughts of a person who would break off an engagement in this libellous manner. The affection at one time was sincere; but Strakosch and S. Patti, who had a monetary interest at stake, were determined it should not last." The Court of Chancery dismissed the bill, upon the application of the plaintiff.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Souverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM: KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

*We cheerfully comply with the request of several correspondents to lend our assistance to the collection of a fund, by British subscription, for the purpose of erecting a monument to Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A., at Richmond, Virginia. According to the desire of the originators of the movement, Mr. J. B. Hopkins, of this office, will receive subscriptions to this fund, and hold the same at the disposal of any association that may be organized here or in Liverpool to carry the object into execution.*

Mr. J. B. Hopkins acknowledges receipt for the British Jackson Monument Fund:—

Amount from last Week	..	..	£10	10	0
W. Gordon Young, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
Mrs. W. Gordon Young..	..	..	0	10	6
George Campbell, Esq. ..	..	..	5	0	0
"Honour to the Brave"	..	..	1	0	0
H. F. Mackintosh, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0

The Appeal to Christians.

CHRISTIANS throughout the world cannot read without deep emotion the appeal addressed to them by their brethren of the Confederate States. Nearly a hundred ministers of the Gospel, bishops, heads of theological seminaries and other institutions of learning, representing all Protestant denominations of believers in Christ, and comprising in their number some of the most honoured and distinguished names in the land of the South, unite in a solemn appeal, in the name of humanity and of a common faith, against the folly and wickedness of the war waged by the Northern States. In the sight of Heaven they protest against the monstrous wrong, to master and servantalike, which is attempted by Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation, and in doing so they speak not only on behalf of fifteen hundred thousand white communicants in the Divine Sacrament, but on behalf of half a million of coloured Christians whose spiritual interests are intrusted to their keeping.

The calm dignity of tone, the moderation of language, the absence of any reference to purely political topics, the sincere resignation to the will of God, which characterize this document, cannot but be contrasted with the blasphemous utterances of the Northern pulpits, whence the murder of women and children is preached in the name of the Almighty, and His Omnipotence pledged to the work of extermination of a whole nation. To which of the two will the Christian world rather lend its ear? For upwards of thirty years the South has been the victim of such relentless and malignant calumnies, that Europe, neither caring for nor listening to any other testimony, had come to regard her as a disgrace to mankind. The Scripture assures us that "the tree is known by his fruit." By this test let us judge the South and her accusers. As individuals, the most vehement of the latter, with comparatively few exceptions, belong to that class of restless and mischievous spirits, of which the hotbed of our nineteenth century civilization has produced a rank growth, who proclaim a more or less open warfare for the subversion of social order, religious subordination, and even the relation of the sexes. Let it

not be forgotten that the most frantic of the South's enemies are the woman's rights lecturers, the spirit-wrappers, those who in the garb of priests deny the divinity of Christ, those who from their pulpits cry for "an anti-slavery bible, and an anti-slavery god" as loudly as for an "anti-slavery union," and all those professors and apostles of "isms," whose alarming prevalence and authoritative voice in the national councils mark the moral degeneracy of Northern America. Even in Europe, the bitterest enemies of the South are the declared enemies of public tranquillity—those self-conceited reformers, who believe all means justified by their ends, and to whom God's Providence is too slow and His wisdom too shallow. Against such accusers the South might well appeal for a hearing. But the contrast is not less marked, when, instead of individuals, we compare the warring nations. This people, which was depicted as sunk in the lowest depth of sloth and vice, has shown virtues of courage, of self-devotion, of patient endurance, of intelligent enterprise, of daring execution, of perfect self-command, which have extorted the reluctant admiration of civilized mankind. And here, again, be it remarked, that while all other nations have written their own histories, the brief history of the Confederates, already so full of imperishable glory, has been written for them by their enemies, or at best by lukewarm neutrals. Above all, has the Confederate nation distinguished itself from its adversaries by modesty and truth, those noblest ornaments of human nature. A heartfelt, unostentatious piety has been the source whence their army and people have drawn their inspirations of duty, of honour, and of consolation. The North has produced no such man as Stonewall Jackson; and to Davis, Lee, and Longstreet, it can oppose only an Abe Lincoln, a Hooker, and a Pope. While on one side of the Potomac internal peace has never been disturbed, freedom of speech and of the press has never been impaired, and the rights of the citizens have remained sacred, though the body politic was straining in an agony of desperate self-defence; on the other side of that stream, though no enemy's foot has yet trod the soil, a military despotism taints itself by a reign of terror. Surely these are palpable facts which might weigh against unsupported slanders, whether clothed in the meretricious charms of fiction, or uttered by blasphemers of the Beecher and Cheever school.

One shudders at the fiendish chuckle with which certain presses—fortunately for the honour of British civilization they are very few in number—compute the chances of Southern extermination; how they gloat in the certainty that, despite admitted superiority in valour and in generalship, the South must at last bleed to death; how they count the thinning ranks of noble youth, whose life-blood must yet be shed before the last man sinks in defence of national independence, and the galaxy of heroic leaders who cannot be replaced as one by one they fall by the casualties of war. Is there not something indescribably revolting in these heartless calculations, which estimate human lives as though they were grains of sand by the sea-shore, and contemplate the extinction of a gallant people as though it were a swarm of noxious insects? The mere avowal of such sentiments in this age and country should convince Christian men that they have a duty to discharge, lest by their silence they become accomplices of those who entertain them. The termination of the American struggle has long since passed beyond the reach of either of the combatants. The arbitrament in the last resort must devolve upon the tribunal of civilized nations; and in a question of such magnitude, wherein all mankind have so great a stake, no one nation, least of all a nation styling itself a Great Power, can escape the responsibility by Cain's plea, that it is not its brother's keeper. A point has been reached in this contest when it ceases to be the concern only of those actually involved, and in proportion as a Government or an individual has the power to end it, is the responsibility of the consequences of the exercise or non-exercise of that power.

The statesmanship and the material interests of

Great Britain have been appealed to; the faith of solemn treaties has been invoked; but heretofore, in the face of indisputable and undisputed facts, in vain. It remains to be seen whether an appeal to the consciences of Christians will have a better result, and we cannot but hope that it must, when we read over the earnest words of the Church Communities of the South. Nor is this last appeal, any more than its predecessors, an unmanly supplication for favours. Neither the statesmen, nor the clergy, nor the press, nor the people of the Confederate States have ever been, or will ever be, suppliants to men's mercy. Upon God's justice and their own efforts they have from the first relied. When they have addressed their fellow-men of other countries, they have done so in simple and modest vindication of themselves, with no intent to gain assistance, but claiming merely justice. Let that justice be done, and they may safely promise, without vain-glory, that under Divine blessing they will do the rest. As independent States, whose independence was solemnly recognised by treaties when first achieved, recognised in all their subsequent dealings with foreign States, and never forfeited by word or act, they rightly claim to be recognised now; and they have just grounds to complain that, contrary to reason and law, they should be treated as the rebellious vassals of a people whom they never acknowledged as their superiors, and who are waging against them a war of extirpation; that they, the equal half of a broken federation of States, should by a capricious fiction be regarded as a province of the other half; that they, vindicating only those rights which are held to be inherent to all great communities, should be deemed disturbers of the public peace; that they, possessing a Government more firmly established in law and in fact than any country could boast of on its admission into the family of nations for two hundred years back, and waging a successful war of self-defence, which in magnitude would tax the utmost strength of some of the oldest Empires, should be assumed unworthy or incapable of maintaining a place among independent Powers; that in brief, new laws and new rules of evidence are devised to their especial prejudice, and that the same measure is not meted out to them that has been meted out to all others ever before. To the gratitude of the Confederate States, Europe has already lost the opportunity of earning many titles; it must soon be decided whether or no it will forfeit also their respect.

The Siege of Vicksburg.

"THE Stars and Stripes float over Vicksburg; the victory is complete." Such was the announcement of the *New York Herald* on the 25th ult. Two days later a general assault had been delivered along the lines of the fortress, and everywhere the Federals had been repulsed with terrible slaughter. Southern papers tell us that the Federal dead strewn the ground in front of the defences, and estimate the loss of the assailants at 10,000 men. There our authentic information ceases; all the rest is conjecture, and prediction, and misgiving, on the part of the Northern as well as the Southern press; but we can glean enough from the meagre intelligence we possess to justify more than the hope—the confident belief—that the wave of triumph which had carried Grant's army to the walls of Vicksburg had there been stemmed, and that the tide had turned. The complete success of General Grant's enterprise depended on its rapidity of execution. Both sides appear to have felt this, and the generals of either army adapted their tactics to the urgency of the position. Grant, confident in his great numerical superiority, moved on at all hazards, crushing the enemy wherever he found him, giving him no time to rally, driving him day after day, until he closed round him behind the lines of Vicksburg. On the other hand, the Confederates fought for time against any odds; at the battle of Thompson's Hill the odds were five to one, yet two Confederate brigades, admirably handled, contested the position from sunrise until sunset, and then withdrew without pursuit. There was plainly



no hope of beating back the Federal advance, but two days' detention of the invader was of immense importance to the defenders of Vicksburg, and the sacrifice was made. General Grant, aware of the smallness of Bowen's force, wasted no time in following it, but marched straight for Jackson. Once there he had Vicksburg cut off; no supplies, no reinforcements could reach it, save through his army. Again the Confederates crossed his path at Raymond, a few miles east of the capital. With 4,000 men General Gregg fought him for three hours. Another day was gained. By this time General Johnstone, now appointed to supreme command, had come up with a few regiments hastily collected, and fought outside Jackson and in its streets, not so much to save Jackson as to gain a few hours for the transport of stores to Vicksburg, and give General Pemberton time to mature his preparations for defence. After a hard fight the Confederates were driven out northward, and Grant immediately pushed on towards Vicksburg. On that very day a portion of his forces pushed forward as far as Clinton, on the Jackson and Vicksburg railroad. Two days afterwards with his whole force he fought the Confederates at Baker's creek, a desperate battle in which both sides suffered great loss, but in which General Pemberton was finally compelled to give way. Following up his victory he forced the Confederate entrenchments at Big Black River Bridge on the following day, and on the 18th he had outflanked the strong position at Haines' Bluff, and was preparing to invest Vicksburg. The works at Haines' Bluff thus rendered useless were abandoned almost without a struggle. Admiral Porter's gun-boat flotilla was at once placed in a position to communicate with the land forces; and on the 20th Vicksburg was practically invested. Thus, in ten days Grant's army had traversed nearly a hundred miles of Confederate territory, and had fought four or five serious engagements. The marching and the fighting must have reduced his effective force by some 15,000 men. It is easy to see that unless Vicksburg could be carried by a *coup de main*, the chances of its capture would be materially reduced by every day's delay; and one can understand the apparent rashness which prompted a general assault upon the 27th, at a time when the Confederate fire had not to any perceptible degree, been reduced. The failure of that assault changed the whole aspect of affairs. It cost the Federal army its prestige of victory, as well as some 5,000 men. It taught General Grant that his opportunity was gone. It nullified the good effects of all his previous vigour and rapidity, and reduced him to the extremity of intrenching himself in front of a formidable fortress, fully garrisoned by an active and enterprising enemy, gathering his forces for an attack in his rear. It is possible that another assault may have retrieved his first failure, that reinforcements have reached him, and that his troops in irresistible numbers have swarmed over the Confederate defences, and swept the town. Possible, but not probable. It is an army—a small and outnumbered one, it is true—which defends Vicksburg. The Confederate commanders have, we know, for months anticipated an attack from the direction of Jackson, and neglected no means of defence. The Federal gun-boats cannot stand the fire of the Vicksburg batteries. To mount land batteries and arm them with heavy guns is a work of time. Men will not march up twice to positions where they can be shot down *en masse* by a foe they cannot see and who is sheltered from their fire. And if men can be found to face this certain destruction, if the breach is made and the line is stormed, we cannot, with the memory of Saragossa in our minds, with the present defence of Puebla before our eyes, believe that the Confederate soldiers will surrender Vicksburg in a fortnight or three weeks. They cannot be starved into submission. It would be unpardonable if their ammunition "gave out." From street to street, from terrace to terrace, Vicksburg must and will be defended to the last. When Grant has fulfilled the threat of Gortschakoff to the Poles, made Vicksburg a heap of ashes and of corpses, he may take it. But long before that the army under Johnstone will, we trust, have swept down to the relief of the

beleagured garrison, and the shattered remains of Grant's command will have returned to recruit at Cairo.

For the fate of Vicksburg does not rest alone upon the gallantry of its garrison. General Johnstone holds, with reference to Grant's army, a position somewhat analogous to that held by Prince Gortschakoff in the Crimea in respect to the allies. After the battle of Alma, instead of retreating into Sebastopol, he marched northward, thereby securing his communications with the interior, and affording a rallying point to the army of defence. From Simferopol and not from Sebastopol, came the attacks which so long imperilled the allied position. From Jackson we expect to hear of the resumption of the initiative by General Johnstone, and the relief of Vicksburg. What the forces at the disposal of the Confederate commander are, we know not. He retired from Jackson with some 5,000 men, he might collect 2,000 or 3,000 from the neighbourhood of the Yazoo; but from Charleston and Mobile he ought to be able to draw 20,000 more. Tennessee might surely furnish a division. But even 20,000 men would probably suffice to drive Grant to his gun-boats. The exact force under the Federal general it is difficult to arrive at. But it comprises three *corps d'armée*, McClelland's, Sherman's, and McPherson's. We do not believe that Grant would have ventured on his bold march inland with less than 60,000 men. He could not after his assault on Vicksburg have had 30,000 effective men in line to conduct a siege of a first-rate fortress, and fight an army of 25,000 men in the field. Grant must take Vicksburg by assault or fall back to the banks of the Yazoo. He dare not in his present position give battle to anything like equal numbers. If by the next mail we do not hear that Vicksburg has fallen, we may look for the early abandonment of the siege. Everything depends upon the celerity with which reinforcements can be forwarded to the respective armies. General Johnstone's name is a guarantee that every possible effort will be made on the Confederate side to bring forward troops, and that, once on the field, they will be ably handled. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that that General was not in command when Grant commenced his forward movement; it is still more to be regretted that the strain upon the resources of the Confederates, left the state of Mississippi so weakly armed. But the blood of the brave men who died at Thompson's Hill, at Baker's Creek, and at Vicksburg will not have been shed in vain if the fortress of Vicksburg still defies the Federal armies, and the broad stream of the Mississippi remains the connecting link, not the dis severing channel, between the Western and South-Western States of the Confederacy.

### Mr. Roebuck's Notice of Motion.

THE cheering with which the House of Commons received Mr. Roebuck's announcement—that on an early day he should move an address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to concert measures with the Great Powers of Europe for the recognition of the Confederate States of America—implied something more than the mere expression of that sentiment of sympathy with Southern heroism and impatience of Northern insolence, which bursts forth irrepressibly whenever the representatives of the English people have an opportunity of showing in what light they regard the American quarrel. It expressed this feeling; but it also expressed the satisfaction with which the House learned that this question had been at last taken up by one who might be trusted to persevere in his undertaking; by a man whom no Ministerial blandishments would turn from his purpose, and whom no mysterious hints of inconvenience and danger likely to arise from his persistence would frighten out of his self-possession; want of civil courage is lamentably characteristic of the leading statesmen of the present day. Lord Palmerston cannot be accused of moral cowardice; but he has none of that political enthusiasm which leads men into positions in which courage is necessary, and his acute instincts

and profound indifference keep him as clear of difficulties and perils as other men are kept by their want of nerve to face them. Lord Derby, who has shown before now an almost exaggerated indifference to popular opinion, seems almost to shrink from political responsibility. Lord Russell's perverse audacity always deserts him as soon as it has got him fairly into a scrape. Mr. Disraeli's position, as the leader of a party which does not cordially trust or thoroughly support him, compels him to a caution foreign to his natural temper. Mr. Gladstone has no personal following strong enough to render him capable of really independent action, and is held in check, on most subjects, by the cautious timidity of his colleagues. Smaller men, on both sides, are easily silenced by the fears or policy of their chiefs; and both the great political parties are extremely careful, in the present evenly balanced condition of party politics, not to commit themselves to any course till they are sure that it would be popular and successful. Of members who are independent by title there are many; of members who really think for themselves, and having done so are strong enough to act for themselves, there are not more than might be counted on the fingers of one hand. Of these, the two most distinguished, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, are devoted to the cause of the Federalists. Lord R. Cecil, though ten years hence he will probably be a party leader, is too young and inexperienced to take the lead at present on any great question, and has too much at stake to run the risk of seriously compromising himself. Mr. Roebuck is not only the most independent man in the House, but he is also the most courageous. He is combative to a fault; utterly careless, not merely of the clamour he may provoke out of doors, but of the personal dislike he may incur from his colleagues, and profoundly indifferent as to the consequences of any course which he thinks it is his duty to pursue. Like Lord Grey—who resembles him in character and courage, while enjoying the advantage of a first-rate political education, which has been denied to him, Mr. Roebuck has taken a part in public affairs which precludes him from receiving office at the hands of any political party; while, by universal admission, there are few men who are better qualified by ability, good sense, and practical moderation, for the highest Ministerial functions. He says what he thinks without the slightest regard to the wishes of either party, and with an indifference to conventional rules which sometimes allows him to go further than is wise or convenient; he speaks the truth to reluctant colleagues and angry constituents with a manly frankness, of which even Mr. Bright is incapable; and he possesses in consequence not only the ear of the House of Commons, but the confidence of a constituency with which, now and then, he finds himself in absolute and not quite friendly antagonism. When such a man gives notice that he will move a vote which, if carried, would compel the recognition of the Confederate States, we know at least that the House of Commons will have an opportunity, hitherto denied to it, of expressing its opinion on that question; and finding, as we do, that his constituency, the most democratic in England, supports him with more cordiality than lately subsisted between them, we think it probable that the House may at last take courage to express its real feelings.

In taking this course, Mr. Roebuck places himself in direct conflict with the friends of his political youth, who, like himself, sympathized warmly in former days with the democratic polity of America, and who, unlike him, in these later days, *n'ont rien oublié ni rien appris*. It is a significant fact that this motion is to be made by the ablest and best educated of the old Radical party—a man whose prejudices and prepossessions must have been all in favour of the Northern Democracy, and hostile to the slave-owning and—in tendencies though not in laws—aristocratic States of the South. It is also, perhaps, a fact worth attention that the person who has given notice of his purpose to move the previous question—*i.e.*, to preclude a decision—is Mr. Coningham, one of the most insignificant members of the ultra-Radical faction.



The right, duty, and wisdom of recognising the Confederate States have been so often urged upon our readers, and the arguments on either side so fully considered, that we do not now think it necessary to go over the whole ground again. It is desirable, however, that we should call attention to a piece of perverse reasoning succinctly stated the other day in the "City Article" of the *Times*, viz., that England has no right to recognise the independence of the Confederacy, because, as yet, that independence does not exist. Never, perhaps, was so much misrepresentation embodied in so short a phrase. We must once more ask, what is meant by recognition? Not that her Majesty should issue a formal proclamation or enter into a formal treaty, declaring the thirteen States of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Texas, to be free, sovereign, and independent communities. This formal declaration will one day be extorted from the President of the United States, if on that day there shall be a President to make it; but it is not customary, and would not be courteous to ask anything of this kind from a neutral Power. It is asked simply that England shall accredit an ambassador to the Government of the Confederate States of America, and shall receive an ambassador accredited by them. By so doing, we simply recognise the existence of an independent Government, not the frontiers of an independent territory. And we conceive that no one will pretend to deny that the Government at Richmond is as complete in its independent existence, organisation, and authority as any in the world. It rules with undisputed jurisdiction, albeit over an empire liable to be temporarily curtailed by the encroachments of an invader, or extended by the successes of its own troops. It has an administration as regular and orderly as our own; it enforces its laws by regular process; it exists in virtue of a well-established constitution: it has a navy which terrifies and exasperates its foes; it has an army which is the admiration of the world, and which for the fifth time has hurled back, bleeding, disgraced, and demoralised, the hordes directed by the enemy against its capital. To deny the independence of such a Government is simply puerile; to refuse recognition to such a Government after recognising the Spanish Republics of South America, the Provisional Government of Greece, and the wretched anarchy of Mexico, is neither dignified, honest, nor consistent.

But, it is said, we have no right to recognise the Confederate States until they have achieved their independence by the sword; they are not independent in the face of the world until they have proved their independence in the field. Why, they did that some seventy years ago. We recognised their independence then, not as constituent fractions of a Federal Union, but as free, sovereign, independent commonwealths; and that recognition has never been withdrawn. When, we should like to learn, was that independence renounced by the Confederate States? When did Virginia or South Carolina cease to be a free, sovereign, and independent commonwealth? Since when has Alabama or Arkansas renounced the equal position with these Commonwealths—the free, sovereign, and independent character—in full possession of which she became a member of the Union? Since when has Texas forfeited the independence which, according to the award of England and France, she had extorted from Mexico at the point of the sword before ever she entered the Union? It is absurd to say that we cannot judge the question of constitutional law involved in secession, and that therefore we must accept the view of that question suddenly and for the first time adopted and proclaimed by the North. This might be true if the dispute were between an ousted Sovereign and revolted subjects. But here the dispute lies between a Federal Government which we have tacitly recognised, and four States whose Sovereign character we have explicitly acknowledged, joined by nine others, whose rights, as admitted by their enemies, stand on precisely the same footing. By continuing our recognition to

both parties we avoid any expression of opinion on the right of secession, which is not involved in the fact of Sovereignty; but by withdrawing our explicit recognition from the one party, and continuing our implicit recognition of the other, we are undertaking not merely to decide against the right of secession—a question open to dispute—but against the fact of State Sovereignty, which by our own act we are precluded from disputing. We are deciding on a quarrel in which we are not judges; we are deciding on a question of American law in contradiction to the known declaration of the framers of that law, in contradiction to the opinion which, in 1860, would have been pronounced by every American lawyer and statesman of the slightest authority, against liberty, against justice, against truth, against our own act and our own honour. We are abetting a flagrant aggression, we are doing a heinous and unprovoked wrong to a friendly Power. Independence is the *status quo* of each and all the Confederate States; we assume to deny them this independence because an enemy, declaring their withdrawal from a Federal compact to be a breach of allegiance, has invaded their territory, and is endeavouring to reduce them to subjection. This is an act of hostility to them, of passive alliance with their enemy.

There is one other consideration which should not be forgotten. The strongest argument against recognition—the one which is understood to have weight with the Ministry, and to be at the bottom of the policy which is defended by so many ingenious pleas derived from antiquated or irrelevant doctrines of international law,—is that it will cost us a quarrel with the Northern States of America. We need hardly point out that, if France and England act in concert, it is impossible that this quarrel should go the length of war. But, war or no war, the policy of England has too much and too long been guided by a deference to the temper and the menaces of the North, which is mistaken abroad for fear, and which looks even to Englishmen painfully like servility. We may afford to be generous towards a nation in difficulties, and to despise what is said of us by those who can ill understand that it is exactly because the Northern States are not formidable that they have been allowed to be insolent. But we cannot afford to be generous without limit at the expense of our honour and our dignity; and we have no right to be generous to one party at the expense of justice to another. That love of peace which leads men to submit to insult, which induces them to comply with the demands of those who may quarrel with them at the expense of those who cannot—is too closely like cowardice to recommend itself even to the most pacific of trueborn Englishmen.

We are inclined to regret that Mr. Roebuck, by the terms of his motion, confines his appeal in favour of recognition to the "Great Powers of Europe." In the present state of international relations, two of these Powers will probably refuse to join us; and a third, though friendly to us, may be indisposed to do so both by her lack of interest in the quarrel and her traditional policy. But if Russia and Prussia be certain, and Austria likely, to hold aloof, there are other Powers whose moral and material influence, in the present case, would be almost equal to theirs, which might well be asked to unite their action with ours. Spain and Holland might not unfittingly be requested to join with England and France in an act of so much importance to all commercial and maritime countries; and their union with us would tend to deprive the action of the two Western Powers of that appearance of menace and dictation, which it might be thought to bear if they should act alone. In a case of this kind, it is rather the neutrality and good-will than the material strength of foreign Powers that should lead us to court their alliance and assistance.

### Royalty at Eton College.

It is impossible to suppose that the advisers or holders of the Royal Power in England, in the present day, ever resort to those means of commanding and inculcating loyalty, which have been familiar at other times and under widely different circumstances. That power now calls for universal respect and admiration, in virtue of its enlarged views of its own respon-

sibilities, and its undeviating course in the path of duty. Yet there are methods by which, even now, a spirit of chivalry may be added to the steadfast fidelity resulting from prudent calculation, and by which the ardour of youth may be enlisted on the side of monarchical authority. One of such agencies, pure and uncorrupt as it may be in its essence, exists in the periodical visits of Royalty to Eton College. It is said that George III., not only on various State occasions, but frequently in the tranquil routine of ordinary life, appeared within the precincts of the college, and displayed a familiar and flattering interest in its members and its fortunes; and the Queen has more than once, in company with the late Prince Consort, honoured the festive days of Eton with her presence. It was but natural, then, that the Prince and Princess of Wales, who appear to be quite indefatigable in their attempts to pay due honour to all the great institutions of the country, should be careful not to omit the mark of respect which even Royal personages might deem to be due to the greatest of English schools. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that nearly all the companions of the Prince without the pale of Royalty have been chosen from among the Eton Boys, and that no opportunity has been lost, so far as was possible, of bringing him into contact with the feelings and associations of the school. But apart from all this, it is clear that Eton bears a very distinctive character in the political and social world; as concerns the former it is beyond doubt, that by the mutual influence of Masters of that line of thought and parents bound to that party either by lineage or conviction, the vast majority of Eton Boys are trained to swell the ranks of the Conservative interest. It may well be that the authorities being but limited in their ideas, and always tending to make their pupils but a reproduction of themselves display an unfortunate determination to unanimity in the main features of their opinions. But it is a fact that leaders of the two great parties in the State are respectively recruited with equal success from the rival schools of Eton and Harrow. It is absurd to suppose that either party excels the other in devotion to the Throne, but perhaps it may be conceded that the Conservative section prides itself on more profound loyalty—at any rate it is not difficult to conceive that the presence of Royalty on auspicious occasions has a very considerable effect on the exaggerated enthusiasm of a youth, the mind of which is already prepared for a due appreciation of such exalted patronage. But, however that may be, it is clear that Eton, whether as represented by old or young, derived intense delight from the visit of the Prince and his Bride on the 5th day of June, and did their best to welcome them with proper dignity. According to custom the grandest efforts of ancient and modern writers were rendered with classical accuracy to fashionable audiences; vast entertainments, indicative of unbounded hospitality, were honoured with the presence of Royalty and aristocracy; and a pageant of eight-oared boats, manned by boys in elegant nautical costumes, formed a part of an evening *fête*, which was further diversified by a supper on the banks of the Thames and a grand display of fireworks. A visit to Eton College is at all times instructive and agreeable; but never is the grand old place, with its noble chapel, hall, and buildings, spacious residences, beautiful fields and river, seen to better advantage than when authorities and boys combine in their efforts to entertain their fashionable visitors and relatives in this magnificent style. Without conceit it may be said that such a spectacle as then meets the eye of the stranger is as singular as it is at variance with the preconceived notions of what a school is, and as it is suggestive of what a school may be.

Eton College, founded by Henry VI., after no long lapse of time assumed its present constitution, though not its present development. The foundation supports a Provost, for such is the title of the supreme head of the institution, six fellows, and seventy scholars. These form a nucleus round which the vast system of Eton has gradually been organized. At the present time there are upwards of 800 boys at the school, with a proportionate staff of masters. The seventy boys already mentioned live in the College buildings, and have the privilege of an education at a comparatively inexpensive rate, but are mixed indiscriminately with the residue of the school in all matters of learning and competition. Certainly that foundation, so far as the fellows are concerned, is a conspicuous anomaly; they form a body of men usually selected from the masters, when worn out in the toil of tuition; and in addition to the ecclesiastical preferment which they invariably hold, are in the enjoyment of large incomes from the College estates. It may be that the vast revenue of the College, which probably exceeds £16,000 a-year, requires administrators; but beyond such a want, it is difficult to conceive what purpose is served by the preservation of the Order of Fellows. The existing statutes do not contemplate the existing organization; and the present rights, privileges, and powers of the august body are the result rather of the accidents of years and circumstances than of legislative sanction. The time is probably not far distant when the income of the College estates will be applied to the laudable and equitable purpose of furthering the interests of the school, and when all such anomalies will be adjusted under the sweeping powers of an Act of Parliament and a Board of Commissioners. Eton College fell within the scope of the University Reform Act of 1856; but the grand results of modern legislation must be looked for in the report and recommendations of the existing Public Schools Commission.

The anomaly existing in the case of the fellows of the College is not more striking than the peculiar position of the seventy scholars on the foundation. They seem to be a kind of "imperium in imperio," and differ in many respects from



the residue of the School. Living in one set of buildings, dining in one hall, all moved by the same associations and sympathies, and following strange rules and fashions, handed down from remote periods, they have a unanimity of sentiment unknown to the multitude, which is scattered in numberless houses, each containing about twenty inhabitants, shifting in ownership and destitute of traditions. Moreover the seventy have from time immemorial contended in games and learning with vigorous emulation against their numerous competitors, and have always, either in sport or knowledge, though rarely in both at the same time, been perfectly able to hold their own. In addition to the advantage of an education at about one-fourth of the cost of that of the remainder of the School, the seventy scholars monopolise—or rather until the late University Act did monopolise—the whole benefit of the connexion between Eton and King's College in the University of Cambridge. The select spirits of the one were drafted into the other, and passed with rapidity to the emoluments of comfortable fellowships. Of late years the vacancies in the foundation at Eton have been filled by the process of an examination, conducted on sound principles and in an impartial manner. Sixty candidates on the average put in their claims for sixteen vacancies, and the result of the welding of the choice talents into one body has been displayed, not merely in the marked superiority of the seventy scholars in point of learning to the remainder of the School, but in their conspicuous success in more mature years at the two Universities. In regard to the composition of the great bulk of the School, or those boys who usually are denominated Oppidians, it may be well to remark that the vast proportion of them are drawn from the highest ranks of the English nobility, that in after-life they are principally to be found with men from Harrow, Westminster, and Winchester, in the two Houses of Parliament, the Royal household, and the “crack” regiments of the army. It is but natural that, descending from families of great wealth, they should enjoy a method of life which, to an ordinary observer, might seem too luxurious to be consistent with the bare idea of school. On the average, the expense which the parents incur is not short of £200 a-year, and if this be thought large, it must be remembered that as a rule the amount can be readily afforded, and that at least, so far as material things are concerned, an ample return is obtained for the money. Of course the masters are exceedingly well paid, so well indeed as to excite the ire of many a struggling professional man, who finds time to vent his wrath in print; but on the other hand, the authorities are determined to obtain the first scholars which the Universities can produce, and we have no hesitation in saying that they will not get them at a lower rate of pay than that now awarded.

The whole educational efforts of Eton have, from time immemorial, been concentrated on the study of the classical authors. We imagine that it would be a crime bordering on sacrilege, even to hint that this department of knowledge has not been cultivated there with matchless success. It is true that much that has been taught at school as scholarship of the most orthodox description, is pronounced by the Universities to be rank heresy, and that the sins of omission are there also found to exceed those of commission; yet imagination may, at so early an age, be entitled to take precedence of critical acumen and poetry of philosophy. Our complaint is that the vast field of learning of which classical erudition is but an important section, remains almost entirely unexplored. Mathematics have only been introduced as part of the ordinary routine within the last twelve years. At a time more recent even than that date modern history was thought worthy of a passing recognition; and while we write, a few of the most energetic of the masters are at length endeavouring to obtain a hearing for the just but disregarded claims of modern languages. Science is still absolutely out of court. The opponents of these various elements of wisdom are ready to argue that there is no leisure for the cultivation of them. Supposing the argument to be true, it is surely high time that leisure should be manufactured under the influence of a pressing demand, but fortunately it is not true. It is scarcely credible that about ten of the most valuable hours of the week are devoted to the composition of *original* Latin verse and prose. We could, without the smallest difficulty, find persons who have, during their sojourn at Eton, fabricated at least eight thousand Latin verses, and scribbled Latin prose essays exceeding in bulk even that quantity. Such a system has little support but that of antiquated custom. Where the object is to elicit the thoughts of the writer, the utmost liberty of expression is necessary; but that is unattainable when the difficulties attending the use of a language, imperfectly understood and certainly the reverse of plastic, cause the ideas to be moulded to the language and not the language to the ideas. The theory that composition is indispensable to sound scholarship is true enough, but that theory is realised with infinitely less toil and more success by the conversion of English verse and prose than by original efforts. In the face, then, of these facts it is a matter of congratulation to find that the wants of the future orators and statesmen of England, extended as they well may be beyond the confined sphere of original Latin verse, are gradually being understood; and hopes may, perhaps, be indulged that the introduction of new subjects will eventually lead to the rejection or modification of what are little better than fancies. We wish to do justice to the great efforts of those who are fighting an uphill battle for necessary innovations; but probably it is still a fact, and if a fact then a most lamentable one, that a boy may leave Eton distinguished for his attain-

ments and qualified by his talents to obtain a very high degree in either University, and yet be utterly ignorant of the most ordinary facts in the history of his own country, incapable of reading a line of any modern language, unacquainted with the elements of modern geography, and unaware of the very existence of one single science. His whole sphere of learning begins with the Trojan war and ends with the reign of Domitian, and after the lapse of a few years he wakes up and marvels in abhorrence at the nightmare of his own ridiculous ignorance. It is no answer to affirm that this man of talent will repair all these defects; doubtless he may; but did they not exist to impede his progress, how much greater would be, by the same industry, that approximation to wisdom which his entire life will be spent in compassing?

But if we put aside for a moment the mere acquirement of the various branches of knowledge, and concentrate our attention on the residue of that aggregate of culture which constitutes education, we shall find very much to admire in the methods pursued at Eton. Much that has been stated in these columns on a former occasion with regard to the systems adopted for the development of the physical energies at the English Universities might be repeated with equal justice here. No expense, no effort, and no ingenuity is spared on the part of the authorities to impart to the boys that earnest zeal for distinction in manly exercises, which is so valuable an ingredient in the character of the higher classes of England. The summer months pass joyously enough in endless contests in the cricket field and on the river. The most distinguished clubs in England are only too eager to obtain the necessary permission to try the mettle and skill of their youthful opponents, and a whole day, uninterrupted by even the thought of an impending accumulation of mental labour, is unhesitatingly devoted by the common consent of masters and boys to the pleasures and toils of the game. The annual struggles between Eton and the great rival Schools of Harrow and Winchester are anticipated with the utmost interest, even in the Metropolis; and that between Harrow and Eton proves its unbounded popularity, by the vast crowds of the aristocracy which throng with carriages and on foot the lawn of the Marylebone Club, display their partiality by wearing the respective colours of the Schools and cheering the successful competitors, and deem it a matter of substantive pride, if a son or a nephew acquires himself nobly in the game. On the Thames, during the months of June and July, each week is signalled by boat races, the conquerors in which acquire rewards more substantial than the Olympic palm and revel in the possession of cups and medals. Their most glorious triumph, however, consists in the defeat of the boys of Westminster in the annual eight oared race, and their magnificence is displayed in such pageants as have been already depicted. In the winter months, games suitable to the season are pursued with ardour. Foot-ball and fives, hurdle-races, steeplechases over three miles of what is facetiously described as a “fair hunting country,” and races on the flat, demand the most careful attention to health and exercise on the part of the numerous competitors. It is even said, and we believe with truth, that the spirit of the old English sportsman breaks out unmistakably in the boy, and that small packs of beagles trained to hunt a “drag,” entice whole troops of unfiring peasants over many miles of country. It is not difficult to understand, in view of such facts as these, the undoubted superiority in physical qualities of the upper classes, not only to the rest of the population of England, but to the inhabitants of the Continent. The effect of the opposite system may be seen and appreciated on a very superficial inspection of the constituents of a Parisian school promenading the Champs Elysées. The contrast, too, is, we suspect, even more strongly marked in the relative happiness of the two classes. Probably no set of human beings experience so much real happiness and so little misery as boys at an English public school, and this fact has a deeper importance than the momentary or passing enjoyment of youth. A man whose early life has been one of real pleasure, is seldom morose, and never sour. Not having experienced evil, he neither suspects it nor designs it; not having suffered wrong, he is unconscious of revenge; knowing happiness, he desires to see others happy; understanding freedom, he is not jealous of the liberty of others.

In all matters of recreation, and, indeed, in matters of more serious moment, the utmost confidence is placed in the boys and their natural leaders. These last are, as the case may be, either the most skilled in games or the heads of the school. Perhaps the theory of governing through the boys themselves is carried to an extravagant length; but it has two incalculable advantages,—it creates a mutual trust between masters and boys, and it ensures a considerable degree of liberty. Officious and unnecessary restraint is scrupulously avoided. Etiquette and points of form are curiously suggestive of the aristocratic feeling; but though somewhat too elaborate, they tend to the promotion of polished manners. Whatever may have been, or may be, the shortcomings of the Eton authorities, they at least have succeeded in producing a youth ingenuous and frank, bold and self-reliant, sensible and generous; and they may, with much truth, claim a large share of that praise which must be awarded to those who have from time to time educated for England that aristocracy which is probably the best the world has ever seen, and certainly the only one the existence of which is compatible with the progress of modern ideas and modern civilization.

THE WORK OR WAR.—An American paper states that the Pension-office at Washington has lately recorded the nineteenth-thousandth application of wives made widows by this war between the Northern and Southern States.

#### A BRIEF NOTICE OF SOME NEW BOOKS.

THERE is just now an unusual supply of, and therefore we presume a demand for, historical works, especially those which deal with constitutional history. The last volume of “A History of England during the Reign of George III,” by Mr. Massey, M.P., has just been published. Very likely Mr. Massey's book is not in great request at Mudie's. It is not in the least degree sensational; facts are not made to look like fiction; there is not an attempt at giving original views, and we do not find any important incidents with which we were not previously acquainted. Yet Mr. Massey's book is valuable. It is an intelligent and thoroughly readable compilation. It gives a plain and unvarnished narrative of the most critical era in our past history. It is well we should be reminded of the part we formerly played in the affairs of the world. What we thought right—no doubt we were often mistaken—we did not hesitate to assert and to defend with all our might. We made great sacrifices, and we came out winners. We are now taught, by the so-called Manchester School, that prudence is the better part of valour; but if we act upon this advice, we may find that, by refusing to accept the responsibilities incident to the position of a first-class Power, we shall cease to occupy that position.

The book of the month is, undoubtedly, Mrs. Norton's new novel, “Lost and Saved.” It is superfluous to make any comment upon the style of this last work of a lady who always writes leisurely and gracefully. As a mere literary composition, it can hardly be too highly commended. But we cannot bestow equal praise upon the structure of the story. At the commencement, the plot is well developed, and all the *dramatis personæ* are properly introduced; but towards the end some characters are violently dragged in, and others unexpectedly got rid of, for no better reason than the necessity of finishing the novel in a certain number of pages, and in a way that the authoress had determined on in spite of the exigencies of the story. We shall, perhaps, best illustrate our meaning by comparing the plot to a game of chess. Mrs. Norton opens her game admirably, and plays it naturally, until she finds that it is likely to be a drawn battle, or even that black may win instead of white, as she intended. Upon this, in violation of the rules of the game, she introduces some white pieces, and removes some black pieces. The main incidents are these. A girl is betrayed into a sham marriage, is told of her position before the birth of her child, and for the sake of her offspring, agrees to live with her seducer until he chooses to marry her. In due course, the *roué* is tired of his toy, and discards her. After much suffering the unhappy heroine is saved, that is to say, she meets with an Italian Count, who has been deserted by his wife, and who marries her. As the lady had persistently regarded her sham marriage as a real union, she objected to wed the Count whilst her seducer lived, and, therefore, that individual is poisoned. When “Adam Bede” first appeared, there was considerable discussion as to the good effect of making a seduction case the basis of a novel. But in “Adam Bede” the fate of the seduced was so tragic, that there could be no question as to the moral tendency of the tale. Now, we are far from saying, that “Lost and Saved” has an immoral tendency, yet that the heroine marries happily at last, seems to us something like a reward for imprudence, or for the want of that honourable feeling which must always prevent a virtuous woman from consenting to live in a state of adultery. Besides, the conclusion is, we may say, impossible. Italian Counts who are worth marrying, are just as loth to unite themselves to a cast-off mistress, as is an English gentleman. The moral Mrs. Norton wants to impress on her readers is, that society is too unforgiving with regard to women, and too forgiving in regard to men. This complaint has been made a thousand times before. As a matter of abstract justice, we admit there ought to be no distinction between the immorality of the one sex and of the other. But we have no hope of seeing the sexes, in this respect, placed upon an equality. Yet, even on the abstract question, we think Mrs. Norton has fallen into error. Society does not do wrong by severely punishing the faults of women, but in treating too leniently men who are steeped in the same vices.

It is, perhaps, well that we should mention a book that has nothing to recommend it but its title page. We refer to “The Wanderings of a Beauty,” by Mrs. Edwin James. There is a vulgar notion that a woman who writes well is sure to make a bad wife, and if the converse is true, and if a woman who has not the slightest capacity for authorship is sure to make a good wife, Mr. Edwin James has lost a paragon of wifely perfection. Lest we may be accused of injustice we will observe that there is nothing in “The Wanderings of a Beauty” that should prevent a careful father from placing it in the hands of his daughter. So far as moral influence is



concerned, it is as free from fault as a railway time table. As we do not wish to libel Bradshaw by an unfair comparison, we beg to state the difference between the Guide and the novelette—"Bradshaw" is dull and useless, and Mrs. Edwin James's book is dull and useless.

Amongst books of travel, "A Trip on Horseback in Mantchu Tartary, being a Summer's Ride beyond the Great Wall of China," is likely to find a multitude of readers both at home and abroad. Mr. Fleming, an officer, and Mr. Michie, a Shanghai merchant, determined to take advantage of the treaty of Tien-tsin, which permits British subjects to travel in China; and accordingly they set out from Tien-tsin on Tartar ponies, their baggage and provisions being carried in a cart. Beyond the curiosity of the natives, which was sometimes unpleasantly demonstrative, they met with no annoyance or hinderance until they arrived at the Great Wall, when their passports were demanded and did not satisfy the authorities. They then produced an official document which they had obtained from the Imperial Commissioners at Tien-tsin, and after some delay they were allowed to proceed. Mr. Fleming climbed a high mountain, from the summit of which he had a magnificent view of the surrounding country, and of that wonderful work of art—the Great Wall of China. The travellers finally pushed on to Moukden, the Mantchu capital.

At the time selected by Bishop Colenso to impugn the credit of the Old Testament, it happens that considerable attention is being paid, incidentally and directly, to the history of the Jews. Following on the wonderful discoveries of the present generation of explorers in the Holy Land, we have, amongst a number of valuable works on the same subject, the superb series of photographs taken by Mr. Bedford during the tour of the Prince of Wales in the East. Irrespective of the artistic merit of these pictures, they are invaluable as instructive illustrations of the past history and present condition of the Holy Land, and it is much to be regretted that the price at which they are published limits their circulation. Besides Dr. Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," we have a third edition of Dean Milman's "History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period down to Modern Times;" and here again we cannot help regretting that a work which ought to be read by many, is so expensive. Even sceptics must admit that the authenticated history of the Jews from first to last, is in itself a miracle as wonderful as any miracle recorded in the Old Testament.

Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope has lately delivered two able lectures on Art, which have been published. One was an inaugural address delivered at the opening of the present session of the Architectural Museum, of which institution Mr. Hope is president. The second lecture is entitled "The World's Debt to Art," and besides discussing what may be done with iron in the ornamentation of our cities and in the production of works of art, Mr. Hope points out how, in small things as well as great, we may pay our debt to art. Even dress is not unimportant. The lecturer rebukes the modern changes in female attire. He says, "Women dressed well ten years ago, but they would not let well alone. They had got rid of St. Martin's gowns; they had got rid of bonnets which expanded to the east and to the west, and which rose to the zenith; they had got variety of colour. \* \* \* But here are the old antediluvian hoops again; and the small graceful bonnet is changed for one which pokes up like a coal-scoop. It was formerly a coal scuttle, but now you will agree with me it is more like a coal-scoop. So there our ladies are. Ten years ago you were well dressed, ladies; but you would not let well alone, and now you are dressed—a *l'Imperatrice*."

**GUNPOWDER IN THE SOUTH.**—It will be recollected how great in the beginning of the war was the anxiety which filled the breast of every patriot, in relation to the scarcity of powder in the Confederate States. And at the first battle at Manassas, many of the soldiers had not one cap to each cartridge in their cartridge boxes. The terrible route at that period was a god-send in this particular, thousands of cartridges were collected and saved, and thus we made in one glorious day, preparations for a whole campaign. But during the interim, every effort possible had been made by President Davis, and the then Secretary of War, Hon. Leroy P. Walker, to establish a mill for the manufacture of powder on an extensive scale. The ingredient most difficult to procure was saltpetre, but every inducement was offered to the people of the South to bring out this precious substance from the caves and banks where it had long lain hidden, from want of an exigency calling for its production. The call was promptly answered, and a superabundance of saltpetre was soon produced and brought to hand. The result of the whole matter is, that at the cost of about \$100,000 one of the most perfect gunpowder mills in the world has been produced, which turns out five thousand pounds of powder per day, and could produce double that amount if worked day and night, and much more if worked under the exigency of a pressing demand. The Southern powder is necessarily good, from the fact that the usual adulterating ingredient—plumbago, or black lead—is very difficult to procure. —*Richmond Enquirer*, May 16.

## ADDRESS TO CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERN,—In the name of our Holy Christianity, we address you in this form, respecting matters of great interest to us, which we believe deeply concern the cause of our Blessed Master, and to which we invoke your serious attention.

We speak not in the spirit of controversy, not by political inspiration, but as the servants of the Most High God we speak the "truth in love," concerning things which make for peace.

In the midst of war—surrounded by scenes that pain the souls of all good men—deploring the evils which are inseparable from national contentions, we feel most deeply impressed by the conviction, that for our own sake, for the sake of our posterity, for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the truth, and above all, for the sake of our Redeemer's Kingdom, it behoves us to testify of certain things in our beloved land, which seem to be neither understood nor appreciated by our enemies, nor yet clearly appreciated by Christians of other nations.

We put forth this address after much prayer, solemnly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, and committing what we say to that Providence by which we trust we are directed, and by whose authority and power the governments of the earth stand or fall.

If we were moved to make this address by any fears of the final issue of the war in which our country is now engaged, by any inclination to meddle with political questions, by any desire to resume controversy in respect to matters which have been referred to the arbitration of the sword; if indeed anything that compromised the simplicity, dignity, and purity of Christian duty moved us to issue this address, we should deserve to have it despised by you, and could hope for no blessing of God to rest upon it. But for all that we say in the following declarations, we are willing to be judged by succeeding generations, and to answer in that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be made known.

We do not propose to discuss the causes of the war. They are matters of recent history, easily known and read of all men. To discuss them would obviously involve much more than, as Christian ministers, we feel it our province to argue.

We submit for your consideration as the first point of our testimony and ground of protest,—

*That the war waged against our people, in principle and in fact, proposes to achieve that which, in the nature of the case, is impossible to accomplish by violence. The war proposes the restoration of the Union.*

We can rationally suppose a war for conquest, or to expel an invader, or to compel respect for stipulations of peace and international intercourse which have been violated; but how measures of violence can reunite independent States, restore their broken fellowship, re-establish equality of representatives' rights, or coerce a people to brotherly kindness, unity, and devotion to each other, is utterly beyond our conception.

But if our enemies be disingenuous in their professions; if they fight not to recover seceded States, but to subjugate them, what promise do men find in the numbers, intelligence, courage, resources and moral energies of the millions who inhabit the Confederate States, that such a people can ever become profitable or happy, as subordinate to mere military force? If subjugation, therefore, were possible, is it desirable? Would the United States gain anything? Would Christian civilization gain anything? Said a great British statesman in 1775, when arguing in favour of adopting conciliatory measures in respect to the revolted colonies of America—colonies, not seceding States—that were in actual rebellion against their sovereign: "The use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity for subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. \* \* \* A further objection to force is that you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing you recover."

Christian brethren, could the hand of violence win you to desire fellowship with a people while it destroyed your peace, polluted your sanctuaries, invaded the sacred precincts of your homes, robbed you of your property, slaughtered your noble sons, clothed your daughters in grief, filled your land with sorrow, and employed its utmost strength to reduce your country to the degradation of a subjugated province? Would it not rather animate you to prefer death—honourable death—the patriot's alternative, the Christian's martyrdom?

As an excuse for violence, our enemies charge that the Confederate States have attempted to overthrow "the best Government on earth;" and call us "traitors," "rebels." We deny the charge, and as to the epithets, if they defined our position, under the circumstances, we could glory in them, as do the people of God when persecuted for truth and conscience' sake. But we regard such terms as gratuitously assuming the very point at issue. If employed sincerely, we will not complain; but we are persuaded that many have uttered these expressions under the influence of resentful feelings, who would not otherwise assert the political doctrines they imply. We are not disposed to engage in an angry retort, and only mention these things to show that we appreciate them.

It will appear singular when men reflect upon it, that so

many intelligent and Christian people should desire to withdraw from "the best Government on earth." And we need not discuss the kindness of those who so generously propose to confer on us by force of arms "the best Government."

No attempt has been made to overthrow the Government of the United States, unless by the fanatical party which now administers its affairs. The South never entertained such an idea. If that Government fall for lack of Southern support, let men discriminate between the downfall of an oppression when the oppressed have escaped, and a wanton effort to break up good government. So Pharaoh fell, but not by the hand of Israel. The dismemberment of the Union by secession was not a blow at the Government. It was for our own deliverance. It was an election of the people, only hastened and rendered in some cases imperative by the violent movements of the Executive of the United States. Virginia may be referred to as an illustration. That State was not willing to secede hastily; but the demand of President Lincoln that she furnish troops to fight her sister States, ended all hesitation. At once she took position with the Confederacy, preferring to battle in defence of liberty, than in opposition to all her principles to invade or suffer the invasion of the South.

So far, therefore, from desiring to destroy the United States' Government, the great object of those States which first seceded was to secure their own rights, and their tranquillity; while the immediate object of the States which last seceded was to place themselves as barriers in the way of a fanatical administration, and, if possible, stay the bloody effort to coerce independent States to remain in the Union, when their constitutional rights would not be respected, and when the very purpose to coerce them showed a readiness to sacrifice the lives of citizens to the demands of sectional hostility. The South would never vote in favour of annexing or retaining a Northern State by force of arms. Instead, therefore, of waging war for the overthrow of the United States, the Confederate States simply defend themselves.

The war is forced upon us. We have always desired peace. After a conflict of opinions between the North and the South in Church and State, of more than thirty years, growing more bitter and painful daily, we withdraw from them to secure peace—they send troops to compel us into re-union! Our proposition was peaceable separation, saying, "We are *actually* divided, our nominal union is only a platform of strife." The answer is a call for *seventy-five thousand* troops, to force submission to a Government whose character, in the judgment of the South, had been sacrificed to sectionalism. From the speech of Mr. Burke, already referred to, the following language may be quoted as not inappropriate to our position in respect to peace:—

"THE PROPOSITION IS PEACE.—Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the judicial determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in the spirit of peace and laid in principles purely pacific."

Such a proposition of peace was clearly the appropriate duty of a Christian people. The South can point out on the page of history the names, and refer to the earnest and repeated efforts of her commissioners of peace. But our foes preferred war—violence—and by violence the end they aimed at was unattainable, as the purpose was unworthy of a Christian nation. *Against this violence*, upon principle, and in the light of all the facts of the case, we, as the servants of God and ministers of peace, testify and solemnly protest.

The second general point which we submit for your Christian consideration is:—

*The separation of the Southern States is universally regarded by our people as final, and the formation of the Confederate States' Government, as a fixed fact, promising, in no respect, a restoration of the former Union.*

Politically and ecclesiastically the line has been drawn between North and South. It has been done distinctly, deliberately, finally, and in most solemn form. The Confederacy claims to possess all the conditions and essential characteristics of an independent government. Our institutions, habits, tastes, pursuits, and religion suggest no wish for reconstruction of the Union. We regard the Confederacy, in the wise providence of the Almighty, as the result of causes which render its independent existence a moral and political necessity, and its final and future independence of the United States not a matter that admits of the slightest doubt.

Among all the indefensible acts, growing out of the inexcusable war waged against us, we will refer to one especially, in regard to which, for obvious reasons, we would speak, and as becometh us, plainly and earnestly:—*The recent Proclamation of the President of the United States, seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the South, is, in our judgment, a suitable occasion for solemn protest on the part of the people of God throughout the world.*

First, upon the hypothesis that the proclamation could be carried out in its design, we have no language to describe the bloody tragedy that would appal humanity. Christian sensibilities recoil from the vision of a struggle that would inevitably lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of poor deluded insurrectionists! Suppose their owners suffered; in the nature of things the slaves would suffer infinitely more. Make it absolutely necessary for the public safety that the slaves be



slaughtered, and he who should write the history of that event would record the darkest chapter of human woe yet written.

But *secondly*, suppose the Proclamation,—as indeed we esteem it in the South—a mere political document, devised to win favour among the most fanatical of the Northern people, uttering nothing that has not already been attempted, practically, but in vain, by the United States; suppose it to be worth no more than the paper upon which its bold iniquity is traced, nevertheless it is the avowal of a principle, the declaration of a wish, the deliberate attempt of the chief magistrate of a nation to do that which, as a measure of war, must be repugnant to civilization, and which we calmly denounce as worthy of universal reprobation, and against which Christians in the name of humanity and religion ought to protest.

What shall sound Christianity say to that one-idea philanthropy which, in the name of an imaginary good, in blind fury rushes upon a thousand unquestionable evils?

If it were the time for such argument, we should not fear the issue of a full discussion of this whole question of Slavery. We fear no investigation, we decline no debate; but we would not, at an hour like this, and in an address which is chiefly a protest, invoke the spirit of controversy. We content ourselves with what we regard as infinitely more solemn; we stand before the world, while war silences the voices of disputants, and men in deadly contention wrestle on fields of blood, *protesting* against the crimes that in the name of liberty and philanthropy are attempted! Let it go forth from our lips while we live; let it be recorded of us when we are dead, that we—ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and members of His holy Church, with our hands upon the Bible, at once the sacred chart of our liberties and the foundation of our faith, call heaven and earth to record, that in the name of Him whose we are, and whom we serve, *we protest!* No description we can give of this measure of the Executive of the United States, even though indignation alone inspired us to utter it, would exaggerate what we regard as an unholy infatuation, a ruthless persecution, a cruel and shameful device, adding severity and bitterness to a wicked and reckless war.

When it is remembered that, in the name of “a military necessity,” this new measure was adopted, we may pass by the concession of weakness implied in this fact, and content ourselves with calling attention to the *immorality* of a necessity created by a needless war of invasion. “Military necessity!” an excuse not for self-defence—not for self-preservation—but for violating the laws of civilized warfare, and attempting a barbarity. If “military necessity” be the inspiration to attempt emancipation, how shall men praise it as philanthropy? Are other nations uninterested in such conduct? Proclaim the right first to invade and subjugate independent States, exhaust all resources, and then avow the principle of “military necessity” as an excuse to add severity to the wrong, as a plea upon which to project a scheme violative of every manly, honourable, and Christian sentiment! Suppose an invader happens to be too *weak* to conquer upon any other plan, has he therefore the right to proclaim that poison and the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children shall be his legal method? The common cause of humanity, and the common hopes of Christian civilization, as they appeal to every nation, cry out against this wretched subterfuge. If the “military necessity” of *weakness* may righteously adopt any measure that an invader’s ingenuity can invent or his malice suggest, what laws, what principles of justice and equity shall nations at war respect?

At one time the world is told “the rebellion is weak, and will be crushed out in sixty days;” at another, “Union men abound in the South, and will welcome U.S. troops as deliverers;” and now the invader is so hopeless of his task, that it is a “military necessity” that he obtain help of slaves! May it not be pertinently asked, what, that is creditable to this invasion, ought men to believe, and to what end is this deceitful war waged? When this last resort, like all the enemy’s preceding schemes, shall signally fail, as it certainly will, to achieve the ruin of the South, what is promised? Nothing, but war! cruel, relentless, desperate war! Because the President by his scheme violates the constitution, we *might* condemn him; though the constitutionality of his acts be less important to us than to the people over whom he presides; because he has violated his word, his *special promise*, and even his solemn oath of office, we *might* abhor his act; though that is a matter which may chiefly concern his conscientiousness, and illustrate the character of that officer whom Southerners refused to salute as their President; because of the diabolical mischief *intended*, we might in the name of Heaven indignantly denounce his proclamation; though no weapon formed against us be, practically, more harmless. But these are not the considerations which move us to protest: we solemnly protest *because*, under the disguise of philanthropy, and the pretext of doing good, he would seek the approbation of mankind upon a war that promises to humanity only evil, and that continually.

Let philanthropists observe, even according to its own terms, this measure is in no proper sense an act of mercy to the slave, but of malice toward the master. It provides for freeing *only* the slaves of those who fight against the United States. The effort is not to relieve that Government of slavery, where the philanthropy has full opportunity for displaying its generosity, and the power to exercise it in respect to slavery, if it exists at all, can be indulged; but the effort is simply to invoke slavery as an agent against the South, reckless of the consequences to the slaves themselves. Shall a pretext at once so weak and so base mislead intelligent men, and make them imagine Abraham Lincoln is a philanthropist? His position

ought to be offensive to every sincere abolitionist, as well as disgusting to every sincere friend of the slave of every shade of opinion on the question of slavery. How does it affect the cause of the Confederacy? If to awaken a deeper resentment than ever inflamed the people of the South before; if to quench the last sentiment of respect that lingered in their breasts for the United States’ Government; if to unite them more resolutely than ever, and to make it to the individual interest of every person in the bounds of the Confederacy to sustain and strengthen it with every dollar and every arm, and every prayer, and every energy of manly virtue and Christian encouragement, be to advance the invader’s interest, and give him hope of success, then has the proclamation furnished him opportunity of congratulating himself.

We submit further: *That the war against the Confederate States has achieved no good result, and we find nothing in the present state of the struggle that gives promise of the United States accomplishing any good by its continuance.* Though hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost, and many millions of treasure spent; though a vast amount of valuable property has been destroyed, and numbers of once happy homes made desolate; though cities and towns have been temporarily captured, and aged men and helpless women and children have suffered such things as it were even a shame to speak of plainly; though sanctuaries have been desecrated, and ministers of God been dragged from sacred altars to loathsome prisons; though slaves have been instigated to insurrection, and every measure has been adopted that the ingenuity of the enemy could devise, or his ample resources afford by sea and by land; yet we aver, without fear of contradiction, that the only possession which the United States hold in the Confederate States is the ground on which United States’ troops pitch their tents; and that whenever those troops withdraw from a given locality in our territory, the people resident therein testify a warmer devotion to the Confederate cause than even before their soil was invaded. Nothing is therefore conquered—no part of the country is subdued; the civil jurisdiction of the United States, the real test of their success, *has not been established by any force of arms.* Where such civil jurisdiction exists at all along the border, it had existed all the while, was not obtained by force, and is not the fruit of conquest. The fact is admitted by our enemies themselves.

It is worthy of special notice, that notwithstanding the gigantic exertions of the United States, they have not been able to secure the return of a single county, or section of a county, much less a single State, that has seceded. No civil order and peace spring up in the track of their armies. All in front of them is resolute resistance, and behind them, when they have entered our territory, is a deep, uncompromising opposition, over which only military force can for a moment be trusted. Thus the civilized world is called upon to observe an invasion which has lasted nearly two years, and achieved nothing but cruelty. Before it a people ready to die, but neither ready to submit, nor weak enough to be conquered; and for its gloomy prospect an interminable war, growing more bitter and unfeeling every day, because more hopeless to them than that by it have sought things impossible as well as unrighteous. In the name of the great Prince of Peace, has Christianity, has civilization, nothing to say to such an awful tragedy! Such is the war for the *Union*! Yet every day our foes are deepening and widening that river of blood which divides us from them for ever!

The only change of opinion among our people since the beginning of the war, that is of material importance to the final issue, has been the change from all lingering attachment to the former Union, to a more sacred and reliable devotion to the Confederate Government. The sentiments of the people are not alterable in any other respects by force of arms. If the whole country were occupied by United States’ troops, it would merely exhibit a military despotism, against which the people would struggle in perpetual revolutionary effort, while any Southerners remained alive. Extermination of the inhabitants could alone realize civil possession of their soil. Subjugation is therefore clearly impossible. Is extermination desired by Christians?

*The moral and religious interests of the South ought to be appreciated by Christians of all nations.*

These interests have realized certainly no benefit from the war. We are aware that in respect to the moral aspects of the question of slavery, we differ from those who conceive of emancipation as a measure of benevolence, and on that account we suffer much reproach which we are conscious of not deserving. With all the facts of the system of slavery in its practical operations before us, “as eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, having had perfect understanding of all things” on this subject of which we speak, we may surely claim respect for our opinions and statements. Most of us have grown up from childhood among the slaves; all of us have preached to and taught them the word of life; have administered to them the ordinances of the Christian church; sincerely love them as souls for whom Christ died; we go among them freely, and know them in health and sickness, in labour and rest, from infancy to old age. We are familiar with their physical and moral condition, and alive to all their interest; and we testify in the sight of God, that the relation of master and slave among us, however we may deplore abuses in this, as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of the Africans in our land is an occasion of gratitude on their behalf, before God: seeing that thereby Divine Providence has brought them where

missionaries of the Cross may freely proclaim to them the word of salvation, and the work is not interrupted by agitating fanaticism. The South has done more than any people on earth for the Christianization of the African race. The condition of slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fictions would have men believe, but prosperous and happy, and would have been yet more so but for the mistaken zeal of the Abolitionists. Can emancipation obtain for them a better portion? The practicable plan for benefiting the African race must be the Providential plan—the scriptural plan. We adopt that plan in the South, and while the State should seek by wholesome legislation to regard the interests of master and slave, we, as ministers, would preach the word to both as we are commanded of God. This war has not benefited the slaves. Those who have been encouraged or compelled to leave their masters have gone, and we aver can go to no state of society that offers them any better things than they have at home, either in respect to their temporal or eternal welfare. We regard Abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord’s blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth no good fruit; instead of blessing, it has brought forth cursing; instead of love, hatred; instead of life death—bitterness and sorrow and pain and infidelity and moral degeneracy follow its labours. We remember how the apostle has taught the minister of Jesus upon this subject, saying: “Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. *These things teach and exhort.* If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about question and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmises, perverse disputings of men of corrupt mind, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself.”

This is what we teach, and obedient to the last verse of the text, from men that “teach otherwise”—hoping for peace—we “withdraw” ourselves.

The Christians of the South, we claim, are pious, intelligent and liberal. Their pastoral and missionary works have points of peculiar interest. There are hundreds of thousands here both white and coloured, who are not strangers to the blood, that bought them. We rejoice that the great Head of the Church has not despised us. We desire as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all men, and though reviled, to revile not again.

Much harm has been done to the religious enterprises of the Church by the war; we will not tire you by enumerating particulars. We thank God for the patient faith and fortitude of our people during these days of trial.

Our soldiers were before the war our fellow-citizens, and many of them are of the household of faith, who have carried to the camp so much of the heaven of Christianity, that amid all the demoralising influences of army life, the good work of salvation has gone forward there.

Our President, some of our most influential statesmen, our commanding general, and an unusual proportion of the principal generals, as well as scores of other officers, are prominent, and we believe consistent members of the Church. Thousands of our soldiers are men of prayer. We regard our success in the war as due to Divine mercy, and our Government and people have recognised the hand of God in the formal and humble celebration of His goodness. We have no fear in regard to the future. If the war continue for years, we believe God’s grace sufficient for us.

In conclusion, we ask for ourselves, our churches, our country, the devout prayers of all God’s people—“the will of the Lord be done.”

Christian brethren, think of these things, and let your answer to our address be the voice of an enlightened Christian sentiment going forth from you, against war, against persecution for conscience’ sake, against the ravaging of the Church of God by fanatical invasion. But if we speak to you in vain, nevertheless we have not spoken in vain in the sight of God; for we have proclaimed the truth—we have testified in behalf of Christian civilization—we have invoked charity—we have filed our solemn protest against a cruel and useless war. And our children shall read it and honour our spirit, though in much feebleness we may have borne our testimony.

“Charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.” We desire to “follow after charity;” and “as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.”

#### SIGNATURES TO THE ADDRESS.

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James B. Taylor, D.D., Secretary Foreign Miss. Board, Richmond, Virginia.  
A. M. Pindexter, D.D., Secretary Foreign Miss. Board, Richmond, Virginia.  
William F. Broadus, D.D., Charlottesville, Virginia.  
H. W. Dodge, Lynchburg, Virginia.  
Cornelius Tyree, Powhatan Courthouse, Virginia.  
A. D. Shaver, Edr. Religious Herald, Richmond, Virginia.  
C. George, Culpeper Courthouse, Virginia.



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 Joseph S. Baker, Quitman, Georgia.  
 H. C. Hornady, Atlanta, Georgia.  
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## METHODIST EPISCOPAL.

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 John Early, D.D., Virginia, Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church South.  
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 Whiteford Smith, D.D., South Carolina.  
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 W. A. Gamewell, Marion, South Carolina.  
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 E. H. Myers, D.D., Edr. Southern Christian Advocate.

## METHODIST PROTESTANT.

W. A. Crocker, Pres. Virginia District.  
 R. B. Thompson, Pres. Lynchburg College, Virginia.  
 F. L. B. Shaver, Pres. Alabama District.

## PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.

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## NOTES.

1. In publishing the foregoing Address it is proper to declare explicitly, that its origin was from no political source whatever, but from a conference of ministers of the gospel in the city of Richmond.

The signatures are confined to this class because it was believed that, on the points presented, the testimony of men holding this office might be received with less prejudice than that of any other. These signatures might have been indefinitely increased. Only a limited number of names—much less than at first intended—was solicited; and as they are still coming in, some will probably be received too late for insertion. Those appended represent more or less fully every accessible section of the Confederacy, and nearly every denomination of Christians. They are ample for the chief objects intended, namely, to bear witness to the Christian world that the representations here made concerning the public sentiment of the South are true, and to carry a solemn protest against the continuance of this fruitless and unrighteous war.

2. From the best sources of information, it is ascertained that the whole number of communicants in the Christian churches in the Confederate States, is about two millions and fifty thousand.

Of these, the number of white communicants is about one million five hundred and fifty thousand. Supposing the total white population to be eight millions, and one-half that number to be over eighteen years of age, a little more than one-third of the adult population are members of the Church of Christ.

The number of coloured communicants is about five hundred thousand. Assuming the coloured population to be 4,000,000, there would be, upon the same method of computation, one-fourth of the adult population in communion with the Church of Christ. Thus has God blessed us in gathering into His Church from the children of Africa, more than twice as many as are reported from all the converts in the Protestant Missions throughout the heathen world.

## LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Confederate Correspondent.)

[Although anticipated in date by the letter from Richmond, of May 12th, which appeared in our columns last week, the subjoined correspondence will be found to contain much of interest, and will amply repay perusal.]

RICHMOND, April 29.

To the great surprise, but entire satisfaction, of the Charlestonians, the enemy's attack on their city has not been renewed. After two years' preparation to reduce the Southern Sebastopol, and the concentration of an immense naval and military force within the waters and on the coast-line of South Carolina, the Yankees moved one fine day in majestic order of battle upon the entrance to the harbour with their frowning iron-clads, fulminated for a time at Forts Sumter and Moultrie, and withdrew. The King of France, with his 40,000 men, marching up and down the hill, was nothing to it. We are not told that his Gallic Majesty lost any of his so rapidly counter-marching forces, whereas the indestructible armada was very badly used, and the assailants left one of their vessels behind them. The result was similar to that of the battle of Fredericksburg. The "reconnaissance in force" constituted the whole hostile demonstration. It turns out that our engineers, Lee, Beauregard, and Ripley, made Charleston harbour a far more formidable line of fortifications than they themselves suspected. "They builded wiser than they knew." In the attack and the repulse, we are reminded forcibly of an incident in the memorable combat which Sir Walter, with his inimitable power, describes in the "Fair Maid of Perth," as having occurred between the clans Chattan and Quhele. The Yankees, borrowing from us the iron-plated war vessel, advanced with the confidence of Norman-man-Ord, bold son of Torquil, when he struck Harry of the Wynd on the throat with his own weapon, crying out, "You taught me the stab!" The Confederates, thundering back with their *Brooke gun*, and sending their steel-pointed bolts of Richmond manufacture through the thickest armour of the enemy's fleet, replied as Henry did, when he clove down his Highlander,—"Fool! you were taught the thrust, but not the parry!" It is amazing, however, in whatever light we may look at it, that an undertaking upon which so much money, skill, and labour had been expended, in which the pride and the reputation of the North were so deeply involved, and to which the Northern people were so strongly impelled by the powerful motive of revenge, should have been so lightly relinquished, and we cannot but suppose that the attack will be made a second time with the earliest frost of autumn. As six months are thus given to the Confederates to make still stronger what is already considered impregnable, it may be reasonably supposed that the second attempt will hardly be more successful than the first.

The military situation is not materially changed since the date of my last letter. General Bragg's army still remains at Tullahoma, in admirable discipline, health, and efficiency. For the present, its position is defensive, and it is believed that it will be able to hold Rosecrans in check, though his army has been largely strengthened of late, and the aggressive operations of the enemy during the summer months will doubtless be chiefly in that quarter. The Yankee General Grant yet threatens Vicksburg, and the enemy has succeeded in passing our batteries at different times with eight or ten gunboats and transports. This was done in the darkness of the night, under full pressure of steam, and with the favouring current of the Mississippi to accelerate the speed of the vessels, notwithstanding all which three or four of the gunboats have been sunk by our batteries. There are now between Port Hudson and Vicksburg twenty vessels of war and transports, from which we expect to hear at any moment, as making an attempt to open the communication with Farragut at New Orleans, but it is not believed that this attempt will succeed; and the reduction of Vicksburg, like that of Charleston, may be regarded as postponed till the coming of frost.

"Fighting Joe Hooker" remains on the northern bank of the Rappahannock, where President Lincoln has been to review his army, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, in a carriage drawn by four horses, *à l'Empératrice*, and Master Lincoln, in the saddle. The visit of the President was made for the purpose of endeavouring to induce the re-enlistment of the Yankee troops, whose terms of service are about to expire; but though he addressed them with accustomed Presidential jocularities and eloquence, he failed of his object, the waning patriotism of the "finest body of soldiers in the world" refusing to burst into flame at his presence and his pleadings. Truth to say, they were in little humour to be persuaded, and heeded not the voice of the charmer, charmed he never so wisely. And large reinforcements from Hilton Head have therefore already been sent to replace the regiments which are so soon to be mustered out of service. General Lee, meanwhile, is quietly but energetically making his arrangements for a summer campaign, which, with the efficient help of "Stonewall" Jackson, will not, when commenced, be without its stirring incidents. His army is in the best possible condition, with a commissariat greatly improved, and the men eager to follow their gallant leaders to the new fields of glory.

The immediate point of interest in Virginia for two weeks past has been the little town of Suffolk, which General Longstreet, to the intense consternation of the Yankees, has been investing. This unimportant place is the county seat of Nansemond County, and lies upon the right bank of Nansemond River, a tributary of the James, 28 miles by water from Norfolk, and 102 miles south-east of Richmond. Two railroads run through it, the Seaboard and Roanoke, connecting Portsmouth with Weldon in North Carolina, and the Norfolk and Petersburg, both of which have been used only for military purposes, since the evacuation of Norfolk and Portsmouth by the Confederates, and used by both parties, as far as they held possession respectively of the country through which the lines pass. Besides the Court House, clerks' office, and county gaol, and the shops, station-houses, and sheds belonging to the railroads, Suffolk contains 400 buildings, and a population of about 1,500. It had four houses of religious worship, which the Yankees have converted into hospitals or barracks. The inhabitants are as staunch and true to the Southern cause, as those of any other town in the Confederacy. The males are mostly absent, in the Confederate armies, or refugees from the Federal tyranny. Such as remain at home have either been forced to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, or locked up in gaol. When Suffolk fell into the hands of the enemy, they rebuilt the railroad between the town and Portsmouth—distance seventeen miles, laying down a second line of rails for greater facilities of transportation, and threw up very strong fortifications on the Richmond side of the town. Having command of the water approaches, in their gunboats on the Nansemond river, they rightly apprehended no attack in that direction, and upon the South they trusted to the impracticable nature of the *Dismal Swamp* (so well known in the verses of Tom Moore) which borders very closely upon Suffolk, as affording a natural and safe means of defence. The Federal force in Suffolk was about 30,000 men, under General Corcoran, at the moment of General Longstreet's appearance, but it has been largely increased by reinforcements sent from Fortress Monroe, and is now not less than 50,000. General Longstreet succeeded, after slight skirmishing with small bodies of the enemy thrown out to support their pickets, in gaining the rear of the town, and cutting off Corcoran's communication by land with Portsmouth—after which he began to annoy the gunboats on the river by continuous artillery practice on the part of the light batteries on shore, and would, perhaps, have interrupted entirely the water communication with Fortress Monroe, but for an unfortunate and unaccountable surprise, in the capture, by an overwhelming force, of Stribling's Battery, a most effective artillery corps, which had just been moved to a point on the river where it might do excellent work. On the night of Sunday, the 19th of April, three Yankee regiments crossed the Nansemond in transports some distance below the battery, and coming suddenly upon it from the rear, succeeded in taking the whole corps, with five beautiful pieces, three Napoleons, and two 24-pound brass howitzers. Captain Stribling maintained his ground gallantly until all hope of assistance was gone, and then surrendered his band of fifty-five men as prisoners. They were conveyed to Fortress Monroe, but were immediately exchanged, with the exception of the officers, and sent back to General Longstreet's lines. As the captives passed through the streets of Suffolk, the undaunted women of the devoted village rushed to the windows waving their kerchiefs in a transport of enthusiasm; old men came out and blessed them, and the enraged Federal officers vainly endeavoured to repress an exhibition of loyalty so perverse and unreasonable. The press of the Northern cities lay great stress on the retention of Suffolk, as indicating the superior prowess of the Federal troops; but the capture of Suffolk, which might be accomplished in three days by General Longstreet, if he were willing to sacrifice his brave soldiers for a place of no great military importance, was not the object of his recent movement, this having been undertaken for the purpose of procuring supplies from a region into which our quarter-masters and commissaries had not been able to penetrate. That a feeling of great alarm and demoralization among the Yankees was inspired by the movement is undeniable. General Vicks issued orders of the most panic-stricken nature from his Norfolk headquarters. General Corcoran himself would seem to have been greatly disconcerted, since his lively apprehension of personal danger led him to shoot and kill Colonel Kimball, an officer of his command, when riding up to him in the dark.

From Arkansas we have the best accounts of the



large increase of the army consequent upon the arrival at Little Rock of General Sterling Price, whose presence beyond the Mississippi never fails to awaken the liveliest delight among a people that love him. The Missourians are pouring across the border to his standard in numbers that encourage us to believe that the old hero of Carthage and Lexington will soon be again active upon the theatre of his former successes.

While the masses of men under arms in the field are thus for the time unengaged in actual hostilities, or holding each other in check at various points, predatory bands of the enemy have been pushed, sometimes with singular audacity, into the Confederate territory, carrying desolation in their train. One such raid was made even into Central Alabama last week. The atrocities committed by men holding Federal commissions are unexampled in modern warfare, and we must go to the Palatinate to find anything like them in history. The character of Pope comes out in rather bright colours when placed in comparison, as charcoal was said to make a white mark upon the face of Ginger's sable mistress in the Ethiopian serenaders. Milroy is the man after the Yankee heart. The week before last he turned a most respectable family of Winchester out of doors, and took personal possession of their dwelling and furniture, for the heinous offence of having observed Jefferson Davis's day of fasting and prayer. A young lady of Winchester wrote a simple account of this nefarious transaction, which was notorious in the town, in a letter to a friend in Baltimore. But Milroy has a little habit—commendable as a measure of caution—of breaking open and reading the correspondence of young ladies (what is the sanctity of private correspondence to him?), and when his eye fell upon this imprudent but truthful statement of his misdeeds, he waxed wroth as a Tetrarch of Judea of old, and ordered the immediate arrest of the fair letter-writer. His agents went into the young lady's chamber and carried her off, without giving her time to pack up, to the Confederate lines.

In a former letter I set down at some length well-authenticated conspicuous instances of Yankee villany in the South. Give me leave to record another, which is worthy of Butler himself. At the beginning of the war, Judge Thomas B. Monroe was Federal judge for the Eastern District of Kentucky, and lived in great comfort about a mile and a half out of Frankfort. He had grown old in the service of his country. He was regarded by all as one of the ablest intellects, as he was one of the most incorruptible citizens of his State and age, and virtue might have secured him immunity from the general proscription of such as would not uphold the Federal Government. But Judge Monroe resigned his office in rebuke of the measures of Lincoln;—his two sons had entered the Southern army at the first sound of bugle; and so he was driven from his home into exile, leaving behind him two maiden daughters and a daughter-in-law, *née* Miss Grier, the daughter of Judge Grier, of Pennsylvania, member of the Supreme Court of the United States. Months of weariness and loneliness rolled by. The aged father, having served in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, retired to Mississippi, to live with a married daughter, herself an exile from the city of New Orleans; the two sons had fallen in battle, one on the field of Shiloh, the other in the murderous fray of Murfreesboro'; still the desolate ladies lived in the family mansion, where they managed with difficulty to keep up the establishment. One cold night in the month of March last, there came to the dwelling a band of Federal marauders, who burst open the doors, rushed into the sleeping apartments of the ladies, and dragged them from their beds, and taking the keys of the several rooms, began an indiscriminate pillage of the mansion. With a refinement of cruelty that would have become a fiend, the officer in command broke into the *escritoire* of the young widow, taking from it the portrait of her slain husband, and compelled her to listen while he read aloud, with ribald comments, the letters which had been written to her by the dead during the golden, happy days of her courtship. There, Mr. Charles Reade, is a "situation" surpassing any of the dramatic incidents of your exciting romances! I need only pursue the narrative, which here reaches its climax, by stating that the three poor women were turned out into the night, and compelled to walk to Frankfort for shelter, while riot and ruin reigned unchecked in the homestead of the Old Kentucky gentleman. The wanderers were not permitted to return. The two daughters were sent down the Mississippi under a flag of truce; the daughter-in-law was constrained to seek an uncongenial home among her estranged relatives in Philadelphia.

But, perhaps, the most flagitious outrage of the war, because committed under military orders, was the murder of the brave Captain Freeman in Tennessee. This officer commanded a battery in the army of Van Dorn, and was captured with several of his pieces in the attack on Franklin in that State. As the prisoners were on the way to the rear of the Yankee force, our cavalry determined to recapture the battery at all hazards, made a brilliant dash at the enemy, and pressed them hard. The Yankees, unable to meet this charge, ordered Capt. Freeman to resume the command of his guns, and use them against his companions-in-arms. To this inhuman demand, the gallant Freeman returned an indignant and scornful refusal; whereupon the cowards levelled their muskets at him, and he fell pierced by uncounted bullets. Such is the sort of warfare carried on by the "best Government on earth!"

In refreshing contrast with these atrocities, it gives me real pleasure to record an act of true heroism and magnanimity on the part of a Federal officer, which will be had in remembrance, let us hope, long after this sorrowful strife is over. Ten days ago, Lieut. W. F. Stone, of the 1st Maine Cavalry, was brought a prisoner to this city, having been captured in a skirmish near Bealton's Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, on the 16th of April, by Lieut. J. A. Payne, of

the Black Horse Cavalry. While escorting his prisoner to General Stuart's headquarters, Lieut. Payne attempted to swim his horse across a swollen stream, but was swept away by the angry current, and was just about drowning, when Lieut. Stone jumped into the water to his rescue, and brought him safely to the bank. General J. E. B. Stuart, on learning the facts, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, asking the unconditional discharge of Lieut. Stone, which was immediately granted. Upon his return to Washington City, finding that Lieut. Payne had been taken prisoner in the meantime, and was then in the Old Capitol Gaol, Lieut. Stone exerted himself successfully to procure his release. Such acts as these need no praise—they belong to the "courtesies of war," of which the Yankees have manifested so few in this unhappy struggle, and they give to Lieut. Stone a patent of nobility above stars and ribbons, and Legions of Honour.

The *resumé* of Congressional items may be made in a short space. The Bill for organising the Supreme Court and Court of Claims did not pass both Houses, as was erroneously stated by me in a former letter, but was postponed by the House of Representatives till the third Monday of the ensuing session. The Tax Bill as reported by the Conference Committee has become a law. Its most striking feature is *taxation in kind*, whereby one-tenth part of the crops and stock of agriculturists and graziers is taken in lieu of a moneyed imposition. This provision will save the Government the expense of impressment and much delay in the transportation of supplies, as the products can be accumulated more readily in the immediate neighbourhoods where they will be needed. An interesting debate sprang up in the House of Representatives upon the very day on which my last letter was dated, in continuation of a subject that had been previously discussed, that of Martial Law as connected with the conduct of General Hindman in Arkansas. Resolutions declaratory of the non-existence of Martial Law, as an arbitrary suspension of civil jurisdiction, under the Constitution of the Confederate States, were passed by a vote of 45 to 27. Some flagrant abuses having already been committed under the Impressment Law, whereby the Government was imposed upon by the appraisers of the vicinage, Mr. Wigfall introduced an amendatory substitute for the law which has passed both Houses, wherein it is provided that, in cases where the Agent of the Government shall object to the price set upon the produce impressed by the appraisers of the vicinage, he shall endorse his reasons on their award, and refer it to his Department; and the Board of appraisers, jointly appointed by the States and the Confederate Government, shall judge what price shall be paid. From their decision there shall be no appeal, and the Department shall settle the claim accordingly.

Since the date of my last letter the House of Representatives has lost one of its members, a young man of learning and ability, the Hon. William M. Cooke, of St. Louis, Missouri, who died on the 16th April, in Petersburg. Mr. Cooke served in the first campaign in Missouri, on the staff of General Price, and was honourably mentioned by him in the official reports of the several battles fought there. His death was announced in the House by his colleague, Mr. Vest, and tributes to his memory were paid by Messrs. Bell, of Missouri; Garland, of Arkansas; Price, of Kentucky; Currin, of Tennessee; and Chambliss and Baldwin, of Virginia. In the Senate Messrs. Clark and Peyton, of Missouri, and Johnson, of Arkansas, rendered their testimony to his eminent services and his personal worth.

A tragical occurrence of the most deplorable kind has disturbed the social order of Richmond within the past week. On Friday the 24th inst., Mr. R. E. Dixon, Clerk of the House of Representatives, was shot and instantly killed, in Bank-street, at half-past 1 P.M., in full sight of the Capitol, by R. S. Forde, his assistant journalizing clerk. Forde had been summarily discharged by Dixon for alleged neglect of duty, and sought this bloody redress of his wrongs, real or conjectural. The parties met by accident; pistols were instantly drawn, and six or eight shots exchanged, with the mournful result above stated. Forde was immediately arrested, and is now in gaol awaiting his examination. Comment upon this homicide, so startling, so causeless, so shocking to the moral sense of mankind, is unnecessary. Not until juries can be convinced that the safety of human life requires the infliction of the extreme penalty of the law in cases where the malice is apparent, will this resort to the pistol—this barbarism of the street fight—disappear from our society. Mr. Dixon was a Georgian, and was much esteemed by those who knew him well. Mr. Forde is a native of Kentucky.

We have the most cheering accounts of the condition of the crops throughout the Confederacy. A very large area has been sown with grain, and the prospect gives assurance of plenty. The soil has been tickled with the hoe (was it Douglas Jerrold who first said that?), and it is smiling with a harvest.

A sad accident occurred last evening on the line of the Danville railroad, thirteen miles above this city. The train was thrown from the track by coming into collision with a cow, and the result was the killing of two passengers, and the wounding of thirty-five or forty others.

Vice-President Stephens arrived in Richmond on Friday last. He is in excellent health.

A noble "Address to Christians throughout the World" has just been printed here, which must attract the attention of all thinking men in Europe. It bears the signatures of more than a hundred prominent clergymen of all denominations of professing Christians of the Evangelical Protestant Church in the South, and its positions are as calmly as they are unanswerably maintained.

The adjournment of Congress is fixed for May 1.

29th April, 10 P.M.

P.S.—Since the foregoing was written, despatches have been received at the War Department stating that

General Hooker has crossed the Rappahannock at a point immediately opposite Hamilton's Crossing, five miles below Fredericksburg, with 40,000 men, while General Stoneman has passed with a considerable force at a point thirty miles higher up, in the neighbourhood of Gordonsville. Some sharp skirmishing with the enemy's advance guard occurred this morning, and our wounded have already been brought to this city. A general engagement cannot be delayed, it is thought, beyond three or four days, and the news of it may reach you *via* New York, before the receipt of this letter. The shock will be heavy, but we are confident. The issue is in the hands of the God of Battles.

In the evening Session the House of Representatives has just adopted the Senate's seal with the motto of *Deo Vindice*. May the selection of the motto be justified by the result of the impending struggle!

#### PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

It will be seen from the subjoined document that at the beginning of May the authorities were expecting a severe contest in Mississippi:—

Executive Office,  
Jackson, Mississippi, May 5, 1863.

To the People of Mississippi—

Recent events, familiar to you all, impel me, as your Chief Magistrate, to appeal to your patriotism for united effort in expelling our enemies from the soil of Mississippi. It can and must be done. Let no man capable of bearing arms withhold from his State his services in repelling the invasion. Duty, interest, our common safety, demand every sacrifice necessary for the protection of our homes, our honour, liberty itself.

The exalted position won in her name upon every battlefield where Mississippi's sons have unfurled her proud banner, and hurled defiance in the face of overwhelming numbers, forbids that her honour, the chivalry of her people, the glory of her daring deeds on foreign fields should be tarnished, and her streaming battle flag dragged to the dust by barbarian hordes on her own soil.

Awake, then—arouse, Mississippians, young and old, from your fertile plains, your beautiful towns and cities, your once quiet and happy but now desecrated homes, come and join your brothers in arms, your sons and neighbours, who are now baring their bosoms to the storm of battle at your very doors and in defence of all you hold dear.

Meet in every county with your arms; organize companies of not less than twenty (under the late act of Congress) forward your musket rolls to this office, and you will be received into the service with all the protection and rights belonging to other soldiers in the field.

Ammunition will be furnished you, and every aid in my power extended to you for your security and efficiency.

Fathers, brothers, Mississippians—while your sons and kindred are bravely fighting your battles on other fields and shedding new lustre on your name, the burning disgrace of successful invasion of their homes, of insult and injury to their wives, mothers, and sisters; of rapine and ruin, with God's help and by your assistance, shall never be written while a Mississippian lives to feel in his proud heart the scorching degradation.

Every moment's inaction and delay but strengthens your enemy and weakens your brothers in arms. Let every man, then, make it his business, laying all else aside, to assist in organizing as many companies as can be raised in each county, and report immediately to this office for orders. By this course you will enable our arms in a short time to repel the invader, secure the safety of your homes, and shed imperishable honour on your cause. You will not be without assistance. Let no man forego the proud distinction of being one of his country's defenders, or hereafter wear the disgraceful badge of the dastardly traitor who refused to defend his home and his country.

JOHN J. PETTUS, Governor of Mississippi.

#### THE NORTHERN PRESS ON THE DEATH OF STONEWALL JACKSON.

The *New York Herald*, in doggerel verse, pays the memory of Stonewall Jackson the tribute of its abuse, and in "Lines on a Dead Puppy" animates all that the vulgarity, bad taste, malignity, and cowardly slander, which have so long filled its columns, could have ever produced. No American gentleman in any Northern State—no one perhaps in any State, save some sexless New England vixen in petticoats or bloomers—can read without disgust and indignation of the gambols of an obscene beast of prey like that over the grave of the dead lion. Indeed, in the terms generally used by the Northern papers in reference to the death of the great American soldier, there is little left to be desired. We were not very apt to recognise the military merits of the giant Corsican when he was raging rampant over Europe and menacing our shores. But in the notices of Stonewall Jackson's death in the Federal journals there are traces of a certain national pride, for they still think the time will come when they can claim his State as part of their common territory. As well might we hope in some future war to regain Virginia, and arrogate Washington's birthplace as the spot where a celebrated British officer first saw the light. The North cannot undo the past; they cannot restore the Union as it was, any more than they can put back time and return to 1861.—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of June 4, are—

Letter from Richmond of May 12th.

Letters from New Orleans, May 6th and 9th.

Auction Prices of Imported Goods at Charleston on May 1st, Congressional Proceedings on Adoption of Confederate Flag and Motto.

Letter on Stonewall Jackson, by Dr. Hoge of Richmond.

Lenders on—

What the North is Fighting For.

Earl Russell's Foreign Policy.

The Military Situation in the Mississippi Valley.

A File of Southern Newspapers.



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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 60.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 18, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

THE REPULSE AT PORT HUDSON.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS OF MAY 29.  
MR. MASON AND THE AGENT OF THE NORTHERN ABOLITIONISTS.  
THE STRUGGLE IN THE MISSISSIPPI.  
THE FALL OF PUEBLA.  
RETALIATION.  
MR. CONINGHAM AND THE SLAVE TRADE.  
TELEGRAPHIC WAR NEWS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.  
A REPLY TO "HISTORICUS."  
(BY JUDGE MAGRATH, OF CHARLESTON.)  
LIST OF CONFEDERATE PRISONERS IN FORT LAFAYETTE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE burden of the Northern reports about Vicksburg is that the situation is unchanged. The local position of the belligerents may be unchanged, the Confederates may still be besieged in Vicksburg, and the Federals may still be investing the place; but the situation is altogether different from what it was when Grant made his first attack, and when Admiral Porter informed the Federal Government that the capture of Vicksburg was only a question of a few hours. Then Grant thought that with his superior forces he could forthwith take the town, but all his assaults have been repulsed, and at the latest date from the Mississippi he had been for several days inactive. When Grant sat down before Vicksburg he or his sanguine friends boasted that if the assaults should fail, the garrison would have to capitulate from lack of supplies; it is now ascertained that Vicksburg can hold out for two or three months without being relieved. It was supposed that the safety of Vicksburg depended upon General Johnstone hastily collecting his forces, and falling upon Grant's rear. The Confederate General, down to the 30th of May—sixteen days after he had left Jackson—had not done so, and yet Vicksburg had not fallen. The contest is not over, and the Confederates are, as usual, anxious and still preparing for defeat, instead of following the example of the North, and discounting a victory. But can we wonder at their growing confidence as to the issue of the struggle? Vicksburg, unaided, has been able to resist Grant: will Grant be able to resist the defenders of Vicksburg aided by Johnstone?

Again the Federals have been disappointed in getting the Confederates to fight according to the Northern programme. Grant's scheme was for Johnstone to attack him in his rear with what forces he had; so that if Vicksburg did not fall either by assault or by the blast of the trumpet, and Johnstone was victorious, the Federal troops would achieve "a great Union victory" by changing their base of operations to the gun-boats. But where is Johnstone? How many troops has he in command? Is he marching on Memphis? Is he advancing between the Yazoo and the Big Black River, for the purpose of retaking Haines' Bluff and interrupting the Federal communication by the Yazoo River?

Grant can very well dispense with the presence of Johnstone. He has enough to do with Vicksburg. Already we hear of reinforcements being needed. No doubt they are very desirable. The Federal losses have been immense, even according to the admission of the North. After the assault on the 22nd of May, Grant commenced erecting earthworks for the protection of his troops. It is ominous to the Northern public when they hear of their Generals resorting to the spade. We do not suppose that the siege of Vicksburg will last during the greater part of the summer, as the *New York World* suggests. It is the hot season, and Grant would be at-

tacked by an enemy more powerful than the sword and cannon, and which cannot be kept at bay by entrenchments. Far be it from us to say that the success of Grant is impossible, for in war all things are possible, but this we do say, that what he purposes to do must be done quickly. Delay adds to his difficulties, disease threatens to thin his ranks, and General Johnstone may at any time fall upon his rear or flank. The New York telegraphic despatch to the Southern Club at Liverpool, *via* the China, gives a credible version of the state of affairs as known in New York. It says,—“The siege of Vicksburg is progressing slowly and unsatisfactorily to the Federals. Grant's losses in the late assaults were heavy, and Mobile despatches say they exceed any of the Virginian battles. He had sent in a flag of truce to bury his dead. It is rumoured that half his artillery has been captured. The Federals admit they have taken no batteries, and that they cannot do so by assault. The fleet has suspended its fire upon the city. Two Federal gun-boats have been sunk.”

Vicksburg does not monopolise the interest of the war. Port Hudson has been attacked; and from the meagre accounts that the Northern authorities have allowed to be published, we must conclude that the Federals have been signally and disastrously defeated. On the morning of the 27th May, General Banks, having at least 25,000 men under his command, ordered an assault upon the works of Port Hudson. His forces were divided into three bodies. General Weitzel commanded the right, General Sherman the left, and Generals Augur and Grover the centre. We are told—but the information is rather superfluous—that the assailants met with a desperate resistance. The battle lasted all day, and the Federals admit a loss of from 2,000 to 4,000. Sherman's division was driven back, and General Sherman badly wounded. A negro regiment lost 600 out of 900 men; which the Northern Abolitionists, who hate the negro almost as well as they love fat contracts, will think some compensation for the loss of the battle. Our New Orleans correspondent, whose letter of the 29th of May gives particulars of the attack on Port Hudson, explains why the mortality was so great amongst the black corps. The negroes were put and kept in the front. The Northern soldiers might as well fight behind a regiment of school-girls. If they will have black soldiers, the white troops need not force them into the post of danger; and we believe the conduct of the Federal commander will cause lively indignation amongst his forces. Never since the commencement of the war have we read a Northern account of a defeat that was so little coloured. All the advantages claimed during the fight are a capture of a 6-gun battery by General Weitzel, and of some outworks by Generals Augur and Grover. It is rare, indeed, in the history of war, that even when unsuccessful, an assaulting army does not gain greater advantages during a long battle. The contest is said to have been renewed the next day, but the Federal authorities published no information as to the issue of the second day's fight, and we may be sure it was not in favour of the Federals. There is no doubt that the details of the battles on the 27th and 28th—if the engagement was renewed on the 28th—will disclose a brilliant Confederate victory.

Admiral Farragut co-operated with the land attack, and rather thinks he dismounted five guns in Port Hudson. For all the help he was to Banks, he might as well have been a thousand miles away from the scene of action.

The Confederate “iron-clads” which Porter claims to have destroyed at Shreveport were, as will be seen in our New Orleans correspondence, two small cotton-clad steamers.

The North is still speculating upon an advance of General Lee's army, and fears are entertained of an attack on Alexandria or Washington. The Federal

Colonel Kilpatrick, who has been for some time lying at Point Gloucester, Virginia, has retired with his command to Hooker's camp. On his way he collected—so it is reported—200 horses and mules, 40 waggons loaded with provisions, and 1,000 negroes. The last booty will perhaps be put in the front of the next battle, as the negroes were at Port Hudson. The Confederates have attacked Franklin, in Tennessee, and it is reported they were repulsed. There has been heavy skirmishing at Murfreesboro'.

The spirit of the North is not yet utterly crushed by the despotism of Mr. Lincoln's Government. The Peace meeting, held at New York on the 3rd inst., was attended by a crowd of people, estimated at from 20,000 to 50,000. The speeches made by Mr. Fernando Wood, Judge McCann, Mr. A. S. Sullivan, and others, advocated peace on any terms, and some of them the recognition of Southern independence. Resolutions were passed with great enthusiasm, declaring that the Government has no constitutional power to coerce States by military force; that if the power of coercion exists it is of a legal and not of a military character; that the Democracy cannot sustain a war against sovereign States, and demands that it should cease; they asserted that the war was fast consuming all the resources of the country; that by its continuance the South and the North must alike crumble into ruin, and recommended in the name of the people the suspension of hostilities, and a resort to Conventions both at the North and South, to determine upon what conditions the contending factions might be reconciled. At the time we write we have only the telegraphic summary of the proceedings. We learn from it that Mr. Vallandigham's arrest and the exercise of military law were strongly denounced, and hopes were expressed that Vallandigham would be elected Governor of Ohio. It was admitted that the North has been beaten, and cannot conquer the South, that the people are tired of the war, and want peace. Mr. Fernando Wood declared that no man equal to the crisis had shown himself in field or Cabinet, and that no man had been found to raise the banner of peace; therefore, solitary and alone he put the ball in motion. Mr. Lincoln's Administration and General Burnside were hissed, and the names of General McClellan and Mr. Vallandigham cheered. The *New York Herald* says that the meeting was the greatest ever held in New York, and that such unmistakable bitterness of hostility to the Administration was never before recorded in American history. All agreed that it was time to stop the war. The *Herald* thinks Wood's speech statesmanlike and bold. The same journal observes that there are indications of a reaction in the public mind on the subject of the war and on the question out of which it arose, and says,—“All is now confusion; but order will soon be evolved out of the political chaos, and the counter-revolution will stand triumphant and acknowledged by all. The people have lost all faith in the efficacy of the war to restore the Union, and are preparing to try what virtue there is in peace.”

Mr. Fernando Wood certainly uttered more treason than Mr. Vallandigham, but he was not arrested and tried by a court-martial. On the contrary, he has had a long interview with Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton.

General Burnside is obliged to rescind some of his arbitrary acts. On the 3rd an immense meeting was held at Chicago, for the expression of the public disapprobation of the order of General Burnside in suppressing the *Times* newspaper of that city and prohibiting the circulation of the *New York World*. Speeches were made by both Democrats and Republicans, which denounced the order as arbitrary and despotic. The



House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature passed a series of resolutions on the 3rd, also denouncing the action of General Burnside, and calling the attention of the Governor of the State to the violation thereby of the rights of the people, and demanding of the general Government that the order be revoked. Upon this, President Lincoln disapproved of the order for the suppression of the *Chicago Times*, and General Burnside revoked it, as well as an order for stopping of the circulation of the *New York World*, and even telegraphed to the *World* that he had done so.

A mass meeting has been held at Philadelphia, to protest against the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. Very strong resolutions were passed condemnatory of the conduct of the Administration. The preamble to the resolutions concludes by declaring, "If military necessity can invade the borders of the Ohio, and there uproot the laws of a State whose soil is pressed by the foot of no public enemy, whose people are true and faithful to the Constitution, and whose justice was quietly and unobstructedly administered till military power expelled it, this same necessity may march on, and, coming into Pennsylvania and other States of the Union, reduce us to a vassalage infinitely more intolerable than that against which we revolted when we declared our independence on the 4th of July, 1776."

General Hunter, it is rumoured, has been removed from his command. He addressed a vulgar and insolent letter to President Davis, which, it is now said, he was wise enough not to send to Richmond. It is highly spiced with blasphemy.

The editors of the New York newspapers have called a meeting of all the editors to express their opinion upon the rightful limitation of the liberty of the press to discuss the conduct of the Government in war times.

The steamer *Dolphin* has been condemned at Key West, rifles and sabres having been found among her cargo. News from Havannah states that the Spanish steamer *Union* and the British steamers *Hero* and *Eagle* have been captured. The *Diario Marina* says the *Hero* was captured within sight of the Cuban coast. The Southern steamer *Cuba* has been chased, and burned to avoid capture.

It is reported that Richmond was illuminated on receipt of the news of the taking of Puebla.

Gold in New York, on the 5th June, was 46½ per cent. premium.

## LATEST NEWS.

(Per the *Hibernian*.)

(By telegraph to Father Point.)

New York, June 6, Evening.

General Lee has evacuated Fredericksburg, and abandoned the line of the Rappahannock. It is not known whether he has gone.

General Hooker has crossed the river and occupied Fredericksburg.

Advices from Vicksburg to the 2nd instant state that General Grant has planted heavy siege guns close up to the enemy's works.

General Johnston is at Jackson.

One division of General Grant's army has gone up the Yazoo River.

The Great Eastern sailed hence to-day.

The *Hibernian* takes out \$40,000 in specie.

The *Hibernian* touched at Cape Race on the 9th instant. Telegraphic communication, however, being interrupted, she brings no later despatches.

## ENGLAND.

One of the most interesting of British *causes célèbres* was decided on Monday last in the House of Lords; sitting not as the highest Court of Appeal in the land, but as a Committee of Privileges. Such a Committee is nominally one "of the whole House;" and at its sittings, as at those of the House in its judicial capacity, every Peer is entitled to be present and to vote. Practically, however, the legal functions of the House are left to the law Lords—of whom there are now a considerable number—that is, to those members of the House who have attained their peerage through judicial services, and who are of course among the most eminent lawyers in the country. The case before the Committee arose on the petition of the eldest son of the late Earl of Dundonald, who, as Lord Cochrane, served so brilliantly in the earlier part of the Napoleonic war, in command of the frigate *Imperieuse*, and whose gallantry and skill afterwards contributed so largely to establish the independence of Chili, Peru, Brazil, and Greece. His eldest son—the child once held by his mother at the gangway during a hotly-contested action, clapping his hands at the noise and flash of the guns—claimed the title; and his claim was disputed by his brother, Captain Cochrane, who denied the validity of their mother's first marriage, he himself having been born after a

second ceremony had taken place. The certificate of the first informal, but legal, Scotch marriage was produced; the Countess, an old lady of 82, came forward to swear to its authenticity; and the circumstances which had led to the second and more regular performance of the ceremony were satisfactorily explained. Captain Cochrane's case was that his father and mother had forged the certificate; that his mother had been for years the mistress of his father; that she had avowed herself to be so; that his brothers were therefore illegitimate, and he himself, in law, the eldest son. To prove this case he brought forward Mr. Jackson, the Secretary of the late Earl, who made a series of most revolting and improbable charges against the Countess. In plain English, Captain Cochrane tried to prove his brother a bastard and his mother a prostitute of extraordinary shamelessness. For some reason best known to himself, he at last slunk out of the suit; and the inquiry being carried to the end, resulted in the complete establishment of the validity of Lord Dundonald's marriage, and the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the present Earl.

The House of Commons has decided, in spite of its unprecedented ugliness, and of a very general doubt whether it can ever be made substantial or weather-proof, to purchase and put in repair, as a permanent receptacle for our multifarious national collections, the building which sheltered the International Exhibition of 1862. The leading men of both parties are among the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1861, and those of the later Exhibition, who have complicated interests in the land and buildings, of which they are anxious to divest themselves; so that it was hardly likely that any effectual opposition could be offered to the proposals of the Government. Also, it is believed that the appropriation of the site of Prince Albert's last achievement for a purpose so congenial to the labours and tastes of his useful life will be eminently agreeable to the feelings of our widowed Queen. Let us hope, in mercy to the loyalty and good taste of the gentlemen who opposed the vote for its purchase, that they were unaware of this suppressed but unanswerable argument in its favour. Her Majesty paid a private visit to the building on Friday last, for the first time. The visit appeared to afford much interest to the Queen. It is the first she has paid to any place except with a direct purpose of doing honour to the memory of her husband; and of course, it was the association of that memory with the Exhibition of 1862 which induced her Majesty to visit its empty and hideous shell.

The Marquis of Clanricarde called attention on Monday night to the reckless manner in which British merchantmen have been plundered by the Federal cruisers; but he elicited from Lord Russell only the old reply, that we must trust to the justice and impartiality of the Federal Prize Courts. This is a little too good, from the Minister who so contemptuously set aside the authority of the regular tribunals of Brazil, when their decisions did not happen to accord with the views of the British Ambassador. A more important disclosure is that provoked by the Marquis's denunciation of the blockade, viz., that it has been declared by the law officers of the Crown to be perfectly valid, and in accordance with the declaration of Paris. We wonder whether it ever happens that the legal advisers of the Government—like the medical advisers of some fretful patients—are influenced in their prescriptions by other considerations than those which can strictly be called professional? Does it ever happen that they give advice with as much regard to the wishes of the Ministry, as to the clear letter of the law? Nay,—does it ever happen that they give advice unpalatable to those who ask it? If so, it is never disclosed to the public.

Mr. Bright held forth, after the manner of the man, at a meeting convened to express the sympathy of some sort of English-born persons with Mr. Lincoln and General Butler. His speech was simply a repetition of his old falsehood, that the South had begun the war, had seized forts and arsenals belonging to the North, and forced the latter to "resist." But it contained the curious and novel proposition, that the conquest of the South and the abolition of slavery would further the growth of cotton by causing a rush of free white labourers thither. In the first place, the whites cannot work on the cotton fields. In the next place, they will not work with free negroes. In the third place, no means have yet been found, where the climate is genial and land abundant, of inducing free negroes to work at all. It is clear, therefore, that the abolition of slavery must turn the Cotton States into a desert—and that Lancashire must share their fate. And this Mr. Bright knows as well as we do.

Parliament has been more than usually busy this

week. Mr. Coningham—to begin with the smallest topic—has had two excellent opportunities of provoking contempt and ridicule, and has availed himself to the utmost of both occasions. On Thursday night he put to the Prime Minister a question so utterly meaningless, and so signally offensive, that the latter neither would nor could give it a serious and relevant answer. He asked whether we ought not to extend our efforts to suppress the *African Slave Trade* to the *American Continent*; and whether it was not time to enter into negotiations with the *Federal Government* for the suppression of that trade in the *Confederate States*? The House was half-amused, and more than half disgusted; and Lord Palmerston rose, and with more civility than it deserved, "put the question by."

On the following night, the hon. member brought up the subject of the *Mhow court-martial*, and made a furious assault not merely on Colonel Crawley, but on Sir Hugh Rose, and on the Duke of Cambridge. As the notice which he had given had reference only to the case of Sergeant-Major Lilley, and he insisted on going into the whole story of the court-martial on Paymaster Smales, out of which that case arose, he was called to order. But the Speaker decided that on the question then before the House—that going into Committee of Supply, such a discussion could be raised without notice, and Mr. Coningham proceeded. No other man could have contrived to take up so strong a case and to make it so thoroughly unpopular with a House which, on the principal facts, was quite of his mind. But Mr. Coningham's reckless imputations against absent men, made without warning, provoked the severest animadversions from all sides; the House, like every other assembly of gentlemen, being intolerant of unfairness and surprises in matters affecting the character of gentlemen. Lord Hartington explained that the Duke of Cambridge had no control whatever over the proceedings of an Indian Court-martial; and Lord Palmerston rebuked the conduct of Mr. Coningham in terms of due severity.

The marriage of the Duc de Chartres, the brother of the Prince who is heir to the pretensions and misfortunes of the House of Orleans, with his cousin, the daughter of the Prince de Joinville, was celebrated on Thursday last, at the Roman Catholic chapel of Kingston, by Bishop Grant. The Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, called at Claremont after the ceremony. The Royal Family of England have never allowed political changes to interfere with their personal friendship for the members of the exiled family of France; and the Emperor has been wise—and may we not add, generous—enough to understand that such personal intimacy involved no want of political respect or courtesy towards himself and his dynasty, and has abstained from remonstrances which would be as futile and irritating as undignified. And there can be doubt that the private virtues of the House of Orleans are such as to entitle its exiled Princes to the friendly intimacy of the English Court.

The Prince and Princess of Wales underwent on Thursday evening a ceremonious reception and splendid banquet at the hands of the Merchant Taylors' Company—one of the most distinguished of the City Guilds. Several other Royal personages, and many of the principal statesmen of all parties, were also the guests of the Company. The Prince received the freedom of the Company. Ceremonies of this kind may serve no practical purpose, and certainly must involve a good deal of weariness to his Royal Highness; but they render no small service both to him and to his future subjects in bringing them face to face, and giving him an opportunity of enhancing and keeping fresh the loyalty with which the Royal Family are regarded by all true Englishmen. With a word and a smile a Prince or Princess may make a friend for life; and the loyal friendship of even such men as may be met and won at civic banquets is not to be despised.

Their Royal Highnesses have been present this week at the Oxford "Commemoration," the great annual festival of the University. The demonstrative loyalty of the undergraduates was as noisy as only English undergraduates, under the strongest stimulus which can be applied to their enthusiasm, know how to be. Lord Derby, as Chancellor of the University, delivered a Latin speech of great length and eloquence; and some luckless undergraduates recited congratulatory poems of unusual dulness, which, as usual, had not been accurately committed to memory. Altogether, the scene was very characteristic, and, to the Princess, must have been very interesting.

The act for the conscription of foreigners, passed by the last Congress of the Confederate States, failed to receive the President's signature.



## EUROPE.

The arrival of General Forey's report has dispelled all doubts as to the capture of Pae la. Ortega first attempted to obtain a capitulation, which would allow his army to march out with all the honours of war, and all its arms and stores. Failing to obtain that, he destroyed, as far as he could, all his material of war, and surrendered on the 17th at discretion. The prisoners numbered more than 13,000 officers and men, and the material was but partially destroyed. The Emperor has written to General Forey to testify his satisfaction with the army, and his appreciation of its perseverance and courage. "I deplore bitterly," he adds, "the probable loss of so many brave men; but I have the consoling thought that their death has not been useless, either to the interests of France or to civilization. Our object, you know, is not to impose upon the Mexicans a Government against their will, or make our success serve the triumph of any party. I desire that Mexico may be born again to a new life, and that soon regenerated by a Government founded upon the national will, upon the principles of order and progress, upon respect for the law of nations, it may recognise by amicable relations that it owes to France its repose and prosperity." It is stated that General Forey will be made a Marshal of France, and General Bazaine a senator.

The general satisfaction with which this success—the more welcome on account of the gloomy reports which had been prevalent—has been received, has found voice especially in the Liberal and revolutionary newspapers, which insist that France is now set free to act on behalf of Poland. This view, however, finds no encouragement in the Government organs, which declare that the resources of France have always been abundant enough to maintain the national honour, in spite of the Mexican war; and assert that the Government entertains hopes of a pacific solution of the Polish question.

The supplementary elections have been favourable to the Opposition in Paris, where M. Gueroult, the editor of the *Opinion Nationale*, a journal supposed to speak the sentiments of Prince Napoleon, and a vehement advocate of war for Poland, obtained 17,000 votes to 11,000 given to the Government candidate; in the department of the Charente; at Havre; in the Seine and Oise; at St. Quentin; at Lyons, where M. Favre has been returned. The Government has carried its candidates at Bourdeaux, a very close struggle, the majority not exceeding forty; in the Haut Rhin and at Cambrai. We ought to mention also that an Opposition candidate has been returned in one of the electoral districts of Corsica. The joint letter of the bishops on the elections and the reply of the Archbishop of Tours to M. Rouland have been referred to the Council of State as an abuse of the Episcopal power.

A great deal of fuss has been made in French newspapers about an alleged outrage committed by an English cruiser, the Zebra, upon a French merchant vessel, the so-called whaler Leopard. According to the statement of the French captain—Cordier—he left Havre on the 16th November, 1861, and "after several fishing cruises, in view principally of a special scientific experience," he was obliged to put in at St. Paul de Loanda to procure fresh provisions. Having expended in this port 6,625 francs, he left it on the 13th of February. On the 15th he was brought to about thirty miles from land by a cannon shot, and boarded by the boats of the Zebra. He and his men were treated, he declares, with great brutality, and as he refused to show his papers his vessel was taken in tow to Congo. It was afterwards sent with a prize crew to Sierra Leone, where it arrived on the 2nd of April. During all this time, Cordier and his men were victims of the grossest insults and brutalities,—an account of which he has furnished to the Minister of Marine. Arrived at Sierra Leone he was not allowed to communicate with the shore. He was there two days; no communication was made to him, and no one would listen to him when "Heaven sent there the French vessel L'Africain." The commander of this vessel, M. Poisson, upon whom Cordier lavishes the warmest eulogium, went on board the Leopard, took the papers, and within six hours—"a delay, which I afterwards learnt, had been fixed by the honourable and brave commandant Poisson"—the English quitted his ship, and after fifty days of martyrdom he, with his crew, were liberated—in a very bad temper, and made the best of their way back to Havre, to tell their story and claim compensation. Some of the semi-official Parisian newspapers announce that the French Government has demanded reparation. Perhaps so, but it is not probable that it will persist in the demand. On his own showing, Cordier's misfortunes are entirely his own fault. He would not show his papers to prove that his vessel was French, or engaged in legitimate trade; and the general tone of the complaint is not at all calculated to induce belief in the accuracy of his state-

ments. The captain of the Zebra tells quite a different story, as our readers will have seen by the statement of Lord Clarence Paget in our Parliamentary notes of last week. The Zebra saw the Leopard at the mouth of the Congo river, thought her a suspicious-looking vessel, and made signals to her to show her colours. After firing a shot, the Frenchman did so, but refused to show his papers, and prove that he had the right to hoist French colours. The Leopard was taken to Sierra Leone for adjudication in the Admiralty Court. Three days after its arrival the trial took place, when the French Consul brought the papers into Court; the vessel was at once liberated, and the Consul apologised for the conduct of Captain Cordier. We hear nothing in this version of the wonderful captain, whose ultimatum frightened the English, and of whom Cordier says, that the presence of a "few courageous and thoroughly French officers like him would bring to reason the impudent pride and savage arrogance of English officers." The story of experimental whale fishing off the coast of Guinea requires a robust faith for its acceptance. We are afraid that M. Cordier will find the English Government obstinate sceptics.

The Austrian reply to the propositions of England and France has reached London and Paris. It is described as in the main favourable; but Austria refuses to have anything to do with the demand for an armistice or a suspension of hostilities, and requires some modification of the clauses relative to a national representation and administration; the paragraphs relating to these points, as framed by England, being susceptible of the interpretation that a national army and separate finances are asked. We presume an understanding will be come to upon these points, but some days, if not weeks, must elapse before the notes reach St. Petersburg. The Russian Government will claim some time to consider its reply, and even if the terms should be decisive and preclude all further negotiations, no time will be left for France, if disposed to do so, to take any active measures on behalf of Poland. When the winter comes, and the Baltic is closed, Russia, secure against interference for several months, will crush the insurrection at any cost.

The National Government at Warsaw has made a grand coup. When the Government Treasury was examined the other day, it was found that a very large sum in Russian bank notes, Polish mortgage bonds, and gold half imperials was gone, and a receipt signed by the National Government left in its place. The books in which the numbers of the missing bonds were entered and four officials had also disappeared. The National Government is said to have been driven to this step by the impossibility of procuring funds. The people would obey its requisitions, enforced as they are with the penalty of assassination, but they profess not to have the means, and the rebel leaders are afraid to have resort to a general system of execution. Their system of terrorism seems, however, very well arranged; their decrees are carried out with very little delay, and they are evidently well served by the Poles in the employment of the Russian Government.

A Capuchin priest has been hung in front of the citadel at Warsaw. Archbishop Felinski is said to have protested against the sentence, and, in consequence, to have been arrested and sent to St. Petersburg. Another account denies the arrest, and says that he has only been sent for to St. Petersburg. It is announced that the Russian tariff is to be reduced.

The result of the Belgian elections has been, on the whole, unfavourable to the Government. It has gained four seats in the Senate—three at Ghent, one at Charleroi, and, consequently, will have, for the first time, a decided majority in that body; but it has sustained a net loss of six seats, or twelve votes, in the Chamber of Representatives, and thus will henceforth hardly have a working majority where it is most needed. This check is not, however, a sign that the clerical party is gaining the upper hand. Five of the seats were lost at Antwerp, where for some time some questions raised by the proposed extension of the fortifications, have been all-engrossing; and the rejection of the ministerial candidates is a protest, not against the general ministerial policy, but against the course the Government has pursued towards Antwerp on this local question. The new members for Antwerp will, however, vote with the Opposition, and for the present the result is the same as if the election had been dictated by a reaction in favour of the clericals. The Liberals also lose a seat at Bruges, where one of their leading men, M. Devaux, who had sat for the city since Belgium became an independent state, was defeated by the clerical party. On the other hand, the Liberals gain a seat at Ghent; on the whole, as we have said, they lose six seats. The contest, generally,

has been very bitter, as is usually the case when the questions in dispute are religious, and the clergy mingle in the strife, and some fine samples of virulence might be gathered from the Belgian newspapers of the last two or three weeks. It is thought that the ministry, whose leading member, M. Charles Rogier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was defeated at Dinant, will be unable to maintain its position.

The Municipality of Breslau adopted an address to the King of Prussia, asking him to recall the press ordinances and convoke the Diet, and sent a deputation to Berlin to present it. The King refused to receive deputation or address. Warnings are falling like a shower in all parts of Prussia. The liberal journals, which are good properties, are showing that they consider discretion the better part of valour. They won't run the risk of suppression, and therefore confine themselves to the mention of facts, the retailing gossip at home and the discussion of foreign politics; the editors would be willing enough to brave Herr Von Bismark; but the proprietors do not care to incur the loss of their property. The reactionary journals, meanwhile, enjoy the fullest licence, and attack their liberal contemporaries and the deputies, who cannot reply in the grossest manner.

It is said by correspondents who have not the slightest means of ascertaining the truth upon such a question, that the King wrote the Crown Prince a very angry letter about his speech at Dantzic, and that the Crown Prince, with his wife's assistance, wrote a model letter in reply, adhering firmly to his views, and asking permission to leave Prussia and live in retirement. The story may, of course, be true; it is quite as likely to be an invention. The Queen of Prussia, who has liberal inclinations, is coming to England on a visit to Queen Victoria.

The Austrian Reichsrath is to be opened this day. The Emperor will be represented by his brother, the Archduke Carl Ludwig.

The Greek deputation has left Copenhagen. It does not seem to be determined when the King takes his departure.

Count Sponneck, formerly Finance Minister of Denmark, is, it is said, to accompany the young Prince as his Mentor.

The Portuguese Chambers have been closed, although the budget has not been voted. A more generally interesting, if not more important piece of news is, that the prospects of the vintage are very encouraging.

In reply to an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Visconti Venosta, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said, "The cessation of the French occupation of Rome ought to be the object of all our efforts, but it is bound up in great questions of a more general character, which we must resolve in agreement with France. We do not wish for a halt in the pursuit of a solution; we are disposed to examine every proposition having for its object the application of the principle of non-intervention to the Roman territory, but we recognise the difficulties of the situation of France at Rome, and precisely because we take account of them, we have the right to reclaim more strongly against the facts—the protection given to Francis II.—which are an obstacle to the object of conciliation which France and we have in view. The divergencies which separate us from France ought not to be a motive for rupture. She, as well as we, has an interest that odious facts do not hinder much longer all possible agreement in the exasperation of opinion." With regard to Poland, the Minister said that Italy could not take her stand on the treaties of 1815, as England did; and he defended the policy of repudiating revolutionary sympathies.

A Royal decree has closed the University of Palermo during the current year, on account of acts of insubordination committed by the students. There are many other signs that Sicily is still in a very disturbed condition.

We are glad to see that Signor Peruzzi, the Minister of the Interior, has declared on behalf of the Government against the barbarous measure for the suppression of brigandage proposed by the Brigandage Commission, which we noticed a week or two since.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

In a speech of some length, and of considerable ability, Lord Carnarvon called attention to the convention between Russia and Prussia, in regard to the Polish insurrection. Each of those Powers gave a different account of the Convention; each attributed its origin to the other; each professed to be willing to furnish a copy of it, but for the objections raised by the other. Prussia had endeavoured to persuade us that the Convention was a dead letter, and Lord Russell



seemed to have accepted that statement. But it was not as a dead letter that it had been attacked by the Opposition, and defended by the Government in the Prussian Chamber; and he believed it to be in active operation. He asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could give any further information on the subject.—Lord Russell said that he could not. The important part of the Convention related to the permission given to Russian troops to pursue Polish insurgents on Prussian territory, and this had been declared by M. von Bismarck to be a dead letter. He censured severely the policy of Prussia in the matter. After some remarks from Lord Brougham, the subject dropped; and their Lordships adjourned.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 11.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Coningham asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the efforts which have been made hitherto by the British nation for the suppression of the African slave trade might not with advantage be extended to the continent of America, and whether the time had not at length arrived when it became the duty of her Majesty's Government to enter into friendly negotiations with the Federal Government of the United States for the purpose of concerting measures for the gradual but total suppression of the slave trade in the rebellious States of the South.—Lord Palmerston:—My honourable friend is aware that the Federal Government have concluded a treaty with the Government of her Majesty, giving a mutual right of search, for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade carried on under the Federal flag. The Confederate States have passed a law which renders the slave trade highly penal, but my honourable friend must be aware that the Federal Government have no relations at present with those States—except relations of war—which would permit any intercourse with reference to a mutual arrangement, such as that to which his question points. I may add that, as her Majesty's Government have not yet acknowledged the independence of the Confederate States, and that independence not being established in a way which would justify our interference, no diplomatic communications can take place between us and those States. If, however, in the course of time, things should alter, we should hope the Confederate States, if they should succeed in establishing their independence, would enter into arrangements on the subject of the slave trade, similar to those which the Federal Government has concluded. (Hear, hear.)—Mr. Coningham:—The question I asked was whether her Majesty's Government might not enter into communication with the Federal, not the Confederate, Government, for the suppression of the slave trade on the American continent.—Lord Palmerston:—I thought I answered that question when I stated that the Federal Government have no relations at present with the Confederate States, save relations of war—a fact which, of course, would render useless any action such as that to which my honourable friend refers.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply Mr. G. Duff called the attention of the House to the abuses existing in many endowed charities, with especial reference to their bearing upon the amount of the vote for elementary education.—Mr. W. E. Forster asked the Vice-President of Council upon what conditions he intended to allow the publication of the reports of her Majesty's inspectors of schools, for the information of the House.—Mr. Lowe said that the Council of Education produced all the reports of inspectors, with the exception of those which in the opinion of the Council ought not to be published. It was clear that no department of the Government could be efficiently conducted if its subordinate members were allowed to publish, without any check, opinions hostile to the policy of its chiefs; and the Council of Education, in suppressing portions of those reports, only exercised a right which was vested in every administrative body. With respect to the subject which had been brought under their notice by Mr. G. Duff, he had to state that he would not attempt to enter upon that occasion into a general discussion of the state of our endowed charities; but he should express his opinion that the duties of the charity commissioners were at present efficiently performed, and that it would be very undesirable to intrust those duties to a department of the Government.—Mr. Walter could see very little use in publishing any of the reports of the inspectors if all those which contained opinions opposed to those maintained by the Government were suppressed.

A discussion was next raised with respect to the period when the debate upon the Irish Church should be resumed. The O'Donoghue and several other members urged upon the Government the expediency of their granting a day for that purpose, while Lord Palmerston contended that the Government, who had themselves but two days in each week at their disposal, could not reasonably be expected to come to the aid of private members in a case of that description. The result of the conversation was to leave the subject in precisely the same position in which it had previously stood.

The House then went into Committee of Supply on the civil service estimates. Among other votes, one of £600,000 was taken for national education. The Chairman "reported progress" and after some further business had been disposed of, the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 12.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lord Chancellor directed attention to the state of the statute law, and laid upon the table a bill for its revision, which he observed was simply a revival of the proposals contained in Lord Bacon's "Essays on the Amendment of the Laws of England," and which, from the inertia attending all attempts to improve the legislation of this country for a period of two hundred and fifty years, had had no practical effect. The noble and learned lord complained that as the law now stood the mere opinion of a judge had the force of a legislative enactment, and that the judges, instead of sitting to expound the law, were, in point of fact, the law makers. He proposed that steps should be taken for weeding the statute book, expurgating such decisions as were palpably erroneous, and reconciling those which were conflicting; so that hereafter there should be one sound and certain guide. The object, then, of the measure he now laid upon the table was to secure the consolidation, arrangement and abridgment of the statute law; and if he were successful in inducing their lordships to read it a second time, he should next move the appointment of a committee to inquire into the subject. A short discussion ensued, in which Lord Brougham, Lord Cranworth, and Lord Kingsdown took part. The bill was then read a first time.

Some formal business was transacted, and their lordships adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 12.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Palmerston stated, in reply to an inquiry of Lord R. Cecil, that there was no plan in existence for the conversion of the International Exhibition Building. All that was intended to be done was to complete the front, as it now stood,

with stucco, and alter the domes from glass to brick. (The explanation of the Premier elicited the cry of "Oh, Lord!" from an hon. member below the gangway, which provoked a general burst of laughter.)

Colonel Dunne brought under notice the present depressed condition of Ireland and the amount of taxation imposed on that country, and moved for a select committee to inquire into the causes of such depression, and the effects of the taxation she now bears.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, whilst admitting the existence of distress, and that it demanded the attention of the Government, declined to subscribe to the mover's description of its causes. Absenteeism was, no doubt, an evil; but he did not see how it was to be prevented, except by doing all they could to improve the social and economical state of the country, and treating it on terms of perfect equality with the rest of the kingdom. The consolation was that Ireland had been suffering from one of those visitations of Providence which came within the category of vicissitudes of the season, and which bore upon the face of it a temporary character; and he trusted that an improved temperature and climate for the next two or three years would more than replace to Ireland all that she had lost by the extreme severity of the past two or three years. As to the disproportional expenditure of public money, he found that, so far as the optional expenditure was concerned, Ireland enjoyed a share that it was difficult to account for when compared with either England or Scotland, and he contended that the hon. member was not justified in stating that she was liberally treated in that respect. On the subject of the taxation borne by Ireland, equality of fiscal burdens lay at the very root of full political equality, and without the former it was in vain to claim the exercise of the latter. To the influence of good and equal laws, then, they must look as the only means by which permanent benefit could be conferred upon the country. He was ready, however, to recognise the principle of greater liberality on the part of the Treasury in assisting enterprise in Ireland by loans of public money in cases where the security was unexceptionable. The appointment of a committee of inquiry at this period of the session especially was inexpedient, and could only excite hopes that would be sure to be disappointed.—The motion was also supported by Mr. Gregory, Sir P. O'Brien, and Mr. Cogan, the last of whom made a personal attack upon Sir R. Peel for taking part in a late meeting in favour of a proselytising movement in West Connaught, and declared that the interests of Ireland would be promoted by the removal of the right hon. baronet from the Irish Secretaryship.—Sir R. Peel said he had attended the meeting referred to merely to hear what was going on, and had only taken part in the proceedings when pressed to do so by the chairman, the Earl of Harrowby. With regard to the state of Ireland, he admitted that three successive bad harvests had created undoubted depression, but there was now every prospect of abundant crops in the coming autumn. During the last ten years emigration from Ireland had been carried out on a large scale; but the diminution of crime was to the rate of emigration as 400 per cent. to 12. This he took to be conclusive evidence that the condition of the country was steadily improving.—Mr. Whiteside regarded the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary as amounting to no more than this, that the Irish people ought to submit to the taxation which was imposed upon them, and make no complaint about it. He did not ask them to vote public money as a boon or favour, but to enunciate some principle or policy by which the resources of the country should be opened up and its prosperity encouraged. Neither Chancellor nor Secretary, however, appeared to entertain half an idea on the subject; and he contended that neither had succeeded in establishing a case against the motion.—After a prolonged debate the motion was withdrawn.

Lord Palmerston, in appealing to Mr. Coningham to postpone the motion of which he had given notice relative to the case of the late Sergeant-Major Lilley, urged as a reason why the honourable member should comply with his request that Colonel Crawley, of the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons, whose conduct was incriminated, was to be brought to a court-martial.

Mr. Coningham observed, that it was not only Colonel Crawley who was concerned, but two general officers and the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards were also gravely compromised in the matter. He then proceeded to detail at length the whole of the circumstances which had resulted in the death of Sergeant-Major Lilley, and insisted that the widest and most searching inquiry was demanded into the case, both in this country and in India.

The Marquis of Hartington deprecated the course pursued by Mr. Coningham, of commenting in such severe terms in their absence upon the Commander-in-Chief and the other distinguished officers to whom he had alluded. He also defended the memorandum issued by the Duke of Cambridge, and said he was sure the determination of his Royal Highness to institute a rigid inquiry into the case would give satisfaction to every one who had the welfare and the discipline of the army at heart.

The behaviour of Mr. Coningham, especially in attacking the Duke of Cambridge, who had no control over Indian courts-martial, was severely censured by Lord Palmerston and other members.

The subject then dropped, and the House shortly afterwards adjourned.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 15.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Marquis of Normanby expressed his regret that the Italian Government had not thought fit to liberate Mr. Bishop.—Lord Russell saw no cause for interference; and the subject dropped.

The Marquis of Clanricarde moved for papers concerning the protection of certain merchant-ships from American cruisers by British men-of-war, and the effect of remonstrances addressed to the Federal Government against the illegal seizure of British ships. He said that the present state of things in the waters of the Bahamas and the West Indies was most extraordinary. An efficient blockade was assumed to exist of a large extent of the American coast, and a considerable amount of British commerce was engaged in violating that blockade. Whether the trade with a nominally blockaded country was legitimate or not, might be doubtful, but besides this trade there had sprung up a large and perfectly legitimate trade with Mexico and our colonies which was intercepted by the Federal cruisers. We had submitted long to this; but the thing had got to such a height that, although the Government refused to admit the accuracy of the statements he had made, our own officers on the station had thought it incumbent on them to interfere for the protection of the interests of our commerce in a manner which was as contrary to international rights as the outrages which had been inflicted on our commerce by some of the Federal cruisers. On the last occasion when he had brought forward the sub-

ject he was told that he had no right to assume that the American Prize-Courts would not administer international law fairly and impartially. He did not mean to say that those cases would not be properly tried in the United States. His complaint was that the seizure of those ships was wrong *ab initio*, and he contended that we had a right to demand their restoration and an apology for the seizure. In this view he was borne out by the dicta of Grotius and other eminent authorities. British vessels had been seized on their way to British and Mexican ports, on the ground that they had contraband of war on board, and on other equally untenable pretences. In some cases British officers had done their duty by interfering; but in so doing they had clearly broken the law. The blockade of the Southern coasts was, if not illegal, at least of extremely doubtful validity. It did not seem to comply with the definition laid down by the treaty of Paris, and it certainly did not accord with the limits assigned to blockades by Mr. Monroe, when Federal Secretary of State.—Lord Russell said that the cases in question were under the consideration of Federal Prize-Courts, with whose decisions we could not interfere. As to the blockade, the law officers of the Crown had pronounced it valid in accordance with the Paris declaration; and the law laid down by Mr. Monroe, had been entirely contrary to the principles on which England had always acted and the precedents which she had established. The reports asked for were refused, and the subject dropped.

The Prisons—Ministers Bill passed through Committee, after an amusing speech from the Earl of Derby, who quoted some of the vituperations which he had received from both Protestants and Catholics, for saying that both religions "rested on the same foundation."

The Earl of Shaftesbury asked whether it was the intention of Government to institute any further inquiry into the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Crawley and Sergeant-Major Lilley, of the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons.—The Duke of Cambridge said the conduct and discipline of the Indian army rested with the Commander-in-Chief in India, and the Commander-in-Chief in this country stood only in the position of referee in the last resort. He had, however, considered it his duty to notice the proceedings in this case when they were officially brought to his knowledge. At the time his recently published memorandum was drawn up, he was not in possession of sufficient information to justify him in doing more than express a very strong opinion on the case. He did not then know of the illegal imprisonment of Sergeant-Major Lilley and certain other circumstances, which had since led him to direct a court-martial to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Crawley. He had no desire to screen any one; but it was his earnest wish that justice should be done to all, and he denied that he had suffered any pressure to be put upon himself in the matter.—The Earl of Shaftesbury expressed a hope that the court-martial would be held in England, as the case had been entirely prejudged in India, and a full inquiry would be satisfactory.—The Earl of Malmesbury believed that Sir Hugh Rose had been actuated by just and proper motives in the part which he had taken in this matter, and that inquiry would show that the blame, if any, did not rest with him.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 15.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In Committee of Supply, Lord Palmerston rose to propose a vote of money for the purchase of the Exhibition building and lands at South Kensington. In doing so, he observed that the immediate objects for which the Government desired to make the purchase were an addition to the British Museum, and the extension of the Patent Office and Museum, and the Portrait Gallery; and supposing that the land were to be acquired in a more central position, eight acres—which was the smallest estimate—and buildings would cost £1,500,000; five acres, £1,107,000; and three acres—the lowest estimate—£750,000. In contrast with this, the proposal he had now to make was a very economical one, and would give a greater command of space at much less cost. He proposed, then, that the public should purchase seventeen acres of the land belonging to the Commissioners of the International Exhibition, and which was covered by the building in which the late Exhibition was held. For that land the Commissioners were willing to take £120,000, and £80,000 for the building thereon, so that for £200,000 the nation would enter into possession of the whole. To make the building substantial, however, would require £154,000; the conversion of the two glass domes into brick would cost £40,000; the stucco ornamentation of the fronts £45,000, and other improvements and alterations would bring the total to £484,000. He assumed that the whole building should be repaired, made solid, and adapted to the purposes for which it was wanted. For the present, however, not more than one-half the structure would be required to be so treated. That being the case, the £284,000 in excess of the purchase-money might be equally divided, so that £142,000 was all that need be spent for the next year; which, added to the £200,000 for land and building, would come to £342,000, as against £750,000 if the land were bought in the centre of the metropolis on the smallest scale—three acres—on which an estimate had been made. It was not intended to remove the National Gallery from Trafalgar-square, nor to send the learned bodies to Kensington. In conclusion, the noble lord moved a vote of £67,000 on account.—After a long debate the vote was carried. Ayes 267, noes 135. Several other discussions took place, and the House finally adjourned at a quarter past two.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Only formal business was transacted, during a sitting of some twenty minutes.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At the morning sitting, 12 to 4 o'clock, the Irish Fisheries Bill was considered in Committee.

At the evening sitting, 6 o'clock, Mr. Berkeley brought forward his annual nuisance—a motion for leave to bring in a Bill to establish vote by ballot. He adduced all his old and well-worn arguments in support of secret voting, and combated those which had been adduced against it by Lord Palmerston and other of its opponents. With regard to the objection of the Premier, that the elector was a trustee for the non-electors to whom he was responsible, and that, therefore, open voting was a necessity, it reminded him forcibly of Stephano and Trineulo in the play, where the latter exclaims, "Stephano shall be king of this island, and I will be vicerey over him." At the present moment the ballot was bearing excellent fruit in every part of the world where it had had a fair trial. Even in America it was the great defence of respectability against a wild democracy, and through its means only could they hope to upset Abraham Lincoln and his crew. Within the last few days we had also seen in France the Government nominees defeated by its agency and operations.—The Lord Mayor condemned the arguments of Mr. Berkeley as a tissue of fallacies, and observed that if a reason were wanted against the



unconstitutional and un-English practice of the ballot, no more convincing illustration could be found than the examples of America and France.—Lord Palmerston, in opposing the motion, said that if the ballot were adopted in this country, it would have the effect of nullifying public opinion by crushing it in each individual, and that would be both un-English and contrary to the spirit and essence of the constitution, of which public opinion was the very life. As to the ballot in America, elections were no more conducted by secret voting there than in England. That the cause of the ballot was not making progress in this country was rendered pretty apparent by what had lately taken place at the Reform Club. In that institution, as in others of the same kind in London, the method of electing members had up to the present time been by ballot; but very recently, after full discussion, and upon the advice of that eminent reformer the hon. member for Birmingham, they had decided that election by ballot was not a proper mode of proceeding. Indeed they had gone further than that, and converted the club into the resemblance of a nomination borough, for they had invested a select committee with the choice of members.—Mr. Cox spoke in support of the motion; and after a brief reply from Mr. Berkeley, upon a division the motion was negatived by 122 to 102.

The House was shortly afterwards counted out.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The debates were of no public interest.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 17.

Our last report closed on a dull market, with little disposition on the part of spinners to buy except for their immediate wants.

On Thursday a more cheerful view was taken of the position of affairs at Vicksburg, and the impression became stronger that the Confederates would there hold their own; the tone of our market accordingly improved, and with less irregularity in prices 6,000 bales were sold. This good feeling was maintained on Friday and Saturday, when a like amount changed hands.

On Monday the market opened with a good demand, and full prices were paid, the sales reaching 7,000 bales.

On Tuesday a better feeling prevailed in Manchester, and though the business there was limited, more disposition to operate was apparent, and the despondency of last week had passed away. The market here to-day has been quiet under the Etna's news; but prices are unchanged. We quote Middling Orleans 22½d., Fair Egyptian, 21½d., Fair Dholerah and Omarawuttee, 18½d., and Fair Sawginned Dharwar, 19d.

On the Mississippi the Confederates still hold their own, and the predictions of its being reopened to trade appear to be still far from fulfilment. Vicksburg had proved impregnable by assault, while Port Hudson's garrison had disastrously repulsed the Federal attacking force. Washington was again in alarm regarding the movements of General Lee, and a Northern invasion was considered not improbable.

While the Northern armies were thus either meeting with reverses or threatened on their own ground, a great meeting of the Democratic party had taken place at New York, where peace resolutions were passed and the policy of the Government condemned. It is to be feared, however, that those who composed this great assemblage held sentiments regarding the war that are still far from popular in the North.

The war fever seems to rage more and more fiercely among the people generally, and their determination still to prosecute this unhappy struggle and again place a hated yoke on their brethren, is evinced by their tacit submission to an almost military despotism at home.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, June 16.

Since our last report our market has exhibited more firmness from day to day as each successive steamer has arrived from America, bringing nothing definite as to the result of General Grant's operations before Vicksburg, and to an increasing feeling of certainty in the minds of people, of the inability of the Federals to take it; but still, until we have indisputable intelligence of the Federals being entirely routed, there will be a disinclination on the part of buyers to enter into transactions of any magnitude.

Our Indian advices, received during the week, have also a depressing influence on our market, no business of any moment going on there, and with little prospect of any for a month or so to come, as the holidays are on.

Home trade yarns have about recovered their fall of the week previous, but not much business can be reported, holders being very independent, and not caring to sell for the present.

Continental shipping yarns have been very quiet, with the exception of No 16s to 80s pincops in casks, which are in better demand, and for which extreme prices are being paid.

In cloths there is a small demand for light goods, such as mulls, jaconets, and Scotch printers, for which good prices can be obtained to make.

Some descriptions of home trade cloths are in better request, but in India shirtings, with the exception of 6lbs., we can report no business.

## LATEST SOUTHERN INTELLIGENCE.

Our New Orleans Correspondent sends us the following:—

A single copy of the *Mobile News* of the 25th inst., reached this city on Wednesday night, via Pascagoula and the Lake. A part of the news appeared in one of the city papers, but the following despatches were suppressed. They may have reached you already from Richmond.

"JACKSON, Mississippi, May 24. "To Captain Marshall:—Lieutenant-Colonel Locklet has arrived from Vicksburg, having been sent out by General Pemberton. The following account of events is from information received from him:—

"Monday, May 18, passed off with sharp shelling.

"Tuesday, 19. The enemy attacked General Pemberton's left and centre four times. The first assault lasted 30 minutes; the second, 20 minutes; the third, 15 minutes; the fourth, 9 minutes: each time the enemy was repulsed with great slaughter.

"Wednesday, 20. The column of assault was brought up, the officers leading. The troops broke and disappeared.

"Thursday, 21, was passed by the enemy in shelling, Pemberton not replying, telling his men not to unnecessarily

throw away their ammunition. The Federal dead were still unburied.

"Thursday night. Our works in the direction of Warren-ton have not been assailed. The Federal lines are not perfect. Ten 'contrabands' were bagged at Kenyon's, and were set to work upon the fortifications here.

"They made six assaults in all, and were repulsed with great slaughter. The Confederates are re-occupying Snyder's Bluff."

The annexed despatches and letters in the *Mobile News* of the 25th, were published in New Orleans papers:—

JACKSON, May 23.—The enemy having moved from Jackson directly to the Big Black, after the disasters of Saturday, or more particularly that of Sunday, threw his columns across the river, and commenced extending his lines around Vicksburg. Our forces evacuated Snyder's Bluff, destroying the works.

This opened up the Yazoo to the enemy, who immediately availed himself of the advantage, and entering the river, ascended it to Yazoo City and took possession, our forces destroying the navy yard and the two embryo gun-boats in course of construction there, and which would have been finished in some six or eight months. This enables Grant to supply his army without the necessity of using his wagon road from Milliken's Bend to Carthage, or of the gun-boats running the gauntlet of the Vicksburg batteries, as the transports can go up the Yazoo and safely land whatever is needed. Vicksburg being nearly or completely invested, you will see that it is with much difficulty that any information can be obtained from that point.

On the 12th General Pemberton issued the following address to his army:—

Head-quarters' Department of East Mississippi and Louisiana, Vicksburg, May 12, 1863.

Soldiers of the Army in and around Vicksburg:—The hour of trial has come! The enemy, who has so long threatened Vicksburg in front, has at last effected a landing in this Department, and his march into the interior of Mississippi has been marked by the devastation of one of the fairest portions of the State. He seeks to break communication between the members of the Confederacy, and to control the navigation of the Mississippi river. The issue involves everything endeared to a free people. The enemy fights for the privilege of plunder and oppression. You fight for your country, homes, wives, children, and the birthrights of freemen. Your commanding general, believing in the truth and sacredness of this cause, has cast his lot with you, and stands ready to peril his life and all he holds dear for the triumph of the right! God, who rules in the affairs of men and nations, loves justice and hates wickedness. He will not allow a cause so just to be trampled in the dust. In the day of conflict let each man, appealing to Him for strength, strike home for victory, and our triumph is at once assured. A grateful country will hail us as deliverers, and cherish the memory of those who may fall as martyrs in her defence.

Soldiers! be vigilant, brave and active; let there be no cowards, nor laggards, nor stragglers from the ranks, and the God of battles will certainly crown our efforts with success.

J. C. PEMBERTON, Lieut.-General Commanding.

News has been received up to Wednesday night from Vicksburg by courier, at which time the enemy had made three separate and distinct assaults on the works, and had been severely punished. That night Captain Stevens ran out six or seven hundred mules, and brought them here, which is a splendid reinforcement for Johnston, and helps the storehouse of Pemberton. Vicksburg has full rations for ninety days, or half rations for 180 days.

I learn that the garrison is sufficiently strong to resist the enemy. If so, the worst is over, and I hope soon to be able to announce to you that the grand Federal demonstration to open the Mississippi has proved a great failure.

From the measured booming of heavy guns in the direction of Vicksburg, it is evident that the enemy is shelling the city. I am in good hopes, although affairs look serious. If Vicksburg does not fall, in a few days all will go well.

I have other news, but for good reasons I will not send it forward. Troops are continually arriving, and we will soon have a fine army here. Jackson is being fortified.

JACKSON, May 23.—The latest advices from Vicksburg are to Thursday night, at which time the enemy had been foiled in all their attempts to take the city or works.

One estimate places their loss in killed and wounded at ten thousand. Our loss is slight, and the injury to the batteries trifling. Our garrison is well supplied, and all are confident of holding the place. The enemy's dead strew the ground opposite the works.

CHARLESTON, May 22.—The steamship *Beauregard*, from Nassau, on the 20th, arrived this morning, with a very large and valuable cargo.

CHARLESTON, May 23.—The beautiful steamship *Orion*, from Nassau, arrived here last night.

The steamer *Atlantic*, another blockade runner, has arrived at Nassau, from England.

The steamers *Antonio* and *Calypso* went to sea safely last night.

## MR. MASON AND THE AGENT OF THE NORTHERN ABOLITIONISTS.

(To the Editor of *The Times*.)

Sir,—As part of the political history of the times, the correspondence transmitted herewith may have sufficient significance to call for its publication.

I submit it to you accordingly for a place in your columns.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
24, Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square, June 17, 1863.

"Aubrey-house, Notting-hill, London, W.,  
June 10, 1863.

"Sir,—I have authority to make the following proposition on behalf of the leading Anti-slavery men of America, who have sent me to this country.

"If the States calling themselves 'The Confederate States of America' will consent to emancipate the negro-slaves in those States, such emancipation to be guaranteed by a liberal European commission, the emancipation to be inaugurated at once, and such time to be allowed for its completion as the Commission shall adjudge to be necessary and just, and such emancipation once made to be irrevocable,—then the Abo-

litionists and Anti-slavery leaders of the Northern States shall immediately oppose the prosecution of the war on the part of the United States' Government, and, since they hold the balance of power, will certainly cause the war to cease by the immediate withdrawal of every kind of support from it.

"I know that the ultimate decision upon so grave a proposition may require some time; but, meanwhile, I beg to be informed, at your early convenience, whether you will personally lend your influence in favour of a restoration of peace and the independence of the South, upon the simple basis of the emancipation of the slaves.

"Any guarantee of my own responsibility, and my right to make this offer shall be forthcoming.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"J. M. Mason, Esq." "MONCURE D. CONWAY.

"24, Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square,  
June 11, 1863.

"Sir,—I have your note of yesterday. The proposition it contains is certainly worthy of the gravest consideration, provided it is made under a proper responsibility. Yet you must be aware that, while you know fully the representative position I occupy, I have not the like assurance as regards yourself.

"If you think proper, therefore, to communicate to me who those are on whose behalf and authority you make the proposition referred to, with the evidence of your 'right to make this offer,' I will, at once, give you my reply, the character of which, however, must depend on what I may learn of your authority in the premises.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Moncure D. Conway, Esq." "J. M. MASON.

"Aubrey-house, Notting-hill, W., June 16, 1863.

"Sir,—Your note of the 11th has been received. "I could easily give you the evidence that I represent the views of the leading Abolitionists of America, but with regard to the special offer which I have made, I have concluded that it was best to write out to America and obtain the evidence of my right to make it in a form which will preclude any doubt as to its sufficiency.

"I shall then address you again on the subject.

"I am, &c.,

"J. M. Mason, Esq." "MONCURE D. CONWAY.

"24, Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square,  
June 17, 1863.

"Sir,—I have received your note of yesterday. "You need not write to America to 'obtain the evidence' of your right to treat on the matter it imports. Our correspondence closes with this reply. It was your pleasure to commence it, it is mine to terminate it.

"I desired to know who they were who were responsible for your mission to England, as you present it; and who were to confirm the treaty you proposed to make for arresting the war in America, on the basis of a separation of the States, with or without the sanction of their Government. But such information is of the less value now, as I find from an advertisement in the journals of the day that you have brought to England letters of sufficient credit from those who sent you to invite a public meeting in London, under the sanction of a member of Parliament, who was to preside, to hear an address from you on the subject of your mission, with the promise of a like address from him.

This correspondence shall go to the public, and will find its way to the country, a class of the citizens of which you claim to represent. It will, perhaps, interest the Government and the *so-disant* "loyal men" there to know, under the sanction of your name, that the "leading Anti-slavery men in America" are prepared to negotiate with the authorities of the Confederate States for "a restoration of peace and the independence of the South on a pledge that the Abolitionists and Anti-slavery leaders of the Northern States shall immediately oppose the further prosecution of the war on the part of the United States' Government, and since they hold the balance of power will certainly cause the war to cease by the immediate withdrawal of every kind of support from it."

As some reward, however, for this interesting disclosure, your inquiry whether the Confederate States will consent to emancipation on the terms stated shall not go wholly unanswered. You may be assured, then, and perhaps it may be of value to your constituents to assure them, that the Northern States will never be in relations to put this question to the South, nor will the Southern States ever be in a position requiring them to give an answer.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. M. MASON.

Moncure D. Conway, Esq.

HOW OLD SMITH ESCAPED.—"Old Smith," an old German drummer in the 16th Mississippi regiment, was notorious for straggling on the march; whether advancing or retreating, he was always in the rear. In General Jackson's great retreat from the Valley of the Shenandoah, after whipping Banks, old Smith got some miles behind, and while sitting on the road side, solitary and alone, resting and eating his beef and biscuit, he observed a full regiment of Yankee cavalry approaching. He jumped out into the woods, and as the Yankees came near, he thundered away on his drum, beating the long roll with a terrible vim. [The long roll is the signal of an enemy at hand, and to form the line of battle.] His trick was successful; for the Yankees, supposing, of course, that there was an infantry regiment lying in the thicket, faced about and skedaddled in regular Bull Run style. Old Smith, replacing his drum on his shoulder, came out into the road again with his beef and biscuit in one hand and drumsticks in the other, and resumed his march with his usual equanimity.



## THE APPEAL OF THE CONFEDERATE CLERGY.

(From the *Morning Herald* of June 15.)

It is not without just reason, and we trust that it will not be without good effect, that an earnest appeal has been addressed to the Christian world at large, by a number of divines of various religious denominations on behalf of their countrymen of the Confederate States. The utter ignorance of American affairs and American character which, until the outbreak of the present war, was so prevalent in England, has given to the advocates of the Northern cause facilities for falsehood of which they have made diligent use; and they have contrived, by skillful misrepresentation, to enlist on their side the sympathies of a good many persons, and to deprive the South of the good-will of many more, merely because Englishmen have failed to understand the wide distinction which exists between parties bearing the same title in England and in America. In this country the leaders of the anti-slavery movement belonged to a party which was equally earnest in its labours for the revival of religion; and though it would be very difficult to trace any relation between the peculiar form of their Christian faith and their zeal in the cause of abolition, it has become a part of the creed of their countrymen that Abolitionism and Evangelical Christianity are in some way or other, if not identical, at least intimate and inseparable articles of faith. In America this is not the case. The cause of Abolition has been chiefly espoused by the same class of persons who have espoused with equal earnestness heresies of a kind unparalleled since the decay of those extravagant mixtures of Christianity and heathenism which perplexed the earliest age of the Church. The leading preachers of emancipation have been in some few cases Socinians and Universalists, but for the most part open and avowed unbelievers; their followers have been recruited among the votaries of Shakerism, Communism, Woman's Rights, and "Free Love," who are like among the mongrel population of the Northern States; and Abolitionism was, until lately, regarded by sober Christians in America as one among the many forms of rebellion against Divine Revelation and social order which have sprung from the unbidded licence of a wild and lawless Democracy. There it has been as closely identified with unbelief as here with belief of a strict and peculiar form, and for a Wilberforce and a Buxton its champions have been a Garrison and a Theodore Parker. This is one point on which Yankee ingenuity has deceived the credulity and misled the sympathies of religious but uninformed Englishmen. Another delusion, still more prevalent, has been, that the North was, and that the South was not, a religious country; that piety and virtue were to be sought for in the camp of Butler, and Bleeker, and Joe Hooker, rather than in that of Lee and Stonewall Jackson. The truth is exactly the reverse of this. There has, perhaps, been less in the South of that narrow, pharisaic, intolerant Puritanism which distinguished the founders of Massachusetts, and is not yet extinct in New England; but the Southerners have been always an earnestly and devoutly Christian people, among whom the loathsome doctrines preached so freely and so widely accepted in the North have never found favour; by whom Mormonism and Free-Love have been scouted with indignation and disgust; and among whom no man who valued his peace and social position would dare to treat with irreverence the ordinances or the ministers of religion. Even that institution which most provokes the indignation of religious Englishmen has never been defended in the South save on Christian grounds; and it has been left for the Abolitionists to postpone the authority of Revelation to their peculiar doctrine, and to cry out for "an anti-slavery Church, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God." No similar blasphemy would have found toleration from any Southern audience. It is not the countrymen of Garrison and Channing, but those of Stonewall Jackson and George Washington, who have the highest claim on our feelings of Christian sympathy and Christian brotherhood.

As the Southern clergy justly remind us, their claim has been only for their own freedom; their demand has been but the legitimate and truly Christian one, that they should be allowed amicably to part from associates with whom it was no longer possible to live in amity under a common government. They have not risen in rebellion against a sovereign claiming rule over them by any title whatever; they have merely expressed their determination to sever a bond which, instead of uniting in friendship States of kindred blood and common feeling, had become to them a hateful and intolerable yoke. They asked only, as the Israelites asked of old, that they should be allowed to "depart in peace;" they strove to the last to secure this end; they offered terms to which no fair exception could be taken; and they drew the sword only when the enemy had already launched an armed force against one of their chief cities, not less in violation of law than of his own plighted faith. Three of the States now included in the Confederacy only withdrew when President Lincoln demanded their assistance for the subjugation of their brethren—when peace was no longer possible, and their only choice lay between a war of conquest and a war for independence. Not the South, but the North, in despite of every effort to avert a collision, insisted on war, and invoked on their own heads the condemnation of a religion which declares that "they who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

If the conduct of the North at the commencement of the struggle savoured rather of heathen ambition and lust of dominion than of Christian equity and forbearance, the spirit in which the war has been waged by the aggressors is yet more utterly at variance with every humanising rule and restraint, which Christian civilization has introduced to soften the ancient savagery and brutality of warfare. From the first these rules were set at naught by the passion of the populace, and denounced alike by the press and by the pulpits of the Northern States. Secret incendiarism, and the encouragement of servile insurrection—that is to say, of domestic treason, massacre, and rapine—were the weapons on which the Abolitionists chiefly relied; and it was not any sentiment of humanity or any Christian scruple, but simple fear of retaliation, which prevented the Northern Government from carrying out its expressed intention of hanging Southern seamen as pirates, in obedience to the clamour of the New York rabble. As the war has proceeded its conduct, on the part of the North, has grown more and more savage and sanguinary. Open towns have been sacked and burnt; defenceless citizens have been murdered in cold blood, sometimes on their own threshold and in sight of their wives and children; women have been outraged and homes plundered and destroyed, not in the fury of a successful assault, but in places where no resistance has been offered or has been possible. Expeditions have been sent out, not to intercept supplies, not to take fortified towns, not to meet the forces of the enemy, but simply to burn, lay waste, and destroy the homes and fields of peaceable citizens—an outrage altogether unknown in civilized war. And for

many months past the avowed object and only hope of the invaders has been one so horrible that no other people would have dared to utter it in words. They have calculated the available population of the South of military age; they have estimated the Southern loss in the numerous victories which have crowned the arms of a people fighting for their country, their altars, and their homes; and they have declared that in process of time this loss must exhaust the fighting element of the South—that the flower of her people, the men between eighteen and forty-five years of age, must in time be exterminated; and that it is to this result, to be purchased by a still larger sacrifice of life, which it is affirmed that the North can afford, that they look for the final termination of the war and the restoration of the Union! Is this a hope of which any Christian people can hear without shuddering and incredulous disgust? Is a war of which this is the avowed end one which Christian Powers can allow to go on uninterrupted? Is not the mere avowal of such a purpose—such an expectation—a crime which not merely justifies, but demands, the interference of the civilized world? The deliberate extermination of a whole generation is the only means by which the North hopes to effect its object; and is it expected that we shall sit still and see this horrible work accomplished; and there are English statesmen who can declare that it is not only our policy but our duty to sit still? We do not so estimate the policy of England towards a kindred nation, or her duty as a Christian Power to the sufferers and to mankind. And if she should sit still, and permit this horrible tragedy to be played out, let it end as it may, how can we help fearing that the blood which has been and will yet be shed will be required not only at the hands of those who shed it, but also at the hands of those whose tolerance and passive encouragement renders possible this gigantic scheme for the murder of a whole people?

## MR. BRIGHT AND THE AMERICAN COTTON SUPPLY.

(From the *Times* of June 17.)

Mr. Bright has found another reason for advocating the war which the Federal Government of America is carrying on against the Southern States. It is not now that the Southerners are a reckless and depraved people, unable to organise a community or defend it by arms; it is not that a Union party in each state is burning to be delivered from the tyranny of a Secessionist usurpation. These once familiar arguments have passed away, to be repeated no more. Mr. Bright now raises his war-whoop on economical principles. The doctrine which he developed last night at the London Tavern was that the Confederate States might be advantageously invaded, and their people held in subjection to a Government they detest, because they have failed to supply England heretofore with cotton in sufficient quantities and at a reasonably low price. After reminding his hearers that the supply afforded to the mills of Lancashire in past years was so deficient and insecure that he had felt it necessary to urge on the Government the establishment of a gigantic system of protection in India, in order that cotton might be furnished to Manchester at the expense of all other kinds of cultivation in the East, Mr. Bright opened his new indictment against the people of the Southern States. Their great fault is that they have not furnished, that they are unable to furnish, cotton to Europe. This is the charge which a man with the history of British trade before him thinks proper to make before a London audience. The Southern States, says Mr. Bright, are only partly cultivated, their population of negroes is only 4,000,000, of whom the great majority are engaged in other employment than the raising of cotton. If they had a much larger population, and their whole territory were planted with cotton, they would be far more useful to us; and if there had been no slavery this great population and this extensive cultivation would have come into existence. Now, will the most enthusiastic Abolitionist admit that this is a truthful statement of the case? Is it not the fact that the British cotton manufacture has been actually produced by the extraordinary development of the Southern States? Manchester and the other towns which are now represented as justly indignant with the Southern States, whose social condition has debarrd them from cotton, are really themselves products of that very Southern industry, for without it three-fourths of the Lancashire towns would never have come into existence at all. Whatever may be the faults of the Southern social system, there can be no doubt that it has been wonderfully adapted to that end for which Mr. Bright says it is unfit—the growth of a particular staple. If it had not been for Southern planters, it is quite certain that there would have been no cotton manufacture to speak of in England, no Stockports and Staleybridges, perhaps no Cobdens and Brights. There are vast extents of country whence cotton might be brought, and many regions where the social relations are better than in the Southern States, and yet cotton has never been obtained in large quantities from them. The immense population of India required for itself all the cotton it grew, and it will keep it for itself again if ever the price returns to its former level. Turkey and Egypt, the African coast, both north and west, are cotton-growing countries; yet they have furnished hardly anything. It was the American planter who, by his enterprise and skill in cultivation, first furnished cotton in such quantities to Europe as to make the cotton manufacture of England the colossal interest which it had become at the time when this unhappy war began.

Is it not, then, absurd, and a kind of international ingratitude, to assert that the Southern States have failed in supplying the markets of the world with cotton? If even it were true that the supply in the last few years before the war fell short—that is, that the price was higher than the manufacturers liked—such a result surely is to be ascribed, not to any deficiency in the productive power of the South, but to the continually increasing wants of Europe? With a population rapidly increasing in wealth, and with seats of manufacture not only in England and Scotland, but in France, Germany, Russia, and the Northern States of America, all bidding against each other, the world was trying to the utmost the capabilities of the Southern States. The habits of dress which the Southern planter had actually created among civilized nations were reacting to increase the demand for cotton, and led to the rise of price on which Mr. Bright relies to prove the impotence of Southern industry.

A conclusive answer to his arguments is that, if the South were prevented by slavery from producing cotton, it ought to have been exported in abundance from regions where no such curse existed. Why, then, did not Manchester obtain its supplies elsewhere? The fact is that, whether the Southern planters produced much or little, they produced all that was to be obtained in England, and that from first to last they furnished our manufactures almost exclusively. If free labour

could do such wonders, why was it that, with Africa and Central America and the Levant comparatively near to us, Mr. Bright's only scheme for obtaining cotton was to force on its production by Government interference and an enormous bounty in India, thereby confessing that the Southern planters could not be met in fair competition? Indeed, the new reasoning of Mr. Bright is a contradiction of all that the Abolitionists on the other side of the ocean have been urging as long as we can remember. They lamented, not the slowness, but the rapidity of the growth of the slave interest, and the culture which fostered it. They regretted to see new regions covered with the plant which was the support of Southern domination. They regretted the rapid increase of the number of slaves—from a million and a half to nearly four millions in forty years—an increase greater, as they computed, than would have been that of the white population if there had been no immigration. These complaints were very different in their tenor from that of Mr. Bright, who justifies the most cruel and bloodthirsty war that has been waged for two centuries on the ground that the Southern States have been unable to perform their part in the economy of the world, owing to their social organization.

Of course this baseless reasoning was followed by the usual claptraps about the unenfranchised working man, the Ballot, and "the great American Republic;" but as these parts of his speech contained nothing new, we shall not remark on them. We shall only say that when Mr. Bright attacks the Government, the Press, and the "wearers of coronets"—by whom he typifies every one who will not go to meetings to cheer his own acrimonious utterances—and accuses them of ill-will to America, the charge is totally without foundation. We have in this war seen a people struggling for independence, and another, three times as numerous, bent on its subjugation. The principles of self-government to which we adhere, as well as a natural sympathy with the weaker party, have made the whole English nation desire to see the war terminated without such a catastrophe as the subjugation of a whole people to military force. We have been opposed to the war, but the calumny which Mr. Bright loses no opportunity of spreading, that the educated classes of England have a sinister desire to see America ruined, is suggested only by his own imagination. Even now, at a time when every Northern man admits that the Confederates will fight to the last, and that success will be obtained by the Federal Government only by the exhaustion, if not destruction of the Southern people, Mr. Bright does not hesitate to stand on a platform, and in the name of civilization and progress, urge the prosecution of a war which the Governments of his own country, of France, and even of Russia, desire to see brought to an end. He must have been at a loss for an argument suitable to a man of peace, when he bethought himself of saying that the invasion and desolation of the Southern States are to give us cheap cotton, and put an end to the necessity of granting a bonus to native growers out of the revenue of India.

## CONFEDERATE PRISONERS IN FORT LAFAYETTE.

A prisoner in Fort Lafayette, New York Harbour, sent, at the beginning of April, the following list of Confederates confined in that place, to the *Charleston Courier* :—

- S. Buross, South Carolina, captured October 24, 1862.
- Wm. Perry, South Carolina, captured October 23, 1862.
- J. C. Lea, South Carolina, captured July 31, 1862.
- Thomas Murray, South Carolina, captured July 31, 1862.
- J. H. Cessar, Georgia, captured September 23, 1862.
- J. Thompson, North Carolina, captured July 23, 1862.
- A. Ervin, South Carolina, captured November 20, 1862.
- W. Thompson, Florida, captured October 13, 1862.
- A. O. Stone, Alabama, captured January 21, 1862.
- R. Jamieson, Texas, captured September 20, 1862.
- T. King, Texas, captured August 23, 1862.
- J. B. Smith, South Carolina, captured July 31, 1862.
- J. Hernandez, Georgia, captured September 23, 1862.
- J. Sullivan, Georgia, captured September 25, 1862.
- Edward Rich, Florida, captured October 20, 1862.
- E. C. Guthery, North Carolina, captured July 12, 1862.
- A. P. Laurant, Louisiana, captured September 23, 1862.
- A. C. Moore, North Carolina, captured August 27, 1862.
- H. Harris, Kentucky, captured September 23, 1862.
- J. M. Murray, South Carolina, captured November 20, 1862.
- R. H. Hooper, North Carolina, captured November 20, 1862.
- W. C. Lamberson, North Carolina, captured November 20, 1862.
- W. R. Scott, Louisiana, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- Wm. Johnson, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- W. A. Beeson, Virginia, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- G. C. Chapman, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- J. Dunbar, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- H. Snibby, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- Black, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- R. James, South Carolina, picked up at sea from wreck of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- B. F. Cooper, Mississippi, captured September 27, 1862.
- D. D. Sirmood, North Carolina, captured December 3, 1862.
- Jno. D. Field, North Carolina, captured December 3, 1862.
- Thomas Stevens, Texas, captured September 17, 1862.
- Thomas Steers, Virginia, passenger on Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- J. M. Vernon, England, passenger on Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- H. D. Bremond, Louisiana, Captain of Huntress, January 18, 1863.
- Reid Sanders, Kentucky, captured January 4th, 1863.
- Richard Finn, Tennessee, captured August 25th, 1862.
- H. R. Marks, Tennessee, captured August 25th, 1862.
- D. B. Vincent, South Carolina, captured July 7th, 1862.
- John Hopkins, junr., Virginia, United States Navy, resigned August 17th, 1861.
- Col. Zarvona, Maryland, captured July, 1861 (in solitary confinement).
- F. Opdebeck, Charleston, South Carolina, captured February 23, 1863.

The whole of these, with one or two exceptions, are Blockade runners, and are entitled to the protection of the Confederate Government—protection under the Cartel. It is a mystery to them why they have not been demanded by the authorities under the Cartel provisions made for such cases.



## THE ILLEGAL SEIZURE OF BRITISH SHIPS.

Messrs. J. T. Beunett and Wake announce in their Circular for June, that they have been obliged to discontinue their steam line to Matamoras, "waiting the decision of H.M. Government respecting the late illegal seizure of British vessels by United States' officers." They also announce that—

The proceedings taken by the United States' Prize Courts in the cases of the Springbok and Peterhoff, render it incumbent on the British Government to take immediate steps for defining clearly and asserting distinctly the present position of belligerents and neutrals, and for exacting at least that any cases before these Courts be conducted according to the law as it at present stands. The merchants and shipowners who are suffering from the detention of these vessels are entitled to protection from what now assumes the appearance of a denial of justice, and so great a principle is raised in these cases that it will give cause for much future regret if prompt action be not taken. Let the Shipping and Mercantile interests urge this matter vigorously, and the Government will see the necessity for action.

The law as laid down both by American and British Jurists, declares that no vessel can be lawfully captured unless attempting to run the blockade; that the nature of the cargo cannot affect the destination of the vessel, and that in case of capture and adjudication the only evidence on which the vessel can be condemned is that afforded by the ship's papers and depositions of the crew. If neither of these supply proof of an intention to run the blockade, no other evidence can be legally received, and the vessel must be set at liberty. An examination of cargo, as in the case of the Peterhoff, is contrary to law. No cargo can be contraband going to a neutral port, and therefore it can afford no evidence against the ship. The further postponement of the proceedings is quite unjustifiable, as the only evidence legally admissible has already been received, and on it the vessel should be condemned or released. Any delay is an injustice to individuals, and still more a national injury, for while these cases are pending and while the law is so deliberately exceeded, merchants are compelled to stop their trading, or to pay exaggerated rates of insurance, to guard themselves against risks which it is the duty of Government to protect them from. The only question before the country is, whether the persons interested are legally right or wrong. Let justice be done to them as individuals. No question of expediency should be allowed for a moment to affect their interests; they have been referred to the strict letter of the law, let the law be executed to the letter and promptly.

Do these Southern ministers suppose that the world is so stupidly ignorant of the circumstances connected with slavery in their States as to believe that the Southern owners sanction the teaching of the Bible to their wretched chattels? Do they not know that those Englishmen at least who have never, perhaps, read any other work on the subject, read Mr. Russell's letters to the *Times*, and read there what that calm and candid writer tells of his personal investigations into the Scriptural education of the Southern slaves?

The above astonishing paragraph appeared in the *Morning Star*, a daily paper of this city of London, in this year of Grace 1863. It was intended as a reply to the following statement, made by nearly one hundred leading Clergymen of all Protestant denominations in the Confederate States, in an address to Christians throughout the world, which appeared in *THE INDEX* of last week:—

From the best sources of information, it is ascertained that the whole number of communicants in the Christian churches in the Confederate States, is about two millions and fifty thousand. Of these, the number of white communicants is about one million five hundred and fifty thousand. Supposing the total white population to be eight millions, and one-half that number to be over eighteen years of age, a little more than one-third of the adult population are members of the Church of Christ. The number of coloured communicants is about five hundred thousand. Assuming the coloured population to be 4,000,000, there would be, upon the same method of computation, one-fourth of the adult population in communion with the Church of Christ. Thus has God blessed us in gathering into His Church from the children of Africa, more than twice as many as are reported from all the converts in the Protestant Missions throughout the heathen world.

## MURDER OF PRISONERS.

The *Richmond Sentinel* gives the following details of the recent murder of Confederate prisoners at Washington, brief mention of which has already been made by telegraph:—

The accounts we get from them of the treatment of our prisoners are the same as we already have had. The rations dealt out to them were not only scanty, but the meat and articles of food given them were often so bad and offensive that they had to be thrown away. They were not only badly fed, but they were subjected to the severest discipline. An instance of this is related to us which will show the harshness and even cruelty visited upon our men. One of our prisoners, Jessie Wharton, of Maryland, was standing at the window within the bars, quietly looking out. The sentinel on guard ordered Wharton to stand away from the window, but Wharton, feeling that he was not violating the rules of the prison—for his whole person was within the bars of the window—did not instantly comply with the order, when the wretch, perceiving that he did not step aside quickly, as ordered, raised his musket and fired, killing him instantly!

But this is nothing compared to one of the most horrible and cold-blooded murders committed by the guard on another of our prisoners—a murder that would even put a savage to blush. It appears that Harry Stewart, of Maryland, who was held in the Old Capitol as a prisoner, conceived the plan of bribing the guard. His proposition was apparently well received, and a price for his liberty was agreed upon. The plan was that at an appointed hour, when the prisoners were allowed the yard, he would scale the fence, and the sentinel would allow his escape. The preliminaries were arranged and the price agreed upon paid over. At the appointed hour, and according to arrangement, Stewart, having at the last moment communicated to a few of his friends his plan, attempted his escape and appeared on the fence, when the sentinel (who, it must be borne in mind, had sold himself and received his bribe) deliberately raised his musket and shot him dead, his body falling a corpse from the fence. If the human heart was ever guilty of greater treachery and depravity, then the annals of crime fail to record it.

## VICE-PRESIDENT STEPHENS ON THE WAR.

The *Jackson Appeal* quotes from the *Raymond Gazette* some extracts of a private letter written by Vice-President Stephens on the 14th March last:—

In speaking of the ability of the South to maintain the stand taken Mr. Stephens speaks confidently, and says:—"We can, without doubt, sustain our armies just as long as the Federal Government shall continue to wage this crusade against us, if we properly, judiciously and wisely avail ourselves of our resources. They are abundant if prudently developed, husbanded, and applied. No equal number of people on the earth ever had more of the essential elements of war at their command than we have. Internal resources for subsistence is one of the chiefest of these. But the development of these needs looking to by those who conduct war quite as much, if not more, than the raising of armies. I gave close attention to this subject in the beginning of our struggle, and was well satisfied that we could maintain the war in our defence as long as the enemy could prosecute it for our subjection. Frederick, of Prussia, defended his kingdom in a seven years' struggle against all the combined Powers. The odds against him in fighting men were three to one—yet his defence was successful; and not only this, but at the end of the war he did not owe a dollar. This shows what can and may be done, for his kingdom was far inferior to our territory in those internal resources essential to success in war. All that is wanting with us, under a kind Providence, is the same brains to manage and mould our resources that elevated those of Prussia. \* \* \* Every energy of the country now in the agricultural line should be vigorously applied to the production of food and clothing. For while I am satisfied we possess the means to furnish the necessary supplies, etc., I am equally satisfied that if they are not properly and efficiently used, the supplies will fail, and then failure will be attended with disaster."

After speaking of several minor matters, and dwelling somewhat upon the movements in the North-west, Mr. Stephens says:—"In the meantime we must, with patriotism, patience, and fortitude, bear all the ills, privations and sacrifices which are the price of our independence. These ills, privations, and sacrifices must be heroically borne, not only by the gallant men in the field, but by all who are at home. All have duties to perform. Every one who can turn a furrow or a spindle, use a hoe or a needle, wield an axe or a shuttle—in a word, every one who can turn a hand to anything in the way of supplying food and clothing for the man in the field, can render important and essential service to the great cause, and contribute something toward ultimate success."

In speaking of the present prospects of the country, in the fighting way, Mr. Stephens says:—"We all here have been anxiously watching the movements of the enemy in your State. Those who have suffered by the hand of the depoleer, the plunderer and the robber, have our deepest sympathies, while the noble spirits who have defended Port Hudson and Vicksburg have our liveliest gratitude and highest admiration. They have won a name that will live through all history."

SUPPOSING, then, all this that we hear of the Southern determination, valour, discipline, morale and ambition to be true—what effect ought it to have on our course? Ought we, because they are proving more formidable than we ever expected them to prove, hasten to make peace, before we have still further exhausted our strength in the endeavour to overcome them—before their metal has been still further solidified by our blows? Ought we to seek to conciliate them by concession and forbearance, and by strong testimonies to their courage and bravery and strength? We answer unhesitatingly—No! The more we hear of Southern pluck and energy and spirit and resources, the more satisfied we are, painful as we admit the conclusion to be, that we must conquer them or they conquer us. Had they proved themselves weak or divided or pusillanimous, as many of us confidently expected they would, there would have been far more to say in favour of letting them go in peace than there is now that they have shown themselves both strong in war and shrewd in council. The United States and the kind of State which the Confederacy seeks to become, cannot exist together on this continent. One or other must perish. \* \* \* Every man in the Confederate service, from Davis down, must be made to know that his death or submission are the ends we aim at, and that the braver and more determined we know him to be, the more firmly decided are we that he and his associates shall either lay down their arms, or quit the country, or die.—*New York Times*, June 6.

THE EARLDOM OF BREADALBANE.—Last November the Marquis of Breadalbane died leaving no issue, and no male relatives who could succeed to his title by the usual rules of descent; but there is a clause in the patent granted by Charles II., by which, in default of legal descendants, the nearest heir male was to inherit. Sir Robert Campbell, of Glenorchy, who lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had three sons. The family of the eldest son acquired the Earldom, and the family of the second son, upon the failure of the family of the first, inherited the Earldom and added to it the Marquisate—the last being an English title, and is now extinct. No representative of the family remains. We therefore come to the third son. William Campbell, of Glenfalloch, who lived in the reign of George II., was a lineal descendant of the third son of the common ancestor. The second of his children, James, was the grandfather of John Alexander Goin Campbell, who, upon the death of the late Marquis, claimed the title of Earl of Breadalbane and the estates, which are worth £50,000 a-year. His title is now disputed by Lieutenant Charles William Campbell, who is the grandson of John the sixth child of William Campbell of Glenfalloch. The new claimant avers that the marriage of the grandfather and grandmother of J. A. V. Campbell was invalid, because the grandmother, whose maiden name was Blanchard, was married to a Mr. Ludlow, who was still living at the time of the celebration of the second marriage. The marriage with James Campbell took place in 1782, and the new claimant offers to produce an extract from the parish register of Chipping-Sodbury which establishes the marriage with Ludlow, and also to prove that Ludlow executed a will in 1783, and did not die until 1784. It also appears that one of the children of the marriage with James Campbell was registered in 1796 as the son of Captain James Campbell and Mrs. Eliza Maria Blanchard—that is, in the maiden name of the mother. If the invalidity of the marriage can be proved—it seems, also, that there may be some difficulty in proving any marriage ceremony to have taken place between James Campbell and Mrs. Blanchard or Ludlow—then the offspring of James Campbell are illegitimate, and the Earldom of Breadalbane and the £50,000 will go to Lieut. C. W. Campbell, the heir male of John the sixth child of William Campbell of Glenfalloch.

## PRICES AT RICHMOND.

(From the *Richmond Examiner*, May 8.)

Apples—None in market.  
Bacon—The market is higher. We note sales at \$1.30 to \$1.35; hams, \$1.40.  
Beans—The demand is not so active. We quote at \$18 to \$20 per bushel.  
Butter—\$2.25 to \$3 per lb.  
Brandy—Apple, sales at \$22 to \$24 per gallon.  
Beeswax—\$1.50 per lb.  
Corn—\$3 to \$3.50 per bushel.  
Corn Meal—But little in market. We quote at \$3 to \$3.25 per bushel.  
Candles—Tallow, \$3½ to \$3.75; Adamantine, \$4½ to \$5 per lb.  
Cotton—50c. to 55c. per lb.  
Coffee—\$4 to \$4.50 per lb.  
Fruit—Dried apples, \$11.50; peaches, \$16 per bushel.  
Flour—There is but a limited supply. Superfine, \$31 to \$32; extra, \$35; family, \$36 per bushel.  
Flour barrels—\$1 each.  
Flaxseed—\$7 to \$7½ per bushel.  
Hay—We note sales at \$15 per hundred.  
Hides—Dry \$1.10 to \$1.15 per lb.  
Lard—\$1.60 per lb.  
Leather—Sole, \$3.50 to \$3.75; upper, \$5 to \$5.50.  
Lime—\$10 per barrel.  
Molasses—\$9½ to \$10 per gallon.  
Oats—From \$5 to \$5.50 per bushel.  
Potatoes—Irish, \$8 to \$10; sweet, \$10 to \$11 per bushel.  
Plaster—None in market.  
Peas—Black-eyed \$16 to \$18; brown, \$12 to \$13 per bushel.  
Rice—20c. to 22c. per lb.  
Seeds—Timothy, \$7.50; clover seed, \$24 to \$25; orchard grass seed, \$4.50 per bushel.  
Salt—45c. per lb.  
Sugar—Sales at \$1.10 to \$1.35, as to quality.  
Tobacco—We quote inferior lugs, \$14 to \$18; good lugs, \$22 to \$28; common leaf, \$20 to \$32; good leaf, \$38 to \$45; fine, \$50 to \$60; fine manufacturing, \$60 to \$75 per hundred.  
Manufactured Tobacco—The transactions have been very limited. Sales at 70c. to 87½c. for common; \$1.25 to \$2 for good brands.  
Wheat—\$6½ to \$7 per bushel.  
Whisky—We note sales at \$22 to \$30 per gallon.  
Wood—Oak, \$25; pine, \$22 per cord.

The *St. Louis Democrat* of May 6th, gives an account of the despotic arrests in St. Louis. It says:—

The military arrest of a considerable number of prominent citizens of well-known treasurable sympathies, though not officially made known to us, has become a matter of public notoriety in the street. Following is a list of some of the names of the imprisoned, gathered by us from various sources this morning:—

David H. Armstrong, late President of the St. Louis Railroad Company; Wm. N. Switzer, of the firm of Switzer, Platt and Co.; James C. Mumford, lawyer; James C. Edwards, ex-President of the North Missouri Railroad Company; Dr. Gratz Moses; Robert M. Fankhauser, late City Councilman and merchant on Second street; Nathaniel Cox, lawyer; Kelly, of the firm of Garbaid and Kelly; Lewis C. Garnier; James S. Doroughty, ex-receiver of public money for the United States; Horace D. Brady, trunk merchant at Fourth and Pine streets; Dr. Henry J. B. McKellops, well-known dentist on Olive, between Fifth and Sixth streets; William Matthews, of the firm of William Matthews and Co.; Solomon H. Robbins, late member of the School Board, belonging to the firm of S. H. Robbins and Co.—this is the gentleman whose infant son, as is alleged, was christened after General Beauregard by Dr. McPheeters; Isaac Pollard, real estate agent and broker; Henry N. Hart, lawyer; Henry B. Belt, of the firm of Belt and Priest, real estate agents; Ashton P. Johnson, Notary Public.

The above, with some twenty others whose names we did not with certainty learn, were taken in custody during yesterday and last night.

THE SUSPECTED CONFEDERATE STEAMER IN THE TEES.—The Southerner, a smart craft, that has been built on the Tees by Messrs. Pearce and Co., iron shipbuilders, has, during the whole period of her fitting out in the river, extending over several weeks, given rise to the liveliest curiosity. Last week she had her trial trip. There were eighty ladies and gentlemen on board. The run was as far as Scarborough, and back to West Hartlepool, where she is at present lying. It has since transpired that a spy was on board, in the guise of a reporter, to whom of course the greatest courtesy and attention were shown on his representing himself as connected with the press. It appears that while the ladies and gentlemen were dining on board, he was busy taking notes; so, while they were dancing; for he has since sworn to an affidavit at an attorney's office in Stockton, setting forth *inter alia* that Captain Butcher (the gentleman in charge of the boat) was, in his belief a regular commissioned officer under the Confederacy, because he had detected the letters C. S. C., which he made out to be "Confederate States' Cutter," on his uniform. The uniform was like that of a lieutenant in the Royal Navy. He likewise found the three fatal letters painted on the crockeryware used on board the vessel. Besides that, there was a quantity of charcoal, about 30 bushels, to prevent the sun penetrating the ice-house; he at once concluded that it was to get steam up quickly. He also learned from the crew that 11 or 12 big guns were stowed away in the hold, sealed. He had also observed that whenever Mr. Pearce, one of the builders, was in conversation with the captain, their gestures were suspicious. And what was the most damning fact of all was the palmetto tree on Captain Butcher's uniform; it was simply an ordinary anchor. This affidavit, we understand, was despatched with all possible haste to Mr. Adams, the United States' Minister, who forthwith submitted it to Earl Russell. The Foreign Secretary immediately communicated with Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, and the result of all this bother was that a Custom-house officer went on board the vessel, in the docks at Hartlepool, on Monday, and after a most minute search, particularly for the guns, declared himself perfectly satisfied that she in her present condition was what was represented of her,—purely a merchant vessel. That the Southerner's movements are watched is evident, from the fact that a telegraphic message has been received from the Home Secretary, inquiring as to her whereabouts; and also from the fact that the spy is still hovering about West Hartlepool. He was met the other day by the captain, and the meeting, it may be imagined, was a most cordial one. The affidavit bore the signature of "Baxter Langley."—*The Times*.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1863.

## BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

*We cheerfully comply with the request of several correspondents to lend our assistance to the collection of a fund, by British subscription, for the purpose of erecting a monument to Lieut.-General Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A. According to the desire of the originators of the movement, Mr. J. B. Hopkins, of this office, will receive subscriptions to this fund, and hold the same at the disposal of any association that may be organized here or in Liverpool to carry the object into execution.*

Mr. J. B. Hopkins acknowledges receipt for the British Jackson Monument Fund:—

Amount from last Week	..	..	£19	2	6
R. Crawford, Esq.	..	..	2	0	0
W. J. Rideout, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
W. F. De la Rue, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
N. C. Tuckey, Esq.	..	..	1	0	0

## The Struggle in Mississippi.

At the departure of the Etna from New York, the last faint hope of capturing Vicksburg seems to have deserted the Northern press. Conscious, as it were, of a coming disaster, even the *New York Herald*, the most rabid of the war organs of the North, avowed its despair; and great mass meetings in favour of peace have carried resolutions hostile to President Lincoln's Administration. The latest phase of public opinion in the North is only valuable, perhaps, as an index of a transient impulse. A victory on the Rappahannock, at Vicksburg, or at Port Hudson, would quickly send the thermometer up to war heat. Still these resolutions teach us something; they show that twelve days ago in New York, the most sanguine city in the Northern States, the conviction had taken root that Vicksburg was safe, that Grant's enterprise had miscarried, and that a fresh disaster to the Federal arms was imminent. It is significant that scarcely a line of the intelligence brought by the Etna is from Southern sources. From Northern advices we are able, with tolerable certainty, to estimate the chances of General Grant's success, and to predicate a failure. We hardly need the shadowy corroborative testimony of the Confederate officer on the Rappahannock, who reports that Grant's army has abandoned the siege of Vicksburg, and is, in its turn, cooped up on the banks of the Big Black River, surrounded by a victorious Confederate army.

The latest news confirms all our anticipations. The fate of Vicksburg hung upon the issue of the first week's fighting. If the rear of the fortress corresponded in strength with the fortifications along the river, it was impregnable to direct assault. The garrison could only be starved out after a protracted siege, which neither the summer heats of the Mississippi, nor the honour of the Confederate army in the south-west would allow. General Grant felt this. All his dispositions were made for a rapid advance and an immediate assault. The mine and the spade formed no part of his programme. They are introduced now, we firmly believe, merely to delude the Northern public. The Federals had evi-

dently no idea of the strength of the place they regarded as such an easy conquest. Admiral Porter reports that "the works are stronger than they dreamed of." General Grant could say as much. Seven miles of fortification protect this stronghold of the South. Ordinary siege works, zig-zags, and covered ways are of little avail where the ground is furrowed up into precipitous ravines, where the approaches to the defensive works are up steep inclines that must be scaled by ladders, and where the various passes that lead up to the separate redoubts are so many gorges of death, in which a handful of resolute men may deal destruction upon thousands. It is Fredericksburg over again, says a New York paper, with this difference—that Burnside when his assault had failed, could lead back his men across the Rappahannock, but there is no retreat for Grant. The siege had lasted thirteen days. At the end of that time the progress was "encouraging." In the first five days nearly as many assaults had been delivered, all ending in terrible slaughter and disaster. In thirty minutes, we are told, 2,500 Federal soldiers were shot down—struck by an unseen enemy. Again and again the assault was renewed with reckless bravery by the troops, with cruel prodigality of life on the part of the commander. Each time the hope was more forlorn, and the effort fainter and briefer; each time the foremost Federal ranks melted away under the deadly fire of the garrison long before they reached the Confederate redoubts. Flesh and blood could not stand the demoralization produced by these repeated failures. No wonder that even Grant stood aghast at the terrible work, and converted the assault into a siege. But the siege is fatal to his hopes. In fourteen days Johnstone is said to have promised the beleaguered garrison succour; thirteen days had elapsed on the 31st ult., and still Vicksburg held out bravely, and Grant's army had been weakened by the loss of 6,000 or 7,000 men before its walls. It was known that General Johnstone was not fifty miles distant, and that he was collecting and organizing an army for the relief of the fortress. From Tennessee, from Eastern Louisiana, from Georgia, he would draw reinforcements. He had with him the nucleus of an army, some 6,000 or 7,000 good troops. Every day's delay in Grant's operations brought the avenging army nearer; and at the latest dates General Johnstone's plans had assumed a definite form; the initiative had been resumed, and the work of relief was begun. The Federal accounts left Johnstone at Canton, a few miles north-west of Jackson. From thence he is reported to have removed in the direction of Vicksburg, between the Yazoo and Big Black Rivers, upon Haines' Bluff. Once there he would cut Grant's communications with the flotilla of gun-boats and transports on the Yazoo; he would avoid the difficulty of crossing the Big Black River in the face of an enemy; he would compel Grant's army to return along the Big Black River towards Grand Gulf, across a most difficult country, exposed to the flank attack of the army in Vicksburg, and to the imminent risk of annihilation or capture.

If Johnstone's forces are 30,000, he has probably men enough to relieve Vicksburg. If he has 40,000 men in his command, he may end the campaign on the Mississippi. In the Confederate camp on the Rappahannock it was reported that Grant had fallen back upon the Big Black River, and was then fortifying himself against Johnstone. But we hardly believe this. Grant's hope of safety lay in his gun-boats. A retreat upon the Big Black River would show his force to be even in a worse position than we assign to it; and there is apparently no hope of aid from General Banks. This officer, after having successfully overrun Louisiana, and won repeated victories over a few detached Confederate corps, is in his turn brought to a standstill at Port Hudson. He, too, finds the defence "stronger than he dreamed of," and has sustained before its walls a repulse even bloodier than that which has befallen General Grant.

Crossing the Mississippi at Bayou Sara, a few miles above Port Hudson, he appears to have invested the

latter fortress on the 26th ult., and on the 27th to have ordered a general assault, Admiral Farragut aiding by a joint attack on the river batteries. Some 25,000 men were put in motion, and on all sides the works were assaulted. The result was, even upon Federal showing, a tremendous disaster. On the right a partial reverse; on the left a serious repulse; in the centre the capture of some rifle pits at the cost of some 4,000 killed and wounded, General Sherman amongst the number. The battle lasted throughout the day. It is reported to have been renewed on the 28th, but the result was not published at New Orleans. The probability is, that the ill-success of the first day's fight prevented the renewal of the attack. Thus, at two points, the Federals have been foiled. Port Hudson and Vicksburg still remained in the hands of the Confederates, and the position of the invading armies had become one of extreme peril. If troops can be spared to strengthen the Confederate army in Mississippi, Grant's forces can hardly escape, and Banks's army will scarcely be safe until it has reached New Orleans. Everything depends upon the celerity with which reinforcements can be brought up on the respective sides, and we are inclined to think that at this juncture the North is no better able to furnish armies than the South. Lee is threatening Maryland and Washington, Bragg is closing in upon Rosecranz. Confederate troops are advancing on Kentucky. Neither Hooker nor Rosecranz can spare a regiment. The nine-months' men are leaving the ranks. Everything seems to portend that a great crisis in the war has come, and that the events which must be decided in the course of this month on the banks of the Mississippi will have a more important influence on the issue of the war than any of the sanguinary struggles which have preceded them. We look hopefully on the Confederate prospects. Two weeks ago there was, cause for anxiety. Now there is none. The tide of Federal success has risen, we believe, to its highest and the ebb has set in.

## The Fall of Puebla.

THE cannon from the Hotel des Invalides has announced to Paris a great victory of the arms of France in a distant tropical land. The fall of Puebla and the capture of the only army that could dispute the road to the capital, has placed the destinies of a whole people in the hands of the Emperor of the French. We doubt not that he will use this great triumph wisely and moderately, and that the victory of arms will be followed by a still greater moral victory in the regeneration of that unhappy country, which, almost from the first year of its independent existence, has been a scandal and a disgrace to modern civilization. It is true that the obstacles to this consummation are more formidable than those which military skill and valour may overcome, and to a mind less profoundly sagacious they might prove insurmountable. The task is that of creating order where the very elements of political organization have long since perished in a hopeless chaos—of establishing a stable government among a people whose history records nearly as many revolutions as years. The greatest difficulty in accomplishing this task is the absence of anything that can properly be termed the nucleus of a nation. Of the eight millions that are loosely termed Mexicans, scarcely one and a half million are white, that is, of pure European descent. The rest are Indians, Negroes, and the infinite mongrel breeds produced by the mixture of these races. If the unrestricted possession of political privileges has degenerated into unbridled licence among some of the highest types of the Caucasian race, how much less is such Utopian freedom fitted for a population only a degree removed from simple barbarism? The first and greatest need of Mexico is "a white man's government," and this, under the present circumstances of that Republic, can only be imposed by the strong hand of a foreign conqueror. The fruits of the reform will, indeed, be commensurate with the magnitude of the task. A country, which few equal and none surpass in mag-



nificence and variety of resources, will be reopened to commerce, and to the influences of civilization. But to work such a cure, time must come to the aid of the skilful physician; and whether or no the Emperor Napoleon contemplates the reduction of Mexico into a French colony, which we cannot persuade ourselves to believe, a prolonged occupation of that distant territory is an inevitable sequence of his plans. France must, therefore, be regarded, as a Power whose American dependencies give it, at the present moment, a strong interest and an authoritative voice in American affairs. It is from this point of view alone that we now desire to consider the consequences of the French conquest of Mexico, for this is the real significance of the fall of Puebla.

It has several times happened during the progress of the American war—which with a strange perversion of words many still persist in calling a “civil war,”—that a series of events so shaped themselves as to appear to indicate a certain and speedy conclusion. Yet at the very moment when the anxious spectators expected the curtain to fall upon the tragedy, something has always happened to delay the *denouement*, and from behind the scenes might be heard the sound of preparations for still another Act, more filled with horrors and carnage than the preceding. One of these periods, when all the indications seem to point to an approaching end, is the present. The North had strained every nerve upon three gigantic efforts,—the reduction of Charleston, the often-defeated advance into Virginia, and the undisputed possession of the Mississippi River. The accomplishment of either one of these objects, albeit with the failure of the others, would, it was admitted, encourage it in its desperate enterprise, and postpone peace indefinitely. Two of the attempts have already ended in failures more signal than any which have baffled Northern hopes; the third is indeed yet undecided, but enough is already known to leave the issue but little doubtful. Private letters and telegrams render it certain that the Government at Washington has suppressed information, according to which Grant is in a far more perilous situation than the garrison in Vicksburg. Add to this the surprising intelligence which reaches us from Port Hudson; an army of over twenty thousand men, supported by a powerful fleet, has just been repulsed with heavy loss from this little fort, the fate of which, when assailed by such a force, seemed so certain, that a month ago friends and foes in New Orleans believed in its evacuation. It is evident, therefore, that the Federals, as is their wont, had greatly exaggerated the value of their successes in the West; and without imitating their practice of discounting victories not yet won, we may reasonably speculate upon the consequences of the failure of the third of this year's great campaigns.

Foiled at every point of assault, it is impossible to conceive what new hope can spring up to delude the Northern people, or upon what new chance the Federal commanders now stake their honour and the lives of their men. Predatory excursions may, indeed, be made, large districts of the “rebel” country laid waste, and immense quantities of private property stolen and destroyed. But such exploits, even the North will scarcely believe conducive to any decision of the contest. New levies will then require to be ordered; but if we compute their magnitude by the figures of the past two years, not all the Federal recruiting sergeants in Ireland can supply the demand, and the Conscription, so long threatened and never enforced, must of needs be resorted to. Assuming that the Northern people will submit to this as they have submitted to everything else, and that their young men will go forth to take the place of the foreign hirelings who have heretofore been so mercilessly sacrificed at the bidding of an imbecile dictator, some time must elapse before the North can venture to send the raw recruits of this class against the veteran soldiers of the South. The war, then, will linger. Meanwhile there are symptoms of reaction at the North itself, more pronounced in their character than any we have yet had to record. A party strong enough to hold one of the largest public meetings ever held in

New York, and strong enough to defy the absolute authority of the Administration, has at length openly avowed itself in favour of peace, even though it were a peace based on separation. Those who know the astonishing versatility of the Northern mind, and know how rapidly a party recruits its numbers when once the characteristic cowardice of an American minority is quieted by demonstrations of strength, may reasonably indulge in hopes that the movement inaugurated in New York will spread throughout the length and breadth of Federal America. The reported sudden conversion of the *New York Herald*, which has never been known to espouse an unpopular side, and whose instinctive perception of the changes of public opinion is supposed to be unfailing, would, if confirmed, tend strongly to corroborate such hopes.

We, however, are far from seeing in these hopeful symptoms the conclusive evidence of a coming change of purpose on the part of the North as a people. We are content to treat them as the indications of a crisis the issue of which is still extremely doubtful, and depends on many uncertain contingencies. Should Europe neglect the critical moment, as it has neglected so many former opportunities, the Peace party, still in its infancy, may and probably will succumb. The chill consequent upon repeated defeats may pass, as it has passed before, being succeeded by as violent a paroxysm of fever as ever, and the conscription may be enforced, though one-third of the population had to be kept in subjection by the other two-thirds in arms. The weakness of the Peace party, as we have often pointed out, lies in the fact that so long as Europe by its injustice to the Confederates encourages the prosecution of the war, they stand branded as traitors to the cause of their country, as men who despair of success while the whole neutral world still deem success possible. It depends, therefore, on the course pursued by Europe, that is to say, by France and England, what turn the approaching crisis in the North will take, and it is for this reason that the opportune events in Mexico have so important a bearing upon the greater questions now in process of solution on the same continent. These events leave the Emperor free to act according to the conclusions at which he is reported to have long since arrived, and we will not believe that England, though she refuses to lead, would hesitate or regret to follow her ally.

### Retaliation.

THE horrors of war are always intensified by the duration of war. The area of the suffering constantly extends until affliction becomes the common heritage of the community. In America, however, we are witnessing an unusually terrible development of the evil of war. We there behold hostilities waged with the weapons and skill of civilization, but with the spirit that animates the savage. It would be vain, it would be criminal to deny that the conflict is daily growing in ferocity. There are indications that the time is approaching when “no quarter” will be inscribed on black banners, and when the victor will not hesitate to slay his vanquished foe. We represent the sentiment of England and of Europe in saying that no words can express the painful impression produced by these signs of the changing character of the conflict, and in justice to the gallant South we feel called upon to show that she is not to blame, that retaliation is forced upon her, that retaliation is not a matter of discretion but of solemn duty, for by such a policy alone is it possible to curb the brutality and barbarism of the North.

And first, we must pay homage to the wonderful forbearance hitherto exhibited by the Confederates. There may be difference of opinion as to the original cause of dispute, and as to the constitutional right of secession, but no one can deny that the Confederates are the invaded, and the Federals the invading power. This alone would have justified conduct on the part of the South, for which the North could not offer any sufficient excuse. But it is the invader, and not

the invaded, who has grossly violated the laws of civilized warfare. We have not the space, even if we had the inclination, to chronicle all the enormities committed by Northern soldiers, and commanded and sanctioned by Northern officers. Their pathway in the South has been marked by desolation, by rapine, by the shedding of innocent blood, and by the commission of crimes that must not be named by man to man. The Federal cavalry makes a raid, and boasts of destroying the agricultural implements of the farmers. The Federals capture a city, burn the public buildings and the citizens' houses, and steal the wearing apparel and jewellery of the women. We do not forget Butler's Reign of Terror in New Orleans, and the deeds by which he made his name execrable. We remember the bloodthirsty orders of General Pope in Virginia, the abominations of Turchin, and the hideous massacre of McNeil. The doings of that ruthless savage, General Mitchell, are too monstrous to pass into oblivion. And yet these men only did conspicuously what others have done more privily. These inhuman cruelties the South has borne without retaliation. There is, indeed, a difficulty. The Confederates cannot retaliate in kind. They cannot maltreat women and children, steal dresses and trinkets, murder innocent men in the presence of their wives, and give up school girls to a ferocious soldiery—there are no such soldiers in the armies of the South. At length, however, the Federals are engaged in a work that it would be a lasting shame to the Confederates if they did not punish. They are seeking to stir up a servile war, to arm the negro against his master, to change the docile labourer into a savage. Can we blame the Confederates for hanging—as yet they have not done so—white officers so inciting the black race to revolt? If the South, hardly pressed by the superior numbers of the invader, armed the slaves in defence of their country, the only country which affords the negro a home in America, the act would be pardonable, though we should deplore the necessity. But for an invader, boasting of his superior numbers and his superior resources, to entrap and arm the Southern negroes is conduct that no sophistry can palliate. Even for the sake of the negroes the South is called upon to sternly punish it.

Some weeks ago, a contemporary—the *Army and Navy Gazette*—found fault with us for saying that death was a righteous punishment for the white officers of negro regiments. Well, how ought the Confederates to act? Let us constitute ourselves the Gamaliel amongst nations. Let us bid the South take a lesson from our history. Let us take an instance with which the editor of the *Army and Navy Gazette* is familiar—the Sepoy revolt.

We protest earnestly that in citing this case we have no intention of denouncing the severity of the punishment inflicted upon the mutineers. We are not members of the Peace Society. We are not co-operators or dupes of Mr. John Bright. We do not sympathize with the crimes of fanaticism. We do not feel any maudlin pity for Nana Sahib. We are not inclined to treat leniently the murderers of our women at Cawnpore.

The Sepoys were a subject, not a servile race. Misled by a blinding fanaticism they were induced to believe that the English meditated an attack upon their religion—to degrade them in this world and to consign them to perdition. In this state of mind they were the ready tools of designing fiends, who incited them to commit the most atrocious crimes. The heroism of such men as General Havelock—the Stonewall Jackson of our Indian service—saved our Indian Empire and put an end to the mutiny. What did we to the mutineers? Did we suffer them to go at large? No. Did we spare their lives? No. Did we hang them? No. This is what we did:—We tied them to the mouths of cannon, and in the presence of our soldiers we blew them in pieces. And shall we pretend that hanging is too severe a penalty for men who seek to stir up a servile war, and who do so not from fanaticism, but for the purpose of vengeance and from the lust of territory? The cases as they stand are not quite



apposite. It is as though we had Sepoys in England, in all our towns and villages, and an invader sought to make them enact the crimes that were instigated by Nana Sahib. If ever the punishment of death is lawful, it is undoubtedly so when Federal officers are found in command of negroes. But we repeat, as yet the Confederates have not so punished any Federal officers.

Another circumstance loudly calls for a change in the Confederate policy. The war is now, avowedly, on the part of the North a war of extermination. It is gloatingly admitted by the clergy of New England that the South can never be conquered and held except by the extermination of the Southerners. We need not travel so far as New England to penetrate the intention of the Northern Republicans. They will, if they can, keep on the war until having killed they may take possession. A daily London paper, the *Daily News*, has lately reduced the chance of success to a question of arithmetic, and contended that as the Federals and Confederates are as three to one, if the Southerners only kill two for one the Federals in the end must be successful. Although the *Daily News* has before published the ravings of a morbid imagination as authenticated facts—for example, the story about negro roasting—still we confess we were a little surprised to find that journal suggesting a war of extermination. This being the policy of the North, or at least of the dominant section of the North, and as Europe looks on and does not feel it a duty even to protest against such a scheme, we must admit that the South is not engaged in an ordinary war, and is by all the rules of war privileged to resort to extraordinary measures. We are assured that President Davis will, so long as he can do so righteously, abstain from retaliation. We fear, however, that forbearance is no longer a virtue, since it encourages the Federals to commit crimes alike repugnant to the laws of God and man.

### Mr. Coningham and the Slave Trade.

DESPITE the control exercised over it by the Speaker, and the check put upon all sorts of extravagance by the good sense and discretion which almost invariably characterise the House of Commons, the license of asking questions is, beyond all other Parliamentary privileges, liable to be abused by the wilfulness or folly of individual members; who, under cover of a question, can insinuate an insult to a Minister, an affront to a friendly Power, or an accusation against an absent man; which cannot be answered effectually, inasmuch as only he to whom the question is put is allowed to speak to it, and which the member who puts the question cannot be called on either to withdraw or to substantiate. The good feeling which is usual among gentlemen, and the knowledge that a serious offence against equity and good breeding would compromise the position of the offender with the House generally, however, keep this abuse within bounds; and it is very seldom that anything exceedingly insolent towards absent parties, or exceedingly silly in itself, is said under the guise of a question. The rarity of such an occurrence will excuse us in calling attention to the conduct of a person who, as a general rule, is considered beneath the notice of the press, and who never emerges from his insignificance save by some egregious effort of vanity and perversity which for a moment compels the public to recognise his existence by an expression of ridicule or of disgust. Probably no question was ever put to a Prime Minister so utterly childish in itself, and in its purpose and terms so wantonly insulting to a foreign Government, as that addressed to Lord Palmerston, last Thursday night, by one of the members for Brighton. Both those gentlemen are vehement Radicals, and resemble each other in other particulars. But Mr. White does understand one or two questions, with which the experience of a lifetime has made him familiar; he seldom troubles the House on any other topics; and he speaks with sufficient sense and good humour to prevent the kindly indifference with which he is regarded from becoming angry or contemptuous. His colleague is

a man of a very different sort; as may be conceived from the nature and form of the question to which we refer. Mr. Coningham asked the noble Lord at the head of Her Majesty's Government, whether it were not expedient to extend to the American continent the efforts which this country has made for the suppression of the African Slave trade; and whether the time had not arrived when it became the duty of Government to concert measures with the Federal Administration for the total suppression of that trade in "the rebellious Southern States."

It is difficult to imagine any rational motive which could induce even a Mr. Coningham to put a question so utterly babyish as this. Every one knows that any measures now concerted with the Federal Government must either have regard only to that territory which is actually and *de facto* subject to Mr. Lincoln's authority, or must involve us, as his allies and co-partners, in a direct collision with the Confederate States. We cannot "concert measures" to put down or to raise up, by the agency of the Federal Government, any thing, practice, or institution in the South, without concerting measures to put the Federal Government in possession of that authority in the South which is necessary to the execution of any such scheme; and to propose any treaty, arrangement, or joint action whatever with one party to a war within the territory of the other, is simply to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with the former against the latter. Mr. Coningham's question, therefore, amounted in substance to this: "Is it not time that England, in alliance with the North, should make war upon the Confederate States, in order to put down"—*what*, we cannot clearly understand, but we presume that Mr. Coningham intends to say—"the sale of negro slaves." Even Mr. Forster and Mr. Taylor, of "hell-hound" notoriety, do not venture to answer this question in the affirmative; and we conceive that no sane Englishman dreams of giving any kind of encouragement to the North, beyond that which may be afforded by furious platform harangues and vain-glorious resolutions, passed by meetings limited alike in numbers, sense, and character.

Again, every rational politician knows that the African Slave Trade, and the transfer of slaves from one owner to another, are two utterly distinct and different things. The African slave trade was a trade in barbarian men and women, who were made captives in wars kindled for that purpose, and transferred to slave-ships, wherein one-half of them usually died, to be carried to distant countries, and sold to hard labour under masters of a race with which they had no communion, and whose very language, religion, and ideas were utterly and hopelessly strange to them. It destroyed the little prospect that ever existed of establishing commerce, civilization, peace and order on the coast of Africa. It did much to aggravate the evils of West Indian slavery—first, by rendering slaves cheap, and secondly, by furnishing constant supplies of slaves, in whom their masters felt no personal interest, and whose barbarous instincts could only be controlled by the severest discipline. It involved horrors on the high seas which, in the narratives of English Abolitionists, awakened the remorse and disgust of Christendom. Therefore, the slave-trade with Africa was abolished; and the voice of the South has declared, as loudly as that of Europe, that it was rightly abolished. The sale of slaves is an essential incident of slavery. It is the way by which labour is transferred from places where it is redundant, to places where it is wanted. It is the way by which a master discharges a troublesome servant. It is the way by which a planter, parting with his estate, places the labourers who have cultivated it under the protection of its new owner. It is the way by which a discontented slave is, at his own request, removed from the service of a master whom he dislikes. It is as necessary for the slave as for the slaveholder; and slavery could not exist where this power of sale was wanting. This is plain enough to all rational men; it is clear to all intelligent politicians—from Lord Macaulay's fourth form schoolboy and the pot-house oracle, up to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston—that there is no sort of connexion or comparison between the African

slave-trade, and the transfer of American slaves from one owner to another; but Mr. Coningham, with a sincerity which we do not doubt, confuses the two things in inextricable perplexity.

We may also remind our readers of two important facts. It is not in the power of the Federal Government, nor of the Confederate Government, within their respective jurisdictions, to interfere either with slavery or with what is called by Abolitionists the internal slave-trade. If the Union were restored to-morrow, and if Mr. Wendell Phillips were President, and Mr. Beecher Secretary of State—events about equally probable—it would be beyond their powers to prevent the sale of slaves in Maryland, or their transfer thence to Texas. And the same is true of the Confederacy. The Government at Richmond has no more power to forbid the sale of negroes in Virginia than to forbid the sale of horses or of estates; no more power than to pass laws limiting testamentary bequests or altering the law of succession to land. The matter is one of municipal regulation, solely within the powers of the Sovereign States. Again, the Confederate Government has, and can have, no more power to interfere with the involuntary migration of slaves than with the voluntary migration of freemen. But the external commerce of the Confederacy, like that of the Union, is regulated by the Central Power; and as our readers well know, a special clause in the Confederate Constitution utterly and for ever precludes the possibility of a resumption of the slave trade by citizens of the Confederate States. And this law was included in the fundamental laws of the country, not to please or conciliate Europe, but at the almost unanimous demand of the Southern people, who believe that the resumption of that trade would so alter the character of slavery in those States, as to render it an abomination not to be maintained or endured by a Christian people.

The only motives that we can assign for such a question as Mr. Coningham's are, a puerile wish to vent his ill-nature by speaking spitefully of the Confederate States, and a desire to connect his name with a subject of some importance, in order to assure his constituents at Brighton that he is still alive, and as willing as ever to talk nonsense for that gratification, when he can get an opportunity. The small malice displayed in the epithet bestowed on the South, and the attempt to suggest in its most offensive form the one imputation which checks the growth of sympathy with the Confederate cause, sufficiently evince the existence in the speaker's mind of just that kind of impotent ill-will which would find gratification in insulting a great people in the midst of a desperate struggle by an affront so petty as an impertinent Parliamentary question from the most insignificant man in the British Parliament.

Lord Palmerston showed much good nature in his reply; for the opportunity was tempting. Mr. Coningham has been impertinent to Lord Palmerston, as to others; and nothing would have been easier than to extinguish Mr. Coningham by a few well-chosen sentences of merciless ridicule, provoking a perfect storm of cheers and laughter from the House. But the Premier refrained; he could not condescend to such small game. He chose to understand the question in a manner in which it merely implied gross ignorance, and not ridiculous folly; and explained the attitude in which the Federal and Confederate Governments respectively stood towards the African slave trade. Mr. Coningham tried to explain himself, but he only succeeded in eliciting from Lord Palmerston an emphatic repetition of a phrase very disagreeable to the feelings of the Americanizing members who sat below the gangway. "The Federal Government has no relations with the Confederate States but that of war." As it has become plain by this time that, until it discontinues this relation, it will never have any other, would not the Premier do well to ask himself how long we are to consider ourselves bound by its obstinacy, and to have ourselves "no relations" with a people linked to us by the ties of common blood and common interests?



## A SOUTHERN REPLY TO "HISTORICUS."

WE publish to-day from the *Charleston Courier*, the second and concluding portion of a review to the letters of "Historicus" to the *Times* on the law of nations respecting recognition. This admirable and unanswerable argument appeared over the signature of "Juridicus," but we are enabled to state that it is from the pen of the Hon. A. G. Magrath, late United States Judge for the District of South Carolina, and now a member of the Confederate Supreme Court for the same district. In this connection we may properly correct an error into which our Charleston contemporary has fallen in regard to the authorship of the "Historicus" letters. These letters, the temporary success of which is attributable to the fact that they afforded to the public a plausible pretext for neglecting an inconvenient moral obligation, in spite of the promptings of the national conscience, and not to their having convinced anybody or changed any one's previous opinions on the subject of recognition—are well known here to be the productions of Vernon Harcourt, Esq., a writer of greater repute than popularity, connected by marriage with the family of the late Secretary of War, Sir G. C. Lewis, and a barrister and special pleader of considerable ability. We state these facts on account of the erroneous mention of several other names in our Southern Exchanges.

A singularly apt refutation of the doctrines of the "Historicus" letters, by an authority which the author of those letters is above all others bound to respect, may not inappropriately be quoted here. In the second volume of "Dissertations and Discussions," by J. S. Mill, London, 1859, is an article reprinted from the *Westminster Review*, of April, 1849, being a vindication of the French Revolution of 1848. Speaking of the manifesto of M. de Lamartine, Mr. Mill says:—

One entirely new principle was for the first time established in Europe amidst general approbation within the last thirty years. It is that whenever two countries or two parts of the same country are engaged in war, and the war either continues long undecided, or threatens to be decided in a way involving consequences repugnant to humanity or to the general interest, other countries have a right to step in, to settle among themselves what they consider reasonable terms of accommodation; and if these are not accepted, to interfere by force, and compel the recalcitrant party to submit to the mandate. This new doctrine has been acted on by a combination of the Great Powers of Europe in three celebrated instances:—the interference between Greece and Turkey at Navarino, between Holland and Belgium at Antwerp, and between Turkey and Egypt at St. Jean d'Acre. It is too late in the day, after these precedents, to tell us that nations may not forcibly interfere with one another for the sole purpose of stopping mischief and benefiting humanity.

## THE ATTACK ON PORT HUDSON.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA,

Friday Morning, May 29.

Never were correspondents, citizens, editors, officers, soldiers, and sailors more mistaken than were nearly all the inhabitants of Louisiana when they supposed, as they have for a long time past, that Port Hudson was nearly evacuated, if not entirely deserted, by the Confederate troops. There were many things to induce this belief. Vicksburg has been largely reinforced—the return fire from the Port Hudson batteries to the almost daily visits of the Federal gun-boats had been very faint—the importance of the position was much lessened when the Federal fleet cut off the source of supplies from Red River—and there has been a wide-spread supposition that Banks's army could walk into the place any time these three weeks past.

Since Sunday last, however, public sentiment on this subject has materially changed. We have had rumours that the doors of Port Hudson did not stand wide open, and that an entrance there was disputed by a force of about ten thousand men, commanded by General Frank Gardner.

And last evening we received our first authentic intelligence with regard to the situation "up river." First came the despatch boat *Antona*, which left Port Hudson at eight o'clock, and Baton Rouge at half-past eleven o'clock Wednesday night. Close following, arrived the tug *Ida*, bringing three wounded officers. Soon, rumour was wild-flying through the streets; then came more definite reports; and lastly, we had news authentic and to be trusted.

Soon after Banks landed his army at Bayou Sara he

marched down and effected a junction with Augur's division from Baton Rouge. The combined force was not far from 23,000 men. Augur already had had a sharp fight with the Confederates, who hoped to drive him back to Baton Rouge and prevent his junction with Banks. Last Sunday there were frequent skirmishes in the rear of Port Hudson. On Monday, at six A.M., there was an attempted attack by the Federals upon the earthworks in the rear of the place, while, during the day, Farragut's flag-ship, the *Mouongahela*, with the iron-clad *Essex*, the *Richmond*, and the *Gennessee*, engaged the batteries on the bluff and on the river bank, while half a dozen mortar schooners shelled the town. In the course of the day Banks sent word to the fleet that he had ninety field and siege guns in position, and that he was ready to co-operate with the fleet in a combined attack upon the place early next day.

All day Tuesday, the gun and mortar boats fired at intervals upon the batteries, and there was a deal of fighting in the rear of the town for several hours, without, however, any special gain on either side. Early Wednesday morning the fleet again engaged the batteries while the army attacked the entrenchments. At eight o'clock the fleet fell back, dropping down the river, and not renewing the attack till evening. The best gunners and artillerymen, who fired so effectively at the fleet the night of March 14, have gone to Vicksburg, or were employed at the land batteries in the rear. The firing was very bad, and although most of the shots were aimed at the flag-ship, so far as we can learn, none of the vessels were hit even once. The cannonading on land and the almost ceaseless roll of musketry continued almost without interruption all day long. Towards evening the fleet opened fire again. The army in the attack was disposed as follows:—Weitzel had the right wing, and engaged the force in the rear of the batteries above the town; Banks, Augur, Dudley, and Grover attacked the centre, and Sherman commanded the left wing. Some of Sherman's cavalry and infantry, late in the day, entered one of the lower batteries, and found the guns spiked and the place abandoned. While moving upon the second battery, Sherman, at the head of his division, was struck below the left knee, the ball shattering the bones, and he was borne from the field. He sent an aide for Brigadier-General Nickerson, but Nickerson had just been killed. During the day, three acting brigadiers,—Nickerson and Paine, of the 2nd Louisiana, and Chopin of the 42nd Massachusetts; Colonels Cowles, 128th New York; Clarke, 6th Michigan; Bullock, 20th Massachusetts, were all killed. General Sherman and Brigadier-General Neal Dow, and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of Duryea's Zouaves, were badly wounded. The 6th Michigan and 128th New York regiments were dreadfully cut up, losing full half their officers and men, and the killed and wounded of the entire Federal line number not less than 3,000 for that one day's fight. No doubt the Confederate loss is very, but not equally great. The 2nd Louisiana "Native Guards" attacked the works, going in with 900 and coming out in an almost inconceivably short space of time with only about 200 negroes! It is currently reported and generally believed that soon after Wednesday's engagement commenced, Frank Gardner sent a flag of truce to Banks, telling him that he did not wish to fight negroes, and asking him to remove them to the rear or to take them from the field. The three negro regiments raised in this department were all engaged. Banks refused to comply; and Gardner sent word, so the story goes, that if the negroes were engaged, he should raise the black flag, and neither give nor take quarter. The destruction among the negroes was terrible.

And why not? They were placed in front—a negro's life is of little account, it seems, in comparison with that of a white man's. But in view of the fact that it is proposed to raise a *Corps d'Afrique* of 18,000 blacks, it is hardly probable that the "niggers" (as all Abolitionists sneeringly call them) will be completely fascinated with a service which threatens to expose them to the hottest of every fight. It is one of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's boasts, that negroes discuss all subjects connected with their own welfare and misery among themselves, and the Port Hudson slaughter of Wednesday has been, you may be assured, a theme of much and animated confabulation among the blacks, griffs, and "coloured" men of every hue and shade in this city. *Appropos*, I learn that several hundred negroes were brought from the Teche and Lafourche regions yesterday, either for conscription or for safe-keeping; for it is widely rumoured that since the Attakapas country was abandoned by the Federals, so that every available man could take part in the movement upon Port Hudson, General Kirby Smith has come down with a force of 4,000 or 5,000 Confederates from Shreveport, and is reconnoitering along the lower part of the Teche.

From 6 till 8 o'clock on Wednesday night, the gun-boats and mortars shelled Port Hudson. The land fight was still in progress when the *Antona* left, and was going on all day yesterday. The Federals were confident that the place would be carried last night. Banks is said to have expressed himself determined to carry the position with this attempt, if it cost him 10,000 men. He does not wish to begin so formidable an undertaking *de novo*.

The early hour at which the mail-carrying steamer goes North this morning prevents the sending of further particulars, though we have no telegrams to indicate that Port Hudson was taken last night, and the fight will probably begin again this morning. You may receive the news of the final result, *via* Cairo and New York, before it can be sent from here.

Monday, May 18.

Now that the advance upon Alexandria is complete, we may say something about the Confederate force in this State. No doubt the despatches which go North by special steamer to-morrow, will contain full and glowing accounts of the various victories over the Confederate army at Camp Bisland, at Vermillion, and elsewhere on the Teche. But to speak of a "Confederate army," when it merely meant the handful of men who so vigorously opposed the advance till the column reached Opelousas, is a simple absurdity. The State has already sent its best men to the Virginian and Vicksburg armies, and General Dick Taylor, who was in command during the recent movement, never had more than 4,500 men, recently conscripted and reinforced by a small cavalry body from Texas. That these few men did their best to oppose the advance is sufficiently attested by the Federal hospital reports, and by the new-turfed graves that line the Teche. Forty-five hundred to dispute "the right of way" with 23,000 men; and then to get safely away, as nearly all did, and to effect a safe retreat into Texas, is doing much.

But the knowledge has come to us since the Teche fights, that even this small Confederate force was ordered to Richmond before Banks's advance. It hardly seems possible that the Confederate authorities, for the purpose of adding a few more hundred men to the already enormous army in front of the capital, could leave Louisiana entirely defenceless. But it is so. As it was, next to no defence at all could be offered; and there is a general impression that the people and planters of the Teche and the Attakapas country would have suffered far less if there had been no opposition whatever to the advance upon Alexandria. Alexandria is nothing in itself; but it is a good base for Banks on Red River, and it is strategically important to him, as I wrote you in my last, in his descent upon Port Hudson.

There are some additional particulars about the Fort de Russy affair which are interesting. This position was midway between Alexandria and the Mississippi, commanding an abrupt bend in the river, and in itself almost impregnable. There were three batteries on the river bank, mounting one gun each, and in the rear a star-shaped fort (De Russy) well built and well armed. A raft of logs extended across the river, and the trees on the opposite bank were cut down, giving full sweep to the guns. General Mouton was in command of a small force at the fort, and he could have successfully kept back Porter's gun-boats, were it not for the advance of Banks by land.

When Mouton heard of the march up the Teche of a large force of Federal soldiers, as he had no place of retreat in case they came in his rear, he ordered his guns to be thrown into the river; the forts and batteries were dismantled, and he embarked his few men on steamers and went up to Shreveport. For this, it is understood that he is now under court-martial; but there really seems to have been but one alternative for action—it was go, or be "gobbled." When Porter went up from the Mississippi with the gun-boats *Estrella*, *Arizona*, and *Albatross*, he reached the raft and found the fort deserted. Above the raft, however, were two small cotton-clad steamers, one of which was soon disabled by a shot, and the Federals reported her as destroyed. She was not, but was towed safely by the other boat to Shreveport; and on the way up they notified the Alexandrians that Porter had destroyed the raft, burned two houses on shore, and that he would soon be up the river. If Kirby Smith, as has been reported, was there with a small force, he at once embarked, and went further up the river, saving his material and men. But I do not think there was any Confederate force there, and that Kirby Smith was all the while at Archidelpia in Arkansas.

When Porter arrived he immediately appointed one of his officers as naval commander of the town, and called upon the mayor to assist him in preserving order. He then issued an order that all persons must stay in the house after nine o'clock at night, that the property of those who should sell liquor would be confiscated,



and that the inhabitants must attend strictly to such rules as he might establish from time to time. And thus, awaiting Banks's arrival, the new reign began.

When the army arrived, Banks sent Weitzel with three or four thousand men up the river road towards Shreveport, to see if he could discover anything of Kirby Smith. At last accounts he was seventy-five miles above Alexandria, and "marching on." Meanwhile, every boat capable of carrying troops was brought up through the Atchafalaya in readiness for the movement from Red River. For the past two days the army has been massing at Simmes's Ferry, near the point where the Atchafalaya runs out of Red River, and not far from the Mississippi. From this point the movement will be to Bayou Sara, exactly as I wrote you in my last, and it will be first against Port Hudson, which is generally believed to be evacuated. Banks expects, at all events, an easy victory at Port Hudson, and then, in conjunction with Grant, he proposes to try Vicksburg. If the Confederates have gone from Port Hudson to assist in strengthening Vicksburg, the reduction of the latter place will furnish a full summer's work for the Federal fleet and forces.

Not much more can be done by unacclimatized Northern troops in this department till the warm season is over. There is now a great deal of diarrhoea and typhoid in the Federal army, and as the season advances there will be an increased rather than diminished sick-list. Nor are we free from fears that the yellow fever may visit us, and this dread disease, which is a source of alarm and anxiety to old residents, will make fearful havoc in regiments unused to the climate, living in all the irregularities of army life, and in the hands of verdant Northern surgeons, who know nothing of the treatment of the disease.

Farragut went up to Port Hudson on the Monongahela last Saturday to direct the movements of his gun-boats. Banks goes up to-morrow; meanwhile, we suppose his army is now crossing the Mississippi to Bayou Sara, and in a very few days we ought to receive the intelligence of his operations at Port Hudson.

The latest Federal raid in the direction of Pontchartroula resulted in the capture of two or three Confederate soldiers and fourteen young, full-blooded Choctaw Indians, only one of whom could speak English. They were from Lower Mississippi, and were engaged in guarding the line of the Jackson railroad. We have had a painful report that Stonewall Jackson, who lost an arm at Fredericksburg, had not survived the amputation. He would be an enormous loss to the Confederate army, and his character as a soldier, a Christian, and a man, is universally respected by his foes, as well as by his friends. Ex-Governor Mouton has been arrested at his residence near Vermillion, in the Teche country, and he has been placed in charge of the Provost Marshal in this city. The "registered enemies," as they are called, are now daily crossing the Lake in schooners chartered by themselves, or in the Federal boat Brown, to pass Christian, Madisonville, and to East Pascagoula. There are about 2,000 to go in all; though the new and stringent oath, which rumour says is to be administered to the suspected, will send over many more. Not less than 2,000 young men, registered as enemies, have slipped through the lines, without waiting for Federal transportation, and have joined the Confederate army. On the last list there are twenty of the longest-established and best physicians in the city, and after they had made their arrangements to depart, they have been privately informed that no one of them will be allowed to leave the city, till fears of an epidemic have gone by. The Federals feel that these "enemies" who are thoroughly acquainted with local diseases, may possibly be their best friends before summer is over. The military Governor of the State has issued a general order, declaring the act of the Legislature (March 6, 1857), prohibiting the emancipation of slaves, entirely inoperative—as "never having been adopted by the military authorities, and as being inconsistent with the principles which control the policy of the Government." So then, the Abolition element in the Federal "policy" is not quite exhausted, and is to be tried a while longer before, and as auxiliary to, the initiation of the grand scheme of extermination. This last is nearly ready for proclamation. You have noted, no doubt, that Butler openly advocated it in New York, and a leading general (not Banks) in this department, said not long ago, that "this was to be a war of extermination." "These people," said he, "must come under the flag, and they must do it soon, or we" (who are "we"? "will exterminate them; and we" (query, again), "can do it." The Governor of Connecticut, who has just been re-elected by the votes of soldiers sent for the purpose from the Potomac army, in his message, speaking of the rebellion, says, "Let the retribution be so terrible, that future generations shall

not dare to repeat the crime." Thus has "restoration" given place to retribution and revenge.

From Texas and the Rio Grande we have advices by papers of the 24th ult. Major-Gen. J. Bankread Magruder commanding, had been on a tour of inspection through his department, and was then at Fort Brown, on the Rio Grande. He was enthusiastically received at Brownsville, and was tendered the compliment of a public dinner. Governor Lopez, of Tamaulipas, Mexico, paid him an official visit. Leon Smith was with General Magruder, and the following officers were on his staff:—Colonel M'Neil, Majors Dickinson, Pendleton, Magruder, and Smith; Dr. Berrison, Captains Turner, Dwyer, Alston, Ray, Da Ponte; Lieutenants Stanard and Yancey.

One of General Magruder's much approved acts in the department was the revocation of all cotton orders; and hereafter the exportation of cotton is to be unrestricted. The \$5 exchange is abolished. Cotton was quoted at 25 to 29 cents per pound, at Brownsville.

We received the *Times*, by last steamer, with the report of the debate on American affairs. Said a gentleman to one of the Federal navy surgeons, "The *Times* says that it is useless to deny that there is much irritation on the subject of American affairs, in all classes in England." "Well," replied the surgeon, "it is useless to deny that there is much irritation in all classes in America, with regard to the English outfit of ships and iron-clads for the Emperor of China. The two irritations may produce a suppuration, requiring the use of the lancet." "Then with your iron-clads built and building, you really are ready to fight with England?" "By no means; England was never better, nor America worse prepared for a naval war than now." That's so; and Mr. Lincoln says that England "may kick us" first.

Saturday Evening, May 23.

General Banks rejoined his army at Simmes port this week, going up by the way of the Atchafalaya. Every Federal soldier left Alexandria and went down the river, the gunboat Switzerland lying opposite the place and remaining to watch. Nor was there a force left at Opelousas; only a few soldiers at Berry's Landing near by to take care of the piles of collected and "confiscated" cotton there waiting shipment. Soon after Banks's arrival at Simmes port, his army began to move towards the Mississippi, and by this time they are all across and concentrated at Bayou Sara, fifteen miles above Port Hudson.

Meanwhile, the Mail and Government steamers here were taken to Baton Rouge to carry Augur's division up the river, saving the men the march by land. A gunboat was sent within range of the batteries a few nights since, and fired a few shells. The return fire was so light that there was a general impression that the place was nearly abandoned. A deserter or two, a runaway negro, and a captured picket, all reported that the force inside of Port Hudson was very small. The most of those who were there when Farragut ran the batteries (March 14), had gone to Vicksburg.

You have already read from New York, where the news was received *via* Cairo, that Grant has been at Jackson—I say "has" been, because there are strong reasons for believing that he is not there now. The *Mobile Evening News*, in announcing that Grant had invested Jackson, said that it was permitted by the Confederates, and that "there was nothing discouraging, much less alarming, in the aspect of such a campaign programme." It is known that Grant had command of the line of the Jackson railroad as far down (seventy-eight miles) as the late Confederate camp, Moore at Tangipahoa. It is quite as well known that he has fallen back to this point—perhaps to operate with Banks and Augur in the rear of Port Hudson—at least, that is the reason assigned by the Federals. There are in town, to-day, Mobile papers of the 19th and 20th, and they contain such information as to render their retention at headquarters a matter of prudence. Rumour says that Grant has met unexpected friends, and that they did not treat him and his men with that hospitality for which the South was once so distinguished.

The *Mobile Evening News*, of the 16th inst., contained the following correspondence between H.B.M.'s Consul, James Magee, Esq., and prominent citizens:—

JAMES MAGEE, ESQ., LATE H.B.M.'S CONSUL AT MOBILE.  
MOBILE, May 14, 1863.  
To James Magee, Esq., late H.B.M.'s Consul at Mobile.

Dear Sir,—The undersigned, representing the sentiments of the civil and military elements of this community, desiring to offer to you some token of their personal esteem, as well as their respect for you, as the retiring Consul of Her Britannic Majesty at this port, ask your acceptance of a public dinner, to be given at the Battle House, at 6 P.M., on Monday, the 18th inst.

As a Briton, who understands the sacredness of our Confederate struggle for the true principles of English freedom, and who has suffered official decapitation because of his just appreciation of it—as a gentleman long resident and highly esteemed amongst us, and as a public functionary, who has

fulfilled all the requirements of an honourable and responsible station—we owe and desire to testify to you, in the name of our fellow citizens, our respect and sympathy, and to accompany you, wherever the fortunes of life may lead you, with our best wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

We have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient servants,

FRANKLIN BUCHANAN, Admiral C. S. N.  
J. S. SLAUGHTER, Brig.-Gen. Com.  
CHAS. WALSH.  
DAN. McNEILL.  
R. H. SLOUGH, Mayor.  
JOHN FORSYTH.  
H. A. SCHROEDER.  
CHAS. A. MARSTON.  
DAN. WHEELER.  
GEO. A. KETCHUM.  
J. E. MURRELL.

MOBILE, May 15, 1863.

To Franklin Buchanan, Admiral C. S. N., J. E. Slaughter, Brig.-Gen. Commanding, Hon. R. H. Slough, Mayor, Hon. John Forsyth, and others.

Gentlemen,—I have before me your note of yesterday, inviting me, in the name of yourselves and other citizens of Mobile, to a public dinner, to be given at the Battle House, on Monday, the 18th inst.

I regret exceedingly that my limited time here, previous to my departure for Europe, will deprive me of the pleasure of accepting this mark of esteem from my fellow-citizens, with many of whom I have so long and so pleasantly passed the happiest days of my life.

I beg, gentlemen, for yourselves, you will accept my most grateful thanks for this kindness, and convey to the other citizens my full appreciation of their esteem.

I have the honour to remain,

Your friend and servant,

JAMES MAGEE.

The "starving rebels" there, as the Northern papers call them, are abundantly supplied by blockade-runners, if the advertisements of "just-received goods" mean anything. A publishing house in Mobile (Messrs. Goetzel and Co.) have reprinted an edition of 10,000 copies of Bulwer's "Strange Story," and have placed \$1,000 to the author's credit. It will be a favour to them and to the reading public in the Confederacy if the next boat "direct" would bring out the English translation of "Les Miserables," "No Name," Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea, and anything worth reprinting. It is easy to send letters, but difficult to get a book through the lines from here.

The "nigger regiment" enlistments proceed very slowly. To illustrate the excellent discipline that obtains among these native guards, it may be mentioned that a private killed a sergeant (both black) the evening before last. A general order has been issued offering to the nine-months' men, whose term is about to expire, \$50, if they will re-enlist for one year, and \$100 for two years, with forty days' furlough and transportation to New York and back. You shall be duly informed if they bite freely at the bait. Sherman takes the field, and Emory relieves him in command of the defences of New Orleans. Ex-Governor Mouton, taken prisoner on his plantation near Vermillion, because his name appears as President of the Convention which passed the secession ordinance, is in a house in First-street, in this city, waited upon by his own servants, but under all the restraints of a military arrest. Some of the "registered enemies" ordered to leave the city were summarily stopped as they were about to depart, and were told to stay here. No reasons were given. A poor Jesuit schoolmaster was fined \$250 (£50), yesterday, because some of his little boys drew pencil sketches of Confederate flags on the fly-leaves of their school books; several ladies have been fined for similar "treasonable practices" on the part of their scholars. People here are "reading up" on the history of Hungary and Poland. A newspaper correspondent for a Northern journal recently published a card with regard to his own "arbitrary arrest" (for writing a paragraph he never saw till it was in print), which was pronounced "seditious," and he was ordered to go to New York. He preferred to accompany the advance to Alexandria, and on his return was arrested and placed in confinement. I have no idea that General Banks knows half of the doings of his subordinates. He is himself so widely different in all things from his predecessor in office, that all classes of citizens have been disposed to respect him. But the number of annoying and unnecessary—indeed, contemptible orders, lately issued, are inducing many to pray for the return even of Butler.

The next steamer ought to carry North something definite about affairs at Port Hudson. The occupation of that place has ceased to be of the least importance to the Confederates now that the source of supplies from Red River is cut off. If the Federals take Port Hudson, military operations, in this State, at least, are closed for a summer rest. There may be a naval expedition against Mobile or Galveston, but I do not think at present.

There is no business doing here. The city is tolerably healthy—stringent quarantine regulations issued by the military governor require that vessels touching at Key



West or Havana, shall remain below at Balize ten days. The only steamers which have arrived *via* Key West since the issue of the order were United States' transports, and they were permitted to come up without quarantine, for, of course, no "loyal" vessel would be guilty of bringing the yellow fever to 40,000 Federal troops.

Wednesday, May 27.

The latest news, received here last night, reports that Banks had effected a junction with Augur, and that they were investing Port Hudson. The gun-boats have been shelling the place for a day or two, but the batteries have not responded, and there is a general belief that the position is nearly, if not quite, evacuated.

When Banks's army first landed at Bayou Sara, the residence of ex-Governor Robert C. Wickliffe, near there, was surrounded by soldiers. He was arrested, and sent to this city, with other prisoners taken near Port Hudson. Even the official (Banks's) organ, says, "that he took no part in the acts of secession." Yet he is likely to remain a prisoner for some time to come.

In the fight with Augur's division, May 21, when the Confederates in very small force came out from Port Hudson and gave battle in the open ground, the Federals lost 19 killed and 80 wounded. The list of names is given in the official organ.

The accounts of Grant's operations near Vicksburg are likely to reach you from the north sooner than from here. We have the very conflicting accounts—first from Augur, near Port Hudson, that Grant, on the 20th inst., "carried two parallels, captured 6,000 prisoners, and took 100 guns;" and next the Confederate account of the same day's work, telegraphed from Jackson (showing that they had control of the wires) to the Mobile papers, as follows:—

JACKSON, May 22.—Heavy firing is heard in the direction of Vicksburg this morning.

It is reported and believed in official circles, and generally believed here, that the enemy assaulted our works at Vicksburg on Wednesday, the 20th inst., and were badly repulsed.

JACKSON, May 22.—Snyder's Bluff is evacuated, and a courier reports that Yazoo City was captured yesterday by the Federals. The Navy Yard was burned by us.

An officer, who left Vicksburg on Monday night, got safely through with 600 mules. He reports that Grant attacked Vicksburg and was whipped back.

Another despatch from Jackson, of the same date as the above, mentions the fact that General Grant had made three assaults on Vicksburg. A semi-official report says that Sterling Price has captured Helena.

Time will tell which of these telegrams are true.

The *Brandon* (Miss.) *Republican* publishes the following account of the attempt to "restore the Union" in Jackson:—

In order to ascertain the amount of damage done by the Federals during their forty-eight hours' occupation of the city of Jackson, we went over and took a careful survey of the place yesterday morning, and give below the result of our observations. We could not get a complete list of the property burned and destroyed, owing to the great confusion in the city. The following buildings were burned:—

Given the cotton factory, together with all the machinery, 300 bales of cotton, and all the buildings connected with the factory; Phillips's factory, and all the small buildings connected therewith; J. A. Stevens's foundry; Bailey's cotton shed, containing a large quantity of tar, lime, cement, &c.; Catholic Church and parsonage; Mrs. Bakewell's house and contents; Confederate house, together with furniture, &c.; railroad depot, and all the buildings immediately west and east of the same; state penitentiary, with all the machinery; flouring mill near Phillips's factory; all the houses on State Street from Shaw's store to Graves's corner, including Green's banking house; Ambrozier's grocery; Allen and Ligon's store; and Graves's large brick building, with a number of small intervening houses; all the houses on the south side of Pearl Street from State Street to the Mississippi Baptist office, including the Confederate Quartermaster's office, a number of sheds or warehouses near the old depot of the southern railroad, containing an immense quantity of cotton, sugar, molasses, &c., and a number of old cars belonging to both railroads; all the houses in front of the City Hall and Market House, except Mrs. Sanders's boarding house and one or two small shops; Lemley's hat factory; Robinson's warehouse; General Freeman's dwelling-house; all the buildings belonging to the fair grounds; the rope factory and saltpetre works; the railroad and city bridges across Pearl River, and all the bridges and trestle work on the Southern railroad; all shops where government work was being carried on. All the stores were pillaged, their contents either carried off or thrown into the street and burned. The *Mississippian* office was broken open, the type thrown into the street, and the press and furniture broken up. The Post-office was rifled of its contents. The Governor's mansion was broken open and pianos and furniture destroyed.

The Episcopal Church was entered and the whole interior defaced. Nearly all the private residences were entered and trunks broken open, fine dresses torn to pieces, and all jewellery, silver wares, and provisions taken. Dr. Knapp's office was broken open, his dental instruments carried off, and his furniture destroyed. Captain L. Jullien's book store and bindery was destroyed. J. W. Gray and Co.'s drug store was partially destroyed. Joseph Morgridge was an extensive sufferer by the depredations of the enemy. E. Verden's loss in sugar, molasses, &c., is estimated at \$200,000. D. W. Busiek lost heavily in his tobacco and commission store.

Allen and Ligon lost all their books, papers, money, and merchandise. Dr. S. C. Farrar lost his horses and mules. J. M. Rawlnt lost his carriage and carriage horses. Almost every horse, mule, cow, and hog in the city was taken. Negroes, from 300 to 500, were taken from the city and the adjacent country, and about 100 of them were armed before they left the city.

Intelligent gentlemen estimate the total loss of property in the city at five millions of dollars.

On Friday morning a squadron of cavalry came over to Rankin and tore up the railroad about four miles, and a few rails at other places to within two miles of Brandon. They ransacked the private dwellings for arms and ammunition, taking away a few negroes, horses, and mules. Among the chief sufferers in the raid were Mrs. S. M. Hamilton, 14 negroes; Austin Neely, 14 negroes; A. J. Neely, 6 negroes; A. P. Miller, 4 negroes; G. W. Rains, 2 negroes; General P. Henry, 1 negro and 3 horses, &c.

It is asserted and believed that in the retreat between Jackson and Clinton many houses were burned, and nearly all the horses and cattle driven away.

The account further says that the Federal soldiers robbed citizens of their watches in the streets! Can it be that these acts are committed by soldiers from the refined, free, and cultivated North? This attempt to "restore the Union" is only equalled by the recent wanton destruction of the beautiful city of Pensacola, and the robbing and burning of houses on the Teche. With the contractors and camp followers it is merely a mercenary war; with the troops and conscripts it promises to be merciless.

H. B. M.'s late consul at Mobile came over the lake on the last boat, and is now in this city.

Already advertisements appear in the Mobile papers for the formation of a Louisiana regiment from among the New Orleans refugees whom Banks sent out as registered enemies. \$50 bounty is offered to every recruit, and Colonel A. W. Merriam, who is well known in this city, will take command. Goods through the so-called blockade are arriving very freely. In my last papers (the 23rd instant), the Ruby's cargo, direct from Liverpool, is offered at auction. Major-General D. H. Maury commands the Department, in place of General Buckner, who has gone to Vicksburg with his entire force.

The following officers are on General Maury's staff:—Lieutenant-Colonel George C. Garner, Majors D. W. Flowerree, C. L. Jackson, E. H. Cummins, and W. E. Burnett, Captain J. W. Gillespie, and Lieutenant D. F. Holland.

From Butler's very elaborate testimony before the committee on the conduct of the war it appears that his occupation of the State of Louisiana from Donaldsonville on the Mississippi to Berwick's Bay was not for the purpose of "restoring" a valuable portion of the State to the Union, not for the protection of the planters, but wholly and only in order that the Abolition Government at Washington might add two more votes to the motley throng which swallowed and "passed" all the war measures emanating from the Cabinet. Hear Butler's own evidence before the committee:—

In the meantime I was informed from Washington that it would be very desirable to have congressional elections held in that part of Louisiana which was under our control. The difficulty about that was, that New Orleans was divided into two election districts. The lower district was composed of the lower part of the city of New Orleans, and all of the State below the city. The other district composed the remainder of New Orleans and all along the river above for sixty miles to Donaldsonville. I therefore sent an expedition under General Weitzel, to Donaldsonville, and swept down through that country to Berwick Bay; drove out the enemy, who were there in considerable force, and brought the whole of that region, from one end to the other, within the Union lines. I thus got under the control of the American soldiery nearly the two districts now represented by Mr. Flanders and Mr. Hahn. General Shepley, as Military Governor, then issued his proclamation for an election, in order that every man in those districts should be allowed to vote who had taken the oath, and had the other qualifications prescribed by the laws of Louisiana; and everybody did vote.

Thus, according to Butler's own testimony, Messrs. Flanders and Hahn, who have been imposed upon foreign countries and the North as specimens of "loyal sentiment at the South," are simply two gentlemen who were elected at the point of the bayonet—by bullets, not by ballots—and in two districts which Butler "got" "under the control of the American soldiery." And this is "free America!" "Free," when it is "Copperheadism" and treason to talk of peace.

The steamboat Louisiana Belle was sent last week from Brashear City to Barre's Landing, near Opelousas, to collect a cargo of "confiscated" cotton. She loaded and was returning, when several sharpshooting Confederates followed her down the bayou five miles, killing the captain of the boat and wounding ten Federal soldiers on board.

A journal published in Boston—say 2,000 miles from here—attempts to glorify the recent advance into the Opelousas region by declaring that "it was occupied by an aggregate rebel force of 20,000 men;" and the official journal copies and "leads" the paragraph, although it is known to be utterly false, since the entire "rebel force," with the auxiliaries from Texas, did not number 6,000 men.

We have nothing later from Port Hudson to send by the morning's steamer to New York. Business is very dull. The general health of the city is good for the season. The weather is summerly and delightful.

The steamer Sea Queen, Captain French, arrived at Matmoras on May 19, after a passage of 29½ days from Falmouth, reports 60 vessels in port and trade dull.

## THE ADDRESS FROM SOUTHERN CLERGYMEN.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—In case it has not been previously suggested, I should be glad to originate by a subscription of twenty shillings, a reprint in a Tract form, for universal distribution, of the "Address from Southern Clergymen," in your last impression. In so doing, of course, I do not indorse every sentiment or expression (nor what always occurs in your paper), but I can overlook these in the assertion of great principles, and subscribe myself,

AN ENGLISH LIBERAL

and Member of the Society of Friends.

Reigate, 17th 6 Month, 1863

P.S.—Of course the *Morning Star*, if it means what it says, in the slightest degree, in its article of yesterday, ought to head the list by a handsome subscription, or at least, in common consistency, should reprint the "Address," *in extenso*, in its own columns.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, June 16.

The Emperor's letter on the fall of Puebla, inserted in yesterday's *Moniteur*, with its expression of a policy of conciliation, is the best proof what practical importance this event has. The expedition was unpopular, both with the army and the people, from the slowness of its progress rather than the distance of its scene of action. Of this feeling every advantage was taken by the discontented, and it began to be felt that if the *dénouement* was much longer deferred, the consequences at home might be disastrous. On the arrival of the news, all the sovereigns of Europe, one after another, telegraphed their congratulations to the Emperor, excepting the Queen of England. The omission has been very generally remarked on in the press, but it may be explained by English respect for precedent, and I doubt if there be any precedent authorizing a constitutional sovereign to express an opinion on the victories of another state.

The second ballot for the representation of one of the Paris circumscriptions has ended in the return by a large majority of the editor of the *Opinion Nationale*. Again, it may be remarked that more than one-quarter of the electors abstained from voting. Thus the whole of the members for Paris are inimical to the Government. M. Thiers has just had his place marked in the Legislative Assembly on the extreme left, beside M. Jules Favre. The only influence the elections have had on the Emperor's determination, has been his refusal to allow M. de Persigny's retirement for the present. There are some ministerial changes on the tapis. The Minister of Public Works, M. Rouher, is succeeded by the Prefect of the Seine, M. Haussmann, who, however, retains in his attributions the Demolitions of Paris, in which he has distinguished himself so actively. M. Barot, brother of the Minister in Madrid, becomes Prefect, and M. Baroche resigns the post of minister without a portfolio. This was inevitable, after the unfortunate disclosures made about his son by M. de Persigny, during the late elections.

There is a singular unanimity among the Paris papers in urging extreme measures against Russia in the Polish question. Only M. Emile de Girardin brings out a new pamphlet, *L'Apaisement de la Pologne*, which advocates its absorption into a free Russia, as the only possible means of permanent pacification. He says,—"The more I read and study the books and documents in which the separation and independence of Poland are advocated, the less am I able to believe in them. The researches I have made to strengthen my convictions in favour of these, have had no other effect than to weaken, and at last to destroy them. I only gave up the idea of the independence and separation of Poland, which I had at first thought the simplest solution, after I had recognised, not without regret, that it could not be realised, and that even if realised, it would not meet the object sought by diplomacy, namely, the assuring a durable peace in Poland."

There is nothing to report regarding American affairs the only article on the subject which has appeared for a week, was in the *Siècle* of Saturday. I have often admired the ignorance and limited political education of the majority of Frenchmen, who set up to teach the people through the columns of the newspapers. Of course, I presume that the ignorance is real, and the misrepresentations involuntary. In an article headed the *Pirates of the South*, the author utterly ignores the character of men of war which the Alabama, &c. possess, and calls in question their really having letters of marque, or if they have them, whether the Richmond Government had a right to issue such. On these premises he argues that letters of marque do not entitle to destroy, but only to capture. He then remarks



that the disappearance of French ships is of frequent occurrence, and suggests that this is probably due to the malpractices of these Southern pirates, who, when they can do so with secrecy, may not hesitate to attack rich French ships.

### A SOUTHERN REPLY TO "HISTORICUS."

(From the Charleston Courier.)

(No. 2.)

Besides the argument rested upon the rule of International Law as contended for by "Historicus," and the practice of Great Britain under that rule, there are other considerations referred to, presenting objections, it is said, great, if not insuperable, to the present recognition of the Confederate States. Of these, three are made prominent. They are: First, That the claim set up by these States, of each being an independent sovereignty, makes their political union only a partnership, dissoluble at pleasure; and as such the Government is not a Government of that stable and permanent form which any foreign State could or ought to recognise. Second, That there is no sufficient distinct definition of the territorial limits of the Confederate States, to sustain the claim now made for their recognition. Third, That, until foreign nations are prepared with the arrangement they will propose concerning the institution of slavery, any interference in the present contest would be mischievous to them.

The first of these objections, if it had any weight, would prove much more than it is now proposed to establish. But while thus assumed in the letter of "Historicus" as a practical difficulty in the way of recognition, it is wholly ignored in that part of his argument in which he discusses the right of recognition. While, therefore, the non-existence of sovereignty is assumed as the basis of the argument, addressed to the denial of the right of recognition; the claim to the possession of the same sovereignty is urged as the practical objection to the enjoyment of the same right. If the States are sovereign, the question of right is clear; if they are not sovereign, the practical difficulty now suggested cannot be sustained. We hope that it will be within our capacity to show, that while the States are sovereign, and with them, therefore, the question of right is clear; yet, being sovereign, none of the practical difficulties which have been suggested can be sustained. If the objection which is now urged could avail, it would have been unanswerable when the colonies declared their independence and final separation from Great Britain. If their condition now, as separate States and independent sovereignties, is the same as they have ever maintained, and is the same as was eighty years since, recognised by the Powers of Europe, that condition cannot be considered an objection, at this time, either great or insuperable.

Let us come, then, to the facts, by which it will be seen that their condition now is precisely what it was then. The Treaty of Alliance with France was made the 8th of February, 1778. Its preamble announces, in plain terms, that "The most Christian King and the United States of North America, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, have this day concluded a Treaty of Amity and Commerce." The Treaty of Amity and Commerce concluded the same day, in its preamble designates the parties to it as "The most Christian King and the Thirteen United States of North America," and then enumerates them in the Treaty of Alliance. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the Netherlands, concluded the 8th of October, 1782, sets forth in its preamble, as the parties to it, "Their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands, and the United States of America, to wit: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." The Provisional Articles of Peace between Great Britain and the States which had been her colonies, bear date the 30th of November, 1782. The first article acknowledges "The said United States—viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States; that he (his Britannic Majesty) treats with them as such and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the Government, property, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof." In the definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, concluded the 3rd of September, 1783, His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States—viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the Government, property and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof." The Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Sweden, which bears date the 3rd of April, 1783, sets forth in its preamble as the parties to it, "The King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c., &c., and the thirteen United States of North America—namely, New Hampshire," and the others as named in the preceding extracts.

It would scarcely be possible that more explicit and positive terms could be used than were thus employed by Great Britain in the recognition of the separate independence of these States.

The States are enumerated and specially named. The declaration or recognition of their rights is as "free, sovereign and independent States." And the treaty was with them, of course, as such.

If it be said that recognition and the treaty were with them in their confederated capacity, it may be replied, that in the joint recognition, is also the recognition of each State in its distinct sovereign and independent condition. Great Britain did not recognise the Government of the United States; for the States had not yet established a permanent Government; but its recognition of the separate States, involved, of course, the recognition of the Government of each State; and a part of the Government of each State was the Government which might be established by it in its federated capacity. Indeed, if the recognition of the Government of the United States is not derived through the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the several States, that Government never has been recognised, except by the treaties subsequently made with it. When France recognised these States in 1778; when

the Netherlands recognised in 1782, when Great Britain recognised in 1783, the Constitution of the United States had not been adopted. The Government which was subsequently adopted by the United States had not been created. And besides the recognition of these Powers, at these several periods of time, there has been no other recognition of the United States. If it be said, that the Government, could it be so called, under the Articles of Confederation, was that which was recognised, it ceased to exist when the Constitution of the United States was adopted. And if the recognition of the Government of the whole, and not the independence of the several States was intended, there would have been upon the organisation of the new Government under the Constitution a new recognition of it. But there was no new recognition, and there was none such required or intended. The States which sprang into the condition of independent political communities, had each been a colony; in their colonial condition, they were severally and separately dependent; as afterwards they became severally and separately independent. The history of their progress to independence is not that of a large community broken up into thirteen parts; but that of thirteen communities, settled at different times, governed under different charters, each maintaining it, until it was recognised. So separate and distinct was the colonial condition of each, that Connecticut, as is well known, denied any right or lawful authority to cause its militia to be ordered to the defence of New York, when both were colonies under the same crown. It was not with these States as is the case with France or other European Governments, that of Great Britain itself, for instance, under Cromwell, where upon the change of Government, there must be a new recognition of the new form of Government. No such necessity existed in the United States; because that Government which represented the several States with foreign States, was the representative of the separate sovereignties, already recognised; and did not represent them otherwise, than in their relations with foreign nations.

But more than this. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted by nine States, the Government created by the Articles of Confederation ceased to exist. The Constitution of the United States bound no States except such as adopted it. When the Conventions of nine States ratified the Constitution, it became thereby established. At that time four States were not bound by it. Of these two soon after accepted it; but North Carolina and Rhode Island delayed for some time their acceptance. They were then evidently no portion of the United States. Were they the less "free, sovereign, and independent States?" Did that explicit and positive recognition of their independence, which had been made by France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, depend for its validity upon their acceptance of the Constitution adopted by the other States? Was the recognition of their separate independence equivalent to nothing more than that whenever they ceased to be a part of the United States, they would again become the colonies of Great Britain? Surely not. And if they were not each, as a State, "free, sovereign, and independent," what meaning or conception of their condition can be had by those who consider the recognition of their independence at that day as confined exclusively to their aggregated and united condition?

But in truth, curious as it may seem, the political organization of the several States which composed the United States, was doubtless much better known by those who then directed the statesmanship of Europe, than it has been at a more recent period. At that day the organization of the several States which composed the United States, not only in their united but in their separate political capacity, was curiously investigated and carefully studied. And despite the opinion of some at the present day, that organization was then considered rather indicative of strength, and the evidence of probable permanence. Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, writing from Paris in March, 1777, say "our Articles of Confederation being by our means translated and published here, have given an appearance of consistence and firmness to the American States and Government that begins to make them considerable. The separate Constitutions of the several States are also translating and publishing here, which afford abundance of speculation to the politicians of Europe." The letter of Mr. Webster to Baring Brothers and Co., in 1839, and which may be considered an exposition addressed to European nations, is a more recent explanation of the relations of these States to the common Government. The opinions of that distinguished man will be scarcely considered as affected with prejudices in favour of the slaveholding States. "Every State," said he, "is an independent, sovereign, political community, except in so far as certain powers, which it might otherwise have exercised, have been conferred on a General Government, established under a written Constitution, and exercising its authority over the people of all the States. Its General Government is a limited Government. Its powers are specific and enumerated. All powers not conferred on it still remain with the States or with the people. The State Legislatures on the other hand possess all usual and ordinary powers of Government, subject to any limitation which may be imposed by their own Constitutions, and with the exception, as I have said, of the operations on those powers of the Constitution of the United States." The circumstances which called forth this letter, and the character of the persons to whom it was addressed, give to it much more significance than otherwise would be attached to the opinions of an individual, however distinguished.

This view of the relations between the States and the General Government came to be practically understood in a very striking manner by the law of the State of South Carolina, establishing the regulations which must be observed in the case of coloured seamen, arriving in any of its ports. This matter has been particularly offensive to Great Britain, it would seem, from the pertinacious opposition made to it some time since by a former representative of the British Government. The authority of the Government of the United States was invoked to remove the objectionable law. The consequence which the remonstrance to the Government of the United States was intended to develop, was a conflict between the treaty-making power of the Government, and the sovereign authority of the State. The conflict, if established, it was supposed, would conclude the question. And it was so. But it did not conclude it, in the manner supposed. For the sovereign power of the State was paramount to the treaty-making power, if there could arise an actual conflict between them. A proper conflict, however, could not arise between them; for the fact that the operation of a treaty would affect the sovereignty of a State, was in itself the conclusive evidence that the power to make treaties had been abused, by involving in its operation that which it could not reach.

When, therefore, "Historicus" urges as a difficulty in the way of recognition, that the circumstances under which it is claimed involve the recognition of the States as so many distinct and independent sovereignties, the reply is that precisely in that mode the recognition was made by France, the Nether-

lands, and Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution. And when he asserts that a Government so organized "is not a Government of such a stable and permanent form as any foreign State could or ought to recognise," he subjects himself to severe criticism. Such was the Government of the United States. Did it not have as much power as foreign Governments desired? Was there any nation in Europe which regarded it as so weak and impotent as not to deserve a place in the family of nations? Do not its now discovered parts exhibit, each for itself, power, capacity, and resources which even to European nations would be considered formidable? And is not this the consequence of such a system of Government as that which "Historicus" assumes to be neither stable nor permanent? If stability and permanency be essential to recognition, was not the stability and permanency of the Government which the several States composing the United States, organized for their common Government, as stable and permanent as that of France in the last eighty years, or of the South American States in the last thirty or forty years?

Such is the case fairly stated. That case is not fairly stated when, in the argument of "Historicus," it is said "that, if South Carolina is and always was an independent sovereign State no struggle for independence was necessary antecedent to her recognition by the European Powers." Is the argument then intended to maintain the proposition that, because the Government of the United States has attempted the subjugation of the States which constitute the Confederate States, therefore these States never were independent sovereign States? "In this view of the case," continues "Historicus," "she might at any time, without an effort to throw off the yoke of the Federal Union, have negotiated a treaty with England." If by the use of these terms, "without an effort to throw off the yoke of the Federal Union," it is meant that South Carolina, continuing one of the United States, could, in good faith, have exercised the right of an independent sovereign by making a treaty with European Powers; it is only necessary to say that the illustration of "Historicus" is derived from his fancy and not from the fact; and he assumes that as claimed for these States, which neither they nor any one for them has asserted, while they continued under the Government of the United States. Although free, sovereign, and independent States, as Great Britain acknowledged them to be in 1783, when they agreed among themselves to commit to a common Government the exercise of certain powers, among which was that of making treaties, and each bound itself not to enter into any treaty or alliance, they ceased, as among themselves, to have a right to the exercise of this power. Their faith was pledged to each other for the due observance of this compact, which they had all made. But so far as any foreign Government was concerned, it might have made a treaty with either State; without in that doing an act, which either by the common Government of all the States, or by the States in their several capacities, could have been considered a cause of war. When Great Britain in 1783, recognised South Carolina as a free, sovereign, and independent State, in that was involved the recognition of the right of that State to enter into any treaty or compact it pleased with other States; and the right, moreover, with a due regard to the faith it pledged to such treaty or compact, to determine how far it would continue to be bound by its terms.

And when "Historicus" asserts that since the time "that the States chose for their own interests and in order to enhance their own importance to organise and present themselves to the world as a collective Federal Government, foreign nations have ceased to have anything to do, except with that Government, which for the purpose of all foreign relations, the States themselves constituted their representative and plenipotentiary," he states a proposition which in itself is admission of the existence of States, antecedent to the existence of their common Government. Nor does he show how, when or where, that antecedent existence ever ceased. The proposition, therefore, contains an admission fatal to himself, unless its effect is removed by the concluding portion of the sentence. That effect, however, is not removed; because the action of foreign Powers in treating with the common Government was made in conformity to the wish and by the consent of the States. Foreign nations so treating with that Government because of the wish and consent of the States; were controlled therein by the continuing wish and consent of the same States. And they have no more right to enforce the authority of that common Government over those States beyond the wish and consent of the States, than to impose over these States the authority of their own Government. To use the illustration of "Historicus," foreign nations have no more right to insist upon recognising the Government of the United States as the Government of the States which have withdrawn from it their wish and consent that it shall continue to be their Government, than have the same foreign nations to insist upon recognising as the representative and plenipotentiary of any Government one accredited in that capacity, but recalled by the Government, whose authority he had once received.

And there is also in this a gross error of fact. Foreign nations have dealt with those States since the organization of the Federal Government as sovereign States; and in other cases have admitted, by their conduct, that in certain matters, which always belong to Government in its highest relations with such nations, they could not treat with the common Government of these States; nor with any other than the separate States to which such matters related. Of the first an instance is found in the application made to the Government of South Carolina to relax or modify its regulations concerning coloured seamen in British vessels. The Government of the United States declared it had nothing to do with it; and the correspondence, therefore, was conducted with the authorities of the State.

Another illustration is in the case of debts due by the several States to foreign Powers or the subjects of foreign Powers. This was the subject which called for the letter of Mr. Webster, already referred to. If these States had no relations with foreign Powers, except through the common Government; if their existence, as to foreign Powers, was merged in the common Government which they had created; then upon that Government would devolve the duties of Government in relation to so important a matter as the liability of those subject to its authority to make good their engagements with the subjects of another Power. Those duties neglected would be cause of war. Several of the States which composed the United States, contracted large loans; difficulties occurred in the payment of them. Was the common Government liable for the payment of those loans? No. Could it enforce upon the States contracting them payment or satisfaction to the creditor? No. "The security for these State loans (said Mr. Webster,) is the pledged faith of the State as a political community. It rests on the same basis as other contracts with established Governments—the same basis, for example, as loans made to the United States, under

\* The first part of this "Reply" appeared in THE INDEX of May 28th.



the authority of Congress, that is to say, the good faith of the Government making the loan, and its ability to fulfil its engagements."

Can that then be called the only Government which Foreign nations recognise as representing these States, which thus is without power to enforce the performance of the obligations into which the States enter? The inability of the Mexican Government to make provision for the payment of debts due to the subjects of foreign Powers, and afford adequate protection to such subjects, are the causes assigned by France, Spain, and Great Britain for the invasion of that country. That invasion, although accompanied with the declaration of Great Britain and Spain of no intention or wish to interfere with the domestic Government of the country, is also connected with the purpose of the three Governments to require the organization of a stable Government, which will afford a guarantee to the subjects of these Powers of the payment of the sums due to them; and the protection also to subjects of those those Powers residing in Mexico, of their persons and property. It is because such is held to be the proper duty of Government that its obligation is enforced, even to the extent of so interfering in its internal concerns, as to secure a stable Government. If then the Government of the United States has no obligation in these respects, it is a Government so inadequate to some of the highest purposes of Government, that in certain contingencies foreign Powers might interfere. And yet such is the Government which, according to the argument of "Historicus," has absorbed the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the several States; and is the only exponent and representative which foreign Powers will recognise. But as in the case of debts, so in regard to the protection which foreign nations have the right to expect shall be afforded to the persons and property of their subjects, the States in their separate and sovereign capacity through their laws and their own internal Government afford all the guarantees that are required. And the foreign nation which refuses to receive this as sufficient, does not thereby transfer the obligation to the General Government, which can exercise no power unless expressly delegated; but refuses protection which is adequate, because it is not administered by that department of Government which it may prefer. Such a pretension would be absurd.

But if such is the conclusion to which the argument of "Historicus" leads us, it is not necessary to add anything to this evidence of its incompleteness. And it might be left where it is, were it not, that instead of confining ourselves to the defensive and testing the argument of "Historicus" upon the ground he has chosen, we may say a few words in relation to the position which the Confederate States truly occupy.

Nations like individuals acknowledge the obligations of moral rules. States, says an accurate writer, are reciprocally recognised as moral persons; and are therefore governed in their mutual relations, partly by divine and partly by positive law. The primary source, according to the same writer, of International Jurisprudence is Divine Law. The duty of States is, to a certain extent, the duty of individuals. It may be neglected; insane passion or insatiable ambition may for a time seem to crush beneath the car of conquest the right of the weak and the duty of the strong. But retribution is surely destined to punish those who have thus abused their power. The deep humiliation which the massacre of St. Bartholomew visited upon France, at a very early period after its occurrence, scarcely required the vast sacrifice of later days, to attest the stamp of reprobation from a power superior to man. The revolting tyranny of Philip II. seems to have been allowed to culminate, only that its punishment might be more signal. The wanton exercise of power, the reckless dismemberment of Poland, in violation of every principle of Public Law, in 'cruel disregard of every consideration of justice and of right caused one whose sensibilities were not often awakened, to regard it, "as the prelude, partly the cause, and perhaps the excuse of the convulsions in Europe," when peace fled from every nation, and hatred and strife shook to their centre the best established Governments. But here is no need of argument or illustration. That a great God directs the conduct of men in their individual relations, all admit; that the same Power directs men in their aggregated capacities, when they become united in communities, all will in like manner admit; unless prepared for the conclusion, that responsibility for human conduct may be evaded by the voluntary combination of individuals.

One of the rights which thus belong to communities is that of seeking under any form of Government best suited to secure it the welfare and happiness which God who created them has set apart for them in this world. It is nowhere better expressed than in the declaration by Great Britain, already referred to in the case of the Italian States. This was the principle of the American Revolution. It was the principle which France at that day recognised. It is the principle, which to the honour of that land, it must be said, she has ever recognised. It was not the principle which Great Britain then admitted. But as we have seen, it was at a subsequent period adopted by Great Britain; and at a period already referred to, when the Italian States struck for their independence, was solemnly declared in language equally dignified and strong.

With these lights before them, the States which now compose the Confederate States when forced by the dangers which threatened their safety under the Government of the United States to provide new safeguards and a Government for those which had been broken down, and that which had been corrupted, had no reason to doubt, that with the development of their ability to maintain their separate existence, they would be admitted to an intercourse with the family of nations. They could not be reproached with limited territorial possessions, inadequate population, insufficient resources, imperfect civilization, or inability to contribute to the wants of mankind. The change in Government was yet to them no experiment.

It was, in fact, no change. It was restoring that Government which they had originally established. Presenting themselves thus to the nations of the world, admitting for the sake of the argument, that at the period of their separation from Great Britain they had not been acknowledged as separate and independent States, what difficulty could have been anticipated in their recognition? Two years have rolled over, and during those years, according to the admission of those who refuse or delay to recognise their Government, they have exhibited an endurance superior to that displayed in recent times by any people. Reasons now are sought for, and in the recent letter of "Historicus," we have them set forth. The first of these has now been examined.

We have seen, that if the Government is not stable or permanent, the same objection will apply to the United States. But we have, moreover, seen that the two tests which have been applied to the Government of Mexico, would be equally

fatal if applied to the Government of the United States. If the Government of Mexico is not stable or permanent, because of the defects complained of by Great Britain, France, and Spain, in neither of these particulars can the Government of the United States, if called on to interfere, be more potential. But in such cases the States can and do give the protection desired. The Government of the United States and of the Confederate States are both limited in power, and no power in relation to these matters having been delegated to either, it is only in the sovereign and independent condition of each State that foreign nations have those guarantees which they are entitled to ask.

But the contest now waged between the United States and the Confederate States must determine other questions than such as exclusively affect the Confederate States. We have presented for the consideration of the nations of the world, not only the decision of their conduct in regard to the Confederate States, but their decision in regard to the United States, and that upon a question happily of the most rare occurrence. The question is, how far the Government of the United States, if it had the power, could destroy the States which now compose the Confederate States. That such is the end now proposed is no longer a question. The Proclamation of the President of the United States, by which he decrees, so far as his power can accomplish it, the emancipation of the slaves now held in bondage, and that the utter destruction of the social and political condition of the Confederate States is one which in its magnitude overshadows every similar question of which the records of our race contain any mention. Had Great Britain a right, under the rule of International Law applicable in such cases, to interfere against the obstruction of a channel leading to the port of Charleston, but no right to speak when by an act of infuriated legislation the most shocking exhibition of ruthless power on the one hand, and of unspeakable wretchedness and sufferings on the other, were not consummated because the will to do evil was not matched with power to accomplish it? And is it not against the consummation of this curse that the Confederate States are now contending? If the contest began with a struggle for political rights, involving political equality, has it not been made to assume that phase in which political and social existence are the mighty stakes for which the game is played? Can the fact be questioned, can the truth be challenged? And, when under such circumstances, a people possessing this large territory, numbering eight millions of human beings, with the world acknowledging its dependence upon them for much that contributes to the civilization, much more that contributes to the comfort of the human family, asks not for aid or interference, further than that they shall be recognised as fit to maintain a separate political existence—is it not passing strange that a nation acknowledging the highest moral responsibilities, referring its conduct to the benign and tolerant principles of the Divine Law, should find itself prohibited from the declaration of the truth, the adoption of that conduct which is in consistency with its public declarations and pledges, and bound to be the passive witness of acts of cruelty which are without other results than the suffering they produce; and if they could produce the results which are desired, would involve an amount of misery greater than has ever yet afflicted our race? Is such the rule of International Law? Is such the nature of the moral duty which a State or nation admits? Is such the conduct which is justified by a reference to the divine law?

2.—The next objection is that which relates to our boundaries. The territorial limits of the Confederate States are, it is said, not defined; and in some of the States, the United States still hold possession of cities or other important points. The objection here stated suggests the difficulty which, at this time, would probably attend the negotiation of the terms of peace with the United States; it has, however, nothing to do with the question of recognition. The question of boundaries in 1776, was important to Great Britain, because that Power had other possessions in North America besides those which had declared their independence. But while for these reasons to it, then, the question of boundary was important; to it, now, that question is of no more practical consequence, than then or now it is to France or Spain.

The recognition of the Confederate States is not an admission or a guarantee of the right to a certain specified and defined territory. It is the admission of the existence of an independent Government, the territorial possessions of which may be affected by the chances of war, or the other circumstances which tend to enlarge or contract territorial limits. France was not the less an independent Government while Great Britain, for so many years, held Calais as the proud trophy of Creecy. The limits of France have expanded or contracted with the successes or reverses which marked her career at the close of the last and in the commencement of the present century. Holland was not the less an independent political power because, with the recognition of an intervention in her contest with Belgium, her territorial limits were changed. No one has ever proposed that such an abstraction as "The South" was the Government which should be recognised. But no one, on the other hand, can well conceive why the possession of a portion of the soil of an independent State, in the progress of a war, should either destroy the effect of a recognition already made, or prevent it from being made. What each State claims as rightfully belonging to it, is precisely as ascertained. If it should lose a portion by the conquest of the enemy, that would affect the dimensions of the State; but it would not destroy its independent existence. Indeed, to require that, in the case of a new Government, it should drive from every portion of its territory the forces of the enemy with which it was contending before it could be recognised by foreign nations, would be to impose on a new Government a hard condition, with which the oldest Powers in Europe could not have complied, in the progress of the many wars in which they have been engaged.

3.—The last objection is that which suggests the difficulty arising from the fact that no recognition can take place until there is that solution of the question of slavery to which the Government of Great Britain is prepared to give its approbation. It is true that in the letter of "Historicus," this objection is made in connection with the question of intervention. But intervention is not that which the Confederate States have asked or would be willing to accept. Whatever might be said of mediation, arbitration or intervention are not desired by the Confederate States; and it needed not the letter of "Historicus" to demonstrate that either would be, to the last degree, impracticable. Nor is mediation sought. If, however, proposed, it is attended with much less difficulty than is involved in arbitration or intervention. All of these, however, whether mediation, arbitration, or intervention, in some degree, more or less, by sympathy or by action, by counsel or by aid, tend to mix up in this contest the nation or nations who propose either of these measures. Such a consequence, it may be safely said, is not desired by the Confederate States. Competent to the management of their own affairs—far more able

than can be any others to devise the measures best calculated to develop their resources, accomplish the purposes, and fulfil the duties which devolve upon an independent political community; they—they ask nothing, seek nothing, expect nothing, but that recognition of their independent political condition, which they have established by the "spontaneous wish of the people" of the several States, and have successfully maintained without other aid than that which their own resources could command.

But we have already consumed more time than we proposed, and however interesting the subject may be, we must forbear. It may be—it probably is so—that other considerations than such as are derived from the rules of International Law, which prescribe the duties and regulate the conduct of nations, will govern the counsels of foreign nations in regard to the recognition of these Confederate States. Yet it will not be wholly without profit that these Confederate States will have the opportunity of practically comprehending the nature of the obligation which International Law induces. It has been claimed for this law that it has acquired "in great measure, and on many subjects, the certainty and precision of positive law." It will be pleasant, not only for the citizens of the Confederate States, but for every one throughout Christendom, who believes that all free Governments are founded on the authority of the people, "and are instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness," to receive the assurance that this "certainty and precision" are certainly to be found in a case where every generous sentiment would invoke them; when a people, without usurpation of power, or invasion of territory, assert no other claim than in their own land, by their own Government, and under their own laws, to enjoy peace, secure safety and develop happiness.

#### JURIDICUS.

SUPPLY OF BIBLES FOR THE SOUTH.—We are permitted to copy the following extract from a recent letter to the Rev. D. Hoge, delegated by the Virginia Bible Society, to obtain a supply of Scriptures for the Confederate army. The letter is from a brother clergyman residing in Virginia:—

Your Bible Mission meets with great favour. The "Lynchburg Virginian" did, indeed, fire a few feeble squibs at it, which gave occasion for defences and fresh presentations of its claims, and so perhaps did good. If it could be fairly held up to the whole country, and in the army, there would hardly be a limit to the contributions. Every one seems to regard it as eminently calculated to do good, both directly and in its incidental influences, and to rejoice that it is in your hands. And before we have heard of your arriving at the chief scene of your labours and hopes, God has caused your very going to bear fruit. The 1200 Bibles and Testaments from your lady friends in Nassau are already scattered, and doing their heavenly work. Mrs. George Brown, of Baltimore, has sent 1500. Staunch old Mr. Niven, of New York, no sooner heard of your mission than he began collections for it among our friends there. The *New York Herald* says, the American Bible Society has given 7,000, and we have heard rumours of 2,500 about to come—I know not from what source exactly. And most remarkable of all, we learn that the Federal Government no longer objects to the passage of Bibles from the North through its remorseless blockade. If this is, as we suppose, a fruit of your going, it is an illustrious one. No doubt it is meant to cover up the infamy of their refusal to let us have them hitherto, and to forestal your representations in Great Britain. Meantime, I feel about your pretended graciousness as Paul did about those, who from wicked motives preached the Gospel; if only the Bibles come, "I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." God can make the meanness and craft of man as well as his wrath to praise Him.

Since the above was in type we have seen in a late number of the *Charleston Courier*, an extract from a private letter of Dr. Hoge's to a friend in Richmond, in which he gives so gratifying an account of the success of his mission, that we cannot forbear reproducing it:—

If the noble grant they made us ever gets to Virginia, our Bible Society there will have in its possession a much larger stock than it ever had in the palmiest days of its prosperity. Ten thousand Bibles, fifty thousand Testaments, and two hundred and fifty thousand Gospels and Psalms, is a magnificent donation.

Seven cases of this grant have been shipped from Liverpool in a vessel called the Spirit of the Wind. The remainder of the British and Foreign Bible Society grant, and the donation of the Religious Tract Society, will go to Nassau in about two weeks.

My next attempt will be for Sunday School Books—and I am to have an interview with the Committee of the Sunday School Union next Friday.

CONFEDERATE CONSULATE AT CORK.—The President of the Confederate States has appointed Robert L. Dowling, Esq., Commercial Agent for the Confederate States at Cork, Ireland.

ARRIVALS THROUGH THE BLOCKADE.—Among recent arrivals through the Blockade, the *Charleston Courier* of May 12 announces the names of Messrs. Peter Anton, W. Collic, Charles England, George Chambers, and J. O'Connor.

THE *Charleston Courier* says, that the siege of Suffolk, which was kept up only three or four weeks, enabled General Longstreet to gather up, besides large quantities of corn, over a million and a half pounds of bacon, which, at present prices, is worth upwards of two millions of dollars.

#### BIRTH.

At 11, Portland Street, Leamington, on the 16th inst, the wife of Mr. Eben Macmillan, Charleston, South Carolina, of a daughter.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of June 11, are—  
AN ADDRESS TO CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,  
Signed by nearly One hundred Ministers of the Gospel,  
of all denominations of Protestant Christians in the  
Confederate States.

A Brief Notice of Some New Works.

Letter from Richmond.

Letter from New Orleans.

Letter from Paris.

Leaders on—

The Appeal to Christians.

The Siege of Vicksburg.

Mr. Roebuck's Notice of Motion,

Royalty at Eton College.



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to this gallant man. It will not be necessary thus to perpetuate his memory; for wherever the English language is spoken, and true heroism appreciated, the name of "STONEWALL" JACKSON will ever be revered; but it will prove the deep interest which the Advertiser feels sure exists throughout Great Britain with the Confederate cause, and our sympathy with them in this their greatest loss.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 61.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 25, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

CASE OF THE ALEXANDRA.

THE SIEGE OF PORT HUDSON; OUR NEW ORLEANS LETTER.

THE ALABAMA AND THE GEORGIA.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM BANIA.

LETTER FROM PARIS.

LETTER FROM TURIN; FEDERAL RECRUITING IN ITALY.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR ON THE RECOGNITION LEADERS.

A BRITISH MONUMENT TO JACKSON.

RECOGNITION BEFORE PARLIAMENT.

VICKSBURG AND PORT HUDSON.

THE VALUE OF THE SOUTHERN TRADE.

MR. MASON A FRIEND OF ENGLAND.

EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THERE is no news from Vicksburg. The Federals say the siege is progressing, and if they mean that every day brings it nearer to the crisis, the stereotyped statement is true; but if they mean that Grant is any nearer capturing the city, it is a pity they do not indicate the grounds for the assertion. The correspondents of the New York papers are very candid as to the strength of the fortifications. The *Herald* correspondent, after detailing the services of the 22nd Iowa Volunteers, which regiment, he says, planted a flag on a Confederate rampart and were all killed and wounded, except sixteen, who were taken prisoners, adds, "It was a stupid blunder, or worse, to storm the works at all. \* \* \* Twenty-five hundred killed and wounded is a fearful loss." We happen to know, from Southern sources, that twenty-five hundred is only a part of the loss that resulted from the assault. The same correspondent remarks that the bombardment is of no avail, since the Confederates "manage in the darkness to repair the damage done to the works in the day by our artillery. No matter how much the embrasures may be battered, in the morning they are all right." It is now said that the garrison is to be starved out, and that it is already reduced "to half rations of meal and meat." The starving out is likely to prove a tedious operation, for Southern accounts say that the place is provisioned for at least three months.

Although there is no news from Vicksburg there are plenty of rumours,—one got up for European consumption, reads as follows:—"Murfreeshoro", June 9. —A lady from Shelbyville, arrived to-day, says a report of the surrender of Vicksburg and the garrison of 12,000 men was prevalent in the rebel camps. A later arrival confirms this rumour. A person states that the rebel papers had published the particulars of the capitulation." The same mail, however, brought by telegraph later news which most unequivocally disproved the lady's report; but one London paper would not miss the opportunity of a sensational placard, and announced in big letters "The Rumoured Surrender of Vicksburg." We do not complain of the false reports. They amuse the North; they help the little boys to sell a few extra copies of our contemporary; they do not deceive any one in Europe, and they certainly do not silence the Confederate guns.

But where is General Johnstone? General Grant has sent out a messenger to find his whereabouts, but in vain. Some say that the Confederate commander has 5,000, others 8,000, and others 18,000 men. One account gives him 30,000 men. An enthusiastic correspondent of the New York press says that Grant does not care for any less than 100,000 Confederates being in his rear. Since he cannot take Vicksburg unmolested except by a regular siege, we cannot help thinking that he would find a Confederate army of 20,000 men, either on his rear or flank, rather awkward to deal with. There is still a demand for reinforcements for Grant, to enable

him to cope with the Confederate army that threatens his rear. But where are the reinforcements to come from? The attack on Port Hudson has rendered it impossible for Banks to immediately reinforce Grant. Writing at this distance from the scene of action, having for the latest intelligence to deal with the notoriously unreliable Federal reports, and bearing in mind that military movements are not published in Confederate papers, and that the Confederate Generals only reveal their plans by their execution, we are unable to give any opinion upon the details of the situation; but this we think is evident, that the protraction of the siege of Vicksburg is a gain to the Confederates and a loss to their enemy. Despite the confident tone assumed by the Washington Government, we are convinced that they would be quite as much surprised as they would be delighted to hear of the fall of Vicksburg.

Without giving heed to the latest rumour about the movements of General Kirby Smith, which was that he had defeated General Banks and was pursuing him, we may be sure that the position of the Federals before Port Hudson is no better, and perhaps even worse, than the position of Grant before Vicksburg. Since the 27th of May, Banks has not renewed the assault, and the particulars of that engagement show that he has good reason for not so doing. The disaster was, as we anticipated from the first report, very serious to the Federals. The loss in killed and wounded, as we stated last week, is admitted by the Federals to be 3,000, and we believe it was much heavier, if we may judge from the casualties among the officers. But 3,000 is enough to check the operations of an army estimated not to exceed 30,000 men. It seems that Banks credited the persistent reports of the evacuation of Port Hudson, and expected to meet with little or no opposition. He was, at all events, totally unprepared for such a stern resistance, or he would not have commanded the assault, but have consented to carry on a "regular siege" without sacrificing his troops. We may expect by an early mail some decisive news about Banks, that is, whether he has or has not, like the rest of the Federal Generals, resorted to the spade, after decimating his army by an unsuccessful attack.

Northern accounts confirm the statement of our New Orleans correspondent which we published last week, that only 200 negroes out of 900 came out of a fight into which they were sent by the Federals. It is needless to expatiate upon the horrible inhumanity of putting negroes in the front; but we doubt not the description given of their conduct in the fight will delight the New Englanders. The unfortunate creatures were all at once possessed with the instincts of the savage. Not regarding the deadly weapons of civilized warfare, they resorted to biting, as if their teeth could avail against ball and bayonet. There is sufficient evidence to show that these unfortunate blacks, being first plied with strong drink, were wantonly sacrificed. They were driven, with the bayonet at their back, into places where no white man followed them, and it is a significant fact that no mention is made of any white officers being in command.

Admiral Porter has written a despatch upon the destruction "of the rebel fleet and navy yard at Yazoo City." The description of the "navy" so burned is grandiloquent:—"Three powerful rams were burned, viz., the Mobile, a screw vessel, ready for plating; the Republic, being fitted for a ram, with railroad iron plating; and a vessel on the stocks—a monster, 310 feet long and 75 feet beam. This vessel was to have been covered with four and a half inch iron plating, and was to have had six engines, four side wheels, and propellers. She would have given us much trouble." Lieut.-Commander Walker,

who favoured his chief with this glowing account of the fleet, is a curious genius. "If," says Admiral Porter, "he could have obtained pilots, he would have succeeded in getting possession of all the rebel rams instead of having burned them." We fancy even a skilful pilot would have found it rather difficult to have moved the unfinished "monster," and that she really would "have given them much trouble." And when one comes to think of it, it is funny that as Walker could get to Yazoo City, he should not have been able to take the rams away. We suspect that, like Pope and Halleck's 10,000 prisoners, Walker and Porter's rams only existed in a warm imagination.

There is an item of news in connection with the proceedings on the Mississippi, which is told in a few words, and which has probably not excited much attention. Yet it is important, as illustrating the impossibility of the North holding the South as a conquered country, without first exterminating the people. We are told, "The Confederates have reoccupied the Bayou Teche country." The invader can only keep possession of the land that is covered by the fire of his guns. The South is a wide country, and the Northern armies can go here and there, laying waste the fields, and destroying the defenceless towns, but that is all. It is true that the South can no more subjugate the North, than the North can the South; but in regard to desolation, the Confederates may, if they choose, follow the example of their enemy. The North, too, is a wide country, and the Southern armies might lay waste fields and burn defenceless towns. If they did so, it would be fair retaliation, and it might have a beneficial effect upon the Northern mind.

Last week we published some telegraphic news per Hibernian, dated New York, May 6th, which arrived at the moment we were going to press. It was concise and important. It announced that Fredericksburg had been evacuated by General Lee and occupied by General Hooker, and that General Lee had gone it was not known whither. The news was from entirely Northern sources, and, it is almost superfluous to add, was entirely false. The reason assigned for the mistake is peculiar; viz., that Hooker sent across a regiment to reconnoitre, that the regiment ascertained Longstreet was there in force, and concluded that General Lee maintained his position at Fredericksburg; or, to put the case in a few words—the Federals ascertained General Lee had not evacuated Fredericksburg, ergo they reported he had evacuated that place.

On the 9th instant, three brigades of Federal cavalry with 2,000 infantry, under the command of General Pleasanton, crossed the Rappahannock at Beverley Ford and at Kelly's Ford. Before a junction could be effected the Confederate cavalry—General Stuart's—drove back the Federal cavalry that had crossed at Beverley's Ford under Buford, with heavy loss. After this the Federals, made a charge, and the Confederates, it is said, were driven back to the main body. A military critic will see that it was the business of the Confederate cavalry to join the main body without much driving from the enemy. Buford renewed his attack, was repulsed, and had "to cut his way out with difficulty." The Confederates again fell back, the Federals effected a junction, but they had had enough of fighting. They had been too severely punished to march for the third time into the Confederate trap. At four o'clock in the afternoon, General Pleasanton recrossed the river. "No definite estimate of the Federal loss has been received, but the fighting was severe, and hard to hand;" that is to say, the Federal loss was heavier than it is convenient for the Federal authorities to admit.

A small force of Confederate cavalry has advanced within three miles of Portersville, Maryland, driven a



company of Michigan cavalry into the town, burnt the Federal camp, and then recrossed the Potomac.

There are rumours of other movements in Virginia, and much anxiety is felt in the North as to the supposed intention of General Lee to cross the Potomac. The Governor of Pennsylvania has called upon the citizens of the ages from 18 to 60 years to organize for the defence of the State; and he has telegraphed to Washington to have all recruiting for the Federal army stopped, that the citizens may be available for home defence. As the Northern States find it necessary to defend their homes the aggressive power of the North will be diminished.

The aspect of affairs in the United States is by no means encouraging to the Federal Government. Mr. Vallandigham has been unanimously nominated by the Democratic State Convention of Ohio for the Governorship—a reproof, not to say an insult, to the Federal Government, which has just sent him into banishment. In Indiana the enrolment is being forcibly resisted. The Provost Marshal and his assistant have been shot, and a military force is found necessary to maintain order. A Democratic meeting has been held at Brooklyn, at which resolutions were passed denouncing interference with liberty of speech. The Editors of the New York press have passed resolutions declaring their right to criticise the acts of the Administration and its subordinates, and denying the right of the military to suppress papers published far from the seat of war. Yet if free speech and free comments are allowed, the Lincoln despotism will be in danger of an overthrow. In Illinois there is a dispute between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Governor of Illinois has prorogued the State Legislature till the 18th inst. Sixty-five Republicans left the Assembly, thereby preventing a quorum; but the Democrats refused to recognise the prorogation, and entered a protest against the Governor for unconstitutional usurpation, and the revolutionary breaking up of the Legislature. Even in New York there is rioting. The strike of the stevedores and longshore men is becoming more formidable, and the men refusing to join are threatened with violence. The Government vessels are loaded by Government officials, under a guard of soldiers.

There is now some truth in saying there is a civil war in America. Besides the foreign war with the Confederate States, the Federal Government has to keep its subjects in order by aid of the military.

It is announced President Davis has dismissed the British Consul at Richmond for disregarding the legal authority of the Confederate Government in assuming to act as Consul for other cities than Richmond and other States than Virginia.

Judge Marvin, of the District Court of the United States, has given judgment in the cases of the *Dolphin* and *Pearl*. The first case was decided in favour of the captors; the latter was held over for the claimant to produce further evidence. With regard to the *Dolphin*, the Court held that if a vessel sailed from a neutral port with the intention of only touching at a neutral, and then proceeding to a blockaded port, the vessel could be lawfully seized at any time during her voyage. Having declared, with a candour that contrasts favourably with the evasive statements of Lord Russell, that "there can be no such thing as articles contraband to war in a strictly neutral trade," Judge Marvin said, "If it was the intention of the owner that the vessel should simply touch at Nassau, and should proceed thence to Charleston, or some other port of the enemy, then the voyage was not a voyage prosecuted by a neutral from one neutral port to another, but to a port of the enemy, begun and carried on in violation of the belligerent rights of the United States to blockade the enemy's ports, and to prevent the introduction of munitions of war. The act of sailing for a blockaded port, with a knowledge of the existence of the blockade, and with an intent to enter, is itself an attempt to break it, which subjects the vessel and cargo to capture in any part of the voyage." But how are we to ascertain the intention? Mere surmises will not do. It is not enough that the cargo consists of contraband to war. If it were found that the cargo was to be landed at a neutral port, but that the vessel was to proceed to a blockaded port, that would not save ship or cargo. If the ship's papers are in order for a neutral port, she is engaged on a lawful voyage and cannot be lawfully seized. We concede the right of the Federals to confiscate vessels attempting to run the blockade, and if the blockade was efficient, then there would be no need of seizing vessels at a venture. Judge Marvin assumes facts based upon assumed intentions, whereas the law expressly stipulates that facts alone prove the intention. So long as a vessel is sailing from a neutral port to a neutral port, she is acting lawfully—it is only when she leaves a neutral port to sail to a blockaded port, that her voyage is unlawful. The con-

struction of Judge Marvin would put an end to our trade with all neutral ports from which vessels can conveniently proceed to Southern ports; and this is a construction which it is not expedient for British shippers to sanction.

The *Nassau Guardian* states that "the Federal steamer Rhode Island chased and fired at the steamers *Margaret* and *Jessie* within 250 yards of the shore, off James Point. Several shots from the Rhode Island reached the shore, alarming the inhabitants. The *Margaret* and *Jessie* escaped."

The *New York Herald* gives us a proof of the activity of Federal recruiting in Ireland. On the 9th June, it says,—“Five thousand one hundred and fifty emigrants arrived in New York city last week, and forty-nine thousand six hundred and eighty-two have reached this port since January 1. Only twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-eight arrived during the same period last year. This gain of thirty thousand is an army in itself.” The *Herald* remarks “that Irishmen, who are well cared for in the United States, will never desire to emigrate to the old country again, except, perhaps, with arms in their hands, and the hope of Irish independence in their hearts.” According to this journal our treatment of Ireland is bad indeed. In an article on Poland it observes:—“We can readily conceive that Russia should be loth to give way to the Poles. She might easily retort upon England by advising her to abandon the government of India, and, for that matter, of Ireland. Earl Russell must be aware that the yoke of her Britannic Majesty weighs quite as heavily upon the above-named countries as does that of the Czar upon Poland.” It will not be the fault of the United States if Ireland remains loyal and prosperous.

It is stated that General Butler will be brought out for the Governorship of Massachusetts by the war Democrats; and that if he consents to be a candidate the Republicans will probably endorse him. General Butler will be a fitting representative of Massachusetts.

Who's Griffith? Let us hasten to inform the benighted world. Those of our readers who have visited minor theatres and witnessed exciting melodramas, will be familiar with the usual scene of a gallant sailor rushing on the stage and rescuing a fair maiden from a score of pirates. The sailor (who always has black curls, silk stockings, and dancing pumps) places his hands over the virgin's neck, and with a pistol in each hand keeps at bay the twenty pirates armed to the teeth, and so escapes with his future wife. But Griffith—the Federal Sergeant Griffith—beats all the heroes of romance. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* says that on the 22nd of May Griffith and his company assaulted the Vicksburg fortifications. “After tremendous exertions the sergeant and thirteen men actually drove off the defenders of the small fortress, climbed up and stood upon the earthwork. But they stayed there only a moment. Not waiting to see, but expecting that a large body of their comrades were close upon their heels, they clambered down the embankment and drove every rebel out of it at the point of the bayonet, and actually found themselves, fourteen men in all, masters of the field. They held the place some hours, but none of their men came to their assistance. Presently the rebels made the discovery that their works were pierced, and a small detachment was sent to kill the audacious Yankee penetrators.” How marvellous, that for some hours they should be unaided and unmolested! But now comes the pith of this miraculous history:—“But our friends from Iowa had rested slightly, and were not to be captured so easily. They disputed the entrance of the rebels, and soon thinned their ranks considerably. But valour could do nothing against such superior numbers. Yet the ranks of the Iowa boys were full. But presently a more effective volley than usual either killed or wounded every man in the little band, with the exception of the sergeant, and he was knocked down and badly stunned by a spent ball, whose force had been partially stopped by first striking one of his companions. For some moment Griffith remained motionless; but just as the rebels were entering the works, either to kill or capture those of the Federals who might survive, he recovered himself. Down came the rebels. Their muskets were all empty. Griffith had the advantage of them there, for his was undischarged. He immediately drew his implement to his shoulder and ordered a halt. Forced to obey, the Confederates halted. Griffith then told them that he had them, and, unless they surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he should kill them one by one with his musket and revolver. The rebels wavered. They hardly knew what to do. Griffith did know what to do—he knew very well that his life hung in the balance, and unless he could frighten his foes he was a ‘gone Iowa.’ Finally, the Confederates actually surrendered to this single and

unaided man—and he positively marched them over the wall he and his friends had scaled, and delivered them safely, prisoners of war, at the head-quarters of his division.” Was it not remarkable that the stunned man should retain his musket? Was it not remarkable that the Confederate detachment should not have a shot left amongst them? Was it not remarkable that thirteen men should have surrendered to one man, and quietly followed him out of their own works, scaled the wall and proceeded to the Federal head-quarters? The Federals have long been in search of a hero, and they have one now in Griffith. We commend this little bit of history to the *Daily News*. It is quite as veracious as the negro roasting, and not so nasty.

Uriah Heap never was half so ‘umble as is Mr. Moncreu D. Conway in his letter of apologies and disclaimers, which follows, after a pause of nearly a week, the publication of his correspondence with Mr. Mason. He appeals to our sympathies by the ingenuous plea of “inexperience in diplomatic and political affairs,” and the frank avowal that the form of his proposition was “objectionable,” that he “inferred hastily and improperly,” and speaks regretfully of his “own blundering way,” but hopes that his offence “will be condoned by the country he meant to serve.” This is, indeed, the style we should expect of a man who parades himself as a renegade, and hires himself to bear false witness against his own country and the very parents who bare him. It is a credit to the South that such characters, even if by a freak of nature born there, seek a more congenial clime north of the famous Line. But why this self-immolation in the present instance? Why, Mr. Conway would deserve the eternal thanks of Messrs. Lincoln and Seward if he could foist upon the English people the ridiculous fiction that the North is fighting for negro emancipation or any principle whatever. So far, then, he has done nothing more than what had been frequently attempted before by abler men. The admirers of Beecher, Cheever, and Tyng must have been seriously alarmed at the transatlantic consequences of a premature disclosure of their plans, to punish so severely the impertinent officiousness of the representative of Wendall Phillips.

The price of gold in New York on the 13th of June was 43 per cent. premium.

## LATEST NEWS.

(Per the *Edinburgh*.)

NEW YORK, June 13, Morning.

Official despatches state that the Federal General Keyes, with a large force, left Yorktown some days since. Federal gunboats have been sent up the James River as far as the Chickahominy.

President Lincoln, in reply to a Missouri committee of Germans, stated that Generals Fremont, Sigel, and Butler were not systematically kept out of command, but had by their own action placed themselves in their present position. He said that he favoured gradual emancipation. His being President might be a misfortune; but having been elected, he meant to be President, and perform his duty if he died for it.

## ENGLAND.

There is again, according to the returns of the Poor Law Board, a diminution of about 1800 in the pauperism of Lancashire. A month or two since the weekly reduction was much greater than this; four months hence it is probable that the small decrease now observable may have been changed for a rapid increase, as those, who in the spring and summer have sought work elsewhere, return to their homes, and to dependence on alms, voluntary or parochial. Such at least is the opinion of those who are well qualified to judge. The Government has taken the matter in hand, at last, with at least a show of being in earnest; and their measure was read a second time on Thursday last, after learning from Mr. Villiers with no little difficulty, that the Government proposed to take power to lend a million and a half to local authorities in Lancashire for improvements and public works, on which the unemployed able-bodied operatives are to find employment, and to confer on the local authorities power to borrow where at present they have it not, it was a positive relief to hear the sonorous voice of Mr. Ferrand, who, though he is apt to be a bore by speaking very long, very little to the point, and with absurd and extravagant vehemence, is certainly an orator, and on a tour of plat form agitation might be fitly matched against John Bright. Mr. Cobden, in reply, made a brief but very sensible and telling speech. He pointed out that the high wages usually earned by the Lancashire operatives made it undesirable that they should emigrate so long as there



remained any prospect that they would soon again find employment at home; and that their previous habits and training altogether unfitted them for colonial life. He expressed great doubts whether the sufferers would, in any large number of cases, choose to emigrate, however desirous they might be that others should go, and make room for them at home. And finally he stated, with very good reason, that any scheme for extensive emigration required long time for preparation, in order to prevent the emigrants from falling into terrible distress. We have repeatedly explained the circumstances which unfit the factory folk for the rough life and rougher work of a colony; and need only now add to what we have said before, that the best colonists among them would be the mechanics, of whom two or three are attached to every factory; that even these, accustomed to have the best of tools always at hand and their work marked out for them, would hardly be handy enough at first for a new settlement; and that their wives and daughters would be utterly bewildered when required to make their way without any of the comforts and conveniences which, at home, were always ready to their hand. Highly-skilled labourers are, out of their own special department, peculiarly "shiftless," simply because the high price of their own special skill has confined them to one very limited occupation. Farm labourers, blacksmiths, people who have been used to turn their hands to anything, are the sort of men wanted for the colonies; factory operatives would fare almost as ill in Australia as they now do at home.

A case has lately come before a coroner's jury, which might suggest to some Southern writer, provoked by the ready sale of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the sanctimonious Pharisaism of the Anti-Slavery meetings, the idea of a novel, or a series of novels, on "Female Slavery in London." A girl, employed by a fashionable London milliner or dressmaker, has died from overwork, confinement, and foul air; and the inquest brought to light the fact that she was only the most unfortunate—or shall we say the most fortunate?—of her fellow-slaves in the same shop. We do not mean to say that the girls were treated with intentional barbarity. They were not beaten or starved; they were simply worked to death, and their death accelerated by being crowded into a space circumscribed by the enormous rental demanded in a fashionable situation. Had they been slaves they would have fared far better; their mistress would have had an interest in them as persons belonging to her, and, moreover, would have felt and understood that, in a mere pecuniary point of view, it would not pay to overwork them. The remedy, of course, is not slavery, but such a reduction of the demand for employment as may enable young women to refuse work in close rooms and for unlimited hours. But this little incident is sufficient to show that there are evils incident to the system of free labour quite as gross as any that are charged on slavery, and may serve to remind our readers of the obvious fact that, so far as his bodily condition is concerned, the slave is far better off than the free labourer, who, from whatever reason, is too weak to take care of himself. For the slave has always a master who is necessarily interested in him, and is able to protect him; the cheap tailor's drudge or the dressmaker's workwoman is precluded by the difficulty of finding work from self-protection, and finds no protection from an employer who has no interest in a labourer who can at any moment be replaced without extra expense.

On Friday night the House of Lords was occupied with a Brazilian debate. Lord Malmesbury, in an effective speech (which surprised some who know Lord Malmesbury's defects, which are patent enough, and are ignorant of the quiet good sense which induced Lord Derby twice to place him in the Foreign-office), criticised the policy of the Government, and condemned their peremptory and dictatorial dealing with the only State in America that had escaped the contagion of democracy. The most noteworthy point in Lord Russell's reply was the assertion that he had not done towards Brazil more than he would have done, under similar provocation, towards a great Power. Therefore, he it known to all whom it may concern, that if an English ship should be wrecked and plundered on the Asiatic or American coast of the Russian Empire, and if it shall please any English consul, on the verge of brain disease, to imagine that the magistrates of the district have been lax in taking up the matter, Lord Russell will call the Government of the Czar to account, and demand the punishment of the magistrate, even if there be no sort of evidence against him, and an indemnity for the loss of the vessel. Also, that if in any American port, the officers of a British ship being ashore in mufti, should be drunk and disorderly, and assault the police, and for so doing should be incar-

cerated for four-and-twenty hours, Lord Russell will demand the dismissal of every person concerned in their arrest. Also, that if these demands be not immediately complied with, he will proceed to seize ships of the offending Power in the national waters. We hope that Mr. Seward will make a note of this.

On Monday night, the threatened debate on Poland was got rid of by a curious and not very honourable trick. Lord Palmerston, agreeably to promise, moved the postponement of the orders of the day. Hereupon, three Liberal members, of the Ministerial section, appealed to Mr. Hennessy not to enter into the Polish question; and, as he remained silent, they divided the House against the postponement of the orders, and obtained a majority. Then arose a more than ordinary confusion and clamour, for this was clearly a violation by the Liberal party of their leader's promise; and if promises of that kind, made by a party chief, are not to be respected by his followers, it is not easy to see how the business of the House is to be carried on. Mr. Horsman, Lord R. Cecil, and Mr. Disraeli, with several other members, complained of the bad faith of the Government, and Lord Palmerston did not clear himself satisfactorily. Every one knew that he could have prevented the defeat of his motion, had he chosen to do so. But Mr. Hennessy, with great tact, acquiesced in the evident wish of the House;—the more readily, as Lord Palmerston had stated the nature of the negotiations pending with Russia, and of the recommendations which had been addressed by the English Government to that of St. Petersburg. It seems that Lord Russell has required the Czar to grant a general amnesty; a national representation; a Polish civil service; the official use of the Polish tongue; religious toleration—which Poland abhors; and a regular system of military recruitment. Also, his lordship recommends a cessation of hostilities. We cannot but think that, as negotiations are not yet broken off, Lord Palmerston has been guilty both of imprudence and of discourtesy in making public such demands as these.

#### EUROPE.

A Paris correspondent of the *Independance Belge* writes that Mr. Slidell has had an interview with the Emperor, who received him most graciously, and expressed himself most favourably to the Southern cause. We have reason to believe that our Belgian contemporary is not misinformed.

The French Ministry has undergone a very important modification. Count Walewski has resigned the Ministry of State, the administrative functions of which are divided amongst other departments, and M. Billault has been appointed to the office. M. Baroche is transferred from the Presidency of the Council of State, to the Ministry of Justice; M. Rouher assumes the Presidency of the Council of State; his place at the Ministry of Agriculture is taken by M. Behic; M. Duruy goes to the Ministry of Education; and, most important change of all, M. Boudet, hitherto chief of a section in the Council of State, is appointed Minister of the Tuileries. An article in the *Moniteur* explains the reasons which have led to the election of M. Billault. Hitherto, ministers without portfolios, of whom M. Billault was one, have defended the policy of the Government in the Chambers. "The Emperor, by the decree of to-day, substitutes a minister intrusted with the mission of representing the relations of the Government with the great bodies of State, with the object of more solidly organizing the representation of the Governmental idea before the Chambers, without departing from the spirit of the constitution. The Minister of State, who is freed from administrative functions, and the minister, President of the Council of State, with the assistance of the members of this Council, are henceforth deputed to explain and defend questions placed before the Senate and Corps Legislatif." M. Billault will, therefore, occupy a position analogous—so far as there can be an analogy between the position of an English and French Minister—to that of the Duke of Wellington and of Lord John Russell when they respectively lead the House of Lords and Commons without holding office. M. Walewski has no doubt resigned merely to facilitate this arrangement, and not from any change in the Imperial policy. The resignation of M. Persigny is a much more important matter. He will probably be transferred to some other office; the Emperor will not meet with so devoted a supporter, but his retirement from the Ministry of the Interior must be taken as a sign that a more liberal policy is about to be pursued in domestic matters.

The Three Powers came to an understanding upon the Polish question, or, more correctly, to an agreement to differ, much sooner than could have been anticipated; and notes were despatched from Paris, London, and

Vienna, to the representatives of those courts at St. Petersburg, on the 17th. Our readers will find in our parliamentary notes Lord Palmerston's version of the substance of the allied proposition; and we need only observe here that, so far as that proposition is a joint one, it is that which has been attributed to the initiative of Austria, and that the points upon which a difference exists between the Powers relate, first, to the character of the representation to be accorded the Poles, and secondly, to the question of a suspension of hostilities. We shall probably have the reply of Russia in a few days; it will most likely be a positive refusal of the armistice, and the declaration of a readiness to enter into negotiations on the basis of the other points—an answer which will hardly satisfy the Powers, although, unless they will go to war, they must put up with it. The Poles certainly will not be content with a scheme which rejects altogether their claim to independence, and moreover, takes account only of Congress Poland.

They are making the most desperate efforts to stimulate European public opinion in their favour. Stories of Russian atrocities have been circulated wholesale. General Mouravieff was declared by a telegram from Cracow to have ordered that all ladies dressed in mourning should be knouted; and a French telegraphic agency has published a document, which it affirms to be the instructions of General Mouravieff, directing him, *inter alia*, to represent to the peasants that the proprietors are their enemies and oppressors; to proceed with the greatest severity against the Catholic clergy, which is the instigator of the present rebellion; to have the chiefs who fall into his hands shot immediately; to take measures, if circumstances require, against families which have members in the insurgent ranks; to oppose certain demonstrations of the women, and to adopt, "*même contre elles*," severe measures. The story of the knouting has been authoritatively denied, and the authenticity of these instructions is disproved by the least examination. The Russian Government may have given Mouravieff instructions quite as rigid as these, but it would not have formulated them in writing, and certainly no copy of such a document would find its way to a telegraphic agency. Besides, the language of the despatch protests against its genuineness. If the Russian Chancery had to set out such instructions, it would not write the "*même contre elles*."

We deem it the more needful to point out these exaggerations, because General Mouravieff has undoubtedly been acting with very great severity, not to say cruelty, at Wilna. He has had several priests and proprietors shot, and expresses himself determined to serve the rest in the same way. In a letter to the Catholic Bishop of Wilna, he complains bitterly of the conduct of the clergy, with respect to which the Bishop had given him some satisfactory assurances. He declares that they are very active in exciting the population, that they read from the pulpit revolutionary proclamations, receive the oaths of persons joining the insurgent bands, and take up arms themselves; he enjoins the Bishop to direct the clergy in the proper way, and asks for copies of the decisions the Bishop may take; drawing the Bishop's attention to a particular article of the instructions he has given to local authorities, to the effect that all members of the clergy, and especially the priests of parishes, as well in towns as villages, who may lend their assistance to the insurrection by words or actions, who may excite their flocks to rebellion, are to be immediately arrested and brought before a court-martial; and adding menacingly enough, that "the law which punishes traitors is not less severe for those who, having the means of preventing crime, make themselves its accomplices by their inaction."

A letter from St. Petersburg, not written with any partiality for the Poles, tells a story of Mouravieff's energy, in which this very Bishop figures. The Bishop had delayed, under different pretexts, sending in a list of his clergy, which the General had urgently demanded, and the latter, tired of the delay, sent one of his *aides-de-camp* to the bishop, with the message that if the note required was not ready within twenty-four hours, *Monsieur* would be hung by way of example. In two hours, it is added, the note was sent. The Russians on their part complain, and no doubt with good reasons, that the insurgents are guilty of great atrocities. Still, the balance of cruelty must be chargeable against the Russians, because they must be held answerable for the fearful crimes committed by the peasants. It is now placed beyond all question, that whilst in the kingdom of Poland the peasants do not take an active part on either side, although they rather assist the Government by information, in the old provinces of Poland they are entirely on the side of the Government, and have responded to its appeal with a savage alacrity. Throughout the greater part of Lithuania, and the whole of Ruthenia, the efforts of the insurgents have resulted



in a complete failure. All the stories about risings *en masse*, accepted so credulously by the English press, were, as showed at the time that they must be, utterly false. A few daring students or proprietors raised the standard of insurrection, to fall in a short time into the hands of the infuriated peasants, and pay in the terrible death of themselves and their families the penalty of their rash undertaking. If the insurrection lasts a few months longer, Prince Gortschakoff's menace will be fulfilled: "Poland will be a heap of ashes and corpses." Its nobility, its intelligence and valour will be exterminated, and Russia will have no difficulty in governing the country. The peasants will constitute the nation, and then she can manage easily enough.

There has not been much fighting, or to speak more correctly, but little intelligence of fighting has been received—this week. The insurgents seem to be exhausted. The struggle is too unequal. Were the nation united the Russians would long since have been driven from Poland. The population, however, is with Russia. It is only the chivalry and intelligence of the nation—a very small minority—which seeks to throw off her yoke.

The National Government, although it did not, as represented, leave a receipt in the Treasury for the sums stolen, acknowledges the theft. In a proclamation it declares it to be its task to weaken the enemy as much as possible; proclaims that the funds of the country ought to serve only the country and its liberation; announces that, therefore, the functionaries of the commission of finances, Stanislaus Janowski and Stanislaus Hebda, have transferred to the care of the National Government a sum of 24,000,000 Polish florins; declares that the functionaries in question have deserved well of their country, and have been confided with a special mission abroad—a very euphemistic way of announcing their flight.

The *Journal des Debats* states that the number of the Opposition in the new Chamber will be 34. In this number it counts MM. Havin and Jules Favre, each elected in two districts twice, but the number will probably prove correct, as there is little doubt that Opposition candidates will be returned for the seats which these candidates decline. They make their choice within ten days from the verification of their elections, and the new elections must take place within six months.

The *Moniteur* announces that General Forey has ordered that all merchandise imported into Mexican ports occupied by the French army, and destined for countries in which it exercises authority shall pay only half the import duty fixed by the present tariff. The reduction does not apply to the additional duties.

Bordeaux has been the scene of a riot which at one time threatened to have serious consequences. The Railway Company has laid down a line from the station to the quays for the transport of merchandise. The carmen considered that it would interfere with their business, and the first time the waggons ran on the line, seized them, took the horses out, and when the *sergens de ville* and gendarmerie interfered, broke up the sides of the waggons and attacked the authorities with the planks. The military were called out, and after several persons had been wounded, the riot was suppressed and several of the ringleaders arrested. The prefect, M. Pietri, subsequently issued a proclamation pointing out to the men that the railway would not lessen their business, and warning them that any further disturbance would be suppressed with the utmost severity.

The speech in which the Archduke Charles Louis opened the session of the Austrian Reichsrath, is a jubilation over the happy working of free institutions. "Thanks to these liberal institutions," says the Archduke, "we see, through the entire domain of intellectual and material life, a greater activity develop itself, whilst the resources of the empire begin to expand, and its prestige and strength consolidate themselves more and more. The financial situation shows a most satisfactory progress; the public credit and the condition of the currency are ameliorated. A glance at the activity of the provincial diets, whose sessions have just closed, shows, in a form full of life, the thought which lies in our fundamental laws, that of preserving in the necessary unity of the whole, the freest and most independent movement of its parts. Transylvania will soon take its part in the common deliberations." The Reichsrath is invited to pursue the great work. The speech enumerates a series of laws, which will be submitted to its consideration for reforms in the law, and its administration reforms all directed to the extension and consolidation of liberty.

The Presidents of both Houses, in commencing the

proceedings, expressed the same gratification at the results achieved and the same determination to press forward in the path of liberty. The Austrian Upper House, which is filled with a real aristocracy, men of high family and great wealth, has spoken of liberty, and, whilst the Prussian Upper House employs itself in attempts to overthrow the constitution, labours to develop and strengthen it. The draft of the address to the throne in both Houses alludes to the Polish question, and the views of the Austrian Government on that most important question will, therefore, we may presume, receive, in the course of its discussion, a full and authoritative exposition.

A long-continued drought has occasioned great distress in some parts of Hungary. Neither grain for men nor fodder for beasts can be obtained.

At the sitting of the Federal Diet on the 18th the Committee on the Affairs of Holstein presented its report, recommending that Denmark should be required to withdraw the ordinance of the 30th of March. The proposal will be put to the vote on the 7th of July.

Earl Russell is said to have communicated to the Danish Government copies of identical notes he has addressed to Austria and Prussia, drawing the serious attention of those Powers to the danger to which Germany would expose herself by a military occupation of Holstein. Another version of the notes is that his lordship has declared that England will raise no objection to any measures of the Confederation with respect to Holstein, but that any extension of these measures to Schleswig might give the conflict a European character. M. Drouyn de Lhuys has also expressed the opinions of the French Government on the subject. He has repudiated, we are told, the idea that France had inspired or approved the ordinance of the 30th of March, but he equally warns Germany against taking any measures with regard to Schleswig.

The discussion in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, originated by the interpellation—to which we alluded last week—with respect to Rome and Poland, developed into a general discussion of the Ministerial policy, terminating in the adoption of a resolution of entire confidence, by 202 to 52 votes. A speech of Signor Rattazzi gave this character to the debate. Breaking the silence he had maintained since his retirement from office, Rattazzi criticised with considerable severity the policy of the Government in the Roman and Polish questions. He complained that the voice of Italy was listened to nowhere; reproached the Ministry with having put aside the Roman question, and having followed timidly France and England; allowing those Powers to concert with Austria without insisting upon the right of Italy to be a party to the arrangements. Signor Minghetti had not much difficulty in disposing of these accusations. He showed that no good could be effected, at present, by appeals to France about Rome; "the mission of the Ministry is to consolidate Italy in organising it." Not content with defending himself, he attacked the policy of Rattazzi, declared that if he had been in power, he would have accepted the principle of the Emperor's letter of May, 1862, and stigmatised the circular of General Durande as a grave error. There can be no doubt about the latter point. Durande's note was a blunder, indeed; but how Minghetti could have accepted the Imperial letter if he retains his conviction repeated in his speech, that the temporal power is entirely to be done away with, and Rome is to be the capital of Italy, we cannot conceive. The Emperor proposed "a combination which should leave the Pope master at home, and remove the barriers which separate his States from the rest of Italy." The Italian Government should engage itself to recognise the States of the Church, and the boundary agreed, and the Government of the Holy See returning to its ancient traditions, should consecrate the privileges of the municipalities and provinces in such a way that they should administer, so to speak, themselves,—perhaps the best solution possible, but assuredly not the one which the Italians ask, or Minghetti will dare to propose to them. Rattazzi's reproaches against the Polish policy of the Cabinet refuted themselves. The policy he urged would have been puerile. The discussion was a warm one, and in the course of it Minghetti declared a statement of Rattazzi's to be perfectly false. Rattazzi demanded the withdrawal of the expression, and the demand being rejected, challenged the President of the Council, who promptly accepted the invitation, and, having the choice of weapons, chose the sword, with which he inflicted a slight wound upon his adversary. A duel between a Premier and the leader of the Opposition is now-a-days a very unusual event.

A short time since Lord Palmerston quoted in the House of Commons, in confirmation of his assertion

that there was a committee sitting at Rome which hired ruffians whom it despatched into the Neapolitan territory to commit depredations of all sorts, a sermon, preached as he alleged by a Father Curci before the King of Naples, in which these very proceedings were strongly condemned. Father Curci denies, in the most emphatic manner, that in the sermon in question he made the slightest allusion, direct or indirect, to brigandage, and declares that Lord Palmerston uttered a tissue of pure falsehoods. It appears that the statement of Lord Palmerston was taken from a Turin paper, and the Turin press is unfortunately very careless about the truth of anything it publishes, so long as it tells against the Pope and the Bourbons.

The King of Prussia is at Carlsbad. His physicians, it is said, have given orders that for the first few days of his stay he is to do no business—perfect repose of mind being necessary to the beneficial action of the waters; but Herr von Bismark will soon join his Majesty. It is not expected that any further measures of repression will at present be resorted to; the journals are silenced, and the people, confident that the illegal system cannot last long, are bearing it with philosophic patience.

We announced last week, upon the faith of a telegram, that the Portuguese Chambers had been closed on the 12th. The telegram, as is very common with telegrams, said, "the thing that was not." The Chambers were only closed on the 20th.

The Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands has published a proclamation, announcing the union of the islands to Greece. There are some little formalities, however, to be accomplished before the transfer can take place. The islands themselves must give a formal ratification of the proposal, and the Powers parties to the treaties must give their formal consent. Some months must elapse before the union is effected.

#### BRAZIL.

A DECREE has been published dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, convoking a new one for the 1st of January, 1864, and fixing the 9th of August for the meeting of the Primary Assemblies to nominate electors. The immense extent of the empire renders this long interval absolutely necessary. Some of the provinces in the interior do not receive news from Rio Janeiro under six weeks or two months.

Much excitement still prevails on the subject of the difficulties with England. Bahia and some other ports have been visited by the Confederate cruisers Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, whose officers seem to have won golden opinions wherever they went.

The *Independence Belge* announces that the King of the Belgians, who is much better, has given his decision relative to the difficulty as to the treatment of the officers of the Forte, submitted to his arbitration by the Governments of Great Britain and Brazil. It is added that the judgment is believed to be favourable to Brazil.

#### THE EAST.

THE Foreign-office has received this telegram from the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Persia, dated the 11th of June:—"Intelligence received this day of the capture of Herat by Dost Mahomed Khan." On the other hand, the *Austrian Gazette* of Monday announces the death of the Dost before Herat.

The Japanese Government has been granted fifteen days to reply to the English ultimatum, the terms of which as stated by Mr. Layard in the House of Commons on Monday week are, an ample and formal apology for the outrages upon British subjects, the payment of some very large sums of money—£135,000 in all—as compensation to the victims or their families, and the execution of the culprits. It is not believed that the Japanese will comply with these demands, and we may expect to hear of a great and useless slaughter.

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A short conversation took place concerning the purchase of the Exhibition Building, which was censured by the Duke of Rutland, and defended by Earl Granville and Lord Derby.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Villiers, in moving that the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Bill should be read a second time, observed that the measure was the result of an inquiry which had been conducted on behalf of the Government with a view to ascertain whether it was possible to find a resource for the employment of the unfortunate operatives who had been so long suffering distress in the towns and populous districts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Although there was reason to be grateful that adequate means had been provided for the main-



tenance of such a large body of men by the public benevolence, yet it was impossible not to be alive to the serious consequences of their continuing for so long a time to derive their subsistence from charitable sources. Various measures had been suggested to provide for the existing state of things, such as the dispersion of the people throughout the country, emigration to one or more of the colonies, and the finding of employment nearer home. It was the last of these that the bill proposed to adopt, by means of advances from the loan commissioners to municipal and other local authorities for the execution of works and improvements in their respective districts; and he believed that the bill would as nearly as possible meet the requirements of the case. It was not intended as a panacea for all the evils which had arisen out of the failure in the supply of cotton. It did not strike at the root of the calamity which had befallen this country. It was essentially a precautionary measure, designed in some degree to mitigate the distress and sufferings of the people, and he believed that it might be turned to beneficial account if the local authorities thought fit to avail themselves of its enactments.—Mr. Ferrand thought that the Bill made very inadequate provision for the numbers of the unemployed, and that the factory hands were hardly fit for the kind of work offered. He urged that Government should assist emigration. After one or two other gentlemen had spoken, Mr. Cobden said that the great difficulty in dealing with this case arose from the cotton population having been in the receipt of high wages, from which they could not be brought down suddenly to the rate of earnings with which the labourers in agricultural districts were content. It would neither be safe to their health nor conducive of peace in their districts to reduce them to that level. With regard to emigration, there was not the same demand in new countries for factory operatives as for agricultural labourers. The former could not plough, reap, mow, or thresh; and the question was, supposing they were sent to the colonies, if the House was prepared to provide for their maintenance when they had landed there; for hitherto all wholesale systems of emigration had acted most cruelly as a rule. The fact was that no specific remedy could be applied to the evil; but he hoped that by means of this Bill, coupled with emigration of an enforced character, and the individual efforts of landowners and capitalists, that evil might be met and considerably abated. Some Lancashire members expressed their hearty approval of the Bill, which was then read a second time. Some other business having been discussed and disposed of, the House adjourned.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 19.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe called attention to the state of things in Poland, and the frightful atrocities committed on both sides. He said that he did not entertain much hope that diplomacy could do any good in a conflict of this kind. He asked for information with regard to the result of recent negotiations.—Earl Russell said that notes, nearly identical, had been sent to St. Petersburg by England, France, and Austria, but that no answer had been received. After a few remarks from Lord Brougham, the subject dropped.

Lord Malmesbury directed the attention of the House to our quarrel with Brazil, and demanded that the Foreign Secretary should prove that his claims on that Power were just, and that in enforcing them he had done right to resort to reprisals. The Brazilian people, he understood, were unanimous in supporting their Government in resisting those demands, and their indignation was so great that they were using every effort to obtain reparation for the manner in which they had been treated. This being the popular feeling in Brazil, he believed the rupture was more serious than was generally supposed; and he charged the noble earl with not having made due allowance for the state of Brazil; with having permitted himself to be unduly influenced by the representations of his subordinates; used arbitrary and imperious language in his communications with the Brazilian Government, and adopted illegal and impolitic reprisals. The noble earl then reviewed at considerable length the whole of the facts of the case, and complained strongly of the proceedings of Mr. Christie and Mr. Vereker, who had most hastily jumped at the worst construction of the facts, and resorted to threats that were insulting to an independent Government. He maintained there was no proof of the murder of the crew of the Prince of Wales, but quite the contrary, and that the Government of the Emperor had done all that could be expected of them to institute an inquiry, and to punish those who might be guilty. Under these circumstances, it was doubtful whether the British Government was justified in demanding compensation, much less in proceeding to reprisals to enforce it. The noble earl then alluded to the case of the officers of the Forte, and remarked that the accounts of their squabbles with the Brazilian sentry did not agree; but it was admitted that they were in plain clothes; and it was a most extraordinary thing to ask King Leopold of Belgium to decide that this was an insult to our navy. If the affair had occurred in London the course pursued by the English authorities would have been precisely the same, and it was most unjust and ungenerous to have demanded the dismissal and ruin of the Brazilian officer, who had shown every attention to the officers of the Forte. On this point he found great fault with Mr. Christie, who had concealed from the Brazilian Minister the proposal of the noble earl to refer the disputes to arbitration. He believed that if the noble earl had communicated with M. de Moreira, the Brazilian Minister in London, whom he had never consulted, the question would have been settled without difficulty. In concluding the noble earl moved for further papers.—Earl Russell said that the principle by which her Majesty's Government had been actuated was, that it was the duty of one state to protect the subjects of another living within its jurisdiction. He readily admitted the commercial importance of Brazil; but that was not sufficient to debar the British Government from acting as it had always done, and asking reparation for a wrong; and since the year 1831 there had been no less than 21 cases in which France, 22 in which Great Britain, and 23 in which the United States had resorted to force, in order to obtain such reparation. With regard to the wreck of the Prince of Wales, he commended the conduct of Mr. Vereker, who repaired to the spot, and, discovering suspicious signs that the crew had been murdered, asked for an inquest, which was refused by the commercial judge. After some delay, however, an inquest was held upon four bodies; but there were six others which were not accounted for, and that upon the most frivolous pretexts. Some of the plunder of the ship was found in the house of the chief official himself, and if the wrecking had been the work of the wild inhabitants of the coast the officials must have been their accomplices. This was what her Majesty's Government complained of, more especially as the Brazilian Government would not take any steps either to institute an inquiry or protect the cargo of the wrecked vessel. If her Majesty's Government had done otherwise it would have neglected a clear and an imperative duty. He denied that

the tone or language of his despatches was imperious or at all liable to that charge. Until after a tedious delay of more than twelve months his representations were trifled with; and he contended that Mr. Christie had acted in strict conformity with his instructions, for he was not empowered to propose an arbitration, but only to accept it if offered by the Brazilian Government, which, however, was not done. After having made representations so ineffectually for so long a time, he was at a loss to see how he could be charged with having acted arbitrarily or with precipitation. He declined to go into the case of the Forte, but observed that it was not until after reprisals that the Brazilian Government would consent to refer it to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians. When this had been done, surely it was highly unbecoming in the noble earl to try to damage the British case; and he (Earl Russell) was quite content to leave it to the consideration of that able and impartial Sovereign. He denied that he had acted with any undue desire to vindicate the *civis Romanus* claims of British subjects, although he might refer with pride to the declaration of Oliver Cromwell, that he would make the name of Englishman respected throughout the world. Neither had he dared to do that with respect to Brazil that he would not do in the case of a stronger power. In conclusion the noble earl said there was no objection to produce the papers, and added the expression of an earnest hope that amicable relations would soon be restored with Brazil.—Lord Chelmsford treated the question from the legal point of view, and argued that the proceedings of her Majesty's Government in enforcing reprisals were altogether unjustifiable.

The subject then dropped, and their lordships soon afterwards adjourned.

## FRIDAY, JUNE 19.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House was occupied till a late hour with an *omnium gatherum* of subjects, none of which deserve from us a particular notice, except that, in regard to Greenwich Hospital, Mr. Stansfeld, formerly Radical and purist, now ministerialist and placeman, came forward to defend one of the largest and most shameless of standing jobs. For decency's sake, however, he promised a measure on the subject. Another purist and Radical of the Yankee type, Mr. Barnes, of Leeds, appeared to resist the prosecution by the Attorney-General of some liberal partisans, who had been reported by a committee to have committed gross acts of bribery and intimidation at a late election in Ireland; but the House put Mr. Barnes down by a large majority.

## MONDAY, JUNE 22.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Brougham asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he had any objection to lay on the table certain papers relating to the treatment of liberated slaves in Brazil. The conduct of Brazil, as regarded the abolition of slavery, contrasted favourably with that of Spain, who had hitherto done nothing, except to receive compensation.—Lord Russell had no objection to lay the papers before Parliament. After some further discussion the House adjourned at ten minutes to eight.

## MONDAY, JUNE 22.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Mr. Coningham, the Marquis of Hartington announced that Colonel Crawley would be brought to trial before a court-martial sitting in England.

Mr. Ferrand asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he had received from the magistrates or police of Leeds a report stating that agents of the Federal Government of America were recruiting in that town, and that the men were sent to the American consul at Liverpool; if so, whether he would place it and his reply upon the table of the House.—Sir George Grey said a report had been received upon the subject, and it was now under the consideration of the law officers of the Crown. Under such circumstances it would be quite improper to produce it.—Lord Palmerston moved the postponement of the orders of the day till after Mr. Hennessy's motion on the affairs of Poland.—Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Kinglake, and Lord Enfield earnestly deprecated a discussion in the present position of affairs, and appealed to Mr. Hennessy to withdraw his motion. That gentleman remaining silent, the Speaker put the question of postponement. A loud shout of "no" from the liberal benches induced him to decide that the noes had it. Mr. Hennessy replied "The ayes have it." A division was directed, and resulted as follows.—Ayes 110, noes 165. Hereupon an angry and noisy debate ensued; Mr. Horsman, Lord R. Cecil, Mr. Coningham, Lord R. Montague, and some other gentlemen charging the Government and the liberal party with a breach of faith; as Mr. Hennessy's motion had been previously withdrawn only on Lord Palmerston's pledge to give him this night.—Mr. Coningham took the occasion to lug in Colonel Crawley, neck and crop. [If the hon. member will not hold his tongue on that subject, he will defeat the ends of justice by making the murderer of Lilley positively popular.]—Mr. Beaumont and Mr. Peacocke vindicated the course that had been taken.—Lord Palmerston confessed himself to have been taken entirely by surprise. Government had no wish whatever to avoid discussion; but, of course, it must be obvious that they could not answer for the House. All they could do was to give those facilities which, in the conduct of the business of the House they might be able to afford. He did not think that any injury would have arisen to the public service from the discussion, though the carrying of any of the addresses of which notice had been given would undoubtedly be highly injurious, and, if proposed, he should feel it his duty to resist them, considering that they were calculated to render negotiation utterly fruitless. As the motion was not to come on, there would be no impropriety in his stating the substance of the recommendations which, in concert with France and Austria, her Majesty's Ministers had submitted to the consideration of the Russian Government. They were as follows:—First, a general and complete amnesty; secondly, a national representation upon the principle of the representation established by Alexander I., in execution of the treaty of Vienna; thirdly, that Poles alone should be appointed to public offices, and that such a Polish administration should be appointed as would command the confidence of the people; fourthly, that full liberty of conscience should be given, and due protection accorded to the religion of the people; fifthly, that the Polish language should be used in all public transactions; and sixthly, that a regular system of recruiting should be established, so as to prevent the recurrence of such proceedings as had led to the revolution. The Government had also strongly urged that there should be a cessation of hostilities; their opinion being that unless the conflicts between the insurgents and the Russian troops were put an end to negotiations could not rest on any stable or satisfactory foundation.—Mr. Disraeli had not been of opinion that this was a convenient opportunity for discussing the question of Poland, but the noble viscount

deeming that it was he had not demurred to the arrangement with Mr. Hennessy. What had happened that night, however, added considerably to the difficulty of conducting the business of the House. He refrained from then offering any opinion on the probable results of the recommendations of the Government; but it was clear that if they were accepted and were practicable they would only bring about a state of affairs similar to that which existed before, and which must be regarded as of a very provisional character. One of two solutions only was possible—namely, the unity of the Russian Empire or the independence of Poland. But the proposals of the Government appeared to be nothing more than mere diplomatic interference, and he could not see that the policy shadowed forth was at all distinguished by that prescience, sagacity, or firmness which was calculated to lead to a satisfactory result. Even if accepted by Russia, they would only raise a phantom of Polish independence, which in due course must lead to conjunctures and circumstances similar to those with which we had to contend at present. In short, no solution of the state of affairs seemed to be indicated by the policy of the Government.—Mr. Hennessy said nothing was further from his intention than to do anything disagreeable to a majority of the House; and after some conversation, the discussion was postponed till after the receipt of an answer from Russia.

The orders of the day were then proceeded with, and the House adjourned at half-past eleven.

## TUESDAY, JUNE 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Short conversations took place on the case of Mr. Bishop, on the annexation to Greece of the Ionian Islands, and on the Brazilian difficulty. Some railway business was also discussed, and the House adjourned at half-past seven.

## TUESDAY, JUNE 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Maguire moved for a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the working classes in Ireland, and to suggest amendments in the relations between landlord and tenant. This led to a long debate, and the motion was negatived by 128 to 49.

Sir F. Kelly moved for a select committee to consider the effect of the malt duties upon the cultivation and price of barley, and upon the manufacture and price of malt and malt liquors; also upon the application of malt to the feeding of cattle and sheep.—Colonel Barttelot seconded the motion, which was also supported by Mr. Cobbett.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted the justice of instituting an inquiry upon the principle of freedom of trade; having regard, however, to the question, whether the laws affecting the manufacture of malt might be altered without injury to the public revenue, he assented to the appointment of a committee. After a few words from Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Dodson, and Mr. Packer, the motion, with the addition of words expressive of the view taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was then agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. Tite, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the improvement of the approaches to the new palace at Westminster.

The other business on the paper was subsequently disposed of, and the House adjourned.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Bouvier withdrew his bill to admit Dissenters to College fellowships in Oxford and Cambridge.

A discussion followed on the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, which was defended by Mr. Stansfeld, ex-Reformer. Some further business was disposed of, and the House adjourned.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

## LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 24.

Our last report left the market very quiet in tone, and during the past week the business done has been very limited, and the general tendency towards lower prices.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday the daily sales were 4,000 bales, buyers, in some instances, gaining a slight concession in price.

The American news received per Asia, though generally read as favourable to the market, produced no effect. The uncertainty regarding the result of the struggle going on in Mississippi, and the signs of discontent still existing in the West served to check speculation.

On Monday, with a very slow market, a decline of  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. per pound was in some cases yielded to to effect sales, the business reaching 5,000 bales.

On Tuesday the feeling in Manchester was a little more confident at the close on receipt of the Jura's news, and slightly encouraging telegrams from the East, and to-day our market would have shown more signs of life, had it not been for revived mediation rumours.

The Emperor of the French is reported again to have addressed a note to our Government, asking them to join him in recommending a cessation of hostilities in America. And though it is considered extremely improbable that our Government will take such action after the course they have hitherto pursued, yet it has served to check business, and, with sales of only 5,000 bales, we close very flat, with some irregularity in prices.

We quote Middling Orleans, 22d.; Fair Egyptian, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Fair Sawginned Dhawar, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and Fair Dholerahs and Oomrawatiee, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

## MANCHESTER, Tuesday, June 23.

Our market during the past week has been very languid and where holders desired to sell, or those spinners and manufacturers who had finished their contracts were wishful to enter into further engagements, they had to submit to lower prices than were ruling the week before.

The indefinite character of the intelligence from Vicksburg has a depressing effect on the market, owing to an idea that a large quantity of cotton will be available in case Vicksburg should fall, many parties seeming to forget, that if such an event should occur, what cotton could be destroyed by the Confederates, would be, rather than it should fall into the hands of the Federals, and that a very small quantity, if any, would reach us.

There is another feeling prevalent here, to the effect that the Emperor of the French may now, after his recent successes in Mexico, offer his services as mediator between North and South, such a proceeding on his part being certain to produce a feeling of uneasiness amongst holders, and affect the price of everything very materially.



To-day, Tuesday, a very quiet market, the Jura bringing nothing more definite from the seat of war. Telegrams were received in town to-day from Calcutta, dated 29th and 30th May, and 5th June, the two former reporting dull markets and lower prices, the latter better business and improving prices, which reports when put into circulation appeared conflicting, until their date was attached to each report.

There was a tendency to improvement later in the afternoon.

### PARTIAL LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE LATE BATTLES IN VIRGINIA.

Casualties in two regiments in the "Stonewall Brigade," the 2nd and 5th.

#### SECOND VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

Company A—Lieut. Geo. A. S. Davis commanding. Killed: Sergeant T. D. Rawlins. Wounded: Privates L. S. Byrd, A. J. Darrell, J. W. Jones, Samuel C. Noland, F. M. Nichols, J. B. Spotts.

Company B—Lieut. H. F. Barnhardt commanding. Wounded: Privates Jacob Magaha, J. M. Holtzman, Jacob Vorhees, H. C. Miller, W. R. Conley.

Company C—Captain Wm. W. Randolph commanding. Killed: Private C. H. Richards. Wounded: Lieut. E. C. Randolph, Sergeant John M. Jolliffe, Private M. L. Chumm.

Company D—Captain E. L. Hoffman commanding. Killed: Private Richard Mechum. Wounded: Sergeant R. M. Doll, Corporal John L. Fisher; Privates A. L. Kearfoot, John W. Keef, L. K. Komex, Wm. Compton.

Company E—Lieut. J. J. Haines commanding. Wounded: Lieut. J. T. Hull, Colour-Sergeant J. N. Bayne, Corporal Jas. Flery, Privates B. F. Armentrout, Jas. W. Dugan, John Pryor, B. Weatherholt, Wm. Tuckweller, Wm. Perego, J. N. Merchant, Henry Ludwig.

Company F—Captain James B. Burgess commanding. Wounded: Privates John Foley, Geo. H. Goodwin, Wm. Hildard, John Addison.

Company G—Lieut. W. C. Sheerer commanding. Killed: Sergeant B. S. White. Wounded: Corporal J. D. Keel, Privates Asquith, Solomon Fry, J. S. Bennick, Corporal Geo. F. Eichelberger.

Company H—Captain J. J. Jenkins commanding. Killed: Private John W. Crisfield. Wounded: John A. Link.

Company I—Captain James H. O. Bannon commanding. Wounded: Lieut. A. S. Allen, Lieut. J. R. Nunn, Sergeant S. Bonham, mortally; Privates Wm. Cleveland, Julien Mervallis, John W. Grubbs, T. K. Glover, Jas. Brown, E. T. Myers, Geo. W. Joy, Rhoddy Connor.

Company K—Captain C. H. Stewart commanding. Killed: Corporal Willis Skinner; Privates Samuel Cooley, Samuel Phillips. Wounded: Lieut. R. J. Bartow, A. A. General to General Paxton, Sergeant E. R. Harrell; Privates Amos Coffelt, — Miller, mortally, Jas. H. Bull.

#### FIFTH VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

Company A—Wounded: Sergeant Syder, Corporal J. Daws, Privates H. Long, C. Poggio, J. Falkner, F. Parker.

Company C—Killed: Lieut. James A. Bell, Sergeants R. M. Brown, Bailey J. Jones; Privates J. H. Burket, Richard Tisenbury. Wounded: Privates James J. Ayres, David C. Adams, N. M. Burket, T. M. Bell, Jacob W. Fridley, Henry L. Hamrich, James W. Huff, M. R. Hanger, Joshua Hild, O. M. Lambart, Andrew J. Maley, Samuel H. Propps, Martin L. Shiplett, William H. Tutwiler. Missing: Corporal Robert A. Bryan.

Company D—Wounded: Lieut. S. M. Carson, Sergeants J. B. McCutchen, T. M. Smiley, Corporal C. C. Cockran, Privates J. T. Beard, S. B. Aile, I. Runkle, M. M. Smith, G. Lott, R. Wiserman, Jas. McManany, H. L. Wiserman, J. N. Whitlock, Joseph M. Black.

Company H—Wounded: Lieut. G. H. Killian, Corporal Jas. Kennedy; Privates John Porterfield, W. H. Tavey, M. Murry, W. Phillips, R. Bazel, G. Rife, Jacob Heets.

Company E—Killed: Private R. J. Blakely. Wounded: Corporal J. W. B. Trotter, Privates W. G. Abney, J. H. Bradley, R. J. Campbell, T. J. Campbell, J. W. Cash, J. H. Davis, W. N. Harris, John H. Howard, J. Owens, A. B. Rucush, P. M. D. Hatfield.

Company F—Killed: Private F. Carrol. Wounded: Lieut. C. H. Calhoun, died since; Sergeant W. H. Wayland, Corporal G. A. Bailey; Privates J. A. Atkins, W. D. Bailey, J. W. Hodges, E. Johns, A. Raundabush, J. H. Rodgers, J. Spidler, J. W. Stover, J. Swink, A. G. L. Vanleer. Missing: Sergeant W. F. Bailey, Privates D. M. Bailey, R. Carroll.

Company G—Killed: Lieut. W. H. Green. Wounded: Lieut. L. B. Doyle, Sergeants W. L. Thompson, W. H. H. May; Privates W. H. Beach, C. Dunsho, J. B. Gibson, W. S. Hampton, J. Landis, J. McCauley, J. McComb, J. Weaver, J. A. Trainer.

Company I—Killed: Colour-Sergeant J. W. Stibzer. Wounded: Privates A. Wilkerson, Joseph Shumake, James Shumake, H. Wise, T. Adams, W. Wiele.

Company L—Killed: W. Martin. Wounded: Lieut. J. N. Ryan, Corporal A. C. Fry; Privates C. W. Cooper, John Thompson, W. Barnes, J. M. Raines, J. Day.

Company H—Wounded: Sergeant G. W. Gordon, Corporal J. Heiner; Privates — Batt, J. Carpenter, W. Latham, — Limerick, — Lucas, — Coffman, — Fuller, — Shierly, — Lotts.

Company K—Wounded: Privates — Swartz, — Riffe, J. S. Swartzle, G. Swartzle.

R. K. Fisher, Acting Adjutant.

Casualties in the 42nd Virginia Regiment, Colonel Robert M. Mayo Commanding, at the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 2nd and 3rd.

Company A—Captain C. J. Green commanding. Wounded: Captain C. J. Green, Corporal J. P. Bryant, Privates G. Trusloe, Robert Brown.

Company B—Lieut. Lawrence Taliaferro commanding. Wounded: Sergeant A. B. Cleaves, Privates J. M. Miller, L. Murphy.

Company C—Captain Edmund L. Wharton commanding. Killed: Private John L. Lyell. Wounded: Lieut. J. P. Jenkins, Sergeant G. W. Murren, Corporal J. F. White; Privates William Carter, mortally, G. White, R. A. Peed, C. White, W. C. Muse.

Company D—Captain J. V. Garland commanding. Wounded: Sergeant H. R. George, Privates William Davis, William Webb.

Company F—Captain Wm. Brown commanding. Wounded: Captain William Brown; Privates C. C. Clark, D. M. Mitchell.

Company G—Captain C. L. Woolfolk commanding. Killed: Sergeant B. I. Chiles. Wounded: Privates R. R. Carter, J. W. White, H. Wright, W. Wright. Missing: D. A. Withers.

Company H—Captain Thomas R. Dew commanding.

Wounded: Corporal J. N. Page, Privates W. T. Hart, G. Henshaw, H. Mills.

Company I—Captain S. S. Brooke commanding. Killed: Lieut. R. C. Embrey. Wounded: Colour-Sergeant C. W. Schooler, Corporal T. H. Heffin, Privates L. Payne, W. West, N. Bell, J. Knoxville. Missing: Private C. Jones.

Company K—Captain J. P. Ware commanding. Wounded: Lieut. T. C. Chandler, Corporals W. M. Burruss, T. H. Jones, Privates W. F. Bendall, C. Carneal, J. W. Cox, L. Madison, G. W. Mills, J. Satterwhite, T. C. Swann, J. H. Terrell, S. Thomas. Missing: F. M. Burruss, J. B. Carneal.

Samuel D. Davies, Adjutant.

Casualties in Thomas' Brigade:

#### FOURTEENTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Fielder, leg amputated. Company A—Killed: Sergeant T. A. Chambliss, Private T. W. Williams. Wounded: Sergeant W. Banks, Privates T. S. Curtis, E. M. Curtis, B. Edge, Thomas Davis, H. S. Jones, T. J. Mitchell, G. W. Huckaby, and J. M. Trash.

Company B—Killed: Private Daniel Kennington. Wounded: 1st Lieut. H. A. Solomon, Sergeants H. Goodman, W. Dykes, Privates W. Myers, C. Dennard, James Dykes, James Leslie, Wm. Smallwood.

Company C—Wounded: Captain L. A. Lane, 1st Lieut. W. J. Preston, 2nd Lieut. J. O. Lane, Sergeant F. M. Tyler, Privates H. Dix, N. H. Chafin, J. W. Crawford, T. J. Duke.

Company D—Killed: Privates R. B. Simpson, J. B. Fields. Wounded: Sergeant J. V. Baker, Corporal G. W. Anderson, Privates H. B. Dempsey, W. Page, W. J. Page, W. J. Fincher, W. A. Duke, Wm. Wilson, M. E. Boyer.

Company E—Wounded: Sergeant W. E. Boyd, and Corporal Bennet.

Company F—Killed: Captain R. P. Harman. Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Sumner, Corporal J. W. Walker, Privates J. J. Parker, W. Brantley, N. Flanders, C. Hightower, J. J. Sumner.

Company G—Wounded: Captain T. T. Mounger, mortally, Privates W. L. Land, H. C. Quiet, G. W. Hall, R. B. Massie.

Company H—Wounded: Sergeant R. T. Hill, Corporals F. A. Linder, W. J. Hall, Privates J. J. Dominey, J. Hutchinson, D. J. Bush, T. J. Warren.

Company I—Killed: Private J. T. D. Thaxton. Wounded: Sergeants J. W. Barber, J. H. Andrews, J. P. Ballard, Privates S. C. Clark, H. Holifield, H. Thaxton, J. Wigner.

Company K—Killed: Sergeant N. J. Dobbs. Wounded: Corporal T. M. King, Privates W. H. Jamison, L. G. Costlow, J. J. Ferguson.

#### THIRTY-FIFTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Colonel B. H. Holt.

Company A—Killed: Corporal J. Baggat, Privates S. N. Derring, J. Bentley. Wounded: Captain J. Duke, Corporal J. Houston.

Company B—Killed: Private A. S. Bays. Wounded: Corporal C. K. McCalla, Privates H. T. Spinks, J. Hudson, W. T. Aycock.

Company C—Wounded: Private Alfred Daniel.

Company D—Wounded: Lieut. B. W. Morton, Corporal M. A. Buttrell, Privates A. M. Wingo, G. W. Redding, F. Edwards, W. B. Hopson. Missing: W. W. Tucker.

Company E—Wounded: Private B. F. Jackson.

Company F—Wounded: Private S. F. Rawlins. Missing: Private W. B. Harbin.

Company G—Wounded: Corporal Martin Dial, Privates Thos. M. Beam, Wm. E. Allen, A. J. Aiken, E. T. Moon, J. N. Bachelor. Missing: A. J. Moon.

Company H—Killed: Private Absolom Martin. Wounded: Private Daniel J. Hayes. Missing: M. J. Tuggle.

Company I—Killed: M. J. Milican. Wounded: Lieut. W. M. McCallum.

Company K—Wounded: Sergeant H. J. Hayes, Private J. J. Pearce.

#### FORTY-FIFTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Company A—Killed: Captain W. H. Shaw, Private John Pate. Wounded: Corporal L. Walls, Privates John Roberts, R. Patter, Noah Sanderlin.

Company B—Wounded: Privates R. W. Griffith, D. Middleton, J. Ingram.

Company C—Killed: Private Heathcock. Wounded: Sergeant Joe Smith, Privates H. Smith, R. J. Murphey, E. Reardon, C. Wade, J. H. King.

Company D—Wounded: Privates D. A. Bennet, W. Fowler, J. M. Coulter.

Company E—Wounded: Privates B. Watson, J. Morris.

Company F—Wounded: Privates J. Giles, R. Jackson, A. J. Brooks.

Company G—Wounded: Privates W. G. Daniel, O. Lundy, J. Raines.

Company H—Wounded: Lieut. A. L. Brown, Privates W. Dent, W. J. Cheshire, Corporal John Pool. Missing: Charles Pollard.

Company I—Killed: Private J. Maddox. Wounded: Privates J. McGough, J. Kelly, J. Bancroft, C. S. Maddox, J. Mayo, Sergeant J. S. Kimball.

Company K—Wounded: Sergeant R. H. Knight, Private J. Lewis.

#### FORTY-NINTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

M. Newman, Adjutant, wounded; J. Roberts, Sergeant-Major, wounded.

Company A—Wounded: Privates J. T. Stephens, D. Avery, H. Dixon, W. A. Thigpen, G. M. Cook, J. T. Floyd, A. H. Shephard, Sergeant L. E. Veal, Privates J. E. Gilds, A. H. Kinyery.

Company B—No casualties.

Company C—Wounded: Sergeant A. M. Watkins, Privates J. A. Cole, W. A. Durden.

Company D—Killed: Sergeant W. T. Moore. Wounded: Corporal W. W. Hendricks.

Company E—Killed: Corporal J. V. Hollenbrook.

Company F—Wounded: Privates A. R. Tanner, J. J. Dominey, Corporal A. P. Walker.

Company G—Killed: H. Carl. Wounded: Captain H. B. Shanley, Private W. Salter, Sergeant W. H. Ashley.

Company H—Wounded: 1st Lieut. W. G. Bell, Private Joseph Bell. Missing: Sergeants J. W. Bailey, L. B. Price, Corporal R. Founds, Sergeant A. F. Wiggins.

Company I—Wounded: Privates R. P. Dunn, W. Brantley, or D. Brantley, Thos. Garrett, Charles Calwell.

Company K—Killed: James Taylor. Missing: Private J. G. Hancock.

Casualties in Woodard's Brigade, McLane's Division, in the engagements near Chancellorsville, Virginia,

#### BRIGADE FIELD AND STAFF.

Lieutenant J. Morris, A. A. and I. G., wounded in side, seriously.

#### EIGHTEENTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Company A—Capt. J. L. Lemmon commanding. Wounded: Privates John Garrison, in hand severely; John L. Tanner, in knee slightly.

Company B—Lieut. F. S. Threadwell commanding. Killed: Private Wm. M. Moat. Wounded: J. A. Miller, in arm seriously; A. M. Archer, back seriously; W. H. Triamble, arm severely; B. Bartlett, chest slightly; J. M. Mann, chest slightly; E. Humphreys, head severely.

Company C—Capt. W. G. Callahan commanding. Killed: Private W. G. Harris. Wounded: 1st Lieut. J. F. Espy, face slightly; 3rd Lt. J. P. Morgan, face severely; Privates W. T. Wilhite, leg slightly; J. M. Wilhite, severely, A. B. Strickland, leg severely; B. B. Morgan, leg severely; J. G. Weir, arm slightly; H. S. White, leg slightly; W. L. Barrow, leg slightly; W. S. Shockley, leg slightly.

Company D—Sergeant G. C. Hurley commanding. Killed: Private Miles Musgrove. Wounded: Corporals W. R. Faircloth, hand severely; W. J. Pierce, face slightly; A. J. Taylor, hand slightly; Privates John McRay, arm amputated; M. C. Merrett, hand slightly; S. G. Musgrove, side slightly; N. M. Hammon, leg slightly.

Company E—Lieut. M. J. Crawford commanding. Killed: Private W. C. Ballew. Wounded: 1st Lieut. M. J. Crawford, thigh severely; Sergeant J. S. Guyton, hand slightly; Corporal J. A. Nave, arm slightly; Private C. Childers, thigh slightly; J. W. Caldwell, arm severely; H. C. Cooke, head slightly; T. C. Dover, leg slightly; Samuel Edleman, shoulder severely; Wm. Hawk, arm slightly; E. R. King, arm severely; F. M. Kelly, thigh severely; A. J. Lowry, leg slightly; S. Shipman, arm and leg severely.

Company F—Captain J. C. Roper commanding. Wounded: Sergeant J. W. McBride, shoulder slightly; Corporal Wm. Bradford, leg slightly; Private Wm. Wingo, leg amputated; A. P. Henderson, arm severely; Geo. Key, head and shoulder slightly.

Company G—Lieut. P. Lyon commanding. Wounded: Privates A. J. Allen, slightly; A. J. Barnes, slightly; J. C. Odum, leg slightly; N. Thompson, hip slightly; A. D. Harding, face slightly.

Company H—Lieut. John Grant commanding. Killed: Sergeant A. Williams; Privates J. A. Chastain, W. E. Vining, G. W. Hammett. Wounded: Lieut. John Grant, shoulder, slightly; Sergeant W. H. Windsor, mortally, since dead; Privates W. H. Edleman, mortally, since dead; S. L. Vaughan, hip, severely; James Strain, breast, severely; J. N. Waters, arm, severely; E. L. Suggs, finger, W. H. Mann, hand, slightly; W. T. Bradshaw, slightly; J. C. Stanford, back, slightly; A. J. Nally, arm, slightly; R. K. Paul, thigh, slightly; Joseph Jenkins, slightly; Joseph Beecham, face, slightly.

Company I—Lieut. P. E. Gilbert commanding. Killed: Privates M. Roberts, M. S. King, Jasper Halcomb. Wounded: Privates Daniel Rowland, shoulder, severely; T. R. Bullington, shoulder, severely; W. J. Carrol, arm, severely; Corporal J. Y. Woodward, thigh, severely; Privates J. M. Ivey, leg, severely; N. S. Davies, leg, severely; G. F. Herring, eye, severely; Lieut. J. S. Barton, leg, slightly; Private John G. Gilbert, arm, slightly; Corporal G. W. Floyd, slightly.

Company K—Lieut. J. M. Baker commanding. Killed: Privates H. M. Spikes, J. F. Davis, J. R. Halbrooks. Wounded: Lieut. J. M. Baker, in leg, severely; Corporals John Underwood, both thighs severely; J. B. Scott, leg, severely; J. W. Box, shoulder, severely; Privates J. W. Tucker, mortally, since dead; J. M. Garrison, in shoulder and thigh, severely; L. Langley, arm, severely; J. H. Penny, hand, slightly; J. V. Smith, hand, slightly; A. M. Hawkins, thigh, slightly.

Acting Field and Staff—Wounded: Captain J. A. Stewart (commanding regiment), in thigh, severely.

Total killed, 14. Wounded, 83.

#### TWENTY-FOURTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Adjutant D. E. Banks, in leg, severely.

Company A—Captain J. N. Chandler commanding. Killed: Private James Sosebee. Wounded: Sergeants L. T. Weld, in head, slightly; E. A. Rucker, hand, slightly; F. F. Cape, mortally; Corporal G. A. Keesee, thigh, slightly; Privates Elias Sosebee, arm, slightly; W. H. Meeke, shoulder, slightly; J. C. Meeks, arm, slightly; Floyd Gordon, in foot, severely; R. P. Chambers, shoulder, slightly; J. T. Chambers, knee, slightly; Manuel Watts, foot, slightly.

Company B—Captain P. E. Dorant commanding. Wounded: Privates P. P. Ballinger, in leg, severely; Hugh McLane, shoulder, severely; J. C. Dickerson, body, severely; M. L. Roberts, body, severely; L. B. Shifflett, thigh, G. R. Jordan, mouth, severely.

Company C—Captain F. C. Smith commanding. Killed: Privates N. Higgins, Sam Standridge. Wounded: Sergeant J. H. Conley, in thigh, severely; Privates G. H. Couley, hip, severely; John W. Brock, W. N. Smith, James W. Brock.

Company D—Lieut. J. P. Berrong commanding. Killed: 1st Lieut. J. L. Ownby; 1st Sergeant John W. Gilbert; Corporal W. J. Haden; Privates David Watkins, M. Truelove. Wounded: W. C. Readin, in hand, severely; P. Layel, arm, severely; Wm. Layel, thigh, severely; J. B. Gibson, head and arm, severely; John Kees, leg, severely; J. C. Self, arm, severely; Corporal H. H. Clampet, arm, slightly; Privates W. T. Hill, shoulder, slightly; R. G. Sale, in hand, slightly; N. M. Scoggs, abdomen, slightly; A. W. C. Hooper, leg, slightly; R. C. Nichols, hand, slightly; J. A. Frasier, missing.

Company E—Captain H. P. Cannon commanding. Killed: Private James Worley. Wounded: Lieut. D. E. Mosley, in hand, slightly; Sergeants I. Stonecypher, head, slightly; C. Nicholls, knee, severely; Privates Wilson Reed, thigh, severely; J. Duncan, hand, slightly; A. Jones, leg, slightly; T. M. Mosely, leg, slightly; J. Stonecypher, breast, slight.

Company F—Captain T. E. Winn commanding. Killed: Privates J. A. Williams. Wounded: W. D. Denton, mortally; Corporal J. W. Gouge, in ankle, severely; Privates P. C. Broadwell, shoulder, severely; N. Bailey, hip, severely; C. C. Cross, arm, severely; Z. N. Cross, arm, severely; H. Mattox, arm, severely; Andrew Puckett, arm, severely; J. R. Rainey, face, severely; Sergeant M. Deaton, head, slightly; Privates R. H. Duncan, arm, slightly; A. Maudlin, thigh, slightly; John Duke, breast, slightly; W. P. Glover, ankle, slightly; P. Hadaway, breast, slightly; S. F. Taylor, foot, slightly; J. F. Erwin, arm, slightly.

Company G—Capt. W. F. Parks commanding. Wounded: Sergeant W. P. Meadows, hip, slightly; Privates W. M. Keith, leg, slightly; J. E. Stephens, thigh, slightly; W. M. Gibbs, leg, slightly.



Company H.—Capt. N. J. Dorch commanding. Wounded: Lieut. W. M. Farmer, thigh, severely; Privates T. D. Kelly, side, severely; John Savage, hand and thigh, slightly; Sergeant J. W. Harrison, hand, slightly; Privates F. M. Carroll, thigh, slightly; J. G. Whitton, hand, slightly; Wilson Smith, hand, slightly; N. J. Hunter, hand, slightly; J. B. Whisenant, none and cheek, slightly; C. C. Collins, missing; G. H. Brock, mortally.

Company I.—Captain A. J. Pool commanding. None killed or wounded.

Company K.—Lieut. Lacy Steward commanding. Killed: Sergeant James Haddock. Wounded: Lieut. Lacy Steward, mortally, since dead; Corporal D. L. Evans, mortally, since dead; Privates Reuben Cleveland, head, slightly; G. W. Aller, leg, slightly; Bird Shirley, side, slightly; John Haddock, thigh, slightly; James Harbert, chest, severely; W. T. Mulkey, arm, slightly; E. L. Crow, face, slightly; T. K. Owens, hand, slightly.

Total—killed, 11; wounded, 84; missing, 2.

#### SIXTEENTH GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Colonel George Bryan, side, slightly; A. Adjutant C. L. Hutchings, hand, slightly.

Company A.—Captain H. C. Nash commanding. Killed: Privates G. S. Key, J. S. King, J. Mason, G. W. Bradley. Wounded: Corporal R. F. Aaron, hand, slightly; Privates H. Baxter, head, seriously; J. A. Burroughs, arm, amputated; S. S. Chandler, leg, seriously; W. L. Glenn, groin, seriously; E. J. Herring, chin, slightly; H. L. Herring, arm, slightly; W. H. Hunt, head, slightly; J. J. Key, arm, unknown; G. W. O'Kelly, leg, slightly; S. C. O'Kelley, face, slightly; J. R. Patterson, unknown; J. B. Simmons, arm, slightly; G. A. Sims, arm, seriously; M. J. Strickland, groin, seriously; R. J. Sorrells, back, seriously; H. R. Smith, shoulder, seriously; P. O. Williams, arm, seriously; S. Davis, hand, slightly.

Company B.—Captain J. M. Venable commanding. Killed: Privates J. E. Lytle, E. O. Collins. Wounded: Lieutenant H. J. David, hip, seriously; Sergeant D. W. Penticost, shoulder, seriously; Privates W. Morris, thigh, seriously; J. S. King, shoulder, seriously; L. H. Adams, slightly; M. L. Adams, back, seriously; M. Wallis, breast, slightly; J. C. Strange, neck, seriously; J. M. Author, neck, seriously; J. V. S. Hayes, hip, seriously; A. H. Bolds, shoulder, slightly; R. S. Harville, leg, slightly; William Tait, hand, slightly; W. T. Skyles, leg, seriously, amputated; J. R. Cosby, hip, slightly; W. D. Spence, foot, slightly; T. Morris, leg, slightly; C. L. Davis, knee, slightly.

Company C.—Lieut. H. G. McMullen commanding. Killed: W. B. Brown. Wounded: Sergeant William Richardson, in leg, slightly; Privates J. M. Neese, arm and breast, seriously; Corporal J. T. Holland, arm and leg, slightly; Privates H. J. Sanders, arm, severely; W. M. Adams, bowels, slightly; John Ouzis, face, severely; W. E. Ray, leg, slightly; J. T. Skelton, leg, slightly; P. Pritchett, hand, slightly.

Taken prisoners May 3.—J. C. Bailey, A. M. Bailey, S. Bobo, B. T. Sanders, J. W. Williams, and J. P. McDonald.

Company D.—Lt. J. A. McCurdy commanding. Wounded: Sergeant S. B. Thompson, in head, seriously; Corporal J. W. Cleghorn, wrist, unknown; Privates R. M. Carruth, thigh, seriously; J. A. Stephens, thigh, seriously, since died; J. V. Gordon, thigh, seriously; R. W. Bird, arm, seriously; J. G. McCurdy, arm, seriously; J. L. Martin, shoulder, seriously; B. F. Martin, hand, slightly; R. D. Nance, arm, slightly; J. W. Cartledge, breast, seriously; J. D. Williams, shoulder, seriously; W. Patton, shoulder, seriously.

Company E.—Lieut. H. A. Fuller commanding. Wounded: Privates, P. P. Blackburn, inside, slightly; W. R. Nix, arm, slightly; H. H. Perry, side, slightly; J. L. Whitworth, shoulder and breast, slightly.

Company F.—Captain J. H. D. McRae commanding. Killed: Corporal H. H. Camp; Privates R. M. Davis, J. A. Johnson, G. H. Stephens, wounded; Sergeants E. Patrick, in arm, seriously; J. M. Tucker, arm, seriously; Corporal A. C. Shelmor, thigh, seriously; A. S. C. Williams, thigh, seriously; Privates, F. O. Darby, head, slightly; J. W. McDuff, leg, slightly; J. Hogan, leg, slightly; W. M. Fort, leg, slightly.

Company G.—Lieut. T. L. Ross commanding. Wounded: Lieut. S. Hewitt, thigh, mortally; Sergeant C. S. Whitehead, thigh, severely; Corporal W. L. Gilmer, head, slightly; Privates, R. B. Archer, bowels, seriously; S. R. Canison, arm, seriously; O. B. Gilmer, head, seriously; C. Harville, hip, seriously; C. C. Moon, bowels, slightly; W. A. Morris, hand, slightly; S. N. Patten, neck, seriously; J. W. Trent, hand, seriously; G. W. Patten, head, slightly; J. W. Wood, bowels, mortally; J. B. Wood, shoulder, seriously.

Company H.—Captain A. B. Cain commanding. Killed: Privates, N. J. Daniel, E. N. Payne, D. T. Leopard. Wounded: T. W. Weathers, in bowels, mortally, since died; J. A. Mathews, bowels, mortally, since died; Corporal E. Daniel, groin, seriously; Privates, W. T. Womack, thigh, seriously; W. T. Massey, arm, seriously; W. F. Mathews, thigh, seriously; A. Wright, arm, seriously; Lieut. J. M. Liddell, face, slightly; Sergeant E. P. Sanders, hand, slightly; Privates, S. E. Massey, hand, slightly; W. C. Caffar, wrist, slightly; J. T. Beaty, arm, slightly; W. M. Hunnicut, side, slightly; D. H. Johnson, arm, slightly; R. B. Plaster, head, slightly; J. M. Rutledge, head, slightly; R. D. Bolton, neck, slightly; D. S. Rutledge, in side, slightly; T. F. Todd, in side, slightly.

Company I.—Lieut. N. A. Moss commanding. Killed: Privates W. B. Wright, J. A. Singleton, N. H. Hamilton. Wounded: Privates L. A. Glosson, in bowels, seriously, since died; O. Cole, knee, serious, since died; E. A. Thornhill, arm, amputated; S. W. Bagley, arm, amputated; Lieut. E. B. Thomas, arm and side, seriously; Privates, J. M. Bagley, head, seriously; W. Bradford, arm, seriously; B. R. Cash, hip, seriously; E. W. Strickland, head, seriously; P. V. Singleton, arm, slightly; W. J. Porter, hand, slightly; B. J. Harris, shoulder, slightly; E. Hannah, head, slightly.

Company K.—Captain R. A. Landslill commanding. Killed: Sergeant N. C. Benton, private C. Palmer. Wounded: G. W. Arrington, in head, mortally; H. M. Johnson, neck, mortally; W. Ballard, head, slightly; Sergeant A. Davidson, Corporal J. H. Evans, foot, slightly; Sergeants J. L. Smith, arm, slightly; W. N. Zachary, thigh, slightly; Lieut. N. G. Tool, breast; Private W. Bryant, head and shoulder, slightly.

Total killed, 19; wounded, 130; prisoners, 6.

#### COBB'S GEORGIA LEGION.

Lieut.-Colonel L. J. Glenn, wounded in arm, severely.

Company A.—Lieut. C. H. Sanders commanding. Killed: Privates, S. B. Ellington, W. A. Kersey. Wounded: Lieut. J. C. Floyd, slight, in leg; Privates, L. Callihan, slight, in side; J. L. Kelly, severely, in head; C. J. Kilgoe, severely, in thigh; B. W. Phillips, slight, in side; A. L. Persall, severely, in hand; E. Switzer, severely, in arm; E. Willingham, slight, in foot; W. Whitley, severely, in head.

Company B.—Captain McDaniel commanding. Killed:

L. R. S. Fletcher, Corporal R. C. Duke. Privates, J. C. Dep church, D. G. Bolen, Jos. Eason, J. J. Gable, J. W. Morris, J. G. McDaniel, J. N. Miles. Wounded: Captain W. W. McDaniel, severe, in hip; Sergeant T. I. Ayres, not known; Corporal W. Shellnah, severe, in thigh; Privates S. I. Brown, severe, in knee; A. I. Bennannon, slight, in shoulder; F. D. Beck, slight, in leg; J. W. Carpenter, not known; H. D. Daniel, slightly, in arm; William Eason, in leg and shoulder; James Edwards, in hand; D. S. Jones, severe, in bowels; J. McBurnett, mortally; F. M. Morris, seriously, in mouth; J. W. Morris, slightly, in thigh; T. W. Robertson, slightly, in knee; J. M. Roberts, slightly, in ankle; W. B. Stephenson, not known; J. M. Spruwell, severe, in breast; H. J. Thomas, in foot; N. B. Williams, severe, in foot.

Company C.—Lieut. A. G. Grier commanding. Killed: Corporal W. A. Ragsdale; Privates Sam McCord, T. J. Robertson. Wounded: Lieut. A. G. Grier, severely in leg (amputated); Sergeant Wm. Bolin, severely in leg (amputated); Privates J. C. Brockman, severely in head; J. A. Flemming, severely in arm, amputated; J. R. R. S. Guess, mortally; J. Goddard, flesh wound in arm; L. A. Harris, severely in head; J. G. Hix, slight in hip; A. J. House, in thigh, amputated; R. Jason, slight in arm; W. S. McShaffly, mortally; G. W. Pierce, severe in hand; W. H. Phillips, slight in hip; D. L. Plaster, severe in hand; G. W. Parks, slight in thigh; J. P. Pope, severe in neck; A. W. Payden, severe in neck; H. T. Reagin, severe in both arms; G. L. Roberson, slight in foot; J. S. Smith, severe in both legs; A. Sils, severe in hip; H. Wade, severe in leg, amputated; T. J. Young, severe in hand.

Company D.—Lieut. J. F. Wilson commanding. Killed: Corporal W. T. Delay; Private E. I. Aikin. Wounded: Lieuts. W. A. Gilliland, arm amputated; R. I. Wilson, severe in head; Privates J. P. Reidling, since dead; T. J. Leadbetter, mortally; J. W. Benton, severe in face; W. S. Martin, slight in side; W. G. Strapler, slight; Jno. Parke, slight.

Company E.—Lieut. R. M. Whitehead commanding. Killed: Private J. J. Savage. Wounded: Lieut. Whitehead, slightly in leg; Sergeant C. M. Modisett, slightly; Privates G. W. Deas, severely; P. L. Hall, L. B. Jenkins, Isaac Johnstone, Jno. Madry, slightly; Jno. Modisett, severe; L. F. Modisett, slight; Jos. McCallaw, severe; Marcus O'phante, mortal; S. Skinner, severe; Jno. P. Smith, O. E. Usher, W. J. Hill, slightly; E. M. Wimberley, severe.

Company F.—Captain G. W. Moore, commanding. Killed: Privates E. J. Bearden, Robert Coker, B. W. Hammock. Wounded: Sergeants W. J. Hembree, severe in both thighs; Bennett White, M. L. Edge, severe in arm; Corporal J. F. Corkrell, severe in thigh; Privates W. M. Brock, severe in leg; J. M. Brown, slight in ankle; Thos. W. Crews, severe in spine; L. W. Chasteen, not known; A. S. Cartwright, slight in arm; Isaac Dangler, severe in hip; Robert F. Dale, not known; Wade Goolsby, in foot; S. D. Harper, severe in hand; A. W. Hinesby, severe in foot; S. M. Hesterly, E. L. Hesterly, H. J. Hardin, G. W. Hembre, not known; W. W. Hanson, severe in head; B. F. Kinney, severe in arm; J. W. Lewis, slight in head; J. A. Pate, A. Reynolds, hand; J. W. G. Stripling, H. M. Stripling, W. J. Winkles, arms; John Day, arm and side, severe; Jacob G. Garet, mouth, severe.

Company G.—Lieut. C. W. Baldwin commanding. Killed: Private E. A. Harris. Wounded: Lieuts. G. F. Pearce, slight in arm and side; S. A. Burney, severe in head; Sergeants A. J. Bonner, slight in thigh; C. J. Long, slight in hand; Corporal W. E. Dunnevant, very slightly; Privates Wm. Barnes, slight in side; Wm. Awtry, severe in breast; J. M. Cannon, severe in hand; J. S. Clarke, severe in shoulder; E. D. Hadaway, severe in leg; J. W. Jackson, severe in foot; C. R. Lewis, slight in arm; J. H. Johnston, mortally, since died; C. J. Minton, slight in finger; W. G. Parker, severe in leg (amputated); W. C. Ruarks, slight in hand; W. N. Robertson, slight in leg; W. S. Spinks, severe in head and leg; B. Walton, dangerously in thigh; Wm. Watkins, slight in eye; M. C. Zachery, slight in hand.

Total—Killed, 21; wounded, 126.

#### PHILLIP'S LEGION.

Company A.—Lieut. D. B. Sandford commanding. Wounded: Private J. T. Atkins, foot amputated.

Company B.—Lieut. J. J. Byers commanding. Wounded: Lieut. J. J. Byers, slightly in knee; Privates R. H. Baker, both thighs, seriously; F. M. Turner, finger shot off; Thomas Shoemaker, two ribs broken; B. F. Hawkins, in finger, slight; D. A. Chapman, concussion.

Company C.—Captain Jno. S. Norris commanding. Killed: Private P. W. Fuller. Wounded: Corporal J. B. F. G. Redd, slight in arm; Privates J. N. Ritch, severely in leg; J. H. Bellah, slightly in face; W. Berner, G. O. Magarity, slightly in leg.

Company E.—Captain W. H. Barber commanding. Wounded: Sergeant W. J. T. Hutchinson, slightly in thigh; Private James B. Walker, slightly in head.

Company L.—Captain James M. Johnson commanding. Killed: Corporal W. C. Reeder. Wounded: Privates Jno. A. Massey, slightly in hand; Thomas Harper, seriously in thigh.

Company M.—Captain Samuel T. Harris commanding. Wounded: Private D. S. Blackwell, slightly in hand.

Company O.—Lieut. J. L. Bowie commanding. Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Smith, in side.

Total: Killed, 2. Wounded, 20.

#### BATTALION OF SHARP SHOOTERS.

Killed: Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Patton commanding.

Company A.—Capt. M. F. Crumley commanding. Wounded: Privates W. N. Phelps, slight in hand; S. J. Richardson, do. in hand; L. M. Mann, do. in thighs; Eli Jenkins, do. in arm.

Company B.—Captain Anderson commanding. Killed: Lieut. P. W. Fuller; Private L. S. Youngblood. Wounded: Lieut. J. W. Barrett, severely in arm; Privates J. King, do. in side; N. Rich, do. knee; H. J. Finchet, do. hands; F. Shoemaker, do. side; A. J. Shaler, slight in heel; T. Griffin, do. hand; A. S. Aikin, severely in foot.

Company C.—Captain Wm. E. Simmons commanding. Killed: Private W. C. Flannagan. Wounded: W. D. Brags, severely in shoulder; W. B. Owen, slight in breast; J. L. Watson, do. arm; R. J. Potterfield, do. hand and shoulder; W. E. Tice, do. hand; G. W. Davis, severely in foot; W. A. Martin, slight in shoulder; D. Morris, slight in hand.

Company D.—Captain F. E. Ross commanding. Killed, Captain F. E. Ross. Wounded: Privates, J. B. Middlebrooks, slight in hand; S. N. Beck, do. arm and breast; J. C. Beauchamp, do. hand; J. A. Chewing, do. hand; N. Henderson, do. hand; F. M. Odum, do. shoulder; Jasper Hayes, do. hand; J. Stearns, do. foot; R. D. Brown, do. leg.

Company E.—Captain Garnett McMillan commanding. Wounded: Lieut. E. H. Candler, severely in hand; Privates, B. F. West, do. side; H. H. Singleton, slight in hand; W. B.

Kimbro, do. leg and thigh; J. N. Lorerey, do. in neck; Henry Whitfield, do. temple; W. B. Cleveland, do. breast.

Company F.—Capt. J. P. Martin, commanding. Wounded: Capt. J. P. Martin, severely in neck; Lieut. J. G. Nichols, arm amputated; Privates, F. Park, severely in thigh; J. C. Self, do. arm; L. M. Wall, do. arm; J. B. T. Wall, slight in foot; J. R. Wood, severely in arm; Aslo Binson, slight in head; N. L. Wall.

Total, killed 5; wounded 44.

Head-quarters Brigade,

Near Bank's Ford, Virginia,

May 10th, 1863.

Editors Southern Confederacy:—

The above is a correct report of the casualties in Brigadier-General Wofford's brigade, during the seven days' engagements near Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. The battalion of sharp shooters was organized from the different regiments of the brigade only a day or two before the fighting commenced. The most of the loss was sustained while charging the enemy in his trenches near Chancellorsville, between the mine and turnpike roads.

A. F. WOOLLEY,

A. A. G.

#### GENERAL STONEWALL JACKSON AS PROFESSOR.

(From the Richmond Sentinel.)

We have learned some very curious circumstances connected with General T. J. Jackson's appointment to a Professor's Chair in the Virginia Military Institute.

The appointment was made in 1851. When the vacancy occurred which Jackson was destined to fill, General Smith, the superintendent, was instructed by the Board of Visitors to seek by private inquiries, some one suitable for the position. Among those to whom he first applied was General D. H. Hill, then a Professor in Washington College, we believe. Hill warmly recommended T. J. Jackson, then serving in the army in Florida. Hill at that time had no family connection with Jackson; but he knew him well, and with a penetration and sagacity that did him much credit, declared that he was not only a competent, faithful, reliable man, but had a great deal of "outcome" in him.

Repairing subsequently to West Point, General Smith addressed his inquiries to the faculty there. They recommended as eligible for the position, McClellan, Rosecranz, Foster, Peck, and Gustavus W. Smith; the first four now noted Federal Generals, and the last an officer of high rank in our own service, until his late resignation. Upon General Smith's stating that Jackson had been recommended, they said of him that he was an indefatigable man, and would do well; but he had come to the academy badly prepared. Inquiries at New York and Fortress Monroe further developed the fact that the persons recommended at West Point were considered better book-men than Jackson, but all bore testimony to Jackson's great personal worth and energy, and his sterling qualities.

When the Board of Visitors met, General Smith reported the name of Jackson to the Board, together with a statement of the recommendations and encomiums already referred to.

It happened that there was on the Board a member who appeared there on that occasion for the first time and the last. He at once advocated Jackson's appointment, though evidently taken by surprise at the suggestion of his name. He spoke in very high terms of Jackson, whose townsman he said he was, and told of the great pleasure which his appointment would give to the people of North-west Virginia. The man who thus eulogized Jackson was J. S. Carlile. He was the only one of the Board who knew Jackson, and he warmly advocated him before that jury of strangers.

Influenced by what they had thus heard, the Board, without the usual delays, at once ordered the appointment to be tendered to Jackson. The state of his health at the time aided in causing him to accept it.

Of all the gifted men with whom General Jackson was thus brought into comparison, and to whom he was adjudged by all, save Hill and his Virginia friends, to be inferior, which one of them has he not immeasurably outstripped, in the exhibition of high capacity and Christian virtue, a virtue sublimer than Roman ever knew? They were ranked before him, but the inspiration within him, and which needed only occasion to develop it, swiftly asserted its authority, and poured mockery on the judgment of short-sighted men attracted by the brightness of outside tinsel. Jackson will live in the admiration of the world and the affections of a great republic, long after those whose prospects for fame and distinction seemed fairer, shall have been even forgotten.

DESOLATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer writes from Young's Point:—"The whole country from Milliken's Bend to Hard Pine, opposite Grand Gulf, a distance of sixty miles, is one 'abomination of desolation.' It has been an earthly paradise; lordly palaces filled with pictures, statues, and articles of vertu, beautiful gardens, teeming with floral beauties, are now all laid waste. In those magnificent halls where Southern beauty and chivalry were wont to revel, soldiers cook their despised 'sow belly' with fires built out of rosewood chairs and curiously carved furniture, sleep on cotton beds worth \$50 each, and in the morning abandon all to the horde of fifty hungry negroes, who follow the army and gather its refuse, like troops of unclean birds which smell the carcass from afar. Among these rich nabobs none excelled the Honourable John Perkins. His dwelling is magnificent even in its ruins, and his gardens are still fragrant with acres of roses. When General Butler entered New Orleans, he chartered the Magnolia, one of the largest boats on the river, put his most valuable slaves, pictures, plate, cattle, &c., on board, and set fire to the rest. For seven miles his lands blazed with 5,000 bales of burning cotton and granaries of corn. His house, with furniture which cost \$200,000 in Paris, and the houses of his overseers, were all fired, while he stood on the bank and watched the mighty conflagration. In the morning he embarked a ruined man. I had never dreamed of such Arabian magnificence as I find in the ruins of the houses of these rich planters. In one garden I found no less than 700 different varieties of roses. This is, I believe, the largest collection in America. There are no more than three in Europe that equal it."

VALUABLE TROPHIES.—The number of muskets gathered from the battle-fields near Fredericksburg, and already brought to Richmond, amounts to nearly 20,000, and the knapsacks, cartridge boxes, &c., are so numerous as almost to exceed belief. It is understood that the whole number of muskets collected is 35,000, which may be considered one of the substantial fruits of our victory.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance.

All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

Agency at Paris: Messrs. PFRIFFER and MÜLLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

*We cheerfully comply with the request of several correspondents to lend our assistance to the collection of a fund, by British subscription, for the purpose of erecting a monument to Lieut.-General Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A. According to the desire of the originators of the movement, Mr. J. B. Hopkins, of this office, will receive subscriptions to this fund, and hold the same at the disposal of any association that may be organized here or in Liverpool to carry the object into execution.*

Mr. J. B. Hopkins acknowledges receipt for the British Jackson Monument Fund:—

Amount from last Week .. ..	£24 4 6
Earl Donoughmore .. ..	5 0 0
E. H. Bennett, Esq., per W. G. Young, Esq. .. ..	1 1 0
G. Button, Esq., per the same .. ..	0 5 0

A British Monument to Jackson.

It is understood that the distinguished gentlemen who head the movement for expressing in a suitable form the admiration in this country for the memory of Stonewall Jackson, have nearly completed their plans. A statue in marble, of heroic size, seven feet in height, by the celebrated English sculptor Foley, is to be presented to the native State of Jackson, Virginia, to be placed in the capitol or State-house at Richmond. The statue will rest on a pedestal of granite designed by the same artist, and on one side it is proposed to inscribe that this is a testimony of England's admiration for a truly noble character; on the other side General Lee's order of the day, informing the army of its sad loss:—

With deep grief the Commanding-General announces to the army the death of Lieutenant-General Jackson, who expired on the 9th at 3.15. p.m. The daring, skill, and energy of this great and good soldier, by a decree of an all-wise Providence, are now lost to us. But while we mourn his death we feel that his spirit lives, and will inspire the whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God as our hope and strength.

Let his name be a watchword for his corps, who have followed him to victory on so many fields. Let officers and soldiers imitate his invincible determination to do everything in the defence of our beloved country.

R. E. LEE.

It is estimated that the statue, without pedestal, will cost £1,000; the pedestal and incidental expenses about £500 more; in all, £1,500. This sum is to be raised by subscriptions. A formal prospectus will, we believe, shortly be issued; but, in the meanwhile, we are able to state that the Committee which have this matter in hand, consists, at present, of the following names, to which we learn others will probably be added:—

Sir James Fergusson, M.P.,	Lord Campbell,
A. Beresford Hope, Esq.,	W. S. Lindsay, Esq., M.P.
Sir Edward Kerrison, M.P.,	G. E. Seymour, Esq.
W. H. Gregory, Esq., M.P.,	J. Spence, Esq.,
Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.,	G. Peacock, Esq., M.P.
Treasurer.—A. Beresford Hope, Esq.,	
1, Connaught Place, W.	
Secretary.—W. H. Gregory, Esq., M.P.,	
19, Grosvenor-street West, S.W.	

Subscriptions will be received by the members of the Committee, or at Coutts's Bank, paid to the credit of A. Beresford Hope, Esq., for the Stonewall Jackson Statue Fund.

At this very moment the soldiers of the Confederate armies are saving up their scanty pay toward the erection of a monument worthy of their leader, and the columns of the Southern papers are filled with touching letters from officers and men in the various corps. The news that simultaneously some of the first gentlemen in England have united in this tribute of respect, cannot but produce a strong and wholesome impression on the other side of the Atlantic. Indeed, in the whole course of this memorable war, nothing has so much tended to a mutually cordial appreciation between two kindred nations as the death of Jackson. The qualities of that brave and pious man and dashing soldier—typical in more respects than has been generally believed of the Southern character—were precisely those which Englishmen the world over are most ready and accustomed to admire and honour. On the other hand, the feelings of irritation and disappointment which the conduct of this Government had aroused among the people of the Confederate States are not only allayed, but will be forgotten; while the memory of the young nation must always cherish the recollection of the spontaneous and heartfelt tribute paid to its lamented hero. Probably the death of no foreigner ever before so deeply moved, or could have moved, the British heart. Had Cavour died before the kingdom of Italy was born, or Garibaldi in the midst of his Neapolitan expedition, England would have wept for them, but not more sincerely than she does for the Christian soldier who fell in the Wilderness of the Rappahannock. It is because she recognises in the image of the dead those traits which she proudly claims as belonging to her blood and lineage, which have upheld an empire over hundreds of millions of Asiatics, and which mark the Anglo-Norman race as the master race of the world. Politicians may err, and the exigencies of statecraft may often be misunderstood, but the national instincts are seldom wrong. The emotion produced by the death of Stonewall Jackson was confined to no particular class of the community. It was as universal as it was genuine. It was not even owing to the predilection for the Confederate cause, which under various forms is the prevailing opinion in this country; for those few whose sympathies are still retained on the side of the aggressors by a misconception of the nature of the quarrel, did not withhold their testimony to his virtues. The lordly and the lowly alike felt that the world was one good and brave man the poorer; and while the leading presses sought eagerly for the meagrest materials of biographical essays, cheap attempts at satisfying the same public want had already found their way and a ready sale among the masses. Such a manifestation of feeling is something more than mere hero-worship, and should atone with the countrymen of Jackson for many sins of omission and commission on the part of those who guide the political affairs of this Empire.

Recognition before Parliament.

AN important diplomatic event has come to the aid of the motion which Mr. Roebuck has announced his intention to make on the 30th of this month. We reproduce elsewhere the statement of the *Times*' Paris correspondent, that the Emperor is about to make, or probably has ere this made, a formal request to this Government to join him in recognising the independence of the Confederate States. The announcement does not rest upon this authority alone, but is abundantly confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. It must, therefore, be accepted as a fact, and one which brings the question of recognition before Parliament in a light in which it never stood before.

Many and various have been the pretexts on which the Government has heretofore procrastinated that action which duty to its own people and justice to others alike prompted. But the most plausible and effective of them all was the assumption, rather implied than actually announced, that in such action England would stand alone, and would have to meet, single-handed, consequences which the mad fury and

reckless self-conceit of the Northern American population rendered it impossible to calculate beforehand. This plea for inaction, never well founded, is now taken away. It is not isolated England, but the whole of Western Europe which is prepared to act. The Powers which next to Great Britain have, from geographical position or mercantile relations, the most direct interest in American affairs, are France, Spain, and Holland. What the non-maritime countries of Europe think or do in a Transatlantic question, is comparatively of little moment, but it is well known that even of those countries a majority are ready to follow, if not to lead, in the movement which is to pacify the New World—France and Spain certainly, and there is good reason to believe some of the smaller maritime Powers also, now await impatiently the signal of England to proceed. In the face of the civilized world, therefore, the responsibility, not of action, but of delay, is cast upon her. It is a grave and solemn responsibility. It is not now a question of waiting upon time and events. The Government of this country must act either by refusing or accepting the invitation of France, and of the two the action of refusal is by far the boldest and most momentous; for it is easier to assign reasons why England should not act alone in recognising the South, than why she should act alone among the Powers most interested in not recognising. If Mr. Roebuck's motion should be brought to a division, each member will have to record his assent to or dissent from the deliberate judgment, not only of the vast majority of his own countrymen, but of those foreign nations with whom Great Britain would most naturally act in concert in a question of this kind. It is true that the Ministry, by professing to treat the division as one of "want of confidence," may change the issue, and cause the result to depend upon party or personal considerations, but in doing so they would assume a responsibility compared to which the recognition of the South at the outbreak of the war might be considered trifling.

It cannot be alleged that the moment is unpropitious for a step urged by so many considerations of policy and humanity. The whole power of the invader has been exerted this spring upon three great efforts—the reduction of Charleston, the advance upon Richmond, and the opening of the Mississippi. The two first have signally failed; the last, as everything indicates, is on the eve of equally complete failure. The season for active operations is almost at an end. The armies of the United States are so reduced by defeat and disease, that it will require 300,000 men to bring them back to the numerical strength which was deemed indispensable to success, when success appeared more promising. The Conscription, which can now alone fill these wasted ranks, is already—though little more than a tentative beginning has been made—resisted by armed violence. In every part of the dominions of the aggressive Power, the severest measures are necessary to maintain its own authority. A party, too powerful in numbers to be summarily dealt with from Washington, has boldly raised the standard of peace and announced its uncompromising opposition to the further prosecution of a war as unjust as it is hopeless. It is an insult to the political intelligence of England to say that under these circumstances Mr. Lincoln's Administration can do ought else than to listen respectfully, and submit as gracefully as may be to the verdict of those Powers, which to America represent all of Europe that Americans care for, or have points of contact with. More probable is the supposition that the Northern President and his advisers, making a virtue of necessity, will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity for retreating from a position no longer tenable, and which yet they cannot voluntarily abandon. The peace movement presents all the characteristics of being popular and general, not peculiar to any one class or locality, for the men who head it are men who have long been accustomed to lead the masses; and their tactics indicate that they rely greatly upon demonstrations of numerical strength. The feeling upon which such a movement



must rest would inevitably first crop out in this great metropolis, and the movement itself come to a head there. But it must not be forgotten that such a movement is virtually of the character of a revolution, since it is directed against the authorities actually in power, and it has the inherent weakness of this character. The possession of the machinery of Government often enables a minority, nay even a few individuals, to resist successfully the assaults of mere numbers. Now, in addition to the possession of that machinery, the Washington Government derives incalculable support from the inaction of Europe, which is a success of its diplomacy that almost counterbalances its failures in the field. So long as Europe can be persuaded to remain listless, Mr. Lincoln's efforts to restore the Union cannot be said to have utterly failed. It is only when the verdict has gone forth from this side of the Atlantic that the question of peace or war comes directly before the people of the North, and that the weakness of the Washington Government and the strength of its Democratic opponents can fully be tested.

We will not here re-enter into the discussion of the justice or the expediency of recognition. The argument is exhausted without having ever been fairly answered, and all who can be convinced, have been so long since. The time, also, has passed when all objections could be suspended by the plea of "masterly inactivity." England's principal ally in the affairs of the West as of the East—the second greatest, and, thanks to its Sovereign, at present the leading Power of the world—calls on her for a decision, and that decision is action, as we have said before, whether it be affirmative or negative—the bolder and more responsible action if it is the latter. Is the British Government, then, prepared, in defiance of the solicitations of its allies, of public opinion at home, and of the mass of facts in evidence, to declare that the Confederate States of America have not yet made good their title to independence, that the restoration of the American Union is still a possible and a probable contingency, and that the war which has desolated and drenched in blood nearly a whole continent, has not yet lasted long enough? To such declaration the refusal of the French invitation would plainly be equivalent; but the reasons which could induce England at this time to make it would appear to mankind the most inscrutably mysterious that ever influenced the counsels of a great nation.

### Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

Of what are the armies of the North composed? In the shock of battle, in the march, in the bivouac, they certainly show no superiority over the soldiers of other nations. We know, as a fact, that the Federal army has given way to more disgraceful panics, is more difficult to keep in hand, more loosely disciplined, and worse officered than that of any other modern power; that its organization is of the roughest; its hospitals, ambulances, and commissariat quite insufficient to its wants. For all this, it is constantly performing tremendous marches over an almost impassable country, fighting now in the depth of winter, now in the heat of a tropical summer, encamped on moist plains reeking with malarious exhalations; and its losses are, if we can rely upon Northern estimates, utterly insignificant. Take the latest illustration—General Grant's forces before Vicksburg. That army landed at Burlingame some 70,000 strong. It fought a desperate battle nearly every other day until it reached Vicksburg, the battle lasting, on one occasion, from sunrise to sunset. It marched through one hundred miles of the enemy's country. It left sick and wounded and stragglers at the mercy of a guerilla cavalry. It assaulted the defences of Vicksburg four or five times, losing, in one attack that lasted only thirty minutes, 2500 men; and yet the Northern papers tell us the estimates of Grant's losses, since he crossed the Mississippi to the latest date, is 7000 men. It might be proved from Northern sources that a greater number than this has been struck down in the actual field of battle; that the casualties at Thompson's Hills, Jackson, and Baker's Creek

far exceeded this estimate, independently of the losses before Vicksburg. But what of the marching? What of the encampment in the alluvial plains around Vicksburg? of the panic in the trenches? of the hundreds whom fever and exhaustion have consigned to their last resting-place along the sedge banks of the Mississippi, or to whom the sharp crack of the Mississippi rifle has borne the instantaneous message of death. Seven thousand men! Seven times seven thousand men would hardly sum up the long roll of killed and wounded soldiers in the Federal army since it crossed the Mississippi; and the death-lists must rise daily at a frightful rate, so long as that army remains before Vicksburg. General Grant's last bulletin is, that "the siege is progressing satisfactorily." The progress amounts to this, that Grant's army still holds its entrenched position before Vicksburg, but that from the 8th of May to the 8th of June, he had not gained an inch of ground; that the seven miles of defences which close the gates of Vicksburg to the invader had nowhere been pierced. The cordon of fire was still maintained, and Grant could only sit still and witness the fruits of his earliest successes withdrawn slowly from his eager grasp. The shouts of triumph which welcomed the fall of the Sebastopol of the Mississippi have been changed to the murmurs of despair. The sultry, stifling heat of the Lower Mississippi will fight for the South, and beneath its blasts the Northern hordes must slowly melt away, until Johnstone, with his avenging army, will march down upon the beleaguered foe, and proclaim the second siege of Vicksburg a failure. It is more a question of endurance now than anything. If the garrison of Vicksburg is amply provisioned and adequately supplied with ammunition, Grant cannot force it to surrender. He is not likely to renew the assault. He must proceed by tedious siege operations. Every day his difficulty of transport will increase, and the area of his supplies will be restricted. Every day adds to the efficiency and strength of Johnstone's army. Grant may still hold out, in the vain hope of starving out the garrison. But there seems at present far more probability of an early abandonment of the siege. He has now no prospect of relief from the army of Louisiana. General Banks has sufficient work to do before Port Hudson, if indeed he has not already been driven from its works. The Confederate forces are gradually re-occupying the ground temporarily lost to them by Banks's advance. In Western Louisiana the Federals hold only so much of the river bank as the fire of their gun-boats can cover. The whole of the Lake Providence district is once more in the power of the Confederates. Report places an army of 10,000 men at Milliken's Bend, only twenty miles above Vicksburg. Between that fortress and Port Hudson guerillas swarm, and hover over the flanks and the rear of General Grant's army. Altogether the issue seems to us here to be whether Grant and Banks will succeed in withdrawing their forces in safety, and not whether Port Hudson and Vicksburg will fall, and the Mississippi become a Federal river. We do not attach much importance to the rumours of Banks's second defeat. He has not tried two assaults; the report of his wound is, in all probability, to be traced to General Sherman's death. We can hardly believe that General Kirby Smith is in force enough to have relieved Port Hudson and driven the Federals to their gun-boats. But all these rumours speak hopefully for Southern prospects. They are pitched in a different note to that which heralded Grant's and Banks's first triumphs; they prove that the people has come to share the confidence of its chiefs, in the strength of its position on the Mississippi; they are, we believe, the prognostics of sure disaster to the Federal armies. But it is impossible, in surveying the enormous area over which the contest in the South-West is being waged, and in reviewing the means by which the North carries on the war—the submerging of districts larger than the largest English counties teeming with luxuriant produce; the burning and sacking of towns; the plundering of farms, plantations, and villages; the forcible impressment and arming of slaves against their own

masters—without feelings of horror and indignation at the crime of the men who are perpetuating this ruthless war of conquest, and of deep and active sympathy for those who, against any odds, and such sacrifices as have never fallen to the lot of a modern people, still endure and fight to the end. Failing in their whole material, the Federal generals are now raising and drilling negro regiments. These are placed, like Urian, in the front of the battle, and there they perish miserably in a war not their own, and which can only result in a worse bondage than any they have yet experienced. Of all the atrocities committed in the name of Liberty—for which Mr. Lincoln's administration is responsible—this cruel and cowardly destruction of the negro is surely the one that cries loudest to Heaven for vengeance upon its authors.

In the pressure of the conflict on the Mississippi the interest of the war in other quarters is comparatively faint. But it is not likely that the summer months will pass away without another great conflict in Virginia or Maryland. General Lee is said to be concentrating his forces for the offensive; and at Washington President Lincoln, with that true care for his own safety which he has evinced ever since the war broke out, is actively engaged in providing for his own defence. General Hooker has once more given the Confederates a 'sensation' in the shape of a cavalry reconnaissance across the Rappahannock. A more senseless movement has not been made during the war. Three brigades of cavalry, two regiments of infantry, and two batteries of artillery were moved upon Brandy Station, near Culpepper, ostensibly with the view of breaking up a Confederate cavalry force reported to be gathering in that district. They came upon the Confederate pickets, and drove them back,—came upon the main body, and were forced back in return. There was a great deal of manoeuvring, and here and there a hand-to-hand encounter. Finally, General Pleasanton, on hearing that Confederate infantry were advancing, withdrew his troops to the safe side of the Rappahannock. What they did, and what they tried to do we must leave to time to show. Certainly the idea was a novel one. As there was some fighting, it may please the Northern mob; but at present it looks very much like a disaster—a disaster wantonly and uselessly incurred, in an operation which could not by any possibility lead to any result commensurate with the risk. The latest reports from the North speak of a general advance on the part of the Federal army. But we can hardly credit it. Possibly the threat of a forward movement may be made in order to check General Lee. But we can hardly believe President Lincoln mad enough to intrust another army to Hooker. If a battle has taken place, few people outside Washington and New York can have any doubt about its result. For our part, we are inclined to believe that Western Maryland and Pennsylvania will be made to feel something of the war, and that at this very moment, Washington is in far more imminent danger than Richmond.

### The Value of the Southern Trade.

THE *Liverpool Post*, in commenting on an article in our impression of June 4th, "What the North is fighting for," is shocked to find that our estimate of the value of the Southern trade "is implicitly believed by many of our mercantile friends, who, above all men in the country, ought to have known better;" and it forthwith rushes into a most amusing calculation to show that the trade of the most productive agricultural country in the world is a mere nothing, "not worth wrangling for." The *Post* admits the fact that the annual direct exportation of the South is over one-third of the total exports of the whole Union, while its direct imports are less than one-tenth of the whole; but it ignores the irresistible inference, and refers to this striking fact only to prove what needed no proof, that the South's share of the imports could not possibly amount to £80,000,000, as it alleges we had asserted. Now, what we did say, and the whole context of our article precluded the possibility of the sum in question being misunderstood



as applying to imports, was,—“The monopoly which the North loses, gives to Europe a customer who is able to pay annually for upwards of £80,000,000 of goods.” It is not worth our while to enter into a controversy with our Liverpool contemporary, but, as the subject is far from being exhausted and has a special interest just now, we avail ourselves of the opportunity for reverting to it again.

The value of the Southern trade, as we remarked on the former occasion, can be but imperfectly gathered from the statistics of the foreign trade of the late Union, however eloquently those statistics speak in favour of the South. The North was almost as pre-eminently manufacturing as its tributary was agricultural, and, therefore, it both consumed a very large share of the raw materials produced of the latter, and supplied a larger share of the manufactured goods consumed by it. As these transactions between North and South leave no record in the official revenue books, we must resort to the fortunately most accurate information afforded by the Census. This, arranged according to States by Mr. Kettell, whose valuable little work we have before quoted, gave for the South—that is, all the slave-holding States—the following results in 1850:

	Dollars.
Slaughtered animals . . . . .	54,398,015
Grains . . . . .	307,328,112
Other (including Tobacco) . . . . .	46,303,950
Cotton . . . . .	101,834,616
Sugar . . . . .	16,599,310
Naval Stores . . . . .	2,107,100
	\$528,571,103

The item for naval stores, not being included in the Census returns, is derived from the statistics of exportation, and is, therefore, considerably under-estimated. The Southern States, chiefly North Carolina, though all share in it more or less, have supplied the whole United States with their entire consumption of naval stores, that is, pitch and rosins, as well as a large portion of the timber used in ship-building. The lowest estimate of these productions of the Southern forests heretofore furnished to the North cannot fall short of \$25,000,000, according to the best data we have. It must further be observed that Mr. Kettell's figures are those of the census of 1850; the more recent census has not yet been published in its detailed completion, but we know that the increase in the value of agricultural productions during the intervening ten years has been over 80 per cent. for all sections of the Union alike. We have then, as the aggregate value of the products of the fields and forests of the South in 1860, the year of the dissolution, the enormous sum in round numbers of \$90,000,000, or say, not far short of £200,000,000. Now if we consider that so valuable was labour in the South, and so exclusively devoted to agricultural pursuits, that almost the simplest and crudest manufactures were neglected, if not wholly ignored; that the South sent its hides North in exchange for leather, its wheat (peculiarly valuable as an article of export on account of its property of withstanding tropical climates) in exchange for Northern-grown and Northern-ground flour; that it did not consume even its own tobacco until, by Northern hands, it had been made into cigars and chewing plugs—or its sugar, until it had passed through the Northern refineries; that the markets of the great Northern cities were habitually supplied with the earlier growth of the Southern gardens and orchards, and even with a large proportion of the beef that fed their populations; that in the smallest as well as the largest of the articles of necessity, of comfort, or of luxury that civilized man requires, this interchange went on; that even newspapers, intended solely for Southern circulation, as well as books, were printed at the North—when these facts are considered it will be found that, due allowance being made for home consumption, four hundred millions of dollars, or £50,000,000, is an exceedingly moderate estimate of the purchases which, at the time of separation, the South was in the habit of making and able to pay for annually. That the South will still continue to be a customer of the North to a certain extent, after separation, is a natural consequence of the proximity of the two countries, and of the ingenuity and enterprise

of one of them, as well as its intimate acquaintance with the other's markets. Against these advantages of the North must be weighed the deadly animosity which has sprung from the war, and which, with a people like the Southerners, must, for many years, retard and impede the renewal of social and commercial relations with the North. There are few articles in which Europe, and more particularly England, cannot successfully compete with the Northern manufacturers, and it would speak ill for British enterprise if it failed to secure at least one-half of the trade which the North has heretofore monopolized. Even that one-half, as we have seen, would amount to the handsome sum of £40,000,000, in goods to be supplied. It should not be forgotten that the incidental profits of a direct trade with the South are not represented in that figure. Not only would the exports from and the imports into an independent South be vastly increased, but the very large per-centage which the handling of these exports and imports under the old system left to the Northern capitalists, shippers, and brokers, would be saved and divided between the South and its European purveyors.

It is not true, as the *Liverpool Post* alleges in aid of its faulty arithmetic, that the manufacturing establishments to which the war has given rise in the Confederate States will obtain, from the financial necessities of the Government, that protection which will enable them to compete with, and in a measure exclude foreign manufactures. These establishments must disappear with the cause which produced them, unless, indeed, the war were protracted to the utter ruin of the agricultural interest. The South had to supply its own necessities, besides employing the amount of labour rendered worthless by the non-exportation of its usual staples. So soon as an outlet is procured for the latter, and the former can be otherwise supplied, that labour will return to the occupation for which it is best fitted, and which is known by experience to be productive of the greatest profits. The South could not, if it would, become a manufacturing country, even in the sense of permanently supplying its own wants—first, because the climate forbids it, and secondly, because the character of its labour forbids it. It cannot change the one, and it is not likely suddenly to change the other. Foreign immigration on a large scale might give it the labour available for manufactures, but that cannot be, so long as it retains the institution of slavery. As for the financial requirements of the Government, it is clear that these are best subserved by a revenue tariff levied on the largest possible quantity of imports. Protective tariffs are known not to be productive in themselves, and their adoption would force the treasury in stress of means to depend upon direct taxation, the most reluctantly submitted to of all species of taxation, and the most expensive in collection. These insinuations of the *Post* are on a par with the recklessness of facts and figures which it displays in another assertion, one that we had supposed no journal valuing the good opinion of its readers would now admit into its columns, viz.,—“It is well known that the Confederacy does not produce food enough to meet the demands of its own people.” As the war has induced a pretty general study of the American Census Tables, it would be a work of supererogation to disprove this ridiculous mistake for the thousandth and one time.

#### DOES THE UNIFORM PROTECT THE SLAVE?

We invite special attention to the subjoined, from the *New York World* of the 9th of June, which treats on an important and frequently misunderstood question in a manner at once clear, precise, and conclusive. The article is evidently the production of a thorough lawyer and a man of sense. For the information of the English reader, it may be well to observe that the armies of the United States are governed by certain supplementary rules and regulations, invented by Dr. Lieber, a German professor, at the request of Mr. Stanton, and, contrary to a plain clause of the Constitution, never approved or even submitted to Congress. One of these rules is that “the uniform protects the soldier of whatever class, colour, condition, or former political relations.”

The very grave question whether the uniform protects the soldier is not to be disposed of by an “of course.” There are certain cases in which it not only does not protect the soldier,

but in which no sane man would contend that it should. General Scott hanged fifty men in a batch, fighting in the Mexican uniform, because they had deserted from his army. There is, then, one exception to the rule. If a British invading army had landed in South Carolina, and had uniformed and disciplined the slaves, does any man imagine that this Government would have considered the act within the limits of Christian warfare, or would have listened to the assertion of a right on the part of England to dictate our course as regarded them?

Slaves must be regarded either as property or persons. As property, they are as sacred as other property; as persons, they are non-combatants. There is no middle-ground. But our authorities conscript them. Grant that the right to do so is perfect; what are the rights of the other belligerent? It must be remembered that the United States and “the so-called Confederate States” are belligerents, and that the laws of war govern their present relations. It is treason here, punishable with death, for a man to give aid or comfort to the enemy. Can it be less treason for a man there to give aid and comfort to their enemies? Can we maintain our position before the civilized world on this question? If Napoleon had employed Russian serfs as his soldiers, could he have claimed immunity for them, from the laws of Russia, if they had been taken prisoners? We suspect not. The public mind had better examine this subject carefully, and reflect wisely before coming to a conclusion, for the freeing of slaves, and enrolling them as our soldiers, must inevitably, at a very early date, bring about a character of warfare unknown since the Wars of the Roses. The Confederate States could just as easily give up the claim of right to independence as the right of punishing alleged subjects for treason. The men who lead there, and the men who are led, unite cordially on this point. A scene of blood will soon be opened, and Europe will interfere forcibly, in the name of humanity. The side in fault will be constrained. Let us be sure to be right on this point, and, in order to be right, let us discuss it. The policy seems to have been adopted without examination, and by the military chiefs, in separate departments, and is to be examined under two aspects—our right, and the right of the other belligerent. It may be that we have no right to free the slave, or, if we have that right, no other. If we have a right to make a soldier of him, what are the rights of the enemy as against that soldier? We have a right to make a soldier of a deserter; the enemy has the counter right to hang him. Is this theory applicable to enlisted slaves? We own to a hope that the laws of civilized war prohibit the employment of the slaves of the other belligerent as our soldiers, for we can conceive of no one measure so likely to prolong the war, to make the alienation permanent and the hate bitter, and, we regret to add, none which would so fully justify continued struggle, complete alienation, and life-long hate.

#### THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON AND RECOGNITION.

I am enabled to repeat still more positively the contradiction given in my letter of Saturday to the rumour which attributed a change in the Emperor Napoleon's views on American affairs. That rumour, whether originating in Paris or in London, was completely unfounded. At the Cabinet Council held on Thursday last, at which the Emperor presided, it was resolved that a despatch should be addressed the same day to the French Ambassador in London, instructing him to renew the proposals on the part of the Emperor to the English Government for a joint (diplomatic) action in America. This despatch was written, and it is probable that by this, or before this, Baron Gros will have carried out the instructions it contained.

Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck came over to Paris on Monday morning. They proceeded forthwith to Fontainebleau. Mr. Lindsay asked for an audience for himself and Mr. Roebuck. It was instantly granted, and both gentlemen were received by his Majesty most graciously. The conversation lasted for some time, and the Emperor declared in the most formal manner that he entertained the same views as before with respect to the civil war in America; that he was desirous again to interpose his good offices, and equally desirous that England should join him; that he believed the joint intervention of France and England would be attended with good results, and that, in again proposing to England to act with him, he was moved by no unfriendly feeling towards the North—quite the contrary. His only motive was to put a stop to the horrible carnage in America, the more so as it was productive of no results; and the more to be deplored as there was no chance of restoring the Union.

A statement made many months ago to the effect that the Emperor had proposed to England to join him in mediation between the belligerents was contradicted, and, if I am not mistaken, in Parliament. I may now mention that the Emperor, in his conversation with the two gentlemen yesterday, completely corroborated that statement. He declared that he did propose mediation at the time specified; and, perhaps, I am not going too far in saying that Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck have his authority for declaring in Parliament that what was then stated respecting the offer of mediation was perfectly correct, and that he felt much regret it was not acted upon. Such is, I have reason to believe, the substance of the conversation that took place yesterday at Fontainebleau.

In the event of the present overtures of the English Government being attended with no practical result, I should not be surprised if the Imperial Government addressed itself to Spain. Spain, as everybody knows, is, or rather was, in the receipt of a large revenue from the island of Cuba—almost the last that remains of her magnificent possessions beyond the Atlantic—and, until this unhappy war broke out, the trade between Cuba and the United States was most flourishing. The “Stars and Stripes” outnumbered the flags of any two other nations of the globe in the Cuban waters, and exceeded that of Spain herself. North and South Carolina, New Orleans, and New York, in particular, sent in abundance of their products, natural and artificial, to the Cubans. Their very ferryboats, and their carts, were American, and the men that worked them generally American. All this is gone. A short time after hostilities broke out hardly a dozen craft were seen where they were previously counted by hundreds. Spain has felt this state of things severely, and would gladly see it at an end. She has been repeatedly urged to do something—that something being to declare her recognition of the Southern Confederacy. This she has not ventured to do. She was alone, and she did not care to bring down upon her the vengeance of the North. But as her necessities are great, and the position of her rich colony most critical, I would not affirm that she will turn a deaf ear to solicitations coming from France, particularly when France purposes to act with her.—*Times' Paris Correspondent*, June 24.



## THE SIEGE OF PORT HUDSON.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 2.

My last letter brought Banks's attack on Port Hudson to Friday morning. It was not till Thursday that the commanding general of the Federal forces found that he could not carry the position by assault, and that this far he had been badly beaten. He withdrew his forces temporarily. A steamer from this city went up with a few more soldiers, labourers, shovels, sand-bags, and siege guns, and during the latter part of last week Banks prepared his line of offences to carry Port Hudson by investment or siege. Weitzel, on the evening of Wednesday, carried the upper Confederate battery, turning the six guns against the enemy, and pushing forward a defence for his own men near the parapet, or ditch rather of the works at that end of the town, building a protection for his own force with logs and earth, and then stationing sharpshooters to pick off any of the Confederate troops who might attempt to load the guns which commanded his attempted approaches.

This done, he began to sink a shaft, intending to undermine the Confederate works, blow up their defences, and create a breach wide enough for the entire Federal army to attack by column and march into Port Hudson. We have not heard the explosion in the city. But, meanwhile, Banks has erected offensive and defensive earth and sand-bag works within a mile of the rear defences of Port Hudson, and has extended his line from Weitzel's division on the right to the Springfield landing (Stone's, now Sherman's division) below—a distance, say of three or four miles. There has been some desultory shelling on both sides since Thursday last, but no attack—no battle. Every day boats have come down to the city, bringing loads of wounded men, who cannot be provided for at Baton Rouge. The hospitals are all full, but not nearly so full as they will be before Port Hudson falls. Banks will do his best to carry the position. He says he will do it if it takes every man in the department; and while one cannot, perhaps, but admire his determination, he must think of the rashness which exposes so much to gain what, after all, will be worth but little.

For the fall of Port Hudson, and Vicksburg also, does not necessarily "open the Mississippi," nor close the war. If it opens the Mississippi it does not keep it open. But we can afford to wait a few days and see if Banks, with 20,000 and more men, with powerful batteries, good generals, and all that is necessary to carry on a successful campaign, can drive out or "bag" Frank Gardner's handful (comparatively) of men in Port Hudson. When the worst comes to the worst, it is more than likely the Confederates will cut their way out.

The weather is not over and above favourable for fighting. June is the warmest month of the year in this latitude, and the Northern and unacclimated army will suffer terribly soon. What they do must be done quickly.

I wrote you that the Confederate authorities at Richmond had abandoned Louisiana to its fate. The reason is obvious. Louisiana has furnished, literally poured out all the men and money she can to aid the Confederacy. She does not raise a bushel of wheat, make a side of bacon, nor even raise a pound of tobacco for the Confederate army. She produces only cotton and sugar. Nor can the Confederacy spare a single man from Virginia or Mississippi. Yet the present affair at Port Hudson might have been much better managed on both sides. When General Dick Taylor, commanding say 5,000 Confederates in the Teche country, first heard of Banks's intended advance, he sent a despatch to General Frank Gardner, commanding at Port Hudson, which called for the following action:—"Move at once upon Baton Rouge—harass Augur as much as you can—do not drive him out, but keep him there; make Banks reinforce him—at all events, prevent Banks from withdrawing the Baton Rouge forces, to take part in the proposed Teche movement—if Banks moves against me with his whole force, I am lost." Was it not the best move for Gardner? And yet Banks was allowed to quietly withdraw the whole Baton Rouge force; it joined with the advance into the Attakapas country, and was opposed only by four or five thousand, these seldom presenting more than 2,000 men in any single attack. Next to a powerful reinforcement from the Richmond army, a diversion by Gardner upon Baton Rouge would have been a success for Taylor.

Banks blundered, not from ignorance or willingness, but from necessity, in not having a force large enough to hold as well as to take the Attakapas country—the boasted extension of the Federal line. Never was there a greater force. He walked through the country from Franklin on the Teche to Alexandria on Red River, collecting much cotton, much beef, many horses, mules, and negroes, giving the people in return the "oath of allegiance;" but he was obliged to take every one of his

men to make the movement against Port Hudson, and to utterly abandon the country so recently conquered and "restored to the Union." Consequently, General Kirby Smith's head-quarters are to-day at Franklin. His men can be seen anywhere almost in the vicinity of Berwick's Bay. Dick Taylor's small force has also come back. They are "letting alone" the planters who took the oath of allegiance upon compulsion, but are summarily hanging every man who gave any information to Banks, or who acted as guides during his advance. Beyond the collected property in beef, horse and mule flesh, negroes and cotton, and the advantage of the approach to Port Hudson *old* Red River, Banks actually gained nothing in the Opelousas and Attakapas region. Certainly the immediate advantages to him were very great; but it is ridiculous to say that he has "restored" so much territory, or has extended the Federal lines a single foot. It must all be done over again, if he wishes to add this part of Louisiana to the portion already conquered by Butler and himself.

The territory actually held by the Federal forces is very small. Louisiana is an enormous State. The mass of the people even in the city are not loyal to the Government of the United States. The robbed, plundered, and abused planters certainly are not. Yet upon the ground of Banks's supposed and assumed successes, certain men, mostly from the North, have actually asked Governor Shepley (Brigadier-general acting as military governor of the small portion of the State in Federal possession) to call a convention, to frame a new State constitution, and to allow those who are willing to take the oath of allegiance to vote for United States' congress men, a Federal governor, State officers, and members of the Assembly. It is possible that these officers, with the fat salaries connected, may have induced this call. Military Governor Shepley has politely but properly declined to call the convention, so much desired by the prospective office-holders, in a letter which is enclosed. Yet these men talk about "our" State as if they actually owned it—just as the "official" organ, which has existed not quite five months, and whose Northern editors (both drawing pay as officers in a fictitious negro regiment) first saw New Orleans exactly eleven days before last Christmas, talk about "our" city, "our" citizens, "our" intelligent negro population. Well, with them their title to such claims is certainly limited by a connexion of hours rather than months.

There was a schooner load of "registered enemies"—almost the last—sent over the Lake to join the Louisiana regiments now organizing in Mobile for the Confederate army.

President Davis is reported to be in Mobile.

I cut the following from the *Mobile Register* of May 28:—

T. J. Cridland, Esq.—This gentleman has reached this city, bringing with him the very highest credentials of private and personal worth and character. He has been a resident of Virginia for eighteen years, and by long sojourn and association has come to regard himself more at home in the South than in the English land of his birth.

We learn from him that he bears no commission as a British Consul, and of course, without a commission there can be no foundation for a Federal exequatur. He came simply to take care of the British Consular offices and archives. In his capacity of gentleman we certainly welcome him, and commend him to the civilities and hospitalities of our citizens. In his capacity as representative of Earl Russell or Lord Lyons, we still protest that he has no claim to recognition by the Confederate authorities.

The city is very dull and very warm, but healthy for the season. Large numbers of persons are going North and to Europe for the summer.

## THE CONFEDERATE STEAMERS ALABAMA AND GEORGIA.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

BARIA, May 20, 1863.

A few days since great excitement was occasioned in our little port by the arrival of the famous Alabama, which is still on her career of uninterrupted success. She came in for the purpose of discharging her prisoners, of which she had on board eighty-four, a number inconveniently large for a ship of her dimensions. Since being commissioned she has captured no less than 47 vessels, paroled 750 prisoners, and destroyed property to the enormous amount of three million one hundred thousand dollars. She has an admirably-disciplined crew, and is efficiently armed, while both officers and men express the most unbounded confidence in their intrepid commander, and their readiness to meet any vessel in the Yankee service of their size and metal.

A day or two after the arrival of the Alabama we were startled by the appearance in the harbour of another Confederate cruiser, the Georgia, Captain Maury, of whose very existence we were previously unaware. She has only been one month in commission, but already she has added another to the long list of captures effected by the infant Confederate navy, and from the appearance

of her crew and the formidable character of her armament, she bids fair to rival the achievements of her famous predecessors, the Sumter, the Alabama, and the Florida. The name of the vessel captured was the Dictator (not a bad name for a first capture), a large ship bound from the United States to China. Her prisoners were also landed here. As every particular respecting the new cruiser will doubtless be of interest to your readers, I give you the following list of her officers as far as I have become acquainted with them:—Commander, Wm. L. Maury; First Lieut., R. T. Chapman; Second Lieut., W. E. Evans; Third Lieut., — Smith; Surgeon, Wooden, of Maryland; Paymaster, Curtis; Midshipmen, Walker and Morgan,—the latter a brother of Judge Morgan of New Orleans.

The officers of both vessels expressed themselves very much gratified with the kind reception they met with from the inhabitants generally, but particularly from the Englishmen connected with the railway now being constructed, who are staying here. The latter invited them to a railroad excursion into the interior, which you may be sure was heartily enjoyed by men who for months had been cruising in deep blue water. A few nights afterwards, we gave a ball in honour of our distinguished visitors, to which all the beauty and fashion—as the newspapers have it—of the place were invited, and which proved a very decided success. We toasted and cheered the "Pirates" most heartily, and, I hope, made them feel that, though far away from home, they were among friends, who thoroughly sympathized with their noble cause and the bravery with which it was supported. Before leaving here, our ladies determined on visiting the terrible Alabama, and accordingly sent word of their intention to board her on a certain day. They found both officers and crew on the alert, and were received with a broadside of champagne corks, to which, of course, they surrendered at discretion. It must have been a novel and refreshing sight to men so long accustomed to see the decks crowded with Yankee prisoners, to find them occupied by the ladies of Bahia in rustling silks and gay attire, and in place of the heavy tramp of the sailor and the sentry, to listen to the gentle footsteps of the fair ones. I trust both officers and men of the Alabama and Georgia will carry away as pleasant recollections of our little town as they will undoubtedly leave behind them of their visit. They have the good wishes and sympathy of every one here.

We have just heard that the Florida is at Pernambuco. If she should come here the Confederates will have quite a powerful fleet, and will be able to bid defiance to the Yankee naval forces in these waters, but I fear this is too much good fortune to expect.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, June 23.

Numerous and various rumours are circulating about the diplomatic action which, it is definitively asserted, the Emperor has decided upon in regard to the affairs of America. I will not repeat to you the many stories that are afloat, but this much, I think, may be relied upon as authentic: that Mr. Slidell had an interview with the Emperor at Fontainebleau, on Thursday; that he was most cordially received, and that his Majesty assured Mr. Slidell that the conclusions he had long since arrived at, remained unchanged; that he was ready and even anxious to end the war by any diplomatic measures in which England could be induced to concur; that he was not yet prepared, at least, until another effort should have been made to gain this concurrence, to act without it. In conclusion, the Emperor is asserted to have said to Mr. Slidell that he was at that moment meditating another formal request to the English Government to join him in mediation or recognition, and that this step would be debated in the next Cabinet Council. It is now stated that the question was before the Council on Saturday, and decided in favour of addressing a formal invitation to the English Government in the sense indicated by the Emperor to Mr. Slidell. Since Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay have arrived, and on Monday had an audience at Fontainebleau. The purport of the Emperor's language is reported to have been substantially the same as that held to the Confederates' Representative.

There are some other interesting details of these two interviews, which, however, I am not at liberty to report, but which will probably soon receive full publicity. It is thought here that recognition is now nearer than it has been at any time since it was first demanded. But so many apparently well-founded hopes have been disappointed, that I do not allow myself to be too sanguine as yet.



While most of the Paris papers have given the news of the last days with comments pointing out their favourable character to the cause of the South, the *Siecle*, which is especially retained by the North—judging, at least, by the undisguised partisanship of its articles—takes advantage of the meeting lately held at Manchester to reproduce the libels which some of the reverend speakers on that occasion did not scruple to publish. Whether the English libellers spoke in better faith than the *Siecle* writers I do not know, but of the bad faith of this paper I have proof which admits of no question. I mentioned last week its attack on the “pirates of the South,” whom, not content with calling bad names, it charges by insinuation with the destruction of French vessels, when they can effect it without witnesses. This means, of course, the plunder and wrecking of the ships, but the murder also of the crews, for if these were spared, the crime could not be concealed. A letter was written to the editor by a Southern gentleman of position, informing him that these vessels were not pirates, but regularly commissioned ships of war, and this letter has neither been inserted nor noticed. If the attack had been made in good faith, the rectification would not have been refused. The French law obliges a newspaper which attacks an individual to open its columns to his justification; but when a gallant service is thus defamed, it would seem that all satisfaction can be refused. Yet the *Siecle* is not unaccustomed to eat humble pie. In yesterday's number it was obliged to publish, in leaded type, a very harshly-worded contradiction of one of its election scandals. It had already inserted a half rectification, saying that the injustice of which it accused the authorities in a small town, Condé-sur-Noireau, had not taken effect—thanks to the refusal of the committee of beneficence to carry out the suggestions made to it. The Mayor thus writes:—“This second plaint, as false as the first, will not lead the numerous readers of the *Siecle* into error, for I count upon your inserting in your next number my most energetic denial of allegations drawn from the worst sources, and all pure inventions.” They have now got hold of the story of the Leopard, the vessel which went whaling off the slave coast of Africa, and which, failing to catch the sea-serpent, was caught by an English man-of-war, to which the captain refused to show his papers. Of course, this is represented as a shocking piece of English naval tyranny. Frenchmen read and believe such stories.

Poland is still the great question of interest, and the tone of the Bourse during the last few days shows that the monied interest begins to look with some anxiety on the possible failure of the diplomatic negotiations. Nothing certain is known of the terms of the note which was sent last Thursday, but it is believed to be more nearly expressed in the same terms as that of Austria, than of England. From the language of many of the papers one might suppose that war was imminent, but this is not the opinion of the *France* of last night. Its director spent Sunday at Fontainebleau; some sort of importance attaches therefore to an article, not signed by him, headed “The War Party.” “We have a war-at-any-price party which, if it had the power, would thrust the Empire into all the risks of every foreign struggle. Its coryphæi are the *Siecle* and the *Opinion Nationale*. In their eyes the civilizing mission of France consists essentially in bidding defiance to the other Powers, in speaking only with drawn sword in hand, and setting up for the universal redresser of all wrongs. This is rashness, not policy. When we said that it was impossible for France to undertake alone the settlement, whatever it be, of the affairs of Poland, we called in question neither the Power nor the generous sympathies of our country, nor the influence its intervention would exercise. But whether it be settled by negotiation or by war, the character of the Polish question cannot change. It is not a French interest, nor an English interest, but a European one. Poland, in its present condition of oppression, is not a cause of anxiety and trouble for France, but for all Europe, whose equilibrium and peace are threatened. Its pacification must be due not to one Power, but to all the Powers united in a sentiment of justice and humanity. This agreement the French Government has at last brought about, and it is this moment that the war party chooses to counsel a policy of isolation for France, the very moment that her union with England and Austria is secured, and that the simultaneous proposals of the three Cabinets are presented at St. Petersburg. Be the issue peace or war, the cause of Poland must be that of the great Powers; and it must not lose its character of a general interest by the isolated action of one of them. This cause, defended by all Europe, offers no serious dangers; defended by France alone, it might lead to the most fatal complications, as well as to broken alliances, and might assume proportions which

cannot now be foreseen. Assuredly we are strong enough to fight and to conquer, but it is desirable that other States equally interested with us in the triumph of Right and Liberty should join us in their defence. It is desirable that they should be aroused from that attitude of platonic sympathy which characterised them in Italy and Mexico, and which secures them, at the cost of France, all the benefits of a victory without the cost of a crown or a man. When we see the journals of the militant Democracy, in accordance with the English newspapers and the correspondences from Austria, urging us to go to war alone with Russia, appealing to our generous sympathies and our national pride, it is time to reflect gravely on the position, and to ask ourselves what can be the interest that these warlike advisers have in thus urging us on.

The *France* has also an article on the reported Ministerial changes to which I referred last week. The changes contemplated, it says, are changes not of measures, not of policy, but of persons, destined to appease the emotions produced by the late elections.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, has written an answer to the circular of the Porte, regarding the Suez Canal. It is, of course, strongly in favour of the scheme, which France shows no inclination to abandon. The *Débats* of this morning publishes the letter by which Don Juan of Bourbon recognises the Queen of Spain. He has played his cards so badly in the last years, that his tardy submission, when he has not an adherent left, looks like the last throw of a desperate gamester, rather than the act of renunciation of a pretender. Having rendered him utterly contemptible, the Queen will probably assign him a pension to be enjoyed abroad, for so unstable a politician would hardly be a safe guest in Madrid.

#### FEDERAL RECRUITING IN ITALY.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

TURIN, June 22.

Sir,—There are rumours in circulation that Federal agents are at present scouring Italy in search of *chair à canon*; and it is even asserted that personal applications having been made for a voluntary exodus to the land of freedom by some Italians to the United States' Minister himself, he could not resist the temptation of accomplishing so meritorious a work, namely, of furnishing these new Don Quixotes with the means of quitting this step-mother of theirs—this ungrateful Italy—in order to repair under the protecting wings of the American bald bird. In fact, where find, on the whole face of the earth, a more tranquil and secure abode than the United States at this very moment, when every citizen lies crushed under the heel of a military dragon? I am acquainted with the fact of an Italian, who having appealed to the generosity of Mr. Marsh for the noble purpose of going to America to improve his condition, he did not appeal in vain, but got one thousand francs for his travelling expenses, and is now on his way to New York. Of course, not a word was uttered of the war during the sentimental transaction, nor any compact was entered into by parties for any pound of flesh. The American recruiting agents are too cunning to blunder so grossly, and an American Minister has too much good sense left to get himself entangled, Crampton-like, into thorny briars. Why, is there not plenty of waste land on the banks of the Potomac which might be given up to European arms for improvement? Are there not marshes and swamps around Vicksburg and Port Hudson which need being drained or filled up for sanitary purposes? To be sure there are; and that is the very thing many of our aristocratic *faiseurs* wish to do. In fact, who can ever doubt of the adaptiveness of hundreds of our city loafers to ditching and tilling the soil—they who have done nothing all their life but gambling, smoking, drinking, and making love? So it is clear they are the right stuff most wanted at this critical epoch in America, and there they are willing or induced to go, in order to dedicate all their moral and physical energies to the tilling of that virgin land. I will conclude this brief notice of Federal recruiting in Italy by the translation of an article which appeared on the same subject in one of the leading papers of this city, and call your attention to the warning given to our young men:—

Federal agents from Washington are said to be among us, hunting after volunteers. We read lately in the *London Times* that Americans of a suspicious character were busy at work in the most populous centres of the European Continent, and in England, to induce that exuberant element of idle people which largely abounds in almost every capital, to repair to America, where there is so much need of hands (*braccia*), to till the soil, and for all sorts of employment; and that there were daily arrivals at New York of one thousand emigrants, on an average, from the different ports of England, most of them Irishmen.

With this piece of news staring us in the face, we are at a loss to conceive how the English Government can permit this violation of international rights, and be so faithless to their neutrality. England ought never to forget that at the time of

the Crimean war Her Britannic Majesty's Minister was expelled from Washington by the Yankee Government for that very offence. It is evident that the American officials are recruiting among us, and it is an undeniable fact that two-thirds of these emigrants, at least, must become soldiers as soon as they land at New York, inasmuch as having no means of getting immediate food by following their respective vocations, and allured by a high bounty, no other alternative remains to them but shouldering a musket or starving.

It is whispered here that a Northern personage, residing among us, has already been furnishing some Italians with the pecuniary means of proceeding to America. We wish to believe that our laws have not yet been violated to such an extent, and we profit of the circumstance to say to our young men—“Keep aloof from this cruel war, as it has no humanitarian object; let not yourselves be enticed to become the instruments of destruction in behalf of a party who have nothing at heart but their own interest and selfish policy; consider that this same party, who now invite you to fight their battles, used to call the Italians cowards for being unable to expel the Austrians without foreign aid, and said they were only fit for using their treacherous stilettes;” and, finally, keep in mind that, by offering your arm to that party you prolong their internecine butchery and retard the enfranchisement of the valorous Southern people, who never did you harm, and who are now struggling for that same independence which it cost you so much blood and sufferings to attain.”

ITALUS.

#### RECOGNITION: THE COMING DEBATE.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Never was news from America awaited with more anxiety than now. Not only does it seem likely that the next mail will bring us tidings at least as momentous as any which have reached us since, baffled, beaten, and bleeding, the army of General McClellan was driven back through the wooded swamps of the Chickahominy to the shelter of its gun-boats on the James River, and inform us of the determination of a great crisis in the war; it is probable also that on these tidings may depend the action of England. I have more than once heard it said, within the last few days, that if before the 30th news shall reach us that the siege of Vicksburg has been raised, Mr. Roebuck's motion will be carried; and that, on the other hand, if the Confederates should, before that time, sustain a serious reverse, the success of any proposal for the recognition of their Government must be indefinitely postponed. Not, however, to delude with a false confidence readers who have at heart the interests of the South and the true interests of England, I must express my belief that the result of that motion is not merely dependent upon the American news or upon American considerations. If it were to be determined upon the merits of the question, I should feel certain of the result. But I have no sort of assurance that it will be so determined. On the one hand, I know that the sympathies of the House of Commons are strongly with the countrymen of Davis and Stonewall Jackson; that the insolence of Wilkes and Seward, the brutalities of Blenker and Butler, have made the cause of the North to stink in the nostrils of the English people, and above all of the high-bred and chivalrous gentlemen of England. On the other, I know that their very chivalry and generosity lead many of them to shrink from any step which would or might have the semblance of a violation of law in obedience to sympathy; of an unfair advantage taken of the perils and weakness of the bitterest enemies of England; and we know, too, that the Government is deeply pledged against the recognition of the South, and that, whatever the private sentiments of individual Ministers, it would be extremely difficult for the Ministry, as a whole, to assent to Mr. Roebuck's motion. Now some warm well-wishers of the South sit on the Ministerial benches; still more among them are anxious not to oust Lord Palmerston from office; and if the Government should choose to put the issue as one of “want of confidence,” I cannot be sure that the personal popularity of the Prime Minister will not outweigh the merits of the Southern cause. If, therefore, the motion should fail, I shall not impute it to the members who may be wanting to their convictions that they have any leaning towards the North, any doubt as to the merits of the case, or any notion of truckling to Northern menace and bluster; I shall hold not that they loved justice less, but that they loved Palmerston more.

The question is two-fold; it is a question at once of international law and of English policy. The advocates of recognition have to show first, that there exists the right to recognise the Government of the Southern Confederacy, and that the claim of that Confederacy to recognition involves no injustice to the North, or United States; and secondly, that recognition is in accordance both with the immediate and the ultimate interests of England. And we cannot say that either proposition seems to us difficult to prove.

Most, if not all, of the older authorities on international law openly or tacitly proclaim the right of recognition, by declaring the right of foreign Powers

\* An allusion is made here, I suppose, to a correspondence from Italy, which appeared in the *New York Tribune* in 1853, full of those slanders.



to take such part as they may think fit in a civil, or quasi-civil war. No one dreams that Elizabeth violated any principle of international law, by her negotiations with the rebel States of the Netherlands. The question is, therefore, one of precedent; one resting solely on the usage of modern times. No case in point is cited that goes back more than fifty years. And the assertion of the Federal partisans, of whom "Historicus" is certainly the ablest and best informed, is, that the recognition of a country in the precise condition in which the Confederate States are is unprecedented. And this we grant, in the same sense in which we assert that the refusal of recognition to a country so situated is also without precedent. Really, these reasoners argue as if the birth of a nation were a matter of such every day occurrence, that circumstances must be expected to repeat themselves; that not only circumstances, but the identical combination of circumstances, are likely to recur, as in the Reports of legal tribunals; and that in the multitude of such events we might always expect to find some preceding case exactly similar in all essentials to the one in hand. This is unreasonable. All that can be expected of us is to show that, all things considered, the case of the South is as strong or stronger than that of any accepted claimant. And this, I think, is not a difficult task.

First, let us take the cases of Greece and Belgium. It is admitted on all hands that the case of the Confederate States is much better than either of these. They can hold their own; which neither Greece nor Belgium could. They are more incapable of fusion with the North than Belgium of union with Holland; they have suffered as savage cruelties from the Northern invaders as Greece from the Turks; they have not been guilty, as the Greeks were, of innumerable treacherous and cowardly atrocities in return. But, it is said, the cases of Greece and Belgium are not in point. There we did not merely recognise an established Power; we also intervened to put a stop to a barbarous war. Well; and if now by recognition alone, without intervention, we can put a stop to a war equally barbarous with that between Greece and Turkey, and a far greater nuisance to ourselves than that between Holland and Belgium, will not those precedents bear us out? Is not that which is a precedent for the greater a precedent also for the less? Does not that "case in point" which justifies the whole of a series of measures in the same direction justify a part also? The instances of Greece and Belgium prove that we may recognise and intervene; do they not prove, then, that we may recognise where it is probable that recognition alone, without intervention, will suffice for our purpose?

Next let us take the case of the Spanish Colonies. They were recognised, it is said, but only after long years of war, and when there was no longer a Spanish army engaged in hostile operations on their soil. But in modern days wars are not, especially when the belligerents are strong, and close neighbours, long and slow, as in the days before the Crimean conflict; they are short, sharp, and decisive. In two years the South has done and suffered more than the Spanish Colonies in twenty. Her conquest by the North is admitted to be as utterly hopeless as the conquest of the colonies by Spain at the period of their recognition. And it is only as a proof of a still lingering probability of a reconquest, that the presence of a hostile army on the soil of a new-born nation can be pleaded in bar to its recognition. Otherwise, it is no more than the presence of an English army on Russian, or of a Russian army on Turkish soil—it is an invasion, and no more.

And if, in the almost undisputed possession of their territories, the South American colonies had the advantage over the Confederacy, they had not the title to recognition which she possesses in the stability and undisputed authority of her Government. They were a prey to factions and civil war; there is no faction in the Confederate States. They had scarcely anything that deserved to be called a Government; that of the Confederate States is as well organized, as complete in its independence, as active in its operation, as thoroughly acknowledged, and as potent in its own sphere as any government in Europe. And this advantage far outweighs that of territorial security: for what foreign Powers have to deal with, and what they are asked to recognise, is not the territory but the Government. We are not asked to define the boundaries of the Confederate States, or settle the position of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland, between the rival claimants for their allegiance. What is asked of us is simply to acknowledge the existence of a Power so describing itself, by sending an ambassador to Richmond and receiving an ambassador here. It has a great and paramount bearing on the question of recognition, therefore, whether we have to deal with a settled or a precarious and doubtful Government; it

matters very little whether the frontiers of that Government's jurisdiction are or are not ascertained. In the essential point, therefore, the Confederate States have a far better case than the Spanish colonies. The non-essential question of territory matters little, when once the impossibility of complete re-conquest is admitted.

I will not now stop to consider the hasty recognition of Texas, or to discuss the complete estoppel of all complaint on the part of the Federal Government, furnished by its own offer to recognise Hungary. The right of recognition is sufficiently vindicated already: I pass to consider the reasons why that right should be recognised by England.

In the first place, it is generally allowed that this war, as waged by the North, is a scourge, an outrage, and a scandal to the civilized and Christian world. Its bloodshed, its barbarities, its wanton destruction of property, its deliberate murders—the fiendish ferocity of those who preach, stimulate, and direct it from Northern pulpits and platforms, make European observers shudder with disgust and horror. It is pre-eminently a scourge to England; it makes her commerce on the high seas unsafe; it has cut off the best market for her produce; it has intercepted the supply of her most valuable raw material; it has destroyed the most profitable industry; it has desolated the happiest and most prosperous of her counties; it has demoralised the *élite* of her working population. *Recognition would stop the war.* The North would not, as now, feel that honour required it to continue a contest in which Europe still allowed that it might probably be successful. Those who now shrink from proclaiming their own defeat would yield gladly to the decisive verdict which would save them from that humiliation. The Northern people generally would feel that, whatever might have been the case before, the Union was dead indeed when Europe at last pronounced its "Vale, vale, in æternum vale;" and would abandon their frantic efforts, after the manner of Queen Joanna, to recalc to life the noisome and mouldering corpse. That this would be so, is felt on all sides; else why is recognition so angrily deprecated by one party, and so warmly desired by the other? It is absurd to say that in their fury the Northern States will turn upon England. In the first place, England is not likely to have to act alone; and secondly, if she did, her fleet could in a few weeks bring the Atlantic States to sue for peace, and establish at once the independence of the South on Southern terms. Therefore there is no danger in recognition; and if there were, the argument of fear has never had much weight with England. More absurd still, some pretend to think that, so far from stopping the war, recognition would rekindle it; that we should only inflame the passions of the North, and embitter its people to pursue the war more fiercely than ever against those whom England had presumed to favour. "Inflame Jacobin! You might as well talk of setting fire to Hell!" Embitter the North! You might as well talk of debauching the Devil. Is it conceivable that blasphemous ferocity can go further than that with which the Abolitionist pulpits already resound? Is it possible that curses more horrible and threats more brutal than now are heard from every platform, and read in every newspaper, can be uttered by human tongue or pen? That those threats are not fulfilled to the letter, that that ferocity is not fully gratified, is due to no relenting, no sense of shame, but only to Northern impotence, and Northern fear of retaliation; neither of which checks will act less powerfully after Europe has recognised the South.

I might say much of eventualities more or less remote; of the dangers which would arise if the North should come out of this contest, having crippled the strength of the South and retained its own; of the vast importance to England of Southern cotton for her mills, and the Southern markets for her produce; of the need she may one day have of a Southern alliance for the security of her own American possessions. But I waive these considerations; because I think, and all Englishmen think, of nothing so much as of terminating immediately, if we may do so, this horrible warfare; first, for the sake of humanity; secondly, for the sake of Lancashire and her starving people; and thirdly, lest we ourselves should be dragged into it by the intolerable insolence of the North. I conclude, then, by expressing my firm conviction, not only that recognition will stop the war, but that it will not be stopped till recognition has been accorded. The North will not be the first to proclaim the hopelessness of her enterprise. She may be beaten at every point; each joint of the "anaconda" may be separately bruised, crushed, and torn; and still the war will go on, more savage, more destructive, and more purposeless than ever a war of predatory incursions, of mischief, of murder, of vengeance, when a war of conquest finally proves too expensive. And still the blockade will be maintained, and still Lancashire

will be starving. Recognition alone will eventually end this state of things; but then, *perhaps*, recognition may have to be coupled with interference. Then, it may mean war; now, it means peace. And in the name of peace, I commend it to the Christian people of England.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

#### THE APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—I thank you for spreading upon the pages of THE INDEX, the address of a number of Clergymen of the Confederate States of America, to their Christian friends and brethren throughout the world, regarding the present cruel, and useless, and unnatural war. I was absent from Richmond when it was signed; but, inasmuch as it bears the signatures of but a few of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and I have reason to know that its facts and principles are endorsed by them all, and that such endorsement has occasioned many of them to be exiled from their homes, their churches to be closed, and their property to be destroyed by the Federal invader, I would be glad if in any way I could contribute to its circulation, or to direct attention to its statements.

And, although my own name can add no weight to such clear and plain statements on the part of men whose position and awful responsibilities afford no motives for misrepresentation, and many of whom are known as not only men of piety, but as having been very slow in receiving the stern facts they now declare, yet I would consider it a duty and a privilege to add it to the list of signatures.

Truly yours, &c.,

K. J. STEWART.

#### THE SEIZURE OF THE SHIP ALEXANDRA.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that in the month of April last, in consequence of information furnished by Mr. Adams to Earl Russell, and in pursuance of an order of the Home Secretary, a vessel known as the *Alexandra*, lying at the Toxteth Dock, Liverpool, was seized by a Custom House officer, named Morgan, under the provisions of the 7th section of the Act 59 George III., c. 69, commonly called "The Foreign Enlistment Act." The vessel had been built by Messrs. Miller and Sons, and had been launched from their building yard a month before the seizure. That Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1819, differs but very slightly from the Act of Congress passed in the previous year. It will not, however, be necessary to direct attention to any part of the Act other than the 7th section, by which it is in effect enacted, first, that any person in any way concerned in the equipment of a vessel for warlike purposes in the service or against any Foreign Power, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and be liable to fine and imprisonment; second, that such ship shall be forfeited, may be seized by officers of Customs and Excise, and may be prosecuted and condemned in the same manner as vessels may be prosecuted and condemned under the Revenue laws or the laws of trade and navigation. The case itself, in the present instance took the form of an information filed by the Attorney-General on behalf of the Crown, and came on for hearing before the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer on the 22nd day of June. Twelve persons were made defendants in the action, but only five appeared to defend, namely, H. Sillim, Henry Berthoin Preston, Jacob Willink, David Wilson Thomas, and William Thompson. These gentlemen carry on business as engineers and iron-founders under the style of Fawcett, Preston, and Co., and claimed the vessel as their property. Eminent counsel appeared on either side; the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Queen's Advocate, and two other well-known barristers for the Crown, while the Defendants retained Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor-General under Lord Derby's administration, two Queen's Counsel, and one junior barrister: The information contained 98 counts, differing only in verbal distinctions, the gist of the charge being that "the defendants did, on the 5th of April, equip the said vessel to employ her in the service of the Confederate States of America with intent to cruise and commit hostilities against the Republic of the United States of America." The defendants pleaded in effect that "the vessel was not forfeited for the causes alleged in the information." The case was opened by the Attorney-General, who, in the course of his speech, mentioned that besides the defendants, the firm of Miller and Sons, Captain Bullock, a Confederate officer, Captain Tessier, in the service of Frazer and Co., of Liverpool, and also Mr. Hamilton had more or less interfered in the building of the *Alexandra*.

Before proceeding to speak of the persons called as witnesses, and the nature of the evidence adduced, it will be well to refer to a series of questions, which the advisers of the Crown endeavoured to put, and which were objected to as inadmissible on the part of the defendants. Now it will be observed from what has been already said with regard to the 7th section of the statute that the action of the statute is twofold, in that it admits of an indictment against an individual, and also of a forfeiture of the subject-matter. The two principles involved may be and are clearly distinct, for to take an instance in the case of a breach of the Revenue Laws, the subject-matter is forfeited, but the offence is not indictable. On the other hand, it is obvious that there cannot be two trials for the same offence, one to try whether the ship is forfeited, and another to try whether the parties are guilty of a misdemeanour. Consequently, this difficulty arises, that the evidence which may be admissible, so far as the issue of the forfeiture of the ship is concerned, may be inadmissible as against the individuals who are subject to the indictment, and this very dilemma occurred at the commencement of the case. It was proposed to ask a witness whether Messrs. Miller had ever, in the presence of the witness, spoken of the vessel as the *Alexandra*. Now Messrs. Fawcett and Co. are the claimants of the vessel, and the defendants and Messrs. Miller presumably have nothing whatever to do with her. In fact, they were entire strangers. Therefore, their statements to a witness in conversation about another man's vessel could not possibly be admitted as proof of that other man's guilt, for as the Judge expressed it, "such evidence would only amount to



the admission by one man of another man's guilt." But the matter was capable of being put in quite another light, for it was contended by the Attorney-General that no question whatever was raised in the case of the guilt or innocence of the defendants, but merely of the propriety of the seizure; assuming that to be so the evidence might be admissible as tending to show the destination of the vessel, and as such it was admitted; but the Judge evidently doubted whether the assumption was correct. The original question was therefore put, and also the question whether Miller ever told the witness for what purpose the vessel was intended. The questions were answered, and Sir Hugh Cairns exercised the privilege of tendering a bill of exceptions; that is, he took exception on the point to the ruling of the Judge, in order that the question of the admissibility of the evidence may be hereafter decided before a Court of Error. In the further course of the case it was proposed to ask a witness whether Mr. Tessier, in the presence of Miller, said anything about the Oreto, in order to establish the connection of the parties engaged about the Oreto with the Alexandria, but the question was not admitted. A question, however, as to a similar conversation about the Alexandria was admitted. The Court did not allow an expert to be asked the probable purpose of the ship, nor a witness to be asked in what character Mr. Hamilton held communication with him.

The first witness called on the part of the Crown was Mr. Morgan, who stated that he acted under the Collector of Customs, and seized the Alexandria in consequence of information received from her Majesty's Government; that he had seen the ship in course of building, and that the only name on her yards was W. C. Miller. The next witness, Joseph Acton, had been a watchman for fifteen months in the employment of Messrs. Miller; previous to that date he had been a policeman, and subsequently a cab-driver; he had seen the Alexandria in the course of construction, and had often observed Mr. Bullock and Mr. Hamilton in Messrs. Miller's yard. William Bains had been dismissed the service of Messrs. Miller about three months since for misbehaviour and absence through intoxication; he had assisted in building the Oreto and the gunboats Penguin and Steady, and said that the Alexandria was like those vessels but smaller; he had seen Captain Tessier and a Mr. Mann, of the firm of Fawcett and Co., in the yard of Messrs. Miller. Evidence was given by Joseph Carter, who had left the service of Fawcett and Co. from the insufficiency of his wages, to the effect that machinery was made in Fawcett's works for a propeller boat, known as Number 2209, with which boat he identified the Alexandria; guns and gun-carriages were being prepared at the time of the making of the machinery; the guns were three in number, one large and two smaller rifled. Mr. Hamilton attended the workshop at various times. Similar evidence was given by Benjamin Hodson, who also appeared to be a dismissed servant, and who spoke to the packing of guns and carriages, the parcels being sent to the Wapping Station on the North-Western Railway, and addressed to Captain Blakely, Camden, London; he also spoke of the manufacture of shot and shell which, in his presence, had been examined by Mr. Hamilton. Captain Englefield, of her Majesty's service, and J. Neil, a ship carpenter, gave evidence as to the character and architecture of the ship. From their statements it appeared that she was 127 feet long, with a tonnage of 250 builder's measurement; her frame was of British oak, her planking of teak, and her decks of pitch pine, she might be used as a yacht, and was convertible into a man-of-war; she had stowage for a crew of thirty-three men, but no further stowage; she could carry guns, but was without any of those appurtenances which would indicate that guns were to be placed on board. Mr. Green, a ship-builder, also said that the hatchways and fore-castle were such as would be seen in yachts and small vessels of war.

John de Costa, a shipping agent and steamboat owner, and likewise, as subsequently appeared, the keeper of a sailors' boarding-house, which he had the fortune to inherit from his mother, deposed that Miller had told him that "the Alexandria was a gunboat for the Southern Confederates, and that his firm was building the vessel conjointly with Fawcett and Co. for Messrs. Frazer, the agents for the Confederate States," and that Tessier and a Mr. Wellsman, of the firm of Frazer and Co., were continually inspecting the vessel. The remaining witnesses were George Temple Chapman and Charles Randolph Yonge. The former had no profession, and to supply the want he went to Messrs. Frazer, and professed himself to be a Secessionist interesting himself in Captain Bullock's affairs and those of the Confederate Government; but his ignorance about the vessel must be presumed from his total silence on the subject. The other witness, Charles R. Yonge, a deserter from the Alabama, gave a narrative of his doings on board that vessel in the capacity of paymaster, mentioned the names of her officers, and explained at length his transactions with Captain Bullock, previous to his embarkation on board that vessel, and those with Mr. Adams subsequently to his desertion; but he was as ignorant of all that related to the Alexandria as G. T. Chapman appeared to be.

We do not think that we can describe the character of this witness better than by quoting a passage from the speech of Sir Hugh Cairns, who thus spoke of this worthy:—"How was he," said the learned counsel, "to describe that specimen of humanity 'raised,' as he said he was, in the State of Georgia? A man who began his career by abandoning his wife and children in his native country; who wormed himself into the confidence of Captain Bullock, became his private secretary, and had access to his papers; who was accepted as the companion of those engaged in the Confederate cause, and persuaded them that he shared the feelings of patriotism which actuated them; who came over to England, where he assumed the same character, and being received by Messrs. Frazer, became possessed of every secret as to the proceedings of those engaged in the war on the part of the Southern States; who accepted a commission from his native country in her service, received her pay, and distributed her money; who then became a deserter, slipping overboard on leaving the ship of which he was an officer, in order that he might, by the lying pretence of marriage, effect the ruin and plunder the property of a young widow who had the misfortune to entertain him in her house; who succeeded by that pretext in possessing himself of her property, and then took her to Liverpool, where he turned her adrift penniless in the streets; who then hurried up to London to pour into the ear of Mr. Adams, the American Minister, his tale of treachery; who had betrayed every one of his familiar friends; who denied no crime, and blushed at no villainy. This man was put forward at the end of the climax of the case on the part of the Crown, but really he was not the witness of the Crown, but the witness of Mr. Adams, the Minister of the United States. To Mr. Adams, Charles Randolph Yonge told his tale, and it was he who listened to it, instead of driving from his door the miscreant who must have polluted the very air he breathed, and who handed him over to the Crown to be

brought before a jury of Englishmen in order that they might hear the tale which the unmitigated villain told."

The Attorney-General replied on the part of the Crown.

His Lordship, in summing up, said,—This is an information on the part of the Crown for the seizure and confiscation of a vessel that was in course of preparation, but had not been completed. It is admitted that it was not armed, and the question is, whether the preparation of the vessel in its then condition was a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The information is an exceedingly long one, but the main question you will have to decide is this—whether under the 7th section of the Act of Parliament, the vessel as then prepared at the time of seizure was liable to seizure. The case you have to decide is no doubt one not merely of great importance, but really it is a momentous question, and the importance of it it is impossible to exaggerate. It is one that produces varied sentiments—sentiments of the deepest regret that such a question should have ever arisen; and I cannot help expressing the deepest, utmost anguish which one feels that such a question should have arisen by the dissension among those who are connected with us by the dearest possible ties that can bind nation to nation—a common lineage, a common language, common laws, a common literature, and, above all, by a strong desire for constitutional freedom, I, for one, protest against the doctrine that no man is to be convicted of any crime if there is any possible solution of the circumstances by an imagination of his innocence; but there must be at all times a thorough sober persuasion and satisfaction with respect to the guilt of the party accused, and undoubtedly you must act upon proof and not upon suspicion. With these remarks, I go at once to the statute under which these proceedings are taken. The statute was passed in 1819, and upon it no question has ever arisen in our courts of justice; but there have been expostions of a similar statute which exists in the United States. I will now read to you the opinions of some American lawyers who have contributed so greatly to make law a science, and, indeed, I may say an agreeable one. (His lordship then read passages from *Story* and others.) These, gentlemen, are authorities which show that when two belligerents are carrying on war a neutral Power may supply without any breach of international law, and without a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, munitions of war—gunpowder, every description of arms, everything, in fact, that can be used for the destruction of human beings. Why should ships be an exception? I am of opinion, in point of law, they are not. The Foreign Enlistment Act was an Act to prevent the enlistment or engagement of his Majesty's subjects to serve in foreign armies, and to prevent the fitting out and equipping in his Majesty's dominions vessels for warlike purposes without his Majesty's licence. The title of an Act is not at all times an exact indication or explanation of the Act, because it is generally attached after the Act is passed. But in adverting to the preamble of the Act, I find that provision is made against the equipping, fitting out, furnishing, and arming of vessels, because it may be prejudicial to peace in his Majesty's dominions. The question I shall put to you is whether you think that vessel was merely in course of building to be delivered in pursuance of a contract that was perfectly lawful, or whether there was any intention, in the port of Liverpool, or any other English port, that the vessel should be fitted out, equipped, furnished, and armed for purposes of aggression. Now, surely, if Birmingham, or any other town, may supply any quantity of munitions of war of various kinds for the destruction of life, why object to ships? Why should ships alone be in themselves contraband? I asked the Attorney-General if a man could not make a vessel intending to sell it to either of the belligerent Powers that required it, and which would give the largest price for it, would not that be lawful? To my surprise the learned Attorney-General declined to give an answer to the question, which I think a grave and pertinent one. But you, gentlemen, I think, are lawyers enough to know that a man may make a vessel and offer it for sale. If a man may build a vessel for the purpose of offering it for sale to either of the belligerent parties, may he not execute an order for it? That appears to me to be a matter of course. The statute is not made to provide means of protection for belligerent Powers, otherwise it would have said you shall not sell powder or guns, and you shall not sell arms, and if it had done so all Birmingham would have been in arms against it. The object of the statute was this—that we should not have our ports in this country made the ground of hostile movements between the vessels of two belligerent Powers, which might be fitted out, furnished and armed in those ports. The Alexandria was clearly nothing more than in the course of building. It appears that according to *Webster's Dictionary*, equipping is furnishing with arms, and furnishing is given in other dictionaries as the same thing as equipping. It appears to me that if true that the Alabama sailed away from Liverpool without any arms at all as a mere ship in ballast, and that her armament was put on board at Terceira, which is not in her Majesty's dominions, then the Foreign Enlistment Act was not violated at all. The most important evidence is that given by Captain Englefield, who gave a very moderate statement, and has been spoken of on both sides in the highest terms of approbation, and I think myself his evidence was very fair and candid.—After reading some of the evidence, his lordship said, If you think that the object was to furnish, fit out, equip, and arm that vessel at Liverpool, that is a different matter; but if you think the object really was to build a ship in obedience to an order in compliance with a contract, leaving those who bought it to make what use they thought fit of it, then it appears to me that the Foreign Enlistment Act has not been broken.

The jury immediately returned a verdict for the defendants.

The announcement of the verdict was received with a round of applause by the people who crowded the court.

The Attorney-General tendered a bill of exceptions to the direction of the learned judge to the jury.

**A SIGN OF THE TIMES.**—From one of the Harrisburg papers we learn that the soldiery in Harrisburg a few days ago burned down the negro quarter in that city and drove the negroes out of the place. This is a sign of the times. The soldiers detest the negroes. The black race are in danger of being exterminated, and so are the Abolition leaders. Beecher has already fled to Europe, directing the sale of his pictures, and Cheever, Phillips, Greeley and Garrison ought to follow him as fast as they can. Gerrit Smith is the only man of the party who foresaw in time the coming storm. It will not be necessary for him to seek safety in flight. He is all right on the record. But let the other Radical leaders look out.—*The New York Herald*

## MR. MASON A FRIEND OF ENGLAND.

In a chatty little volume, with which in our next impression we hope to make our readers better acquainted, just published, under the title of "An Errand to the South," by the Rev. Mr. Malet, Vicar of Ardeley, under the auspices of Bentley, we find a very interesting letter from the Hon. J. E. Macfarland, the Secretary of the Confederate Commission in London, bodily reproduced by the author. The letter is in reply to certain inquiries respecting Mr. Mason's ancestry, and especially the charge so frequently brought against that gentleman, of emity to England in his public career, and his connection with the so-called Fugitive Slave Law. It corrects several prevalent misapprehensions, and mentions some facts—notably Mr. Mason's agency in the restoration of the exploring ship *Resolute*—which deserve to be more widely known than they have heretofore been. The letter was, perhaps, intended only for the author's information, but we are glad of its publication and of the opportunity of inserting it into our columns:—

February 26, 1863.

My dear Sir,—In regard to Mr. Mason's ancestry, and the circumstances attending their emigration to, and settlement in America—

His first ancestor, George Mason, Esq., of Staffordshire, England, was a member of Parliament for that county; and though opposed to the policy of the Stuarts, was warmly attached to the Crown, to whose falling fortunes he attached himself during the wars of the Protectorate, and as a colonel of cavalry in the army of Charles Stuart, fought under his banner at the battle of Worcester. After that defeat, he emigrated to America in 1651, landed at Norfolk, Virginia, and subsequently established a plantation on the banks of the Potomac River, where he was afterwards joined by his family; from this gentleman Mr. Mason derives his descent in a direct line; his family having always remained in Virginia.

In the case of one whose antecedents are so purely and traditionally English, these genealogical facts would alone seem a sufficient refutation of a calumny as unjust as it is unnatural. But if other evidence were wanting to disprove an assertion which has its origin only in a distempered or prejudiced imagination, I need but recall to your recollection one of those rare acts of international courtesy so pre-eminently graceful that they must ever endure as the typical landmarks of an elevated and enlightened statesmanship. I allude to the restitution of H. R. Mason's ship the "Resolute" to the British Government, under circumstances which are yet fresh in the recollection of all.

The "Resolute," as you are aware, while engaged in a voyage of exploration of the Arctic Seas, about the year 1856, became imbedded in the ice, and having been abandoned by her crew, remained thus ice-bound until, released by the periodical thaw, she floated off several hundred miles to the south, was discovered by a New England whaler, boarded, and brought into the harbour of New London, Connecticut. The usual claim for salvage having been filed by claimants in a Court of Admiralty, she was duly condemned under a decree of that Court, the British Government generously relinquishing its title to the salvors; upon which a Senator from Connecticut offered a resolution in the Senate of the United States to have an American register granted her. At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Mason, then a Senator from Virginia, came forward with a counter-resolution that she should be purchased by the Government of the United States, and by that Government restored to the British navy. The resolution was unanimously adopted; and under an order of the Secretary of the Navy (embraced in the Act) the ship was thoroughly refitted, placed under the command of Commander Hartstene, United States' navy, with a full complement of naval officers and men, and by him restored to her original flag and ownership.

With this striking incident, which in its inception and execution reflects so much honour upon all connected with it, Mr. Mason's name stands permanently identified in the archives of the United States' Government—a fact, probably, not generally known to the people of this country.

In conclusion, I beg to advert to an error, through which a few aspiring negrofilists in Exeter Hall and elsewhere, taking advantage of the popular prejudice in this country against the institutions of the South, have denounced Mr. Mason as "the infamous author of the Fugitive Slave Law." It is thus sought to fix upon the honoured subject of this notice the popular odium here, against slavery as the originator of this act of Federal legislation, under a misconception or misrepresentation of the true circumstances attending its adoption.

A proper regard for truth and historic accuracy will excuse, I am sure, a brief reference to this most important and equitable measure.

The so-called Fugitive Slave Law was really enacted during the administration of Washington in 1793, and approved by him in pursuance of that provision of the Constitution of the United States which it recites, and which reads thus:—

"No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."—Art. iv, Sect. 2, Constitution of United States.

Such persons are placed upon identically the same footing as fugitives from justice escaping beyond the jurisdiction of one State into another, with whom they are associated in the same Article and Section. In both these cases, it is enjoined that the parties so escaping shall be delivered up to the State from whence they originally fled, and in the latter case having jurisdiction of the crime.

The provisions of this Act having been found insufficient to carry out its requirements, in consequence of the lawless interference of organized bands in the Northern States (encouraged in some instances, by State legislation) to prevent its execution, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, of which Mr. Mason was the author, entitled "An Act to amend, and supplementary to the Act entitled 'An Act respecting Fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters,' approved February the twelfth, One thousand seven hundred and ninety-three," was passed by Congress, and is, as you will see, emendatory; and was enacted with a view to the more perfect execution of the law upon which it was founded, and the terms of which it rehearses.

I trust you will excuse, my dear sir, the rather voluminous



proportions of this communication, essential to the correction of misrepresentations.

Awaiting with much interest, and anticipating much pleasure from the perusal of your forthcoming work.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

J. E. MACFARLAND.

24, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square.

THE DOVER, CALAIS, AND OSTEND MAILS are now being conveyed by the Belgian Government. Although the House of Commons refused to ratify the contract entered into by Lord Derby's Government, it appears that Mr. Churchward will not submit to the loss of his contract without a protest, and possibly an action for damages. On the arrival of the mail train from Calais on Saturday morning last, Captain Jenkins and Mr. Churchward's solicitor demanded the mails of the Post-office agent, telling the latter that the mail packet Vivid was ready to take the mails to Dover under the terms of his contract. The vice-consul replied that he had positive instructions from the Postmaster-General not to put the mails on board Mr. Churchward's boat, but to give them into the custody of the new contractors. Whereupon the mails were shipped on board the Samphire, and were brought to Dover by that vessel. Mr. Churchward's packet, the Vivid, also came to Dover, but without mails or passengers, the latter having followed the mails on board the Samphire. On Saturday evening Mr. Churchward himself attended at the Admiralty, and, on the arrival of the mails from London, informed Captain Truscott, the Admiralty and Post-office representative, that his vessels, the Vivid and Maid of Kent, were ready to take the mails to Calais and Ostend. Captain Truscott replied that his instructions were not to send the mails to Calais by Mr. Churchward's packet; and a gentleman who said he had charge of the Ostend mails formally refused to deliver the mails to Mr. Churchward. The Samphire then went to Calais with the mails and passengers for the new contractors, and the Princess Maud went to Ostend with the mails and passengers for the Belgian Government. Mr. Churchward's packet, the Vivid, also proceeded to Calais, and the Maid of Kent packet, on his account, went to Ostend. The Belgian Government have hired two English packets to carry out their new contract. At the end of six months they will have vessels of their own, and the English boats and crews will be paid off. Much dissatisfaction is expressed at the employment of foreigners for a service that has hitherto been well performed by Englishmen.

THE CASE OF EARL CARDIGAN *v.* COLONEL CALTHORPE, in which the former complained of the statement made by the latter in reference to his lordship's conduct at the famous Balaklava charge, was nearly resulting in a duel, which, if it had come off, would have been a nine days' sensation. General Brotherton, feeling himself aggrieved by the affidavit of Lord Lucan, the brother-in-law of Lord Cardigan, sent him a challenge. Duelling not being allowed at home Lord Lucan went to Paris, waited there some time, and returned to London just as the General proceeded to France. The *Army and Navy Gazette* says:—"It is understood that steps have been taken to prevent the accomplishment of the designs entertained by the generals to arrange their differences after a style which has now very much gone out of fashion."

ON Saturday last a bankruptcy case more than half a century old, was brought under the notice of one of the London Commissioners. The bankrupts were Messrs. Boldero, Boldero, Lushington, and Boldero, bankers, of Cornhill. They stopped payment in 1812, owing £473,000. The official assignee has just received a sum of £300, which he proposes to divide among creditors. It will be equal to a dividend of about one-seventh of a penny in the pound upon the total liabilities.

A CURIOUS CASE is before the French Tribunals. Madame de Civry, the daughter of an English lady, and claiming to be the natural child of the Duke of Brunswick, is suing him for an alimentary annuity of 35,000 fr. The plaintiff says that in 1825, Charles II., then the reigning Duke of Brunswick, being in London, ran away with a young lady of high position in society, named Lady Colville, and seduced her under promise of marriage. The young lady lived some months with him in Paris. The Duke then took her with him to the Duchy of Brunswick, and installed her in a chateau in the neighbourhood of the court. There, on July 5, 1826, she was confined of a daughter, who is the plaintiff in this action. The christening was solemnized with much pomp and ceremony. The register of birth states,—"In the year 1826, on July 5, at ten in the morning, Charlotte Colville, lady, aged 19 years, was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized on the 17th by the name of Elizabeth Wilhelmina. Sponsors:—1. Charles reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg; 2. His Highness William Prince of Brunswick, Duke of Als and Bornstadt, their said highnesses being represented by Major de Gressenwald, orderly officer of the reigning Duke, and the Vice-Ecuyer de Aynhausen." In 1827, Lady Colville returned to England with her daughter. The child grew up under the duke's protection. One of his chamberlains, Baron d'Andlau, was commissioned to attend to her. The revolution of 1830, which deprived the duke of the sovereignty of his states and drove him into exile, did not interrupt his parental care of Elizabeth Colville. At the age of seventeen she was placed in a school at Nancy, and there she abjured the Protestant religion in which she had been brought up. In consequence of this act the duke abandoned her. She was received by the family of De Civry, and in 1847 she married the Count de Civry in London, and the marriage was announced in the fashionable journals. The Civry family have become poor, and therefore Madame de Civry is obliged to remind the duke of his parental duties. In reply, the duke does not deny the paternity, but he says the plaintiff's mother was a Miss Munden, whom he met in the saloon of a theatre, and who used the name of Lady Colville as a *nom de guerre*. She readily consented to become his mistress, went abroad with him, and returning to England married a person named Shaw, and went to California. He had provided for Miss Colville's education, but he had not seen her since infancy. He had not quarrelled with her about the change in religion, but because she called on his agent in Paris dressed up in man's clothes. As for the "Count de Civry," the Duke avers he is no count, but a humble person of Nancy, named Collins; and the marriage was a mere speculation upon his wealth. As a defence to the action, the Duke contends the French law gives the plaintiff no claim on him; and further, that though now deposed, he is not liable in a French court for acts done at a time when he was a reigning Prince.

THE Court of Queen's Bench has for some days been engaged in the case of *Dickson v. Viscount Combermere*,

the Earl of Wilton, and the Right Hon. General Peel. The origin of this dispute dates back to 1855, when the plaintiff, Colonel Dickson, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2nd Tower Hamlets Militia. There were disputes about the mess accounts. In 1857 a regimental board of inquiry was held by command of the Earl of Wilton, Colonel commanding, and this Board charged Colonel Dickson with improperly retaining in his hands funds belonging to the mess. In 1858 Earl Wilton was sued by one of the tradesmen for £500. He imagined that the suit was instigated by Dickson, and appealed to Viscount Combermere, who was the Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets. Dickson refused to retire at the suggestion of his lordship, and declined to resign at the request of General Peel, the Secretary of State for War, but demanded a court-martial. A board of inquiry was granted, at which the Earl of Wilton, who was one of the accusers, refused to be examined. The board reported adversely to the plaintiff. This was on September 13th. General Peel, having been out of town, did not receive the report until the 21st of September, but while out of town, on the 16th, hearing that the regiment was "called out" for the 17th, telegraphed that the Colonel was not to assume the command pending the report. This message miscarried, and was not conveyed to the Colonel until he had actually assumed the command, in pursuance of orders from the Adjutant. On the 22nd of September General Peel wrote to Lord Combermere that, after due consideration of the minutes of the proceedings (although he did not think the more serious charges sustained), he had to direct that Colonel Dickson be called upon to resign, or, in case of refusal, to be displaced from his command. The Colonel refused to resign, and protested against the decision as unjust and illegal; but it was ultimately carried out in December, 1858, General Peel at the same time stating that it was based on no ground which affected the Colonel's personal character, but solely on his want of sound judgment and unremitting attention "to the interior affairs of his regiment." In February, 1859, Colonel Dickson obtained a verdict with damages against Earl Wilton, for libel, the libel complained of being his letter of accusation to Viscount Combermere. After this the Colonel applied to be reinstated, but his application was refused. In 1860 the Colonel brought certain charges against the earl, the chief of which was that he had introduced a female of improper character at the parade of the regiment. The charges were referred to a Board of Inquiry, but a written arrangement was entered into between Mr. Ducombe and Mr. Edwin James, by which it was agreed—1. That Colonel Dickson should appear before the Court of Inquiry and state that his friend, Mr. Ducombe, has recommended him to withdraw the charges made against the Earl, being satisfied with the explanations which have been given, and that the Colonel should ask leave to withdraw the same. 2. Mr. Ducombe and Mr. Edwin James, on behalf of Lord Wilton, undertake to use their best efforts with the authorities of the War-office and the Horse Guards, to restore to Colonel Dickson the position he has lost, &c. 3. Colonel Dickson having incurred a large expense, arising out of the disputes and charges against him, Mr. E. James has agreed on Lord Wilton's behalf, to pay Colonel Dickson £600 upon this arrangement being carried out. "If any publication appears connected with the charges this arrangement is null and void." The £600 was paid to and received by Colonel Dickson, but he conceived that the Earl did not use his best endeavours to obtain his restoration to his military rank and position, and in 1861 he published his charges against the earl in the form of a pamphlet. Finally he has brought the present action, in which he charges the defendants of conspiring together to effect, by means of false and malicious charges, his removal from his command.

A MEETING of the Royal Geographical Society was held on Monday night, to welcome back Captains Speke and Grant, and to hear from them a brief account of their discovery of the Nile. The President, Sir Roderick Murchison, gave a short history of our knowledge with respect to the source of the Nile until the late discoveries. He had lately learnt that the Lake Victoria Nyanza, the chief feeder of the river, was closely marked in an Arabian map of Africa, over 1,000 years old, and that Ptolemy was the first geographer who described these sub-æquatorial lakes. Many travellers in all ages, had tried to ascend the Nile, but none of them reached beyond the third parallel of northern latitude, or within 400 or 500 miles of Lake Nyanza. Captain Speke commenced his paper, "The Nile and its Tributaries, Compared," by describing the Lake Nyanza, the principal head of the Nile. This lake is situated in lat. 3 deg. S., and from that point to its debouchure in the Mediterranean, in lat. 31 deg. N., the Nile traverses a distance of over 3,000 geographical miles, or nearly one-tenth of the circumference of the earth. When he discovered the Nyanza Lake in 1858, he found it to be a large sheet of sweet water, lying about 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, and he at once felt certain that it could only be the source of some vast river such as the Nile. On returning to Unyanyembe, five degrees south of the lake, in 1861, he hit upon a new route, which led to a new lake, the Luero-lo-Urigi, now fast drying up. It is to the west and north of Karagwe that the great lake receives its largest supply of terrestrial water, through the medium of the Kitangule river, which drains off the Luero-lo-Urigi and many minor lakes. These lakes are all mere puddles compared to the Nyanza; but the Kitangule is a noble river, sunk low in the earth, like a huge canal, and measuring 80 yards across. The Mountains of the Moon, from whence the lakes derive their water, are in the middle of the rainy zone, where he observed in 1862 that no less than 235 days out of the year were more or less wet days. Captain Grant then gave an account of various affluents that join the Nile, and said that Mr. Baker and party were engaged in investigating a bank of the river that Captain Speke had not explored. The Captain afterwards, at the request of Sir Roderick, gave a statement of the peoples of the countries through which he passed. The natives are constantly at war, have no religion, and do not believe in a soul. He thinks the race is Abyssinian, with a strong admixture of the Hindoo. After the addresses were concluded, the President gave Captains Speke and Grant two gold medals, that the King of Italy had had struck in honour of the occasion. Sir Roderick also informed the meeting that the Queen took the greatest possible interest in this marvellous achievement of human enterprise. Her Majesty had specially congratulated him on the subject during her visit to the International Exhibition building a few days since.

ON Saturday last, the body of the gallant T. S. Garnett, Colonel of the 48th Virginia Volunteers, who fell in the late battle at Chancellorsville, while heroically leading the 2nd Brigade of the Stonewall Division, was followed to the tomb in Hollywood by a large concourse of citizens, the Governor, and the Public Guard. After lying in state at the capital, the body was carried to the Methodist Church, in Broad-street,

where the funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Duncan, and from thence to the Cemetery. Colonel Garnett was well known and highly esteemed by the people of Richmond. He served in the Mexican war, and, since the present war began, has discharged all the duties that devolved upon him with exemplary fidelity and usefulness. He was a gallant officer and most estimable citizen, and has fallen in defence of his country, mourned by a large circle of friends and relatives. The sympathies of the country will attend his bereaved widow and children in this their heavy affliction. They are at present within the enemy's lines. Colonel Garnett was 38 years old.—*Richmond Enquirer*, May 11.

THE BRITISH CONSULATE AT MOBILE.—Mr. Cridland, so well and favourably known during his long association with the British Consulate to Virginia, is getting a great deal more of notoriety in the papers than is agreeable to him, we are sure. The Mobile papers, noticing the recall by his Government of Mr. Magee, British Consul for that city, mention that Mr. Cridland is to be taken from this city to succeed him in his official capacity there. Upon this statement they have some earnest complaints against the recognition of any more Consular Agents bearing the exequatur of the Lincoln Government. This paper having noticed these matters, it is proper to say, as we are assured, that Mr. Cridland goes to Mobile in no official capacity whatever.—*Richmond Dispatch*, May 25.

A NEW SOUTHERN WORK ON MILITARY SURGERY.—Messrs. West and Johnson, of Richmond, have just issued a new and valuable work on military surgery, by Dr. Edward Warren, the present Surgeon-General of the State of North Carolina, and lately a professor in the University of Maryland. As its title implies, it is an epitome, and contains within a small compass a vast deal of information on the important science of which it treats.

THE ARMY AND NAVY MESSENGER.—This is the title of a new journal, established in Petersburg under the auspices of the Evangelical Society of that city, and intended for gratuitous distribution among the soldiers. It is edited by the Rev. Philip Slaughter, one of the most eloquent and accomplished of the clergy of Virginia, and a gentleman whose connection with the army and devotion to the cause give him great facilities for prosecuting the undertaking with distinguished success. The soldiers will receive this excellent religious journal without cost. The wealthy and benevolent should rejoice in the opportunity to assist as we understand they are already assisting, with a munificent hand, this Christian and patriotic enterprise.

THE editor of the Atlanta *Confederacy* is sorely puzzled to ascertain his own whereabouts. His recollection is clear that he never was in Charleston in his life, and that he has not crossed the line of the Confederacy since the war began; yet, last week he was reported as a guest of the Charleston Hotel, simultaneously in a New York paper as having been arrested in that city on his way from Canada; whilst, about the same time, a Hilton Head Yankee correspondent, reports him as having been seized and snugly caged at Port Royal. Our friend's ghost seems to be stalking abroad in advance of his demise, to annoy the enemy and draw on the hospitality of landlords.—*Charleston Mercury*.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JACKSON STATUE.

The *Richmond Sentinel*, of May 22, says:—

The contribution named in the following comes from part of a regiment composed of citizens who have not seen their homes for many months. They have been fighting their country's battles in a stranger State. But they have fought under Jackson. Joining him under General Ewell, they were with him in the glorious Valley campaign. They were with him when he fell like a thunderbolt on McClellan's right. They were with him at Cedar Run, at Manassas, at Harper's Ferry, at Sharpsburg, at Fredericksburg; and they were with him when, at Chancellorsville, the message came to him that the measure of his earthly achievements was full, and that his magnificent course was ended, his labours done. They now bring their offering—the offering of brave soldiers, who loved the hero whose lead they followed—as a tribute to his memory, and a token of their affectionate admiration. Coming from the pitance which forms the soldier's pay, it yet comes liberally, and, oh, how freely! Jackson deserves a monument built by heroes only:—

Camp 8th Louisiana Volunteers,

Near Hamilton's Crossing, May 20, 1863.

Sir,—By hands of Captain F. M. Harney, I send you the sum of \$528. This is the subscription of the staff and eight companies of this regiment, to the fund for erecting a monument to that skilful soldier and good man, over whose fresh grave the tears of a mourning people are freely flowing—the great, the immortal, the lamented Jackson. Please hand this amount over to the proper person, and oblige,

ROBERT S. FERRY,

Acting Adjutant 8th Louisiana Volunteers.

Abingdon, Virginia, May 19, 1863.

Editor *Richmond Sentinel*.—I noticed in your paper some days since a proposition to erect a monument to the memory of Stonewall Jackson. No monument is necessary to preserve his memory in the hearts of Southern people, but it is meet that a nation should show her appreciation of the services of such a chieftain as Stonewall Jackson. I, therefore, enclose you \$25, to be devoted to that object.

My own State (Kentucky) has shed some of her best blood in this war for our common independence. Cannot Kentuckians erect a monument to the memory of such men as Albert Sidney Johnson and Roger W. Hanson?

Yours,

HOMELESS KENTUCKIAN.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of June 18, are—

The Repulse at Port Hudson.

Letter from New Orleans of May 20th.

Mr. Mason and the Agent of the Northern Abolitionists.

The Struggle in the Mississippi.

The Fall of Puebla.

Retaliation.

Mr. Coningham and the Slave Trade.

Telegraphic War News from Southern Papers.

A Reply to "His oricus," No. II,

(By Judge Magrath, of Charleston.)

List of Confederate Prisoners in Fort Lafayette.



**MANCHESTER SOUTHERN CLUB.**—Gentlemen desirous of Enrolling themselves as members of the above Club can obtain their cards on application at the office, 71A, Market-street, from nine to six daily, or by letter directed as above.—By order of the Committee, W. E. STUTTER, Hon. Sec.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 62.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 2, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.  
THE ENGLISH PRESS ON RECOGNITION.  
CORRESPONDENCE FROM CHARLESTON, NEW ORLEANS, NASSAU, AND PARIS.  
THE DEBATE OF TUESDAY.  
THE ADVANCE OF THE CONFEDERATES.  
BRITISH SECURITY AND YANKEE IMPUNITY.  
THE STRATEGY OF THE WAR.  
THE MAGAZINES FOR JULY.  
THE OFFICIAL ORDER FOR THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSUL AT RICHMOND.  
AFFAIRS COMMERCIAL AND MONETARY.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

On the 14th June New York was alarmed by a report that General Lee, with 100,000 infantry and some 30,000 cavalry, had made a movement for the invasion of the North, and that the advance under General Stuart had crossed the Potomac, and occupied Hagerstone in Maryland. President Lincoln immediately called for 100,000 men to repel the invasion. The latest advices from New York inform us that the Confederate force in Pennsylvania does not exceed 4,000 men, under Generals Jenkins and Rhodes. On the 16th the Confederates took possession of Harper's Ferry, but did not hold it long. The division under General Milroy at Winchester had to retreat with heavy loss. All the guns were abandoned. The position of General Lee's army is unknown to the Federals, who are still speculating on Washington being attacked. The movements in Virginia are discussed in our leader columns.

Though we have no news from Vicksburg, we have some rumours. Per Persia we were informed that General Johnston had cut his way through Grant's lines with 15,000 men, and had entered Vicksburg. By the America we have the more probable rumour that General Pemberton is being reinforced and supplied across the Mississippi from De Soto.

The last mail brings us intelligence of the continued resistance to the conscription in the North. In Ohio a collision has occurred between the military and 500 armed insurgents, and in Indiana another enrolment officer has been shot.

On the 10th June the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote,—“Men count by hours the coming of news of the capture of Vicksburg. Hooker is felt to be again master of the situation in Virginia. The remaining life of the rebellion is spanned by hands not used to the construction of air castles.” In less than a week Mr. Lincoln made a call for 120,000 militia to repel the northward advance of the Confederate forces. If ever the Federals assert that the Confederates are not quite used up, and that the South is likely to hold out for ninety days and one hour, we shall for the moment suppose that something dreadful is going to happen to the South.

In another column will be found the official documents in reference to the revocation of the exequatur of the British Consul at Richmond. The British Consul was allowed to exercise his functions under an exequatur obtained from the Government of the United States; for at the time it was granted Virginia recognised the Federal Government as its agent in such matters, and secession did not annul any of the contracts entered into by the Federal Government on behalf of the seceding

States. The powers formerly exercised by that Government are, so far as the Confederate States are concerned, transferred to the Confederate Government, and consequently when Mr. Moore attempted to exercise consular functions beyond the State to which he was accredited, when he did that which would have called for his dismissal if Virginia had still been in alliance with the United States, President Davis had the right to cancel his authority. This will explain why the Confederate Government could revoke an exequatur they did not grant, and why foreign consuls in the Confederacy were permitted to act under exequaturs granted by the United States' Government with propriety, and without in any way compromising the dignity of the Confederate Government. The telegraphic summary per America states that “The Confederate Secretary of State has written to Mr. Mason officially, that the President's decision to revoke the British Consul's exequatur was mainly influenced by the Consul denouncing unofficially the Confederate Government as indifferent to cases of great and atrocious cruelty. These remarks referred to the enlistment, by conscription, of two British subjects, who by their acts had acquired *de facto* citizenship. Protection and respect will be continued towards foreign consuls who possessed the Federal exequatur prior to the secession, as long as they do not seek to evade the legitimate authority of the Confederate Government. But Lord Lyons assumes the power to issue instructions and exercise authority over British Consuls residing in the Confederate States, thus ignoring the existence of the Confederate Government, and implying the continuance of relations between that Ministry and British Consuls residing in the Confederate States, which existed prior to secession. This is also the assertion of a right by Lord Lyons to exercise the authority of a Minister accredited to and officially received at Richmond. The President, therefore, forbids further direct communication between neutral consuls in the Confederate States and functionaries of neutral nations residing in the enemy's country. In future all communications between the British consuls and foreign countries, neutral or hostile, must be restricted to vessels arriving from or despatched to neutral ports.”

A statement has been published of the gross amount of sales of prize vessels and cargoes condemned by the Prize Court, and sold at Key West and New York since October 1862. The number of vessels is 41, and the amount realized by the sale of ships and cargoes is \$457,466. It will be seen that the captures are not on the average of much value. Included in the list is a boat, which sold for \$30.

It is not only English merchants who are doing business with the Confederate States *via* Matamoras and Nassau. The *New York Tribune* informs us that the exports from New York to Nassau in June, 1862, amounted to \$8,000, and in March, 1863, to \$188,000; and that the exports from New York to Matamoras in June, 1862, amounted to \$16,000, and in March, 1863, to \$612,000. In this trade the Yankees have a great advantage over their British rivals. Whilst to our merchants Nassau and Matamoras are by the decree of Mr. Lincoln and the permission of Lord Russell virtually blockaded ports, they are open ports to ships from New York.

Nassau has been bombarded as well as blockaded by the Federals. On the 30th of May the steamer Margaret and Jessie, from Charleston, was chased by the United States' steamer Rhode Island, until she arrived within 250 yards of the coast. The commander of the Rhode Island, seeing that his prey had escaped, commenced firing with shot, grape, and shell. The Margaret and Jessie was shot through her bows and boiler, and forced to take to the beach. One of the firemen was wounded. The missiles from the Rhode Island tore up

the earth in various directions and seriously alarmed the inhabitants. The people of Nassau want to know if the British Government will protect them—British subjects—from a repetition of such a flagrant outrage.

The *Boston Evening Transcript* of June 19th publishes the resolutions passed by the American Protestant Association, which held its annual meeting in Philadelphia during the week ending June 13th. The meeting, we are told, “was the largest that has ever been known, there being representatives from every loyal State in the Union.” One of the resolutions passed by the “Right Worthy General Body” is thus worded:—“While we despise rebels, we hate traitors, and would a thousand times rather reason with a deluded Secessionist than bandy words with a villanous Secession sympathizer, who is the foulest whelp of sin; the man his spirit enters is undone; his soul is set on fire of hell; his heart's as black as death.”

Under date of June 3rd, Mr. Fernando Wood has written a letter in answer to an invitation to attend a State Convention to be held at Columbus, Ohio. He says: “Let us unite in one solid column for the succession of the Democratic party to power, and to drive from office the Goths and Vandals who now hold possession. \* \* We should fall back upon the time-honoured creed of the party which sustains the Sovereignty of the States—and that this Sovereignty does not recognise military coercion in the Central Government as against delinquent States.”

Mr. Lincoln has replied at great length to the resolutions passed at the meeting held at Albany, to protest against the arbitrary arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. He asserts that the South has been preparing for Secession for more than thirty years, and that he is more likely to be condemned for not sooner making arbitrary arrests. He says if he had been more prompt in his action, the leading Southern Generals would not have been able to assist the Confederates; forgetting that at the beginning of the war the North would not have tolerated his present assumption of despotic power. Mr. Lincoln very candidly admits the extent of the opposition to his rule in the North. He observes,—“Even in times of peace bands of house-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States?” Mr. Lincoln is not the first sovereign who has ruled by the aid of the military, but, perhaps, he is the first to confess that the disaffection of his subjects is so wide spread as to make the ordinary administration of justice null and void. The only precedent he adduces for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* is the conduct of General Jackson during the war between the United States and England. It will thus be seen that Mr. Lincoln is rather in advance of Mr. Vallandigham. The latter gentleman looks upon the present struggle as a civil war, the former very properly regards it as a foreign war.

Under the title of “Our Rebellion in the West Indies,” the *New York Herald*, of June 16, publishes a voluminous correspondence from Jamaica and Nassau. The correspondent, writing from the last-named place, says,—“Of course I endeavoured to obtain some information in regard to the state of popular feeling towards the North and the South in the present struggle, and the result of my observation was that the people of New Providence are decidedly in favour of the South. \* \* This feeling is shared by the blacks as well as the whites. \* \* All this may seem very strange and very repugnant; but it is very true.” The Jamaica correspondent writes:—“On my arrival here my first inquiries were directed towards ascertaining the current of



popular opinion relative to the rebellion. To my surprise, not to say disgust, I found it ran strongly in favour of the South. Since then I have conversed with men of all shades of complexion, and among them I have met very few indeed who have not expressed, in the strongest manner, their sympathies towards the South. All this greatly surprised me. As a matter of course I was prepared for a few of the white inhabitants being in favour of the rebellion; but the feeling on the part of coloured men took me quite aback." In an editorial on this subject, the *Herald* declares that the preparations of England to defend the West Indies "will not save them from a just retribution. When our internal strife is ended we shall pay attention to matters outside. We shall then have two great armies at our disposal, henceforward to be united; and these troops will be far happier to find employment in annexing the West Indies than to be fighting against each other in an unnatural, fratricidal war." Happily the North will not have the South to aid her in her crusade of revenge and territorial aggrandisement.

"Kings, donkeys, and post-boys never die, but happily for mankind mayors are not necessarily immortal." So writes the *New York World* in reference to the conduct of Mayor Opyke, at a meeting to welcome home two New York regiments. On that occasion a judge happened to suggest that peace was highly desirable, and instantly Mayor Opyke burst forth into a tirade of which the burden was war, and nothing but war, unto the bitter end. Mayor Opyke is a large Government contractor. He can, however, be pleasant and even humorous on what he deems fitting occasions. At a dinner given to General Meagher, he proposed as the toast of the evening,—"The health of our distinguished guest, General Meagher. May his life and faculties long be spared, that he may use his eloquent voice, and pen, and sword, in defence of civil liberty." An eloquent sword is a novelty, and Mr. Opyke is evidently under the impression that General Meagher may outlive his faculties. It was hardly polite to tell him so.

#### ENGLAND.

The time of Parliament and the attention of the country have this week been occupied almost entirely with foreign and chiefly with American questions. Mr. Bernal Osborne, with some assistance from the Irish members, contrived to waste many valuable hours on a discussion touching the existence, revenues, and privileges of the Established Church in Ireland; but the subject was felt to be a bore, and everybody was heartily glad when it was shelved by the adjournment of the House. One good result came of the debate, viz., that Mr. Osborne was convicted of such unusual ignorance and inaccuracy as must materially damage the effect of any future harangues he may deliver on this or any other question. But this hardly repaid the House of Commons for sitting till daylight, with an attendance of over 300 members to listen to a discussion which could not possibly have any practical termination. The Public Works Bill, intended to provide employment for a large part of the able-bodied unemployed population of the manufacturing districts, has been sent up to the Lords. The Ionian Islands, and New Zealand, have each furnished material for discussion in the Upper House: and a not uninteresting conversation took place between the Marquis of Clanricarde and Earl Russell upon the seizure of English ships by American cruisers. A more important discussion on the same subject took place in the House of Commons on Monday evening, when Mr. Peacocke complained indignantly of the seizure of British vessels on their way to neutral ports in violation of distinct rules of international law. The reply of the Solicitor-General was chiefly directed to excuse the conduct of the Federal Government by pointing out the very peculiar position of the port of Matamoras, and the facility with which a vessel lying there might actually unload and land her goods on the Texan coast. No member of the Government attempted to answer the very pertinent remark of Mr. Fitzgerald, that numberless illegal seizures have been made, with a view to prevent the prosecution of a lawful trade, and that this is in a great measure due to the conduct of the English Government, which has carefully avoided any distinct assertion of the rules of international law, and of its intention to enforce them.

On Tuesday evening the great Parliamentary event of the week occurred. The speech in which Mr. Roebuck advocated the recognition of the Confederate States was remarkable for truthfulness and courage, and his denunciations of the hypocrisy which pretends to see in Southern Slavery a reason for sympathising with and tacitly encouraging the North, were scathing and effective. The whole of his speech, save that part which referred to his interview with the Emperor of the French, was cordially received. He was attacked by Lord R.

Montagu, with a fierceness which seemed to indicate that that peculiarly silly young gentleman had taken to himself Mr. Roebuck's severe animadversions on the ignorance of those who interrupted him with various discordant noises. But we are afraid that such accurate self-appreciation as this would imply is beyond the capacity of a man so vain and so exceedingly empty-headed as Lord R. Montagu. Mr. Gladstone spoke well, of course, but in a tone and with a gentleness which unmistakably showed that his personal feelings were in favour of the motion. The speeches of Mr. Forster and Mr. Bright were equally characterised by hostility to Mr. Roebuck, and passionate devotion to the North; but while Mr. Bright railed in his usual style of vituperative eloquence, and provoked frequent bursts of laughter and expressions of disgust, Mr. Forster spoke with an air of dignity and candour which made a favourable impression on all who heard him. Lord R. Cecil was too frequently disconcerted by the vexatious interruptions to which he was subject, to speak as well as usual. Two things were made abundantly plain by the demeanour of the House: first, that the passions of the Northern party are wrought up to a pitch which is the proof and presage of approaching disaster; and secondly, that, whatever may be the vote, the sympathy of a vast majority of the House goes with the motion.

The Brigade of Guards in which the Prince of Wales is a colonel had the honour of entertaining him and the Princess at a magnificent ball in the picture galleries of the Exhibition building, which had been splendidly and most expensively decorated for the occasion. The fête was one of the most tasteful and successful on record; and the courtesy and affability of His Royal Highness have endeared him still further to his brother officers.

A great Conservative banquet was held the same evening—Friday—the inviters being the Conservative Registration Society, and the chief guest Mr. Disraeli, who reviewed in an interesting speech the past history and present position of the party. It seems to have been considered that, as a matter of etiquette, the chiefs of the party in the Upper House ought not to appear; and accordingly neither Lord Derby nor the Earl of Malmesbury were present. The festival is one among many indications that the Opposition is gathering strength and courage for a new conflict.

Sir Joshua Jebb, the chief director of convict prisons in England, and the author and upholder of the present unpopular system of prison-discipline, was taken suddenly ill on the top of an omnibus, was taken down at Charing Cross, and almost immediately expired. His successor has not yet been appointed.

#### EUROPE.

The Emperor of the French has given another signal illustration of his remarkable sagacity, and his constant solicitude for the welfare of his people. He has addressed a letter to M. Rouher, the new President of the Council of State, in which he points out the grave inconveniences which result from the system of centralization at present obtaining in France—a system which, as De Tocqueville has shown, is no creation of 1789, but the perpetuation and development of one existing under the ancient régime—and the urgent necessity of reforming it. "Formerly," the Emperor observes, "the incessant control of the administration was not, perhaps, without reason, but at present, it is no longer anything but an hindrance. Now, indeed, is it to be comprehended that a communal business of secondary importance, and giving rise besides to no objection, requires an examination of at least two years, thanks to the compulsory intervention of eleven different authorities?" "The more I think of this state of things," adds the Emperor, "the more I am convinced of the necessity of a reform;" and he charges the Council of State to undertake the work, the difficulty of which he fully recognises, whilst he suggests the plan of action. The Emperor has often shown how far he is in advance of his people, and how worthy he is to be their leader, but never more than in this effort to relieve France of that curse of bureaucracy and centralization which has always made her political liberties a mockery and a delusion. If he could only effect this reform he would have a title to the undying gratitude of France, and of all nations which desire the development of real liberty.

The Ministerial modifications have been followed by several changes in the lower ranks of the official hierarchy, the details of which have no interest out of France. We may note, however, that M. Rouland, the late Minister of Public Instruction, has been provided for by the Vice-Presidency of the Senate. The *Morning Herald*,

which has often proved itself well informed of the Emperor's intentions, announces that M. Walewski will resume the Ambassadorship to the Court of London, and that M. de Persigny will replace the Duke de Montebello at St. Petersburg.

The Emperor has given another proof of his trust in the great principles of political economy. A new decree proclaims entire freedom in the baking trade of Paris from September next. Hitherto the number of bakers and the price of bread have been determined by the prefect of the Seine, and the price has often been kept down by large subsidies from the municipal exchequer. In future any person may establish himself as a baker, the public and the bakers are to settle the price between them, the prefect interfering no further than to take precautions that the bread is of good quality and that the purchaser obtains his fair weight.

The recent Ministerial changes have given general satisfaction. They are regarded as another pledge of the Emperor's determination to "crown the edifice with liberty."

The notes of the three Powers have arrived at St. Petersburg, but no answer has yet been given to them. Indeed, if the Russian Government deems them worthy of any consideration at all it cannot yet have determined upon its reply; and it is likely that some days, if not weeks, will elapse before that reply reaches the Allied Powers. The *Memorial Diplomatique*, which proved itself well informed as to the character of the allied propositions, declares that Russia will accept the preliminary bases of the notes of the allies, but it is quite evident that the allied Governments themselves do not entertain this confidence, and if Russia accepts the proposition the Poles will not. The *Morning Post*, which is vehemently preaching war, and thus throwing into a state of intense excitement continental *quidnuncs*, who attach immense importance to its declarations because they believe that it speaks for Lord Palmerston—says that the National Government of Warsaw has announced that the insurgents will continue the struggle except upon three conditions: 1. That the armistice should extend to the kingdom of Poland as it existed before the partition of 1772. 2. That a plenipotentiary of the National Government should be admitted to the conference, to defend the interests of Poland. 3. That a National Diet composed of delegates from all the Polish provinces, as well as the kingdom of Poland, should assemble under the guarantee, not only of Europe, but of the national army which occupies all the frontiers. If the Poles insist upon these conditions, and we have no doubt that they will do so, even although they do not entertain the slightest hope of success, all chance of arrangement is at an end. The *Post* admits it, and insists that England and France should go to war for Poland, or, at least, blockade the Russian fleet in the Baltic, whilst Austria allows the exportation of arms in Galicia, measures which it, oddly enough, says would not be war but, thanks to which, it contends, the Poles could conquer their independence. The prospect would be dark indeed if our contemporary in these suggestions represented the ideas of the Government, but the language of Earl Russell in the House of Lords and elsewhere precludes the supposition.

Meanwhile the insurrection is only sustained by the hope of intervention. All the reliable intelligence from Congress Poland and Lithuania describes the insurrection as at its last gasp. The immense forces of the Russians have naturally triumphed over an insurrection which from the first has had to encounter the hostility of nine-tenths of the population.

We suggested last week that the instructions to General Mouravieff, supplied by a French telegraphic agency and greedily accepted by the English and French newspapers as genuine, must be fabricated. A despatch from Prince Gortschakoff to the Russian diplomatic agents shows that the suggestion was correct. These pretended instructions were an invention of the Polish National Government or its agents abroad, designed to intensify the feeling of Western Europe against the Russian Government. It is clear, however, that whatever may have been Mouravieff's instructions, he is acting with great severity. The stories of the Poles are grossly exaggerated, but there is a large foundation of truth at the bottom.

The French papers publish a protest of M. Felinski, the Archbishop of Warsaw, against the execution of Father Koninski, which he designates as a violation of ordinary justice and of canonical laws. The Archbishop goes farther, and "to guard against future dangers," lays the province under an interdict in which an archbishop or a bishop should be arrested, and a proportionate



extent of territory under the same interdict, according to the rank of any priest arrested, exiled, outraged, or killed. No wonder if this document be genuine that the Archbishop was sent off at once to St. Petersburg.

Mademoiselle Poustowitloff, the *aide-de-camp* of Langiewicz, has disappeared from Prague, and the Austrian authorities cannot find out what has become of her. Let us hope that the young lady's abrupt departure will not put a stop to the action she has brought against a German editor for describing her as the mistress of her General. Langiewicz whose escape had been reported, is safe in Josephstadt.

Both Houses of the Austrian Reichsrath have been discussing the address to the Crown. The Tscheque (Bohemian) members of the Lower House have resigned their seats, on the ground that their consciences would not allow them to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly. The fact is, that the Tscheques have the Panslavist craze and dream of a great Slavonic nation, which should include Russia, Poland, Bohemia, and several more provinces of Austria, and they are disgusted with the Poles for preferring their Polish nationality to the great Panslavist empire. The speakers in the Lower House expressed themselves strongly in favour of justice to Poland, but as strongly against any impairment of the dignity of the Austrian empire. Austria will gladly see Russian-Poland enjoying the same liberties as Galicia, but she will never give up Galicia to an independent Poland.

The Hereditary Prince Frederick Ferdinand of Denmark, uncle to the present king, and heir to the throne died suddenly on Monday evening, in the 71st year of his age. The Prince, who was married to a daughter of Frederick VI., of Denmark, died childless; and Prince Christian, the father of the Princess of Wales, and the King of Greece, becomes hereditary Prince and heir to the throne.

The members of the Landsting—the Upper House of the Rigsdag or Parliament for Denmark proper, are elected for eight years—one-half of the House being elected every four years. The election has just taken place, and has resulted in the triumph of the Democratic party—a party which warmly supports the recent policy of the Government with respect to Holstein and Schleswig.

#### BRAZIL.

THE award of the King of the Belgians on the case of the Forte has been published. It is decidedly favourable to Brazil. King Leopold says:—"That it is not shown that the origin of the conflict was the act of the Brazilian agents, that the officers at the time of their arrest did not wear the uniform of their rank, and that in a port frequented by so many foreigners they could not expect to be believed upon their mere word when they declared that they belonged to the British navy; that once arrested, they ought to have submitted to the existing laws and regulations, and had no right to require any treatment different to that which would have been applied in similar circumstances to other persons; that as soon as their social position was established measures were at once taken to secure them special consideration, and that their unconditional liberation was then ordered; that the functionary who ordered their release was prompted by a desire to spare them the disagreeable consequences which, in conformity with the law, must necessarily have been entailed upon them from further proceedings." And he concludes thus:—"We are of opinion that in the mode in which the laws of Brazil have been applied towards the English officers, there was neither premeditation of offence nor offence to the British navy."

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JUNE 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.  
No business of public interest was discussed.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.  
A conversation took place concerning the promised court-martial on Colonel Crawley, and the recall of witnesses from India—a proceeding condemned by Mr. Bentinck as unprecedented, unjust, and involving a censure on the officers of the Indian army.—Lord Hartington and Sir G. Grey defended the course taken by the Government.—Sir J. Fergusson argued that an inconvenient precedent would be set, if public opinion should hereafter insist on offences committed in India being tried by court-martial in England.  
In answer to Mr. Bright, Mr. Layard said that the award of King Leopold in the case of the Forte had been received, and would be laid on the table.  
In answer to Mr. H. Vivian, the Marquis of Hartington said, that when the Enfield rifle was adopted for the Government pattern, it was the best small arm then in existence, and it was still a useful and serviceable weapon. Experience of the small-bore Whitworth rifle had, however, determined the War Office to give it a trial, and they had ordered it to be sup-

plied to the Rifle Brigade and the 60th Rifles, in all eight battalions. Two thousand breech-loading rifles had also been ordered for distribution among the troops in all parts of the world, not for actual service, but for trial under every possible variety of condition and circumstance.

The House then went into Committee of Supply, and several votes were passed.

In Committee on Public Works in Manufacturing Districts the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution to the effect that the commissioners of the Treasury be authorised to issue out of the Consolidated Fund an amount not exceeding £1,200,000 upon security of local rates, for facilitating the execution of public works in certain manufacturing districts. The right hon. gentleman observed that it would not be necessary to ask any further powers than those which were already in existence for the purpose of raising the money. The public balances were in such a state as to have enabled the Treasury to pay off more than £2,000,000 of Exchequer Bonds and Bills, and still leave an adequate margin for the ordinary expenditure of the country. They had the power of re-issuing if necessary a million of Exchequer Bonds and a million of Exchequer Bills within the financial year. Thus there was no difficulty in providing the £1,200,000 mentioned in the resolution; and so far as he could judge it was possible that he should not be obliged to issue a very large portion, if any, of those bonds and bills. The vote was agreed to, and the other orders having been disposed of, the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 26TH.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Brougham asked Earl Russell if he would communicate to the Spanish Government the report of Commodore Wilnot in reference to the slave trade. The noble and learned lord expressed his sorrow to perceive that that Government had not yet abolished the slave trade, notwithstanding that they had received £500,000 compensation for doing so, nevertheless 23,000 slaves were imported annually into Cuba. Earl Russell said he had no objection to forward the report referred to. The Spanish Government, however, were doing something to suppress the slave trade, although he admitted they were not as active as they might be.

In reply to the Marquis of Clanricarde, Earl Russell said,—I should say that a report which appears to be authentic of the judgment in the case of the Dolphin was received yesterday evening at the Foreign Office. I think it right that all these cases should be watched. I find the doctrine there relied on is one laid down by Lord Stowell, and Sir Wm Grant; but whether it was rightly decided, considering the circumstances of the case is another question, upon which I offer no opinion. With regard to the question, whether any communication has been made to the Government of this country by the Government of the Emperor of the French, suggesting the recognition of the Southern States of America, I beg to say that no such communication has been received. With regard to the general subject of recognition, I do not think that the circumstances have much altered since my noble friend, Lord Stratheden, brought it forward on his motion in this House. I still incline to the opinion I then stated.

The House shortly afterwards adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 26.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met at twelve o'clock. The report of the Committee on Public Works in the Manufacturing Districts being brought up, Mr. Bentinck expressed great dissatisfaction with the recent conduct of the manufacturers, some of whom have taken advantage of the present season of idleness and cheapness of machinery, to enlarge their mills.—He was answered by Mr. Turner, member for Manchester.—Mr. Ferrand followed in abuse of the manufacturers, urging that emigration was the fit remedy for the distresses of the operatives.—Colonel Patten and Mr. Villiers defended the manufacturers.—The Speaker then left the chair, and the bill passed through committee.—The sitting was then suspended till six o'clock; after which time the House was occupied with a discussion on the case of Jesse McLachlan, deprived by the Home Secretary, after being convicted of murder, and a dissertation of portentous length upon the Irish Church, by Bernal Osborne. The former led to no result, and the latter was followed by an adjournment of the debate.—The House adjourned at twenty minutes past one.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 29.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A short discussion took place on New Zealand, a petition being presented by Lord Lyttelton in which the distresses consequent upon the native war were strongly set forth. The Duke of Newcastle said that the war had been brought about by the policy of the Colonial Government, and that in spite of it the colony was growing in wealth and prosperity. Lord Grey expressed his fear that the Colonial Constitution was incurably defective. The subject dropped, and the House soon afterwards adjourned.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 29.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Some time was occupied with a discussion on the Public Works (Lancashire) Bill, and Mr. Bentinck and Mr. Ferrand again took occasion to ventilate their peculiar views in hostility to the manufacturers and in favour of emigration. The amendments made in Committee were finally agreed to.

On report of supply, Mr. Peacocke called attention to the stoppage of our trade with neutral ports by United States' cruisers, and to the decisions of the American prize courts; and invited the Government to furnish the House with its definition of what was a lawful traffic. According to international law no neutral vessel sailing under a neutral flag, and going from one neutral port to another, was liable to capture, whatever her cargo might be; but several cases had occurred in which English vessels had been seized by United States' cruisers on their voyage from English to other neutral ports. The hon. member urged upon the Government the necessity of employing greater vigilance for the protection of our commerce on the high seas.—The Solicitor-General said that Matamoras being a frontier town separated by a river from Texas, it was clear that vessels bound thither, whatever their papers might set forth, had opportunities of landing contraband on Texan territory. The doctrine of the law was clear, that if the cargo was destined to be landed on the neutral, or Mexican side, there could be no ground for the confiscation of the vessel, and that doctrine had been admitted by the prize courts, amongst other cases, in that of the *Will of the Wisp*. The practice of the American prize courts was identical with that of this country, from which in fact it had been borrowed in the time of Lord Stowell; and thus far her Majesty's Government had no reason to complain of the decisions of those tribunals.—Lord R. Cecil complained that, in the American prize courts, the captor was both plaintiff and judge; and said that, although we ought of course to listen to their decisions, it was nevertheless the bounden duty of the Government

to watch them with special care. Not only had they inflicted injustice upon individuals, but they had made tremendous strides in the assumption of a right to capture peaceful traders. They had actually asserted that, if a vessel left England to go to a neutral port, and there was proof that it was intended at that port to sell the vessel, remove the cargo, pay off the master and crew, and subsequently use the vessel to run the blockade, a cruiser might seize and sell her.—Mr. Cobden condemned the system of blockade *in toto*, but observed that, although it had in this instance inflicted upon England greater injury, in an economical sense, than that which the two belligerents had done to each other, it should be remembered that it was no more than our own principle applied with some severity to ourselves. It was notorious that there was a great contraband trade going on with Nassau, and under those circumstances we had no alternative but to accept that which was an inevitable inconvenience.—Mr. Fitzgerald regretted these continual discussions on the decisions of the American prize courts, because English ministers of state and English law Officers of the Crown were presented to the house in the novel position of defending every step taken by the American Government, and doing everything they could, so far as their speeches in Parliament were concerned; to injure the case and ignore the rights of British merchants. The complaint was that fair and legitimate trade had been repressed by repeated seizures, for which there was no justification, and he contended that the trade between Matamoras and Nassau was perfectly legitimate. He blamed her Majesty's Government for having allowed Mr. Seward to lay down doctrines that were contrary to international law, without remonstrance or explanation, or declaring that they were new doctrines and England would not submit to them. The fact was that the great object of the United States Government was to put down the vast trade which had sprung up between the British port of Nassau and the Mexican port of Matamoras. He condemned that course of policy, which throughout had exposed British subjects both to loss of property and to acts of injustice such as the crew of the *Peterhoff* had been subjected to.

The remainder of the evening was chiefly spent in a resumed discussion on the Irish Church, which was finally got rid of by the adjournment of the house at twelve minutes to three.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 30.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Earl Russell stated in reply to the Earl of Shaftesbury, that an order had been issued by General Mouravieff imposing a fine upon ladies wearing mourning in Poland, but there was no truth in the assertion that those who were unable to pay the penalty were to be subjected to the punishment of the knout.

In answer to Lord Stratheden, Earl Russell said that the French ambassador had that evening called upon him, and informed him that there was no truth in the rumour that the French Government intended to make any communication to Her Majesty's Government in reference to mediation between the Northern and Southern States of America.

The Earl of Derby called attention to the probable session of the Ionian Islands, on the impolicy of which proceeding he commented in strong terms.—It was defended by Earl Russell and the Duke of Newcastle, and condemned by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.—The subject soon after dropped, and the House adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 30.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The morning sitting was occupied with a discussion on the Irish Fisheries Bill.

On the resumption of business in the evening, Mr. Layard stated, in reply to Mr. Horsfall, that the ship *Gibraltar*, bound for Nassau from Liverpool, was in fact no other than the notorious *Sumter*. Having arrived at Liverpool, it was reported to the Government that she was shipping guns of heavy calibre. Mr. Adams, the United States' minister, had also called attention to the fact after the Government were aware of it, and a clearance was refused by the Custom-house officers, but not at Mr. Adams's instigation. It subsequently appeared that the guns were not suited for the armament of the vessel itself, and under these circumstances the law officers of the Crown had expressed an opinion that the clearance papers should be issued.—Mr. W. E. Foster inquired whether any communication had been received by the Foreign Office from the French Government relating to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.—Mr. Layard said that since last autumn no communication whatever, either with regard to recognition or armistice, or anything of the kind, had up to this moment been made to Her Majesty's Government by the French Government.—Mr. Roebuck moved that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to enter into negotiations with the great powers of Europe for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of North America. He maintained that precedents established our right to recognize the Confederate States, and that it was our interest so to do. At the present moment there is exhibited a phenomenon never seen in the history of mankind. Ten millions of civilized men, producing three of the great necessary commodities of Europe—cotton, sugar, and tobacco—are thrown upon the world for customers. They have cut their connexion with the North. They have said to England, "We are producing all you want in the shape of cotton, producing nearly all you want in the shape of sugar and tobacco. Thousands,—nay, nearly a million, of your people are suffering from the want of these very commodities which we can supply. We offer ourselves to you as customers." Are we not prepared to accept that offer? What is it that prevents our recognizing these States? I look at the Treasury bench, and sorry am I to observe the absence of the noble lord who is really the Government. (Cheers from both sides of the House.) I ask those hon. and right hon. gentlemen what is it that is in the minds of those who want us to refrain from accepting this great boon to England, and doing this great justice to America? We are met by the assertion, "Oh, England cannot acknowledge a State in which slavery exists. Indeed, I ask, is that really the case—and is any man so weak as to believe it? (A laugh, and "Hear, hear.") Have we not acknowledged Brazil? Are we not in constant communication with Russia? And is there not slavery in both those countries? (Cheers.) Moreover, does anybody believe that the black slave would be at all improved in his condition by being placed in the same position as the free black in the North? (Hear, hear.) I ask whether the North, hating slavery, if you will, does not hate the slave still more? (A few "Noes," drowned in cheers.) I pity the ignorance of the gentleman who says "No." (Laughter.) The blacks are not permitted to take an equal status in the North. They are not permitted to enter the same carriage, to pray to God in the same part of the church, or to sit down at the same table with the whites. They are like the hunted dog whom everybody may kick. (Hear, hear.) But in the South the



feeling is very different. (Hear, hear.) There black children and white children are brought up together. ("No.") I say it without fear of contradiction from any one whose contradiction is worthy of notice. (A laugh, and "Hear.") In the South there is not that hatred, that contempt of the black man which exists in the North. (Hear, hear.) There is a kindly feeling in the minds of the Southern planters towards those whom England fixed there in a condition of servitude. England forced slavery upon the Southern States of America. (Hear, hear.) It was not their doing. They prayed and entreated England not to establish slavery in their dominions, but we did it because it suited our interests, and the gentlemen who now talk philanthropy then talked the other way. (Laughter, and a cry of "They were not living then.") No but their ancestors were, and we have the same class now-a-days, with the same sort of cant and hypocrisy. (Cheers and laughter.) Every man who has studied the question will distinctly understand the difference between the feeling of the Northern gentleman and that of the Southern planter towards the black. (Hear, hear.) There is a sort of horror, a sort of shivering in the Northerner when he comes across a black. (Hear, hear.) He feels as if he were contaminated by the very fact of a black man being on an equality with him. (Hear, hear.) That is not the case in the South. I am not now speaking in favour of slavery. (Cheers.) Slavery to me is as distasteful as it is to the member for Birmingham; but I have learnt to bear with other men's infirmities (a laugh), and I don't think every man a rogue or a fool who differs from me in opinion. (Cheers and laughter.) But though I hate slavery, I can't help seeing the great distinction between the black in the North and his condition in the South. I believe that if to-morrow you could make all the blacks in the South like free negroes in the North, you would do them a great injury. (Cheers.) The cry in the North in favour of the black is a hypocritical cry (cheers), and to-morrow the North would join with the South and fasten slavery on the necks of the blacks if the South would only re-enter the Union. (Cheers.) But the South never will come into the Union, and—what is more—I hope it never may. (Hear, hear.) I will tell you why I say so. America, while she was one, ran a race of prosperity unparalleled in the world. In eighty years not America, but Europe, made the Republic such a Power that if she had continued as she was a few years ago she would have been the great bully of the world. (Cheers.) I say, then, that the Southern States have vindicated their right to recognition. They hold out to us advantages such as the world has never seen before. I hold, besides, that it would be of the greatest importance that the reconstruction of the Union should not take place. Then comes the question,—has the time arrived for recognition? I want hon. gentlemen to tell me why the time has not arrived. At the present moment a large portion of our population are suffering in consequence of the cotton famine. That is one reason why the time has come for the recognition of the South. Next I say the time has come because the Southern States have vindicated their right to be recognised. Moreover, they offer to us a boon such as the world has never known, but they are driven to be a manufacturing people. They are making their own guns, and if you keep them much longer in their present condition they will produce their own cotton and woollen goods. Thus interests will grow up which they will be obliged to protect, and we shall have the protective system introduced into the Southern States of America. (Hear, hear.) That is a matter deserving of attention—a matter which any statesman, if I could see one (a laugh), would take into his consideration. (Hear, hear.) Such is the state of things at the present moment. The South offers to us perfect free trade; but if we allow this contest to go on, if we cover, as we have done hitherto, before the North, the Southerners will soon become a manufacturing population, and the boon will be withdrawn from us. (Hear, hear.) But, if they ought to be recognised, and if the time has come, is the mode I propose a right one? The mode I propose is that this House should pray the Queen to enter into communication with the great Powers of Europe with a view to the recognition of the South. Now, the great Powers of Europe really mean France. (A laugh.) No other Power, with the exception of Russia, has a fleet that we need think about, and we know that Russia is not at present in a position to do anything. France is the only Power we have to consider, and France and England acknowledging the South there would be an end of the war. (Hear, hear.) Here I am obliged to enter into a sort of personal history. I hope the House will excuse me for doing so. (Hear, hear.) What I am going to say is that I know certain things about the state of the mind of the great French ruler which I am authorized to lay before this House. The Emperor of the French said, and he gave me authority to repeat it here, "I gave instructions to my Ambassador to say that my feeling was not, indeed, exactly the same as it was, because it was stronger than ever in favour of recognizing the South. I told him also to lay before the British Government my understanding and my wishes on this question, and to ask them still again whether they would be willing to join me in that recognition." (Hear, hear.) Now, sir, there is no mistake about this matter. I pledge my veracity that the Emperor of the French told me that. (Hear, hear.) He told me that the thing had been sent to Baron Gros. (Hear, hear.) And to tell me that the British Government does not know that that has occurred must mean some evasion, some diplomatic evasion. It can't be the truth, (Hear, hear.) And if there be contradiction, as the judges say, between the witnesses, I pledge my veracity for what I state. I don't believe the world will doubt my word (cheers), and I pledge my word that that is the truth as far as I am concerned. And—what is more—I laid before His Majesty two courses of conduct. I said, "Your Majesty may make a formal application to England." He stopped me and said, "No, I can't do that, and I will tell you why. Some months ago I did make a formal application to England. England sent my despatch to America. (Hear, hear.) That despatch, getting into Mr. Seward's hands, was shown to my Ambassador at Washington. It came back to me; and I feel that I was ill-treated by such conduct. (Loud cheers from the Opposition.) I won't (he added), I can't subject myself again to the danger of similar treatment. (Hear, hear.) But I will do everything short of it. I give you full liberty to state to the English House of Commons my wish, and to say to them that I have determined in all things,—and I will quote his words—"I have determined in all things to act with England; and more than all things I have determined to act with her as regards America." (Hear, hear.) Well, sir, with this before us, can the Government be ignorant of this fact? I do not believe it. With this before them, are they not prepared to act in concert with France? Are they afraid of war? War with whom? With the Northern States of America? Why, in ten days, sir, we would sweep from the sea every ship. ("Oh.") Yes, there are people so imbued with Northern feeling as to be indignant

at that assertion. (Hear, hear.) But the truth is known. Why, the Warrior would destroy their whole fleet. ("Hear," and a laugh.) Their armies are melting away; their invasion is rolled back; Washington is in danger; and the only fear which we ought to have is lest the independence of the South should be established without us. (Hear, hear.) There is another observation which I have to make, and which I wish again to present to the minds of such hon. gentlemen opposite as are capable of understanding it. (Laughter.) It is this: A large portion of our manufacturing population have been for some months living upon charity. Now, there is very soon acquired a habit of idleness, and I have learnt from Lancashire that at the present time an unwillingness to labour is creeping upon the people, and if we carry them through the coming winter in idleness, we don't know what may be the consequence to our manufacturing population. And now I will briefly review what I have said. At the present moment there is offered to us a great advantage. If we take time by the forelock that advantage will be given to us, and we shall be a much greater people, and London will be the Imperial city of the world. But if we abstain from availing ourselves of this opportunity, it will go away at once to France. The cry about slavery is hypocrisy and cant. We shall do no harm to the black man if we adopt my resolution. And I pray the House in all calmness to consider this question, and, as they are men of honour, justice, and benevolence, to grant me the motion which I now make. (Loud cheers.)—Lord R. Montagu moved an amendment, approving the policy of the Government, in a long and vehement speech to empty benches.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that, considering how mixed must be our feelings towards either party, we should be inexcusable in allowing them in any way to warp our judgment. He did not think that British interests ought to be brought into this question; nor that the disruption of the Union was necessary to British interests. Indeed, if we put forward those interests as a paramount consideration, and founded an argument upon them for recognition of the South, every step we might take would assume the character of hostility to the United States. The objection, however, which he took to both motion and amendment, was that they dictated the course of policy which the Executive Government should pursue upon a question relating to which the Government alone could be fully informed. The policy which had been adopted by the Government was the only policy that answered to the convictions and desires of the country; and he hoped the House would not entertain either motion or amendment, but leave ministers to act in this matter in the spirit by which they had throughout been actuated. It was not easy to separate between recognition and intervention; but even it were, what chance would there be of maintaining a perfect neutrality when the proposal of recognition was associated with an undisguised hostility to one of the parties concerned? He did not think that recognition would relieve the men of Lancashire, or bring in one additional bale of cotton, unless we followed it up by ulterior measures. Neither did he believe that the restoration of the American Union was attainable; and in this country public opinion was almost unanimous on that subject. It was a fatal error, too, to suppose that the emancipation of the negro was an object that could be legitimately accomplished by means of coercion and bloodshed. Was the recognition, then, to be with or without intervention? In his judgment it would assume the form of an interference in the affairs of the American nation, and would raise a strong patriotic reaction amongst the citizens of the North, and even impart to the cause of the North that defensive energy which had hitherto been the secret of the strength of the South, and the want of which had been the cause of Northern inferiority. He felt that it was time the war should end; but he had more faith in the gentle action of public opinion as it was gradually matured in Europe, than he had in diplomatic acts which might appear to assume an undue interference with American affairs, and especially if those acts emanated from quarters that were open to suspicion.—Mr. W. E. Forster supported the amendment, contending that premature recognition would be a breach of neutrality, and that if not followed by war it would be a pompous nothing. He denied that the war in America was a war of tariffs. All the Secession States were slave states, and the line was strictly marked between them; but the North-Western States were just as strongly in favour of free trade as the South, yet they were all arrayed on the side of the Union. He regarded the policy propounded by Mr. Roebuck's motion as calculated to involve this country in a war which would be unpopular because waged against our kinsmen in behalf of slavery. In such a contest we should see the great Anglo-Saxon race torn to pieces by a triple civil war. Every despot, civil and religious, throughout the world, would rejoice at the sight; but he could not imagine there was an Englishman so utterly degenerate as to look with satisfaction at such a result.—Lord R. Cecil, although not often able to agree with the hon. member for Birmingham, was able entirely to concur with him when he described the hon. member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) as a fanatic on the question of slavery. He confessed he had never been able to understand the reasoning of the anti-slavery party in this country. The hon. member who had just sat down did not profess to hope that the North could conquer the South, although the hon. member for Birmingham did hope to exterminate slavery by that means. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was most remarkable, because it was the first exposition of the policy of the Government; but the question which pressed upon him was why, after conceding every one of the positions maintained by the hon. and learned member for Sheffield, the right hon. gentleman had not assented to the motion. The suffering of their own people was their title to interfere, and France and England had but to pronounce the word to contribute enormously to the re-establishment of peace. He did not know whether it occurred to the House, but it struck him as most remarkable, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made no reference to the statements of his honourable and learned friend as to the policy of the Emperor of the French. The Government might rest assured that the matter would not be passed over. (Hear.) The House should have an answer to the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman. (Conservative cheers.) They knew that the Emperor of the French, whatever else he might be, was a prudent and sagacious sovereign, and he would not have adopted this strange and extraordinary course of communicating directly with the House of Commons—(cheers and counter cheers)—if he had not been driven to it by the treatment he had received from the Foreign Office. (Conservative cheers, with cries of "Oh, oh," from the Liberal benches.) He believed the public would not be satisfied unless the statement to which he had referred received a full and ample explanation, or until the Government gave an adequate reason why they did not act upon the frank and open offer of the Emperor of the French, and justified themselves before the country for following a policy which had led to so much misery. (Hear, hear.)—Mr. Bright made a

fierce onslaught on Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay as "Envoys very Extraordinary of the Emperor of the French," on whom he bestowed a share of his abuse. Coming at last to the question, Mr. Bright said:—"The point he was going to argue was that the war now going on was more likely to abolish slavery than anything else in the world. The supply of cotton must at all times be uncertain under the slave system. The House thought so some years ago, because they ordered a commission upon the subject, and but for a very silly minister they would have sent a commission to India. Would it not be conceded that it would be better that the cotton cultivation should be by free than by slave labour? The slave States were not half cultivated. There was not more than 10,000 square miles of cotton planted, and they only sent cotton over at a rate of 100,000 bales increase per annum, whereas the manufacturers wanted double that quantity. The reason was that where there were slaves no other labourers went. None of the emigrants who landed at the Northern ports ever went South. The difficulty now with a Southern planter was to buy his labour, for he had, not to hire his "hands" only, but to buy them, and to buy 200 negroes would cost £20,000. That was but one item, so that but few men could enter into the trade. He believed that in less than ten years after freedom had been declared the production of cotton would be doubled. Upon the political part of the question, he did not mean to say that the South might not conquer the North, and join that large party in the North, which some persons called the peace party, but which was in reality no peace party at all, and so form one large united kingdom. He hoped it would not be so; and as he believed in the moral government of the world, he did not believe it would be so. But should that happen, America, with her mighty navy and almost unlimited power, might offer to drive England out of Canada, France out of Mexico, and out of the islands of the West Indies all those who might be interested in them. They would thus have a State built up of war and slavery, instead of that other State founded upon an instructed people, upon general freedom, and upon morality in the Government. (Loud and continued laughter.) He had not heard that night anything about President Lincoln's proclamation, but we were not in a position to deny its legality. As we only recognised in America one nation, one President, and one law, that proclamation was a legal document, and the slaves of the South by it were [now virtually] free. For upwards of two years the North had contended for its existence and human freedom, and it was the first country that had come forth as the defender of freedom and equality. Yet the hon. and learned member for Sheffield wished to throw the hostility of Europe into the scale against them. The effect of a war would be to ruin our commerce, and at its termination that great and free people, the most instructed—(oh, oh.)—in the world, and the most wealthy, would have left in their hearts wounds that probably centuries would not heal, and the posterity of some of those who heard him might look back upon, with amazement and lamentation, at the course that had been taken by the honourable member for Sheffield and those who supported him. He hoped the House would not assist his countrymen to lift their hands or voices in aid of the most stupendous act of guilt which history has recorded in the annals of any race. (Cheers, and Oh, oh.)—Mr. P. Wyndham moved the adjournment of the debate, which, after a short speech from Sir G. Grey, confirming the statement made by Mr. Layard earlier in the evening, was agreed to.

## PARTIAL LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE LATE BATTLES IN VIRGINIA.

### LIST OF CASUALTIES IN HAYS' LOUISIANA BRIGADE.

TENTH REGIMENT.—Colonel S A Stafford, commanding.  
Field and Staff.—Missing: Colonel Stafford and Major H L N Williams, Sergeant Major P J Key.  
Killed: N G Reed, Capt Cummings, W G Swilley, J H Callahan, J Martin, J Hutchins, John Crittenden, T J Hawthorne, J Foster, A D Fisher, Bradshaw Wilson, John Gregory, John Pryne, John Shelly, E F Rogers, J Montgomery, Grove Cook, Wm B McDowell, L A Cook, W S Ward, Peter Humphreys.—Wounded: S U Butler, W M O'Leary, L Wittoutsky, W Hodnett, John Doyal, E F Williams, H E Handerson, J R George, W Edens, J A Calbert, J E Stuart, J H Cox, R H Koonce, W T Softin, W H Reybourn, A B Walls, J W Rabb, W A Stroud, Jas Robertson, D C Applewhite, D B Beeson, H V Sentall, J G Saudlin, D C Westor, J Goodwin Ross, J W Bradford, J O Howell, F F Chennymouth, A J Greenwood, H O May, W C Rogers, W S Sutherland, C E Thomas, F Wiley, T Ficker, John Shilling, G W Fickling, E B Bell, R M Malone, J A Holman, M E Bloom, J E Sykes, S A Taylor, J H Burk, Wm Magee, J E Morris, O B Seales, J A Cooper, J H Spring, J G Cochran, Wm Jenkins, W P Smith.—Missing: G L Gallashan, F S Irby, L E Gilbert, John Wittington, C R Hayworth, T Rundle, S Campbell, S Lynch, S Willis, E C Briery, T B Finkington, E Reeves, J Thompson, Gid Allen, P H Dougherty, Milton Dougherty, F P Lyon, Thomas M Marks, J M Woodward, J B Baker, Geo Winham, J C Jones, James Cushing, Andrew Clark, James Hoy, Thomas Kelly, Jerry Marra, Wm Trailer, John M Adams, Thomas Donahoe, B F Glover, E Davis, H Nixon, John McKay, A J Fancher, C B McDowell, G W Bates, M M Low, A C Harrel.

SIXTY-FIRST VIRGINIA REGIMENT.  
Field and Staff.—Wounded: Major Wm H Stewart.  
Killed: G W Bright, Lemuel Jennings, Eli Davis, Francis Duke.—Wounded: Lieut Geo T Hodges, M W Williams, Daniel T Sivils, Andrew G Morgan, Geo W Waller, J C Brown, J P W Mercer, J C Byrum, Jno Warren, James Paul, William Kepper, L Woodward, V O Cassell, A D B Godwin, Jos Barrett, Jno White, T L Collins, R A Sneed, Kinchen Cobb, J Phillips, J W Branch, J T Hodges, W H Nider, C W Murdoch, Chas Evans, Joseph T Herbert, Silva Gonales, Thos Stazler, D W Dillon.—Missing: James H Miller, J Beazley, Thos Harrison.

CRENSHAW BATTERY.  
Killed: H W Holland.—Wounded: T H Burroughs, J J Wheeler, J R Jackson, J O Goolsby, W W Profit.  
THE HOWITZERS.  
Killed: Tho W Barksdale, Nathaniel Selden.—Wounded: Geo P Richardson, John B Royall.  
NORFOLK L. A. BUES.  
Killed: Wm C Land.—Wounded: J H Walters, Melville C Keeling, Joseph C Floyd.—M'Gowan.

FIRST LOUISIANA REGIMENT.  
Killed: Lieut Kernan.—Wounded: J Neilligan, A N Cummings, Gill.

FIFTY-FIFTH VIRGINIA REGIMENT.—A. P. HILL'S DIVISION.  
Killed: Col P Mallory, Major Saunders, Capts Street and Davis.—Wounded: W S Christian, Capts Fauntleroy, Broomebregger, Fleet, and Reynolds, Lieuts Street, Downing, Roano, Dull, Foote, and Warning, Privates Allen C Redwood, Geo W Nicholson, Wm Smith, J W Montague.

FIFTY-EIGHTH VIRGINIA REGIMENT.  
Killed: John W Hall, and George H Handley.—Wounded: W A Dowdy, William A Stannett Junior, Jonathan Fielder, J N Pres, J W Scott, B K Milam, John Gardner, J J Johnson, Charles O Padgett, David A Karr, G W Pooley, Robert H Turpin, Samuel McGuire, Jas A Hopkins, S T Delong, C H Henderson, P G Tol, J J Clements, Robert Ruly, John Leuw, H W Wingfield, S S Polcher, W S Koutou, James B Lynch, McHenry Peters, James C Ellis, J E Fitzpatrick, R A Bradley, G G Saunders, W H Spradlin, W A Thomas, A E Slaughter.

FORTY-NINTH VIRGINIA INFANTRY.  
Killed: William H Boteler, and H Manks.—Wounded: S Montjoy, Y S Lynn, John Waters, Weston Fletcher, F H Bolen, D G Gore, N M Garrett, H J Brown, George W Henry, R M Denton, John D Wood, E W Early, and John Henson.











This is certainly a most striking agreement of opinions. The *Times*, though it persists in throwing its ability and vast influence on the side of delay, confines itself to the untenable argument that recognition would be useless, but does not deny the title of the Confederate States to admission into the commonwealth of nations. The only members of the British press who deny this title, and who wage an open warfare against the invaded and the weaker, are the avowed organs of a party utterly un-English in its character, and, in its Americanizing tendencies, a party which supplies by vehemence of invective and falsification of facts, what it lacks in logic and reason. These organs are, fortunately, as weak in influence as they are few in number, and the South may congratulate itself upon their hostility as the most convincing testimony of the justice of its cause and of the true English sympathy for it.

ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN CLERGY.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—Being absent from Richmond when the Address of the Southern Clergy to the Christian World was issued, I had no opportunity of signing it until now. Please append my name, and oblige,

Yours very respectfully,

Moses D. Hoge,  
Pastor of 2nd Presbyterian Church,  
Richmond, Virginia.

3, Clarence Terrace, Regent's Park,  
July 1, 1863.

THE BRITISH CONSUL AT RICHMOND.

Letters Patent, revoking Exequatur of George Moore, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Richmond.

Jefferson Davis,  
President of the Confederate States of America.

To all whom it may concern.

Whereas George Moore, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the port of Richmond and State of Virginia (duly recognised as such by the Exequatur issued by a former Government, which was at the time of the issue the duly authorized agent for that purpose of the State of Virginia) did recently assume to act as a consul for a place other than the city of Richmond, and a State other than the State of Virginia, and was thereupon, on the 20th day of February last, 1863, requested by the Secretary of State to submit to the Department of State his Consular Commission, as well as any other authority he may have received to act in behalf of the Government of her Britannic Majesty before further correspondence could be held with him as her Majesty's Consul at the port of Richmond; and whereas the said George Moore has lately, without acceding to said request, entered into correspondence as her Majesty's Consul with the Secretary of War of these Confederate States, thereby disregarding the legitimate authority of this Government.

These, therefore, are to declare that I do no longer recognise the said George Moore as Her Britannic Majesty's Consul in any part of these Confederate States, nor permit him to exercise or enjoy any of the functions, powers, or privileges allowed to the Consuls of Great Britain. And I do wholly revoke and annul any exequatur heretofore given to the said George Moore by the Government which was formerly authorised to grant such exequatur as agent of the State of Virginia, and do declare the said exequatur to be absolutely null and void from this day forward.

In testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the Confederate States of America to be herewith affixed.

Given under my hand this fifth day of June, in the  
L. s.: year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and  
sixty-three.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President.  
(Signed) J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

Confederate States of America, Department of State,  
Richmond, June 5, 1863.

Sir,—The President of the Confederate States has been informed that in consequence of your assuming to act in behalf of the Government of her Britannic Majesty in matters occurring in the State of Mississippi you were requested to submit to this Department your Consular commission, as well as any other authority held by you to act in behalf of her Majesty's Government, before further correspondence could be held with you as British Consul for the port of Richmond. He has further been informed that you have not acceded to this request, and that, in disregard of the legitimate authority of this Government, you have again lately corresponded, as her Majesty's Consul for this port with the Secretary of War of the Confederate States. The President considers it as inconsistent with the respect which it is his office to enforce towards this Government that you should any longer be permitted to exercise the functions or enjoy the privileges of a Consul in these Confederate States. He has consequently thought proper, by the letters patent, of which I enclose you a copy, to revoke the exequatur heretofore granted to you, and to make public these letters patent.

I have the honour to be,

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

George Moore, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's  
Consul, Richmond, Virginia.

A BRITISH CONSUL'S EXEQUATUR REVOKED.

(From the Richmond Despatch of June 6.)

The reader will find in the Despatch of this morning the proclamation of President Davis, revoking the exequatur of George Moore, Esq., H.B.M.'s Consul for this city. This revocation is only special and personal. Mr. Moore, it appears from the "letters patent," issued by the President, has assumed to act in behalf of the British Government in matters occurring out of Richmond and Virginia (in the State of Mississippi), and his authority for so acting he was requested to furnish to the State Department. This he failed to do before entering into another correspondence with that Department.

Therefore the President considers it inconsistent with the respect due to the Government that he should be allowed to exercise the functions and enjoy the privileges of a Consul in the Confederate States.

Mr. Moore is a gentleman whose official and personal intercourse here has been marked heretofore for his propriety and courtesy, and also by a very discreet and intelligent performance of his duties. Present here with the Exequatur of Abraham Lincoln, representing a Government whose singular policy towards us may well embarrass its agents, he has had no very easy or pleasant time of it. Whether or no his conduct towards the Government is the unavoidable result of his official relations, of course, we know not; but an intentional breach of official respect would certainly be inconsistent with his usual deportment.

When we first heard of the "letters patent," we had hoped that they were general, and revoked the exequaturs of consuls generally. It is certainly time that our own Government was recognised. We have waited long and patiently to the cold rejection of our own diplomatic agents abroad, and it would seem to be fair that we should at least by this time decline to recognise officially the agents of those Governments residing in our own country. This is our feeling. It may not be wise, but it would certainly be fair. The Government, however, knows much that is not known by the public touching our foreign relations, and the whole matter may be safely intrusted to its hands.

THE Divorce Court was lately engaged in investigating a case, of which the report everywhere inspired indignation and disgust. The wife of Captain Massey applied for a divorce on the ground of cruelty, &c., and it appeared that her husband had been in the habit of beating her in a most brutal manner, and otherwise shamefully illusing her. The second had also received a sum of money from his victim, and the only pleasant feature in the trial, was the discovery that a part of the money was in the hands of the army agents, and Sir Cresswell Cresswell ordered it to be impounded. This week another infamous proceeding of Captain Massey has been made public. In 1861 he went with his regiment to Toronto. Soon after his arrival, it became known that he had left a wife in England, and brought out with him a mistress. Upon this, he was cut by society. He complained to his brother officers, and they, it is alleged, refused to visit where the Captain was not received, and his offence was therefore condoned. At length it was supposed he was tired of his toy, as he sent his mistress to Europe; but this was only done to enable him to accomplish a fresh villainy. He became acquainted with a heiress, and a ward in Chancery—a Miss McTavish—and seduced her. At the beginning of June this unfortunate and infatuated lady attended a party at the residence of a member of the Canadian Parliament, was missed, and the next day it was decided that she had eloped with Captain Massey. The fugitives were pursued and overtaken, but Miss McTavish refused to return with her friends. Ultimately the second was arrested and lodged in gaol. When being handcuffed, he had the impudence to talk about his honour, and the proceeding being disgraceful to an English officer. Many years ago an officer was being examined in a court of law, and upon the counsel asking him if he was a soldier, replied haughtily, "No, sir, I am an officer." The witty advocate replied by addressing him as "Mr. Officer and no soldier." The joke was much relished by the public, because in the good old times when there were no military training colleges, and when ignorance was no bar to the service, it was notorious that many officers knew no more of military affairs than they had learnt from their tailors—viz., how to wear a sword without getting it between their legs. We trust the day will never come when a like significance will be attached to "Mr. Officer and no gentleman." In every profession there will be black sheep, and they must be got rid of as soon as found out. We should be glad to learn that the brother officers of Massey did not support him as alleged in the flagrant violation of the decencies of society.

AFTER a trial which lasted eight days, the case of Dickson versus Earl Wilton, Viscount Combermere, and General Peel, Secretary for War under Lord Derby's Government, was brought to a close on Saturday; and no one can be surprised that the jury found a verdict for the defendants. The idea of charging Viscount Combermere and General Peel with conspiring to injure an officer of the militia was ridiculous. Whether Colonel Dickson was justly or unjustly removed from his command is merely a collateral issue. If the defendants acted according to the best of their knowledge and conscientious belief, they are under any circumstances guiltless of malice and conspiracy. In our notice of this case in our last number we referred to some charges brought by Colonel Dickson against Earl Wilton. We think the colonel made a mistake in pursuing such a course of retaliation. Grant that Earl Wilton had been guilty of all the offences alleged against him, it was hardly consistent with the dignity of an officer to turn informer, and, certainly, in an English court of law blackening the character of an opponent will not be considered self-justification. Colonel Dickson will have to pay a heavy bill of costs, but that is a small penalty for preferring insulting charges against the venerable Viscount Combermere and General Peel upon the most frivolous pretences.

On the 31st of last January the *Daily Telegraph* sharply criticised a publication called "Zadkiel's Almanack," which, amongst other twaddle, had impudently predicted the death of the late Prince Consort, and that of dozens of other eminent personages; and some prominence was given to the affair by an advertisement of the City of London publicly referring to the Almanack. The *Daily Telegraph* asked—"Who is Zadkiel?" commander of the Royal Navy—R. J. Morrison; and further, and Sir E. Belcher? answered the question in a letter, signed "Ann Humbug," in which he said that Zadkiel was a retired "the author of 'Zadkiel' is the celebrated crystal globe seer, who gulled many of our nobility about the year 1822. Making use of a boy under 14, or a girl under 12, he pretended by their looking into the crystal globe, to hold converse with the spirits of the Apostles—even our Saviour, with all the angels of light as well as darkness, and to tell what was going on in any part of the world. Drawings were made of the objects seen in these visions. One noble lady gave one of the boys 45 to give her intelligence respecting her boy, who was in the Mediterranean. That boy 'peached'—let the cat out of the bag. Of course, the information was false. He took money, if he be really the same, for these profane acts and made a good thing of it." Upon this Lieutenant Morrison brought an action for libel against Sir E. Belcher, and the case was heard on Monday last. The defendant pleaded not guilty, and that the alleged libels were true in substance and fact. The plaintiff said he bought the curious crystal ball in 1849; and his son and others had seen visions in it. It was asserted that the Apostles, Eve, Titania, and a host of persons

had been seen in the ball, and that they all had scrolls of song from their mouths. Mr. Morrison said Eve, Titania, and St. Luke spoke English, and that their languages used were Turkish, French, Latin, and Hebrew. Several ladies of note, the Earl Wilton, a Bishop, and Sir E. B. Lytton were examined. They all stated that no money was charged for looking in the ball. An elderly lady said she had seen her mother who had been dead fifty years; and a man in armour, whom Mr. Morrison told her was the presiding spirit of the crystal, and a lady in a pink dress was leaning on the shoulder of the man in armour. Upon Mr. Belcher's Ballantine producing the ball and asking her to look into it, she answered indignantly "It is too solemn a thing, sir." The Lord Chief Justice in summing up remarked that the "Almanack" was filled with rubbish to enable the publisher to charge 6d. for an "Almanack" of which all that was useful was only worth a penny. The jury gave a verdict of 20s. damages for the plaintiff, and the judge refused to certify for costs.

THE LATE GENERAL VAN DORN—A CARD FROM HIS STAFF.

MOBILE, May 15.

We, the undersigned, members of the late General Van Dorn's staff, having seen with pain and regret the various rumours afloat in the public press, in relation to the circumstances attending that officer's death, deem it our duty to make a plain statement of the facts in the case.

General Van Dorn was shot in his own room, at Spring Hill, Tennessee, by Dr. Peters, a citizen of the neighbourhood. He was shot in the back of the head, while engaged in writing at his table, and entirely unconscious of any meditated hostility on the part of Dr. Peters, who had been left in the room with him apparently in friendly conversation, scarcely fifteen minutes previously, by Major Kimmel. Neither General Van Dorn nor ourselves were suspicious in the slightest degree of enmity in the mind of Dr. Peters, or we should certainly not have left them alone together, nor would General Van Dorn have been shot, as we found him five minutes later sitting in his chair, with his back towards his enemy.

There had been friendly visits between them up to the very date of the unfortunate occurrence.

General Van Dorn had never seen the daughter of his murderer but once, while his acquaintance with Mrs. Peters was such as to convince us his staff officers, who had every opportunity of knowing, that there was no improper intimacy between them; and for our own part we are led to believe that there were other and darker motives, from the fact that Dr. Peters had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States Government, while in Nashville, about two weeks previously—as we are informed by refugees from that city—that he had remarked in Columbia a short time before, "that he had lost his land and negroes in Arkansas, but he thought he would shortly do something which would get them back;" and finally, that having beforehand torn down fences and prepared relays of horses, he made his escape across the country direct to the enemy's lines.

Such is the simple history of the affair, and we trust that in bare justice to the memory of a gallant soldier, the papers that have given publicity to the false rumours above alluded to—rumours alike injurious to the living and to the dead—will give place in their columns to this vindication of his name.

M. M. KIMMEL, Major and A.A.G.  
W. C. SCHAMBERG, A.A.G.  
CLEMENT SELLIVAN, Aide-de-Camp.  
R. SHOFMAKER, Aide-de-Camp.

GENERAL JACKSON'S REMAINS.—The body of Lieutenant-General Jackson was taken to Staunton yesterday on a special train. From Staunton it will be conveyed to Lexington for sepulture. Governor Letcher will attend the body to its last resting-place. The pall-bearers in the procession on Tuesday were—Major-General Ewell, Brigadier-General Wiader, Brigadier-General Coise, Brigadier-General Kemper, Major-General Elzey, Commander Forrest, Brigadier-General Garnett, Brigadier-General Stuart. The new flag which draped the remains of General Jackson, while lying in state in this city, was presented by his Excellency the President to the widow of the illustrious general.—*Richmond Sentinel*.

PARIS, June 29, 7 A.M.—I am not, perhaps, much in error in supposing that the question put by the Marquis of Clanricarde to Lord Russell in the House of Lords on Friday evening last had some reference to the statements in my letter of Tuesday on the renewal of propositions for a joint mediation in America. Lord Clanricarde, however, spoke of the proposal of the Emperor of the French to the British Government "to recognize the existing Government of the Confederate States." The word "recognize," or "recognition," does not occur in my letter, and may not be formally expressed in Baron Gros's Note, though, of course, the overtures have recognition for their ultimate object. What I spoke of was a proposal for mediation or diplomatic intervention. Lord Russell, strictly speaking, might deny there was a proposal for recognition. I should be surprised, however, if he denied that proposals for mediation had been made. It is certain that the Emperor held the conversation I alluded to in my letter with Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck as I related it; and the *Memorial Diplomatique* of yesterday—a paper which I know to be in direct communication with the French Foreign office—corroborates my statement in every word. It corroborates it and adds something of its own.—The Emperor promised that M. Drouyn de Lhuys should immediately address to Baron Gros the necessary instructions for bringing about a concert between France and England on the expediency of joint diplomatic action with a view to put a stop to the war of the United States. In fact, we hear from London that Baron Gros handed on Wednesday last to Earl Russell formal proposals on the part of France. And further—"We are assured that on this day (Sunday) the answer of the English Cabinet is expected to be received in Paris."—*Times*' Correspondent.

The *New York Herald* says, that at the time of the fall of Fort Sumter, Mr. Horace Greeley "had a secession flag hung up in his editorial sanctum." It needed no such evidence, that until the commencement of the war the right of secession was not disputed by any party in the North.

The infamous Turchin who was court-martialled and dismissed the Federal Service for permitting the atrocious outrage upon a girl's school at Athens, Georgia, appears to have been reinstated by President Lincoln, as he now holds the office of Brigadier-General in Rosecrans's army.

Two Charleston papers announce the death, after a long and severe illness, of Dr. Edward North, a prominent physician of that city.

PRINCE CAMILLE POLIGNAC has been appointed a Brigadier-General in the Confederate army.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

Agency at Paris: Messrs. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

Agency at Liverpool: WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55 Brown's-buildings.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1863.

## BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

By a reference to our advertising columns, it will be seen that an influential Committee has been formed for carrying out the proposal of a British Monument to Lieut.-General Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A. The amount we have collected is paid over to the account of that Committee, by whom further Subscriptions will be received. Acknowledgments will, in future, be made only if directed by the Committee.

Mr. J. B. Hopkins acknowledges receipt for the British Jackson Monument Fund:—

Amount from last Week .. ..	£30	10	6
Thomas Beynon, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0

## The Debate on Tuesday.

WHATEVER may be the final result of the debate, adjourned from last Tuesday to this evening, the friends of Southern independence have, so far, no cause to regret its occurrence. Mr. Roebuck's motion for "An address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to enter into negotiations with the great Powers of Europe, for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation for the recognition of the Confederate States," might have been introduced in a tone more conciliatory, and the argument by which it was supported might have been strengthened in some essential particulars. But it is, perhaps, scarcely possible for a man of strong convictions on this subject even if he possessed a sweeter temper than Mr. Roebuck has credit for, to speak in honeyed terms of the course which the British Government have seen fit to pursue; and the argument so far as it rests can certainly not be said to have been answered by any of the speakers who opposed the motion. Lord R. Montagu's oratorical mantle, though cast off and cast-off rags from "Historicus" and Mr. Walter Gibson, did not conceal the wearer's want of ideas or information, and we might follow the example of the daily press in passing altogether *sub silentio* the amendment and speech of this noble Lord, who, professing himself a friend to the South, retails at second hand the sophistries of its enemies, but for a quotation which he innocently adduced against the motion, when, in fact, it is the strongest possible evidence in its favour. He cited Sir James Mackintosh to prove what we have often asserted in these columns, that recognition "implies no guarantee, no alliance, no aid, no approbation of the successful revolt, no intimation of an opinion concerning the justice or injustice of the means by which it has been accomplished." Mr. C. Clifford spoke good sense, and showed more acquaintance with his subject than his predecessor, whom he justly took to task for comparing the States of the Southern Confederation—equals in a former league of sovereignties, who have never by word or act forfeited their independent existence—to revolted sepoys or Irish rioters; but the natural inference from all that Mr. Clifford said appeared to us to be in favour of the motion rather than the amendment he rose to second.

We do not propose to comment upon the speeches *seriatim*, though we may mention, *en passant*, that even Mr. Bright, the most unscrupulous as well as

the most vehement champion of the Washington despotism, did not venture to insult the intelligence of the House by predicting reconstruction of the Union through the conquest of the South. Virtually, he not only surrendered that hope, but confessed that reconstruction by the reverse process—the conquest of the North by the South—was more within the range of probability. The great speech of the evening, and that with which alone for the present we need concern ourselves, was delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Placed by the absence of the Premier under the necessity of defending a policy, or rather want of policy, to which it is believed he has never given more than a reluctant assent, if assent at all, he acquitted himself of his duty as Minister with an ability which friend and foe must equally admire, and yet did himself justice and honour as a man. To say that his speech was eloquent is a mere truism, nor can it be denied that it was fair to both sides, and eminently conciliatory; but it did not refute the argument for recognition. It could convince nobody of the duty of England to continue passive in so great an emergency; it will not convince posterity; and we feel assured that it did not convince the clear-headed statesman himself. If, as Mr. Gladstone stated, the motion was objectionable from the tone of acerbity and of partisanship with which he alleged the mover had invested it, how easy would it have been for Mr. Gladstone, above all other men, to put it in such a manner and couch it in such words as to relieve it of any possible suspicion of hostility to the United States! The more so since he, in that very speech, has so clearly and definitively drawn the line of demarcation between recognition of a *de facto* Government, a neutral act, and intervention in a foreign quarrel, a hostile act; and since he, in the same connection, has lent the weight of his authority to the exposure of that perversion of historical facts concerning the cause of the war with France during the first American revolution, upon which most of the sophistries of "Historicus" rest, and which was quoted and endorsed by Earl Russell in his place in Parliament only a few months ago. Mr. Gladstone said nothing against the argument—indeed it was not before him—that the recognition of neutrals must necessarily precede that of the State to which recognition implies the surrender of a contested dominion; that no Government, however weak or contemptible, has ever been the first to acquiesce in the overthrow of its own authority, whether rightfully or wrongly claimed, and we have no right to expect of the United States that they will set the example. Mr. Gladstone asserts that neither England nor France can speak with that authority which belongs to freedom from all suspicion of partiality in the matter of this American war, because both have so important an interest on the American continent; the former on account of her colonial possessions, and for other reasons; the latter on account of her implication with Mexico. But so have Russia and Spain proprietary interests in America; and every civilized Government is more or less affected by a war which convulses a continent and deranges the commerce of the world. If no Government is competent to act, which has an interest in the success of its action, then no Government is competent, and the greater and the more disastrous any quarrel is, the less can it hope to be adjusted by the good offices of neutrals. We hold, on the contrary, that the very interests which neutral nations have in such matters, measure their right both to speak and to act, and that these interests are the instruments which Providence has appointed to regulate justice in the great commonwealth of sovereign States. No man has ever more emphatically and solemnly than did Mr. Gladstone last night, denounced this war as unjustifiable, because waged for an unattainable object. He has branded with strong terms of reprobation the barbarous and cruel manner in which it is conducted by one of the belligerents; and he has deprecated most earnestly that so-called scheme of emancipation which would arm the slave against his master and his master's wife and children. But if this is so, and

Mr. Gladstone truly said that he spoke the minds of nine out of ten, nay of ninety-nine out of a hundred Englishmen of every class—then, as Lord R. Cecil well observed, the attempt of the North upon the South is a gigantic crime, connivance with which is complicity in its guilt. And upon this head we would fain enlarge, for it is the true basis upon which the advocates of recognition should found their claims. The South has rights as well as the North. In its dealings with the United States Europe never made, or could have made, a distinction between the States south of the Potomac and Ohio, and those north of these rivers. When the former of those States had notified foreign Governments that they had changed the agency for the administration of certain specified and common concerns from Washington to Montgomery or Richmond, and when they had proved that this new agency was indeed a stable and permanent Government, able to defend itself abroad and maintain itself at home, the foreign Governments had no right to refuse to recognise the change, and in so refusing they virtually assume to pass judgment against one of the two belligerents. In recognising the Minister of the Washington Government as the diplomatic representative of States with which his country has waged an unsuccessful war for over two years, they not only recognise what is manifestly and self-evidently absurd; they not only insult the Government which is thus ignored; but they also recognise and thereby sanction the assumption of an authority on the part of the one set of States over the others, which rests upon no clause of the former Federal compact between them, and which was never even claimed while that compact remained in force. In other words, by refusing recognition to the Confederate Government, except on the pretext of instability, foreign nations declare that the States north of two rivers are the lawful sovereigns over the States south of these rivers, and that the latter are merely rebellious subjects. The only question which neutrals have to consider is whether the separation is or is not final. When an adviser of the Crown asserts so emphatically, as Mr. Gladstone has done, that separation is final and, therefore, that the Confederate Government presents all reasonable guarantees for permanence, he confesses in the same breath that rights are withheld from that Government to which, by the usage and courtesy of nations, it is fairly entitled. Rights withheld are rights violated, and it is with this violation of rights, and with being the cause of their violation by others, that the South charges the British Ministry.

There is one mystery connected with the debate on Tuesday, upon which we cannot venture to speculate, and which may possibly be elucidated this evening. It had been reported in the public journals, and the report had reached us from several independent sources, and from unimpeachable authority, that the Emperor of the French had signified to the English Government his adherence to the opinions previously expressed, and his willingness to give effect to those opinions by any course of action, not excepting recognition, in which that Government should be willing to co-operate. This Mr. Roebuck stated in Parliament as from the Emperor's own lips, and with the Emperor's own authority for stating it in or out of Parliament. On the other hand, it was three times denied in the two Houses the same evening by Ministers, that any communication from the French Government had been received; and to make the denial still stronger, Earl Russell stated in the Lords that he had but just then been assured by a visit from the French Ambassador that no instructions to make such a communication had been given by the French Government. There is, therefore, a question of veracity pending, and if it should turn out that the Ministerial denial was based upon a quibble over words, the mere technical definition of a diplomatic phrase, the public will scarcely hold them guiltless of a gross trifling with its patience and with truth. But, in whatever manner the mystery may be solved, the other statement of Mr. Roebuck, which is not denied, that the Emperor's former communications with the British



Cabinet had been improperly imparted to the Washington Government, is calculated to produce a strong impression on the public mind. It is certainly startling that a foreign sovereign, and he an ally, should have to decline, for a reason like this, formal negotiations with the Foreign-office on so grave a subject of international policy. The British people will be likely to think that this act of Earl Russell's is carrying subserviency to the American Government a little too far.

### The Confederate Advance.

THREE weeks ago it was announced from New York that General Lee's army had disappeared from the Rappahannock, and all sorts of rumours were afloat as to its probable destination. A balloon ascent quieted the alarms of Washington. Reassured, the public began to talk of a new advance of Hooker's army, and a cavalry reconnaissance in force lent authority to the rumours that another forlorn hope would be adventured. After weeks of doubt and uncertainty the mystery is cleared up. General Lee's army, with the exception of a small force left fronting the Rappahannock, has marched northward, and General Hooker, with a sort of blind instinct of danger, has marched northward too. It is almost amusing to witness the utter bewilderment of "General Joe Hooker" in the presence of his skilful opponent. He has had evident misgivings for weeks past, he has been conscious of great schemes being in progress which he could not penetrate, and about which balloons and cavalry reconnaissances failed to enlighten him. At last the truth has dawned upon him. Lee has been amusing him in front, while he has been secretly planning a raid into the Northern States, and a flank march upon his line of communication with Washington, which imperils alike the Capital and the whole of the Federal army. And on the very day on which the *New York Herald* announced with all possible importance, that a great battle was progressing north of the Rappahannock, the advance of Lee's army burst, like a torrent, upon Milroy's division at Winchester, and dispersed it, literally a scattered and demoralized rabble, without guns, officers, or organization. Then the order for retreat is given, and sullenly that great host which, all through the winter months has been drilling at Falmouth, which has converted miles of country into a vast entrenchment, covered acres of hill and plain with its canvas, and founded a city of sutlers at Acquia Creek, faces about for Washington. In hot haste, for the safety of the Capital, in President Lincoln's opinion, depends upon their coming up—this great army presses on from Falmouth to Acquia, thence to Dumfries, then across the Occoquan to Fairfax; then it draws bridle and breath for the first time; and there General Hooker looks about him to see what has become of Lee. Meantime the work of destruction has been going on briskly at Acquia. Stores are burnt or thrown into the water, transports and heavy trains full of stores are hurried off to Alexandria. South of the Occoquan River there is nothing left to tell of the foot of the Northern invader, save long lines of deserted intrenchments, tattered canvas, charred ruins, and plundered homesteads. But the 6th army corps, which is the last to move, is severely handled at Fredericksburg. The Confederates press upon its rear and pick up its stragglers. There is even a rumour at Washington that a flank movement of General Lee has entirely cut off this corps, and so ends the fifth advance of the army of the Potomac upon Richmond.

And where is Lee all this time? The highest compliment that could be paid to his strategy, is, that no one knows. There are rumours in plenty. At Harrisburg they expect him. At Baltimore they barricade the streets with bales of tobacco. Along the banks of the Susquehanna the scared population is at work with the spade; and from Washington courier after courier speeds southward to Hooker, to impress upon him the urgent peril of the capital. At last something like order is

evolved. Pennsylvania and Maryland are left to the efforts of their own citizens. Hooker is called to defend the sacred person of the President; and the Government which has deluded its subjects and even European statesmen by its repeated promises of crushing rebellion and taking Richmond within ninety days, in an agony of trepidation, makes spirit-stirring appeals to Northern patriots to rise and protect their own hearths from the miseries they have systematically inflicted on the unoffending population of the South. But no news can be obtained of Lee. When the earliest panic has subsided, it is found that the strength of the force which has swept the Shenandoah Valley, crossed the Potomac, traversed Maryland, and burst into Pennsylvania, has been greatly exaggerated. Consisting principally of cavalry and horse artillery, it is evidently not intended to march upon Baltimore or Washington, but it is in a country of vast resources. At Chambersburg and Greencastle there are stores which will refit a Confederate *corps d'armée*. Compared with the devastated tract of country south of the Potomac, which has so long been the battle-field of the two armies, the county of Franklin, Pennsylvania, is a land flowing with milk and honey. Then the harvest is coming on in the Shenandoah valley, and its crops will be devoted to the Southern uses. The change must be pleasant to those jaded and half-famished cavaliers, who have crossed the frontier, apart from the obvious moral influence which the invasion of the Federal States by a Confederate army must exercise upon the Northern mind. But although the prize is great and the opportunity is tempting, it is not likely that Lee contemplates any serious blow against Washington. The fortifications of the Capital are too strong to be taken except at a sacrifice of men which the South can ill afford. Baltimore, again, is peopled by men entirely Southern in their sympathies. Federal batteries command the city, and the appearance of Confederate troops would only result in untold misery to thousands of families attached to the Confederate cause. Philadelphia is a more tempting prize. But to reach Philadelphia the Susquehanna must be crossed, and the banks of the river are so easily defensible by entrenchments manned by militia regiments; the road to Philadelphia would so clearly expose the invading army to a flank attack from Hooker, that it is not likely to be attempted by a man of General Lee's acknowledged prudence. There remains Pittsburg, the great foundry of the North, whence issue the armadas that swarm the Mississippi, and the guns that man the defences of Washington. Lee would lead his troops through a wonderfully fertile tract of country. The invading army would find there horses, clothes, and provisions. Pittsburg itself might easily be fortified and held against a very superior force, and the Confederates once there, the Northern union would be split in two. Communications between the Eastern and Western States would be impeded, and a footing would be gained for negotiations with the North-west. But here, again, so long as Hooker's army remains undestroyed the attempt would be attended with risks almost unjustifiable in the case of the Confederate general; and we are inclined to look elsewhere for the immediate results of General Lee's advance.

The object of this move we take to be, partly a foraging incursion, partly a serious onslaught on Hooker's army. The advance into Pennsylvania has all the character of a gigantic raid. The invading force is composed principally of cavalry, a couple of regiments of infantry—probably a portion of that "foot cavalry" which Jackson trained to such perfection—and a detachment of horse artillery. As it moves on, it collects provisions and stores, and sends them rapidly to the rear. Great trains of supplies hurried in endless stream across the Potomac into Virginia, attest, at least, one object of the foray. Moreover, an important advantage is gained to the South by the fact that the Federal Administration is unable, with all its vaunted power, to protect its own frontier, and that the panic at Washington and all the great cities of the North deprives Hooker of all hope of reinforcements. The Army of the

Potomac is smaller by 40,000 or 50,000 men than when it fought the battle of Chancellorsville. Even then it failed to make head against a Confederate force of less than half its strength. But General Lee has been greatly strengthened. Longstreet's corps has closed up; the roads are fit for rapid movements, and we expect a crushing blow at Hooker's army. The last accounts from the North indicate some such project. Lee's army is reported as moving towards the Federal position in three heavy columns: the left, under Longstreet, by way of Leesburg, threatens the line of retreat upon Washington; the centre, under Ewell, through Thoroughfare Gap, upon Manassas; the right following Hooker's retreat through Occoquan. Everything seems to point to a great action for the defence of Washington and the safety of Hooker's army, not very far from the old battle-yard of Bull Run. The Confederate army is strong in artillery and cavalry, flushed with victory, confident in its sure supremacy proved in a hundred fights, and devoted to its leader. Hooker's forces are demoralized by defeat, and distrustful of their commander. We can hardly doubt what the issue will be in the event of a battle taking place. And this time we have every reason to hope that if victory inclines to the Confederate arms, it will be decisive of the contest in Virginia for months to come. For the present the campaign has opened auspiciously enough for the Confederate arms. The Shenandoah is cleared. Half a dozen important Northern towns are in the possession of Confederate troops. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York are in a fever panic. Hooker has only extricated his army by forced marches, which have cost him hundreds of men, and an enormous amount of stores. These are the first-fruits of General Lee's advance. Another week we confidently expect will bring us news of still more important events and greater triumphs to the Confederate glory.

### British Security and Yankee Impunity.

No protests seem to warn, and no promises to bind the Federal Government. We had hoped that it had learned at last that English feeling will not allow the Ministers of England, no matter how complaisant, no matter how servile may be their own attitude towards the North, to regard with indifference the violation of territorial sovereignty of this country. We had hoped that Mr. Seward would at last take care that his solemn promise to respect in future the maritime jurisdiction of Great Britain, and to abstain from hostile operations within gunshot of her shores, would be observed by the cruisers bearing the Federal flag. But we were mistaken; and a most signal outrage, committed within a mile of the shore of a British possession, has taught us that the Government of the United States either thinks that any insult may with safety be offered to Great Britain, or is unable to command the obedience of its own officers. In either case it is true that Lord Russell should awake to a sense of his duties and responsibilities, and should inform the Federal Government that if instant and ample satisfaction be not accorded, Great Britain will take the law into her own hands, and proceed to capture the ship commanded by the offender, to try him, and to inflict upon him punishment according to her laws for a crime committed within her jurisdiction.

On the 29th May, the British vessel *Margaret and Jessie*, from Charleston for Nassau, with a load of cotton, was chased by a Federal man-of-war. So long as the vessels were on the high seas, the chase was perfectly legitimate; and if the fugitive had been taken she would have been justly condemned for a breach of blockade. But the enemy continued to chase and fire upon her after she had come within 250 yards of a British shore, and when the gun-boat was herself within a mile of that shore. This water was as much within British jurisdiction as is the county of Rutland; and in carrying on hostilities there, the American captain committed precisely the same offence as if he had driven the



crew of the vessel ashore, followed, attacked, and fought with them on British ground. His missiles went ashore, and terrified the peaceable inhabitants; it is said that three men—the fireman of the *Margaret* and Jessie, and two fishermen—were hurt by them. If these men should die, the American captain will be guilty of murder; and it is the duty of Lord Russell to demand his surrender, and have him tried and hanged for the assassination of British subjects within the territorial sovereignty of Great Britain. If no death follows, still in attempting to capture the vessel within British waters the American has been guilty of a crime for which the British Government is bound to exact a signal reparation; and in firing upon her, with the intention of killing her crew, or some of them, if a British jury should find that he had such an intention, he has been guilty of the capital crime of attempt to murder. The act presents a twofold aspect. It is a heinous breach of international law, perpetrated by a Federal officer against the peace of a neutral Power; it is also a heinous crime by British law, committed within the jurisdiction of her Britannic Majesty. And it is not easy to conceive that any reparation, short of the surrender of the criminal to be dealt with by British law, can satisfy the rightful claims and vindicate the insulted sovereignty of this country. It is exactly as if the *Tuscarora* had fired upon the *Nashville* in the port of Southampton, or were to attack the *Gibraltar* in the Mersey. We wish that it were possible to hope that Lord Russell would act in this matter as the honour of England and the safety of Englishmen imperatively require. But unhappily that Minister has always shown himself more anxious to keep on good terms with the American Minister than with his own countrymen, and more solicitous for the interests of the United States than for the dignity of Great Britain; and as he has acted on former occasions, so, we make no question, he will act now. He will ask nothing; or he will ask without earnestness, and submit to a refusal without an endeavour to enforce compliance.

We have the less hope of any vindication of British rights in this case, that a correspondence recently published has shown that the Foreign Secretary considers his duty fulfilled by a spirited remonstrance against the wrongful acts of the United States, even when most flagrant and most deliberate; and is quite satisfied to receive from Mr. Seward an answer which concedes the justice of all Lord Russell's arguments, while quietly announcing the determination of the Federal Government to persevere in the course which the English Minister has so forcibly denounced. On the 24th of April Lord Russell wrote to Lord Lyons, instructing him to protest against the interruption of British trade with Matamoras, on the plea that the goods carried thither were intended to be transferred to the Texan frontier. His Lordship said:—"It is an impression widely spread and deeply felt that it is the intention of the American Government, by captures without cause, by delays of adjudication, by wanton imprisonment of the master and part of the crew of captured vessels, to put a stop to the British trade to Matamoras altogether. The trade to Matamoras is, however, a perfectly legitimate trade. It is carried on from New York, as it is from London and Liverpool. To pretend that some goods carried to Matamoras may be afterwards transported across the frontier to Texas, does not vitiate the legitimate character of that trade."

These were spirited words, if Lord Russell had intended to act up to them; to tolerate no evasion and no equivocation on the part of the Federal Government, but firmly to insist on the legitimacy of the trade with Matamoras, and to protect British vessels concerned in that trade. But it has already become evident that he has no such intention. On the 12th of May Mr. Seward informed Lord Lyons, in reply to the above communication, that the trade with Matamoras had grown up since the war, was intended to feed a trade across Texas, and was therefore liable to suspicion. He did not deny in words that goods intended for a neutral port do not become liable to seizure by reason of

their subsequent destination; but he allowed it to be understood that the Federal Government intended to seize all vessels bound for Matamoras on suspicion that their cargoes were intended to be landed on the side of the Rio Grande. As this is a suspicion which, in the nature of things, can seldom or never be proved or disproved, Mr. Seward's language virtually amounted to an intimation that the Federal Government would by any means that might be necessary "put a stop to the British trade to Matamoras altogether." And how has the British Ministry dealt with this insolent announcement? Have they insisted on explanations? Have they threatened resistance? Have they despatched a force to Matamoras? Have they expressed themselves to Parliament in terms of becoming indignation? No—on the 29th June the Solicitor-General was instructed to get up and explain that from the peculiar situation of the port of Matamoras the Americans might reasonably suspect that ships sailing thither might intend to land their cargoes on the Texian shore of the Rio Grande, and therefore we had no right to complain that all such ships were seized on suspicion of such intent. The trade to Matamoras, therefore, declared by Lord Russell on the 24th of April to be legitimate, is declared by the Solicitor-General, two months later, to be without the protection of the British flag, simply because it is found to be exceedingly inconvenient to the Federal Government. After this, we need hardly hope that the piratical outrage of the 29th May will receive punishment. Lord Russell will write an elaborate despatch, proving the unlawfulness of the act, and declaring that Great Britain cannot allow such proceedings. Mr. Seward will admit the accuracy of Lord Russell's legal knowledge, but reply that a blockade-runner is an object of suspicion even in British waters, or something equally relevant; and there the matter will rest. And if the citizens of Nassau object to being murdered by American shells fired upon their shore, we can only recommend them to remove inland or have their houses made bomb-proof; for they need expect no protection from the Foreign-office, so long as they lie under the displeasure of Admiral Wilkes and his superiors at Washington.

#### THE STRATEGY OF THE WAR. \*

THERE probably never was a war which excited the attention of so vast an audience, and with which the interests and sympathies of the civilized world have been so closely identified as the war between the Federal and Confederate States of North America. And notwithstanding the tendency to exaggeration conspicuous in Northern reports and the difficulty of obtaining reliable data from the South, we doubt if there ever was a war of which the principal episodes and general results were so universally appreciated. The extraordinary political activity of the people engaged in the struggle, and the ready enterprise of their press in a great measure account for the large amount of information possessed by foreigners with regard to the operations in the field. But, beyond this, the importance of the issues involved in the conflict, and the fact that we live in the days of steam presses and electric telegraphs, have compelled almost every political observer to become an attentive spectator of the great drama being played out in the Western World, and to some extent a military critic. A battle has its millions of readers now, where fifty years ago the bulk of the people knew little about it, save by the ringing of the parish bells, or a proclamation from the municipal authorities. Every advance or retreat is scanned with as much eagerness as if the theatre of war were but a few miles off, and military reading is decidedly a popular amusement. How few Englishmen there are who have a distinct idea of the operations in the Peninsula, who can tell off-hand what French general commanded at Talavera, and who won Albuera; who can convey any adequate description of Wellington's successes and failures and final triumphs. Yet the battles in America are household words with us. Bull Run, the Chickahominy, Fredericksburg, are in everybody's mouth; and the future historian of the war will hardly give a more ample, or, on the whole, a more truthful account of the battles that have made these names classical in the history of America, than may be bought and studied at this moment in the penny press. But to gather up

the broken threads of the plans of the rival commanders; to give definiteness and form and sequence to the operations; to show that the war has been something more than a series of gigantic and haphazard duels, of which the sole or principal result has been a bloody list of casualties: there is required some acquaintance with the rules of military art; some experience in military movements; and it is here that the sphere of the historian begins. Captain Chesney, whose recognised qualifications for giving us a valuable narrative of the American campaigns, render his work on the recent battles in Virginia and Maryland a most acceptable contribution to the military literature of the day, has exactly supplied the want alluded to. Bringing to bear on his work the historical knowledge of a student and the theory of a scientific officer he has succeeded in giving us a connected account of the operations of 1862, which is sufficient for the purpose of any general reader, at the same time that he has explained practically how it is that the North, with its numerous armies, its fine *matériel*, its superiority, in fact, in everything but the *morale* of the soldiers and the skill of the officers, has yet failed in half-a-dozen campaigns to get possession of Richmond, or even to illustrate the cause for which it is fighting by one signal and undisputed victory. "The reasons of this series of successes," writes Captain Chesney, "are not far to seek, for we find on their side a divided command opposed to unity of action; masses of men in arms without military *esprit* or discipline, meeting an army entitled to the name by the subordinate spirit, as well as by the valour of its soldiers; loud threats and idle bluster encountered by firmness and steadfast endurance; finally, a contempt for the principles of war on the one hand against a marked use of them on the other." So much for the general aspect of the two armies. But the difference in their internal economy was still more marked. The Federal battalion was a political rather than a military formation. At its head was some political adventurer who dispensed its commissions amongst his party friends; the question of fitness never arose. All that was sought on the one side was party support, on the other pay or importance. The consequence was that the army was officered, from brigadier-generals down to ensigns, by men in no degree better qualified to command than the rank and file. In cases where a little more self-respect was shown, the officers were elected by men who, of course, took care to let them feel the obligation. All these battalions, hastily levied and equipped, were marched off to headquarters, where there was no general staff to superintend their redistribution and subsequent formation; so that when McDowell and even McClellan took command, the Federal army was a mere congeries of independent battalions, who had grouped themselves almost spontaneously about some state official. On the other hand, the troops were well equipped and armed, and supplied with a magnificent artillery. Their *physique* was excellent, their individual aptitude for soldiering undoubted. The Southern army shared to some extent the vices of the same hasty formation. The volunteer principle, according to the testimony of General Bragg and others, long after the commencement of the war, on more than one occasion, seriously impeded the operations and jeopardized the safety of the army. But the social system of the South supplied her army with a very different set of officers;—men accustomed, and, as it were, born to command. Of the well-trained and highly-skilled officers of the regular United States' army, if not the large majority, certainly the most distinguished, were Southerners. The Government from the first retained the commissioning of the different regiments, from the rank of second lieutenant, in its own hands; and substituted for the State volunteering a rigorous conscription, which secured a large and permanent army without the debilitating influences of excessive bounties, or the dangerous limitations of service which so frequently impaired the efficiency of Northern armies at a critical period. In point of equipment, the South, however, was decidedly inferior. The Government of the United States had the arsenals of Europe open to it. The Southern Confederacy was limited to its own resources, and the weapons it could acquire from the enemy. For months this disparity exercised an important influence upon the operation of the war, but at this moment the Confederates are as well armed and equipped as their opponents.

In reviewing the events of the campaigns of 1862, Capt. Chesney defends the plans of General McClellan from the criticisms with which he has been assailed by Northern writers, and justifies his choice of the York Town Peninsula as the line of advance upon Richmond. The direct road from Washington to the Confederate Capitol passes through a tract of country singularly unfitted for the operations of a large army. Thickly covered with virgin forests, sparsely populated, with a heavy soil, and roads rendered almost impassable by a

\* A Military View of the Recent Campaigns in Maryland and Virginia. By Captain C. E. Chesney, R.E., Professor of Military History at Sandhurst College. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.



heavy day's rain, with three or four rivers running east and west, each of them offering excellent positions for an army acting on the defensive, the 150 miles of country between Washington and Richmond presented extraordinary obstacles to the invader, and although the railway communication to a great extent got rid of the difficulties of transport, the fact that the whole supplies of the army depended on a single line of railway which might at any time be cut by an enterprising enemy, neutralized this advantage. Leaving Washington, therefore, secured against a *coup de main* by a formidable chain of defences, which Captain Chesney likens to the lines of Torres Vedras round Lisbon, McClellan determined to transport his army to within seventy miles of the Confederate Capital, and land them at the extremity of the York Town Peninsula. Once landed, the York and James Rivers would afford them excellent bases of supplies; and the army, overbearing all opposition, fed from the rivers, and supported by its gunboats on either flank, would march direct upon Richmond. McClellan's first disappointment was the disclosure of his plans. Long before his orders were given, they were anticipated by the Southern generals, who changed front, withdrew from Manassas, and called up reinforcements to Richmond. His second disappointment was the reduction of the force by some 40,000 men, and the breaking up of the army into four distinct *corps d'armée* on the old Imperial system. This formation sensibly weakened his authority, and undoubtedly did much to frustrate his plans. Simultaneously with McClellan's change of base, McDowell advanced directly upon the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg. It was McClellan's intention that, sooner or later, this division should effect a junction with his right wing by way of Hanover Court House. But McDowell, either through the jealousy of Mr. Stanton or the fears of Mr. Lincoln, was never allowed to go far from Washington, and when subsequently Jackson made his bold advance upon the Shenandoah Valley, and shattered Milroy's, Banks', and Fremont's forces, McDowell was hastily recalled. For all practical assistance to McClellan, his corps might have been in Washington. Into the details of the campaign on the Chickahominy there is no need to enter. They are fresh in the memory of our readers; and Captain Chesney does not add largely to our information respecting them, but his judgment upon McClellan's conduct is that which is entertained generally by military critics in this country, namely, that by his excessive caution McClellan more than once threw away great opportunities. The first occasion was two or three days after the landing when this great army of 110,000 men found itself arrested by the York Town lines crossing the Rappahannock, held by General Magruder, with a force which Captain Chesney estimates at 12,000, but which we are enabled to fix positively at 5,000 men. This small force detained McClellan some three weeks until reinforcements came up. And it certainly implies an extraordinary want of dash on the part of the invaders, that they should have been imposed upon by the bold front Magruder put on, and the exaggerated accounts of the strength of his force; while it speaks strongly for the skill and courage of the Confederate General and troops. Another opportunity missed was the interval between the battle of Fair Oaks and the battles of the Chickahominy, when the Confederates, after a hard and indecisive fight, attended with considerable loss on both sides, were greatly inferior in numbers to his own army. Of the battles of the Chickahominy, Captain Chesney gives a very elaborate account, and perhaps the most accurate that has yet been published; but here again he over-estimates the strength of the Confederate forces.

The battle of the Chickahominy introduces Stonewall Jackson, and one of the best chapters in the book is that in which Captain Chesney portrays the military character of the dead hero, and describes the wonderful skill and daring vigour of the movements by which he has won himself a place beside the greatest generals of any age. Jackson had been detached to the lower part of the Shenandoah Valley to watch General Banks's force, and had been compelled to retire by the advance of Fremont in his rear. Jackson had but 15,000 men under his command, yet with this small force he contrived to inflict a series of stunning blows on both Banks and Fremont. Early in May he fell upon the brigades of Generals Milroy and Schenck, and entirely defeated them. Contented with this blow, and leaving Fremont to collect his scattered forces, he turned northward, fell upon the advance of Banks's column at Front Royal, defeated Banks himself at Winchester, and drove him across the Potomac. "These brilliant operations of Jackson," writes Captain Chesney, "by which he had delivered that county from three different forces, each about equal to his own army, bear comparison with the ever glorious week of victories of Napoleon in 1814, when he divided and routed corps of the allies ad-

vancing on Paris in numbers quite overwhelming, had those generals also neglected the common-sense principles of war, by separating their armies so dangerously, that they contrived to be always weakest at the point of attack." With the defeat of Banks' and Fremont's corps, and the consequent panic at Washington, Jackson's work in the Shenandoah Valley was done. And now, carrying his men right across Virginia, by the Virginian central railroad, through the Blue Mountains, he suddenly flung himself on the right flank of McClellan's army, almost before the Federals knew of his departure. How greatly his bold advance contributed to the retreat of the army of the Chickahominy, and to the change of base to James' Landing for strategic reasons, is well known.

We have not space to follow up the movements of the year, to trace out the disasters of Pope and Burnside, and recount the operations which led to the invasion of Maryland by the Confederates, to the battles of South Mountain and Antietam Creek, and the subsequent retreat of Lee. All of these, Captain Chesney details succinctly and lucidly. But again he seems to us greatly to overrate the forces under General Lee's command. He does justice to McClellan's organizing power, to the confidence he had inspired in the minds of the Federal soldiery. But he is of opinion, in which we fully concur, that with a little more activity Harper's Ferry might have been saved, and that if McClellan had advanced along the Potomac, he would have had a better chance of striking a decisive blow at the invading army. The attack upon the hills above Fredericksburg by Burnside, and Hooker's subsequent advance across the Rappahannock, are also discussed by Captain Chesney; and in both he exposes the obvious errors of the Federal commanders, and lauds the ability and tactical skill of the Confederate General-in-chief. But he cannot absolve General Lee from the charge of want of vigour in allowing Burnside's army to cross the Rappahannock, after the terrible defeat at Fredericksburg. No doubt "the basis of real defensive action is a readiness to take the offensive at the right opportunity." But there must, we believe, have been good reasons for Lee's inaction. And from our own knowledge of the forces that Burnside still had at his disposal, from the value of every life to the Confederate cause, from the strong probability that Burnside would attack again, and the fact, that Lee by becoming the assailant, would throw away the advantage of an almost impregnable position, we are inclined to believe Lee only acted prudently in not risking his forces.

Captain Chesney's narrative is full of spirited sketches of the principal actors in this great drama, and displays a wonderful knowledge of locality and detail. To the military student, or to the political reader, it will be alike interesting and useful. It will give valuable information to both; but it will teach the former especially, that the rules of war are changed by no circumstances, and that while a genius like Napoleon may know how to transgress them with safety, men of the ordinary stamp of Northern Generals expiate their contempt of them by disgrace to themselves and destruction to their armies.

#### MAGAZINES FOR JULY.

FRASER has an article on "Liberty of Criticism, and the Law of Libel," a subject which deserves attention. We have lately had rather more than the average number of actions for libel against newspapers, and in such actions it is notorious the newspaper has by far the worst chance. Of this we do not complain, for where the press is so powerful as it is in this country, it is necessary that the law should be somewhat partial and side with the public. But there must be a limit to this partiality, and that limit was reached in the case of *Campbell v. Spottiswoode*. It was in that instance held that the criticism might be the sincere opinion of the journalist, but still a libel, unless the facts were of such a character that no one could reasonably arrive at a different conclusion. We have, this week, had another illustration of this point. The proprietor of a fortune-telling almanack brought an action for libel against a gentleman for charging him with imposture, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff with twenty shillings damages, but the judge refused to certify for costs. It is time we remembered and acted on the maxim of Lord Ellenborough, who held that without liberty of criticism "we cannot have purity, either of taste or morals." *Fraser* has a criticism on Mr. Kinglake's book, which is not the less severe and effective because its sharp censures are mingled with praises. "Our Modern Youth" is an essay on the fast manners of young people, and points out some evil results which are too evident, but, it may be, past remedy. The current number, which is an excellent one, has also articles on "Indian Prospects,"

on "Tacitus and his Times," and a good paper on natural history, entitled "British Snails and their Houses."

A Frenchman being asked whether he found English dinners as execrable as they are popularly believed to be in France, replied that he found them altogether excellent, both as to ingredients and cooking, but that no one ought to eat an English dinner at a sitting. Every course, even the sweets, is a *pièce de résistance*. This very well expresses the kind of feeling we have in respect to the current number of *Blackwood*. All the articles are of average merit. Some of them are above the average; but all of them are heavy—not dull. Light literature is altogether eschewed, with the exception of the chapters of "The Perpetual Curate," and even that novel, though very pleasant, is anything but light reading. To recite the titles of the articles is to vindicate our judgment. We find elaborate and instructive contributions on Poland, Italy, Ireland, and Berlin. So far as amusement is concerned, could it be possible to find four more unpromising subjects? We know that Russia oppresses Poland, and we cannot deny that the tales of her oppression are grossly exaggerated, and that the Poles are not without offence in their conduct of the present struggle. Irish topics are always a bore, because no one will write about the fair land without indulging in moral reflections upon the social condition of the Irish. Italy is worse than a bore; for just now it rather ruffles the sweet temper of John Bull. We have gone in for Victor Emmanuel and the kingdom of Italy without the slightest reservation. We have pictured the Piedmontese as white as angels, and the exiled princes as black as devils, and it is aggravating that we are forced to admit that the men of Turin are not without faults, and that the royal exiles are not without virtues. The article on Berlin has the recommendation of not devoting much space to the muddy obscurity of Prussian politics. We are told that the people have confidence in the liberal and constitutional character of the Crown Prince, and look forward with eagerness to the day when the Crown will descend to him by the abdication or decease of the present monarch. We hope for the sake of Prussia, and for the sake of the daughter of England, that this estimate of the character of Prince Frederick William is correct, though it is useless to deny that at present there is no evidence to warrant this opinion. The bright anticipations of the virtues of the heir to the throne of Prussia are prompted by a motive not very creditable to the Prussians. They put them forward to excuse their ready submission to what they are pleased to call the despotism of the King.

There is, however, one paper in *Blackwood* which, though not light, is eminently readable. We refer to an essay on "Posthumous Reputation," by Sir E. B. Lytton. He considers that mediocre men chiefly pursue the phantom, but that men of first-rate genius are not much troubled about it after middle life. Perhaps it is that such persons have won fame and know its true worth. It is religion, it is the conception of and faith in the life that begins with death, which checks the desire for posthumous reputation. "Thus the dream of fame, so warm and vivid in very early youth, gradually attains its euthanasia among the finest orders of minds, in a kind of serene sense of duty. The more beautiful and beautifying is the nature of the man, the more beauty nature throws into its ideals of duty. So that duty itself loses its hard and austere aspects, and becomes as much the gracious and sweet result of impulses which mellow into habits, as harmony is the result of keys and chords fitted and attuned to music." This charming essay abounds with passages equally brilliant and truthful.

"What to eat, drink, and avoid" is an easier problem to solve than "How much to eat and drink?" Of the importance of the matter any one may be convinced by reading the article entitled "Over-eating and Under-eating" in the *Cornhill Magazine*. Too much and too little equally result in the starvation of the system. The poor man becomes gouty by reason of his scanty diet; the rich man becomes gouty from indulging in a rich diet. The digestive powers of the poor man are exhausted by being used too little; those of the rich man are enfeebled by being used too much. The *Cornhill* tells us all this, but it does not tell us how much we ought to eat. To attempt to give such information would be sheer quackery. So many men, so many constitutions, and each constitution requires special treatment. Nor are we without a guide. We never eat or drink too much without being warned of our mistake, but we too often prefer to disregard the warning, to indulge the appetite, and then talk about martyrdom to dyspepsia. The *Cornhill* notices a curious and unlooked-for effect of the American war on our manufacturing population. Lancashire is noted for excessive infant mortality, and this is due to mothers being employed out of doors, and therefore not sufficiently attending to the nourishment of



their infants. But "during the recent distress, this mortality has become most markedly less, notwithstanding the diminished resources of their parents. The explanation, on the principles laid down, is simple; the mothers are now unemployed, and have time to attend to the feeding of their children; and they are far more skilful at this task than the incompetent persons to whom it is ordinarily confided, by whom the little creatures are, in plain truth, slowly starved in great numbers, or, at least, so weakened as to be unable to resist the slight shocks of disease, particularly of epidemic diseases."

A paper called "Commonplaces on England," is a patriotic endeavour to prove that we are vastly better than our neighbours think us. No doubt about it, yet we must except to some of the writer's conclusions. He says that of all nations in Europe, England is most readily moved by appeals to her sense of honour and duty. We do not deny this, but we do deny that our conduct in regard to America is a sample of our generosity. Certainly all Englishmen of intellect and reputation—and we may add the great body of the intelligent operatives—have felt a hearty and generous interest in the South; but the Government has been permitted for prudential reasons to give virtually aid and comfort to the North, and to refuse the South the simple recognition of her independence. The *Cornhill* says, "Let any one compare the weight which, in popular estimation, attaches to arguments on the American question drawn from anything which has any plausible grounds to be called a moral principle, with arguments professedly based upon interest. The one would command universal attention; no one would venture even to put forward the other." This is not true in fact, and it is as false in principle. The friends of the South—and they are also the friends of truth and the true friends of England—have persistently set forth the enormous advantages that will result to this country from the independence of the Confederate States. There is nothing immoral in being swayed by motives of interest, when interest and duty are united. "Was Nero a monster?" is an able disquisition on historical evidence. The writer does not whitewash Nero, but shows upon reliable evidence that he was not so bad as he has been represented.

*London Society* has more than a dozen articles and nearly as many illustrations, and the person who is not amused by this magazine must be in a very sad state indeed. A description of a powder-mill, and an essay on "Dickens's Dogs; or, the Landseer of Fiction," are contributions that deserve special commendation.

For many years there has been a warm contest as to the moral character of Lord Bacon, and the world has felt grateful to Mr. Hepworth Dixon for its successful vindication from the foul calumnies which had obscured it. The discussion of the moral *status* of Lord Bacon is not exciting enough in these sensational times, and accordingly Baron Liebig, President of the Royal Academy of Science, Munich, has come forward to prove that Lord Bacon, so far from being a great luminary of science, was, in fact, a humbug and an impostor. The matter does not very greatly surprise us. It is so easy to assail a reputation, it is so easy to throw mud, that all great men in their turn are denounced by critics who pant for notoriety. Shakespeare, Milton, and Newton have been severally charged with plagiarism, and we see no reason why Bacon, despite the wonderful service he has rendered to the world, should not be vilified. We are only surprised that such rubbish should be published in such an ably-conducted magazine as *Macmillan's*, and do not wonder the editor felt it necessary to append an apologetic note. Baron Liebig's criticism is puerile in the extreme, and though German students, under the influence of beer and tobacco, can swallow almost any quantity of metaphysical trash, we think even they will decline to endorse the sensational twaddle of Baron Liebig.—Those who desire to read an excellent defence of the conduct of the Turin Government, in reference to Southern Italy and brigandage, will do well to consult an article in *Macmillan's*, by Signor Saffi. He contends that brigandage will last as long as the French occupy Rome; yet he admits that the centralization of the Piedmontese Government has "retarded the progress of administrative reforms and local self-government, and created discontent in all provinces."

#### A SOUTHERN HISTORY OF THE WAR.

THE first volume of Mr. E. A. Pollard has been republished in New York and London, by C. B. Richardson of the former, and Bacon and Company of the latter place. In its present form it is a handsome volume in the American style of printing and binding, illustrated by good engravings of President Davis, Generals Lee, Beauregard, and Stonewall Jackson. As we gave an abstract of this book from the original Richmond edi-

tion in our impressions of December 18th and 25th, we need not repeat the opinions we then expressed. We learn from the Richmond papers that the second volume is now in press, and will shortly be, if it has not already been, issued by Messrs. West and Johnston of Richmond. The *Enquirer* states that this second volume "is much more carefully finished and elaborated than the previous volume. In addition to a complete memoir of Turner Ashby, it contains a full and accurate *resumé* of events down to the late battles around Fredericksburg."

#### OUR SOUTHERN CORRESPONDENCE.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, May 20.

Since my last, a change has taken place in the affairs of the Confederacy. Then, comparative quiet reigned throughout the land—the calm preceding the storm; now we are encompassed with dangers, which threaten to put the spirit of our people to a test which it has not yet been called upon to endure. It is a peculiarity of the Southern mind, however, that it rises superior to misfortune, and derives strength and patience from every reverse. Whether this be the result of a universal religious sentiment pervading the masses, an unbounded faith in our ultimate success, or confidence in the strong arm of military power, it is unnecessary to consider; but it is an unquestionable fact that, in the mental elasticity of the people, we have the secret of that national calmness which attends every vicissitude of the war. The mercury in our joy-ometer rests always at a temperate heat.

It might be supposed that, following the example of the North, the receipt of the late tidings of victory over General Hooker on the Rappahannock, would have made the nation wild with joy; but a stranger would be struck by the utter absence of everything like demonstration or exhilaration. On the contrary, the Confederacy is in mourning. The loss of Stonewall Jackson is one which no victory can compensate, no advantage replace. All feel that a *hiatus* has been created in our ranks, which an army could hardly fill, and it will be long ere his memory or influence will fail to exercise their effect upon the country, especially that portion of it which is in the field.

As Jackson lived, so he died—a brave, consistent Christian soldier—a willing martyr in the cause to which he devoted his life. From other sources you may be already aware of the circumstances of his death. He had gone some distance in front of his line of skirmishers on Saturday evening, and was returning about eight o'clock. Having previously given orders to fire at anything coming up the road, the staff and couriers by whom he was attended were mistaken for the cavalry of the enemy, and received the contents of a regiment of rifles belonging to his own corps. The Chief of the Staff, Colonel Crutchfield, was wounded, and Captain Boswell and two couriers were killed. Jackson was struck by three balls; one passing through the left arm, shattering the bone just below the shoulder; a second between the elbow and wrist, and a third through the palm of the right hand. The enemy, only fifty yards distant, now opened a furious fire, and in bearing him to the rear, two of the litter-bearers were shot down. Frequent inquiries were made by the soldiers, "Who have you there?" but the General told the surgeon, "Do not tell the troops I am wounded." After reaction, the injured arm was amputated. One of his aides then asked him how he felt. "Very comfortable," was the response—"Order the infantry forward to the front." He subsequently made the remark, "If I had not been wounded, or had an hour more of daylight, I would have cut off the enemy from the road to the United States' Ford, and we would have had them entirely surrounded, and they would have been compelled to surrender or cut their way out. They had no other alternative. My troops may sometimes fail in driving the enemy from a position, but the enemy always fail to drive my men from a position."

On the following Sunday, a week afterwards, pneumonia having set in, it was apparent that he was sinking rapidly. His wife informed him of his condition, and told him he was going to die. His reply was, "Very good, very good; it's all right. I consider these wounds a blessing. They were given me for some good and wise purpose, and I would not part with them if I could." He then sent messages to all the Generals, and expressed a wish to be buried near the scene of his professional labours in Lexington, Virginia. During the delirium which ensued before his death, his last words, like those of other great captains, were of his troops. "Tell General A. P. Hill to prepare for action—tell Major Hawks (his commissary), to forward provisions to the men." The remains were received in Richmond on the 11th, and on the 12th, the funeral obsequies took place in the presence of thousands who

had assembled to pay their sorrowing tribute to the memory of the departed chieftain."

In examining the policy of the Confederate leaders, you will observe that from the first, the South has stood strictly on the defensive. Even our advance into Maryland was a movement to cover operations against Harper's Ferry. Hence it is that thus far we have been so eminently successful in hurling back, with comparatively small numbers, the overwhelming forces of the enemy. Skill and strategy, it is true, have done their part in achieving success, but the main element of victory has always been the impetuous, obstinate, hard-handed onsets of our men. Besides this, they have a spirit which is indomitable—a spirit that clings to them in storm and sunshine, in victory or defeat, on the march or in the camp, amid the blessings of plenty or the sufferings of hunger. General Lee depends upon this feeling, and he has not yet been disappointed. It was this in the recent battle at Chancellorsville which enabled him with one army, inferior in numbers—say 70,000 against 130,000—to whip two in detail on three successive days, on a line of battle twenty miles in length, and re-establish the *status* disturbed by the Federal demonstration.

If the question is asked, why these great successes are not followed up, the answer is—because we gain nothing by such a step. If we flank the enemy, he may either give battle, or fall back upon or across the Potomac. The country between the two rivers has been eaten bare. Strategically, it is of no importance. Our object is to defend Richmond, and at the same time preserve a short line of communication with our base of supplies. Nowhere nearer the Potomac can we do this as well as at Fredericksburg, and if forced to fall back, we can always find two or three resting places between that point and the Capitol, equally as strong as the one which we now occupy.

Northern journals, with their usual extravagance, have probably given you glowing accounts of the Yankee raid around our army, by General Stoneman. From a bushel of chaff, you may select a grain or two of wheat. The results of that expedition may be summed up in a few words—a long ride, much fatigue, a few miles of railroad destroyed (and rebuilt in less than a week), some negroes and horses stolen—a curiosity to see the steeples of Richmond briefly gratified, a Confederate race enjoyed, a few men killed and wounded, and finally, some domestic *éclat*, and a "large scare." Had General Hooker retained his cavalry he might have done far better—possibly have prevented Jackson's surprise of his flank and rear, and thus changed the complexion of the fight. It is the first instance of "dash" of which the Eastern army has yet been guilty, and while we blame ourselves, we give due credit to the enemy for his enterprise.

If the Northern editors speak fairly, they will tell you of a similar but more successful undertaking which the Confederates now have in hand along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Millions of dollars worth of property are being captured or destroyed, and that line of travel and subsistence is interrupted for months to come.

A Yankee, or rather Western raid of far greater importance than any the enemy have yet attempted is that of Colonel Grierson through the State of Mississippi. Starting from the army of Tennessee the daring Colonel passed entirely around our forces, and making "good time" as he entered and left the various villages and towns of the cotton States, has at last reached New Orleans. As he destroyed but little personal property, though an abundance of small articles were stolen from the ladies, the object of the movement was undoubtedly simply demoralization. In other words, to render negro property unsafe, and cause their owners to run their slaves to places of safety, thus disturbing the cultivation of the provision crops, which, at the present time, are our main reliance.

Still another cavalry demonstration was made from the army of Tennessee in the direction of Atlanta, Georgia, by a force of 1,400 men, but before it reached Rome, in that State it was overtaken, after a chase of two hundred miles, by a regiment of five hundred men under General Forrest, one of our most dashing leaders, and the whole party captured. One of the Federal officers thereupon became excessively angry and denounced the whole affair as "a heavy case of swindling." He said that when Forrest was negotiating for the surrender he suddenly appeared to get very mad, and swore he would wait no longer; that he would rather kill the whole of them than not; then ordered his couriers immediately to direct the commanders of four separate batteries to place them on separate hills, and ordered the colonels of four separate regiments to form their commands at particular points in line of battle. The couriers dashed off as if they were actually going to have these orders executed, and as they did so Forrest told them his signa



gun would be fired in ten minutes, "when, in fact," said the officer, "the rascals had but two little cannon and not more than half a regiment of men all told, mounted on horses and that had fed on the Yankee leavings, and that Forrest showed himself to be nothing but a d—d swindler."

In the beginning of this letter, I adverted to the fact that the Confederacy was threatened with dangers which it had not before experienced. One of our most important political and military points is Vicksburg, which, with Port Hudson, now constitutes the key to the navigation of the Mississippi. With that great river opened to New Orleans, the West would have an outlet for its grain, be relieved of the pressure now weighing upon its prosperity, and encouraged to yield more liberally its valuable aid to the Lincoln Administration—for it is a fact which must be patent to even European eyes that that section has long been wavering in its allegiance to the East. Like the South, it is a natural antagonist of New England, while it is a natural ally of our own section. Hence, under present circumstances, to open its burdened markets to the world would tend to heal its dissensions and secure its influence.

Again, the opening of the Mississippi would divide the Confederacy, while it would afford facilities to the enemy for penetrating the rich cotton States along its border. They expect thus to reach "the heart of the rebellion." To this end the Federals have for months bent their best endeavours. Vicksburg has been besieged and bombarded without ceasing and without avail. The noble little city has withstood the terrors of shell and round-shot, until even the women and children have become so habituated to the roar of cannon and the falling of angry missiles, that they walk the street in calmness and regard a battle as an exhibition. Canals have been built, rivers ascended and descended, and attempt after attempt made to capture the place, but all without success; and the swamps and cotton fields opposite are rank with the malaria of the mouldering bodies of thousands who have died in the undertaking.

During the present season, however, another effort has been made, which promises more serious results. The Federal army under General Grant is attempting to capture Vicksburg by a demonstration in the rear. A force has succeeded in getting on land below Grand Gulf, from which point it will doubtless advance against the city, under the protection of the fleet, which will move up the river on a line parallel with the road occupied by Grant's army. This gives the latter the benefit of the gunboats while attacking our defences. In the meantime the fleet from above can approach and engage our upper batteries, and thus the battle will extend along our whole front. For the information of your readers, I will add that Grand Gulf is just below the mouth of the Big Black river, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. The Big Black is a navigable stream that rises in the northern part of Mississippi, runs parallel with the Yazoo as far south as the neighbourhood of Vicksburg, leaving the city a few miles to the west of it, and emptying into the Mississippi some thirty or forty miles below. The Yazoo empties into the Mississippi some twelve miles above Vicksburg. The Big Black has long been one of the routes spoken of by the Yankees as a way of reaching the rear of the city. Severe fighting has occurred on the south or east side of the Big Black between several of our brigades and the enemy, in which we were forced to retire across the river, but we have now established a strong line of defence. Previous to this event Vicksburg had no defences on the south other than the river, the swamps, and the hills. The enemy's line is at least 10 miles long, and his situation will become hourly more precarious, from the hovering of considerable bodies of Confederate troops upon his flank and rear, to say nothing of the indomitable forces in front. By a recent movement Grant has captured Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, but as suddenly evacuated it, leaving behind a large number of his wounded. His forces, some 40,000 strong, were encountered by a small body of our troops—9,000—under General Joseph Johnston; but the latter, after fighting desperately through the streets of the city, were compelled to fall back. The accounts from the West, however, are exceedingly meagre, and notwithstanding the oft-repeated assertions that "our military men are sanguine that a signal victory awaits our arms," the people—perhaps it is from ignorance of the situation of affairs—feel desponding as to the result. A great battle is certainly to be fought soon. If there is no weak point in our defences, the enemy must take the bull by the horns; and when that hour arrives, the contest between the unprincipled horde of invaders and an exasperated people fighting for all they hold dear will be fearful. We may be defeated, but depend upon it we shall not stay so. There is a terrible vigour in the strong right arm of the Confederacy, and a heart behind it that "beats with a pulse like a cannon." The

struggle may be prolonged and thousands of lives immolated, but we know that the star of our destiny is steadily approaching the zenith, and that the hosts of Heaven are on our side. PERSONNE.

### THE GULF DEPARTMENT.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 7.

SINCE the assault on the Confederate works, May 27, when Banks was severely repulsed, the Federal army has actually been idle, so far as fighting is concerned, for ten long days. It was reported by the boat from Port Hudson, yesterday, and by telegram, that Banks intended to renew the attack, but to this hour we have not heard that he has done so. During the ten days he has erected and completed a line of earthworks extending four and a half miles from the upper battery to Springfield Landing below, and he has mounted a few more siege guns with the intention of starving out the small but heroic Confederate army, if he cannot carry the position by assault. The Federals industriously circulated through the city, yester evening, the report that Gardner had capitulated; but, advanced as the season is in summer promise, the people here have hardly yet attained a degree of verdancy sufficient to induce them to believe all that is reported—even from "head-quarters."

Grierson has been so much lionized on account of his recent raid through Lower Mississippi, that he thought it would be a good idea to send a few of his terrible cavalry to Clinton, for the purpose of reconnoitering and looking round generally. The result of the tour of observation was as follows:—Captain Perkins, commanding the expedition, was killed; thirty of his men were also killed; forty of them were taken prisoners; and sixty horses were captured. This was last Thursday. The Federals sent to Clinton were much surprised to find there 1500 of Wheeler's cavalry, who served them as indicated above, put them to rout, pursued them nearly to their army, and Banks immediately sent a small force to Baton Rouge, lest the Confederate cavalry should go there, and burn and destroy the army stores collected in that place.

Many of the negroes taken from homes of happiness and comparative comfort during the recent Teche expedition, have now an opportunity of testing the difference between slavery and "freedom." Those who go into the negro regiments are considered only as so much food for powder. The rest are crowded into the cotton presses in this city, are inconceivably filthy and miserable, and are rotting and dying at the rate of from six to ten a day. Will you believe it?—the farce of holding a coroner's inquest (!) over these smothered negroes is daily gone through with. The Federal official organ in this city, in speaking of these negroes as they live (and die) in the cotton presses, says—"The middle passage is NOTHING compared to their present condition." When will the Exeter Hallites in England and America learn that misery, disease, and death are the *only* aid they have ever yet extended to their pets, the negroes. I give you Banks's official organ's comment on the condition of the "confiscated" contrabands:—

"THE DYING CONTRABANDS—There seems to be a perfect epidemic among the contrabands on Cotton Press street, in the Third District. They are dying very rapidly from diseases contracted through a change of water, diet, condition, and general mode of life. Yesterday the Coroner was called to hold six inquests, and he had already given certificates for the burial of six from the same place. The inhabitants of that portion of the city fear that the stench and foul effluvia arising from the dead, the dying, the diseased, and other causes, will generate sickness in the neighbourhood. It is evident some healthier place and some better discipline are necessary to save these unfortunates from destruction. The middle passage is nothing compared to their present condition."

Of the five or six official orders issued within a week, almost all of them relate to penalties for stealing, or to the restoration of property stolen by Federal soldiers and officers from the planters. One order forbids the swindling of poor labourers out of money to pay for so-called "presents" for their employers. And yet the department (and all connected therewith) is imaculate!

You shall be duly advised of the fall of Port Hudson and the opening of the Mississippi.

### THE JESSIE AND MARGARET.

NASSAU, June 6.

A most abominable outrage was committed by the Rhode Island on the steamer Margaret and Jessie, from Charleston, some days since. She was shelled, and a shot sent into her boiler when within 100 yards of the shore. The shelling was continued for several miles along the coast, and the shot falling on land caused no little consternation among the inhabitants of the little fishing settlements. She was at last run ashore, and has since been got off by the wreckers, who demand a high rate of salvage, which the owners will be compelled to pay.

The cotton is much damaged. She was commanded by Captain Wilson, of "Emilie St. Pierre" notoriety.

This case differs from that of the Blanche only in the fact that the Rhode Island did not burn the steamer. We are curious to know what Earl Russell will say to it.

The enclosed letter, published in our local newspapers, is a copy of one addressed to the Yankee Consul here, and shows the system of blockade we are subjected to in a British port. The letter, of course, was not intended for the hands into which it came, but its genuineness is beyond all doubt. If properly represented by our Governor, it may lead to some protection being afforded to our shipping from the Yankee pirates. We are now absolutely without a single gun-boat. We have the Rosario, but she can only be classed as a tub, and her commander seems peculiarly alive to the importance of avoiding any interference with these legal raids of the Yankees.

[The following are the extracts referred to by our correspondent]:—

[*Nassau Guardian*,"] Wednesday, June 3.

We have to record this evening another unjustifiable outrage committed by a Federal gunboat within the prescribed limits of our shores.

On Saturday last the steamer Margaret and Jessie, Captain Wilson, from Charleston, for this port, was fallen in with by the Federal steamer Rhode Island, off Abaco, and chased until she arrived close to the shore of James Point, Eleuthera.

There would have been no legal cause of complaint had the pursuit and firing ceased as soon as the Margaret and Jessie approached within the distance of three miles from the land; but as she neared the coast, and was only 250 yards off, that is, between the reef and the land, the gunboat, which was not more than from a quarter to half a mile distant, commenced pouring in broadside after broadside—varying the performance with shot, grape, and shell—not only to the imminent danger of all on board (and there were ladies among the passengers), but to the serious alarm of the inhabitants of the island, who suddenly found themselves subjected to a sharp and decisive bombardment. The missiles fired from the Rhode Island ploughed up the earth in various directions, and came in close proximity to, if not actually passing through, dwellings, and driving people to seek refuge behind rocks and other projections. This was kept up for miles, and at length the Margaret and Jessie received a shot through her boiler, and another through her bows, which forced her to take to the beach, then only fifty yards distant. We understand that one of the firemen was injured, and if a fatal result should ensue, it will assuredly be a case of aggravated murder.

Such are the plain facts of this ferocious outrage. No amount of prevarication and shuffling will enable the officers of the Rhode Island to prove that the offence was committed beyond the territorial limits of this colony. There are too many disinterested witnesses to the transaction, whose testimony will out-weigh any combination to pervert its truth. When the same vessel fired into the Sirius a few weeks ago there were no spectators on shore to determine the distance, and the assertion of the commander that he was five miles off was received as conclusive. But the captain of the Sirius, whose character for veracity cannot be impeached, emphatically stated that he was fired at within two miles of the land.

It is high time indeed that the Home Government should act energetically with respect to these aggressions. Certainly the circumstances connected with the attack on the Margaret and Jessie, and on Eleuthera are so flagrant that they cannot well be overlooked; and whilst, no doubt, reparation will be expected and made, yet the intimation should be conveyed also that a repetition of such outrages will not be tolerated. It will require in future not the exercise of forbearance, but of firmness, to prevent a rupture of peaceful relations.

Since penning the above, we have been informed that two men engaged in fishing off Eleuthera were struck by the missiles fired from the gunboat.

The steamer Racoon was specially despatched to Eleuthera on Monday, by the agents of the Margaret and Jessie, Messrs. H. Adderley and Co., in order to render assistance, but the latter had got off the beach, and arrived here yesterday.

To the Editor of the *Nassau Guardian*.

SIR,—The following letter, addressed to a Yankee resident of this city, was picked up the other day. Correspondence of this nature is not ordinarily intended for the public eye, but when found in the open street, the inference would seem to point to such a glut of this kind of literature, as will more than compensate for the loss of merely one specimen. And this inconvenience is remedied by the publicity now given to the underground mail arrangement, one which doubtless performs its functions with commendable precision, and might be invoked possibly as an efficient auxiliary in extending the facilities for inter-insular communication. Cautious people may object to the perfect freedom with which the neighbouring islands, cays and light-houses are employed for the purpose of experimenting on the rights of neutrals, but these persons will derive their best consolation from a frequent perusal of those doctrines of international law, laid down with such emphasis and clearness by the noble Earl who presides over the Department of Foreign Affairs,—doctrines which have this advantage moreover, that they are made to expand or contract just as the necessities of the case may require.—International law as now construed being little else but international inconsistency. X.

Nassau, May 28, 1863.

United States Gunboat Tioga.

At Sea, April 29, 1863.

My dear Sir,—Failing to find any communication from you at Stirrup Keys, I wrote South West Point, Bahama, by one Jerry Hanna; did you receive it?—requesting you to write me to Abaco Light, employing Hanna as the medium of communication, as I think he can be relied upon.

I have not yet been able to visit A. Light yet, on account of southerly winds and looking up a schooner. I had pretty good information of the President; has she arrived in Nassau yet?

I fell in with the Admiral shortly after despatching that last letter to you. He approved of the suggestion sending our communications to A. Light and Stirrup Keys, employing a schooner showing the American flag.

I made prize of the sloop Justina, master Stevenson, from India River, Florida. The sloop was old and leaky, and blowing fresh, was compelled to take the eight bales of cotton out of her, and destroy her—partly at the suggestion of her former master and owner, and the necessity of the occasion, the cap-



tain signing a certificate to that effect, which I copy here, as the fellow will misrepresent the circumstances, so that I write you to have the truth of the matter, and publish it if necessary,—he's a sharp rascal, tried to get a letter into a boat to warn Nassau people of our whereabouts. Found him trying to ascertain our position at sea by getting a meridian altitude of the sun. Shall send the fellow as far North as possible, as generally, however, try and get rid of all prisoners as soon as possible, as I have no room for them, nor can furnish twenty or thirty men with provisions—again, were I to leave the crews aboard the prizes, should have to double and treble the crew in charge, which I cannot well spare.

Then if the fellow will lie in the face of the above, I trust you will set the matter at rest.

I don't know what route the runners—steamers, go and return now. We have not seen one, barring the Norseman, just from Europe.

Did the schooner Sybil arrive all right, purporting to come from Matamoros, Mexico? I begin to suspect those vessels have forged papers. Can you get any clue to them? I know that one schooner I visited from Mexico had regular papers, the forms being printed in New York. We fell in with several vessels going to Nassau for registers.

Any privateers about the Bahamas?

Ah, but how, when, and where do the steamers go and come?—they have got a new route, certain, for I have been all around Nassau for the past two months, and, excepting the Stonewall Jackson, have not seen a smoke.

I have got a clue to some sailing vessels now, which you will hear of.

Look out for that schooner the Tally oh, she is for mischief, so too that little steamer the Norseman, we boarded. The blustering captain of her said, "England was't going to stand that sort of thing any longer."

Any vessels leaving Nassau with coal?

Did you find Dames, and my offer to him, &c. &c.?

Send me all the war newspapers—(Nassau ditto.)

We must keep those fellows stirred up. I try.

Yours, CLARY,  
United States' Navy

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, JUNE 30.

There is no doubt that the question of peace or war is in the hands of England at this moment. It is a mistake to suppose that all wars are popular in France;—that in Italy was not, and notwithstanding the elation with which the news of brilliant victories is always received in all countries, and in none more than in France, to this day the Italian war is not popular. There is a feeling which it would be difficult to make Englishmen understand in favour of the temporal power of the Pope, and this feeling has been deeply hurt by the result. Even now in the country places one finds not only old women, but men who remind their hearers that when the Italian campaign was commenced, the Minister of Cultes (Religion) wrote to the bishops that the throne of the Pope was in no way imperilled. It is otherwise with a war in favour of Poland. The old injustice of the partition is remembered; Voltaire's congratulations on the genius which dictated it are forgotten, and the descendants of Frenchmen who welcomed it a hundred years ago as the end of a hopeless anarchy, are now—legitimists, imperialists, and republicans—of one mind to demand the restoration of Polish nationality. It is a popular sentiment which Napoleon III. is unable to resist, it is contrary to the wishes of the Bourse, but if he can obtain the concurrence of England, I should say, rather, if this be forced upon him, he will be obliged to yield to it. The press is almost unanimously in favour of Poland; the atrocities of the Russian troops are daily paraded in its columns, and the fact that these atrocities are equalled by the Poles is carefully suppressed. Every paper in Paris had an account of the hanging of Count Plater; only two mentioned that he had begun by hanging the peasants who refused to take up arms. That these things are allowed to appear clearly proves the readiness of the Government to force upon Russia some measure in favour of Poland. In the thirty years of emigration the Poles have not been idle, and they have secured an amount of sympathy, not undeserved by the chiefs of the emigration, well earned by the very numerous body who have settled here to useful trades, but which the mass of the adventurers who battered on the public was far from meriting. It is, perhaps, the only political question which has united all parties. The legitimist and clerical party see only the schismatical Russian who has systematically persecuted the Catholic religion; the republicans welcome every cause which can be turned to the profit of the revolution; and those whom no party-feeling sways, think only of the redressing of an old but unquestionable wrong. Add to this the fierce hatred of Prussia, equalled only by the traditional enmity to England, which is the common feeling of France, and the calculation, which is already popular, that Prussia will pay the expenses of the war with the frontier of the Rhine. If England holds aloof no one believes in war; if England joins France in this question, it is not doubted that war will be the upshot. Prussia, not Russia, is the real object of attack on this side, and this war will be popular throughout France, where the conduct of the Prussian troops in 1792, 1814, and 1815, has not been forgotten. It will be the glory of the present Emperor to have rubbed off old scores first with Russia, then with

Austria, afterwards with Prussia. England only will remain his debtor. For how long? asks the Frenchman. I do not believe that the Emperor would countenance such speculations, but they are ripe.

Of the Paris papers the *Presse* and the *France* are the only ones which do not cry out for war, the former because its singularly clever editor-in-chief, M. Emile de Girardin, has invented a solution of his own—free Poland in free Russia; the latter because it represents what would have been called, in the times of Mazarin, the party of the political.

I have given the precedence to the Polish question before speaking of the change of ministers, not ministry. I believe the *INDEX* was the first paper in Europe to point out with any detail the contemplated changes. That its correspondent did not anticipate the full extent to which they have been carried, nor the names of the new men, may be excused by the fact that they are so thoroughly new men, that the name of not one of them was known out of the bureaucratic circle to any individual in Paris, and those who knew their names were the last to suspect them of being of the stuff of which ministers are made. Their political insignificance is probably the best guarantee for their practical ability as ministers. The public has already named this ministry that of men of business. With such a responsible editor as the present Emperor, a ministry of men of business is perhaps the best that could be found for France. The formation of a new ministry has been speedily followed by a project of administrative reform, of which the importance is indicated by its being deemed worthy of an Imperial rescript. The value of this measure of decentralisation, which on the bases laid down by the Emperor may affect the entire system of administration, a system which dates from the latter half of Louis XIV's reign, can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the wheel-within-wheel machinery by which the French Government was worked. De Tocqueville has shown that the Revolution and the first empire only continued and perfected the system of centralization, which the latter monarchy devised. He mentions thirty-two formalities which had to be fulfilled to obtain leave to make some repairs in a village church, and the Emperor speaks of eleven references and two years' delay before an unopposed application can be granted. The abolition of laws and decrees which this measure will necessitate, will be on a scale hardly less vast than would be the purging of our statute books. The 14,711 laws and decrees passed between the year '89 and the dissolution of the Convention, have been far more than doubled since then. The Emperor in doing away with these formalities, which hampered not only all public business, but even private enterprise, makes a first step towards creating a spirit of local self-reliance in France. When the Government no longer claims to be consulted on every trifling measure, the governed will cease to depend upon any initiative but their own.

The belief in a projected mediation in America gains ground in the Paris press, and especially in that portion most hostile to the South, in proportion as it seems to be discredited in England. The *Opinion Nationale* of last night speaking of the intervention in favour of Poland, of which it is one of the warmest supporters, says:—"Poland is now at our doors. Railways and the telegraph place us in rapid or instantaneous communication with that country, so worthy of our solicitude, and with the aid of steam we could, in a few days, disembark an army on the coast of Samogitia. But one is tempted to believe that the cabinets incline to postpone European questions to those which arise every day in the furthest countries of the globe. We have made war by turns in China and Cochin China, in Mexico, and we seem likely to go next to Japan, and it is now certain that the French Government is about to compromise itself with the Cabinet of Washington, by offering a mediation which we have always opposed, because in our opinion it may carry us further than we can wish to go. An article in the *Mémorial Diplomatique*, which we reproduce without, of course, accepting its responsibility, gives all the details of the negotiations which are said to be begun with the British Cabinet with a view to this mediation. According to the *Mémorial* the French proposition may be reduced to two lines, 'Recognition of the Confederate States and a six months' armistice with a raising of the blockade.'"

The article here referred to says that an answer was expected from London on Sunday. My inquiries lead me to doubt whether any such has been received, or could have been made in the time, to propositions which Lord Russell stated had not been made on Friday night.

The Emperor held yesterday the first council of his new cabinet. The sitting was a long one, but the subjects debated have not yet transpired, with the exception of the publication of the decree rendering the Bakers' trade free in Paris. This measure has long been under discussion, and was strongly opposed by M. Haussmann, the prefect of the Seine. Prince Polignac, the son-in-law of M. Mires, son of the celebrated minister, died this morning. He was a most accomplished mathematician. It is this evening announced that the conferences

on Poland, if accepted by Russia, will be held in Brussels.

The *Moniteur* of this morning has the first page filled with the despatches just arrived from Mexico. There is a report not contained in these despatches, that General Ortega has broken his parole and escaped to Mexico, with five members of his staff. In a letter from New York it is mentioned that a deputation of Louisianians had gone to Washington with an offer to guarantee the submission of that State, if the constitution be again put in force, and property, including the slaves, is respected. This news is given as certain, however improbable it may seem; the reason assigned being the conviction felt by the Louisianians that the object of the United States' Government is to depopulate the country, and afterwards recolonise it. By its treaty with the United States at the time of the cession of Louisiana, France would, in such a case, have a right to interfere.

## AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

THE minimum rate of discount at the Bank of England remains at 4 per cent.; the rate charged by the Bank of France is also 4 per cent., and at present there seems no immediate prospect of a change. Of course a great deal will depend upon the state of the weather; for the harvest, which will, during the next few weeks, exercise great effect, while the payment of the dividends on and after the 11th inst., will in a degree indicate whether the general supply in the open market will or will not increase. Even the most sanguine capitalist and financier, do not expect to see a lower rate rule than 3½ per cent. should the influx of Australian and American gold continue, and the exports of specie to the East be kept at a low point. If an alteration in this direction should take place, it would probably ensue about the middle of the current month, but a great number of parties scarcely fancy that any alteration will be made. A reduction of a half per cent. would not much matter, and as the market is now supposed to be more than ever regulated by the law of supply and demand, the Bank in self-defence, if capital becomes more abundant, will have to take action; it would be a subject for regret, however, if through comparative stagnation of trade, the general terms of accommodation are to drop lower, since in that case unusual stimulus would be afforded to speculative enterprises, which have already accumulated to an extent sufficient to produce apprehensions for ultimate consequences. Business in the aggregate is not in an unhealthy state considering the restrictions placed upon it by the American struggle, and the returns in many branches are satisfactory, but if any relief could be obtained in relation to our Transatlantic connections by the raising of the blockade or the absolute recognition of the South, then it would expand and in such proportion that the rate of discount would immediately increase through the new channels opened for mercantile adventure requiring enlarged financial facilities. The money and discount markets have experienced pressure for the last two days—first, from the reserves held to pay off the proprietors of Udon Bay stock, who have drawn forward their rights and privileges to the International Financial Society at the price of £300 for the original £100 issue,—and secondly, in consequence of heavy payments of interest in railway debentures first falling due. To aggravate the temporary stringency there have also been an arrangement of engagements to close the half-year, and the fortnightly settlements at the Stock Exchange. Although the demand has then been exceptionally augmented no increase of resources has been available. The Joint Stock and private banks refusing any proportional aid having to provide for their own periodical balance. After to-morrow we may expect a partial mitigation of the tightness as the effect of some of these causes will have passed; but it is believed that the average full quotations will be maintained. The terms for three months' bills are 3½ to 4 per cent., with difficulty in placing them at the former price. Six months' bankers' remittance bills are negotiated at 4½ per cent., but there is not now so great a disposition to take them in.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The gold sent into the Bank the last week has been £308,000, including £40,000 this afternoon. The bullion arrivals have been £982,426, of which £81,131 were reported to-day. They have been principally from Australia, America, the East Indies, and the Pacific. The price of bar silver has gone down to 5s. 1d., and that of Mexican dollars to 5s. 2½d. per ounce. In the latter case it is a decline of nearly 5d. The large arrival by the Shannon occasioned this depression.

### TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 40,000,000 rupees in bills on India took place on the 1st of July, at the Bank of England. The proportion allotted were to Calcutta 22,00,000 rupees, to Bombay 16,00,000 rupees, and to Madras 12,00,000 rupees. The declared minimum price was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta, and 1s. 11¼d. on Bombay and Madras. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 32 per cent., on Bombay at 1s. 11¼d. about 21 per cent., on Madras at 1s. 11¼d. about 45 per cent., and all above these prices in full.

### BANKING FAILURES.

The Hereford Banking Company, following the example of the Ross and Hereford Banking Company, has suspended. The state of credit in the neighbourhood has been terribly shaken. The chief office was at Hereford, with branches at Leominster, Evesham, Hay, and Kingston. The amount of notes issued was fixed at £25,047. The Hereford City and County Bank (Messrs. Matthews and Co.) has likewise been placed in difficulty. The Bank has closed, but it is hoped there will be no large loss to depositors. The fixed amount of notes issued was £22,000. The letters from Hereford state that the place is literally panic-stricken.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The transactions in English Stocks have been on a limited scale, with symptoms of heaviness through the undecided character of foreign political intelligence. Consols were at one period particularly depressed, and went back to 91½ to 92 for money, and to 91½ to 92 for the account; they have since recovered to 92 to 93 for money, and to 92½ to 93 for the account. Exchequer Bills have varied from 4s. discount to par, and may be now considered to stand at that quotation. Violent changes have taken place in foreign securities, and only a moderate recovery has occurred in prices. After Greek went up to a high point, there was an immediate relapse, the price having receded to 34; a rally to 36½ has once more been noticeable; now it is weak at 35 to 36, owing to renewed sales. Mexican and Spanish have oscillated



considerably the former moving between 36½ and 37½, and the latter from 35½ to 34½. There has been a heavy fall in Venezuela, from the intelligence of fresh disturbances in the Republic. Peruvian ought to be better, it being quoted ex-dividend, while the purchases for the sinking fund must come at once into operation.

AMERICAN SECURITIES.

American securities have not been largely dealt in. The Confederate Cotton Company Loan was firm on the advices of yesterday at 1 discount to par. It was less buoyant to-day, because of the character of the debate on the Southern recognition and the payment of another instalment. Virginia 6 per cent. bonds redeemable in 1886 have been taken at 33½ and 34. Northern securities, including Atlantic and Great Western, Illinois Central and others, were rather lower.

RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Business in the market for Railway shares has not been marked by any great activity, and the tendency of prices has been weak. The bulk of the operations have been in the heavier descriptions of securities, but chiefly the last few days at a decline. Indian descriptions have been fairly supported; the Continental are for the moment almost neglected.

PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The fever for Joint-Stock speculation has not abated. Companies continue to be introduced one after another in rapid succession, but they cannot all succeed. The most important undertaking announced within the past few days has been the Brazilian and Portuguese Bank, which is to come into competition with the London and Brazilian Bank; and the latter enjoying a very good position, the former is regarded with partial favour. Next in importance come the Credit Metropolitan and the Leasehold Investment Company. The issue of each will depend upon management, partaking, as they do, of the principle involved in the existing Building Societies. The Newport Dry Dock Wood and Shipbuilding Company, the Staffordshire Rolling Stock Company, the Richmond Hotel Company, and the West Kent Music Hall, are ephemeral enterprises that depend upon the temper of the public market, which is already overweighted, and cannot be long sustained if the present high pressure pace is to be persevered in.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The heaviness which has long prevailed in every department of our American trade, has not been either modified or increased perceptibly by the last advices in reference to the new phase which the war has assumed. The uncertainty as to its duration is unrelieved, and transactions are entered upon in the same cautious spirit as hitherto observed. In the protracted absence of speculation, however, which has thus been induced, the markets for American produce, as well as for articles adapted to American requirements, have acquired a degree of strength which renders them not easily affected by any other than the legitimate influence of actual supply and demand. The cotton purchases, since this day week, have been quite up to the recent moderate average, prices graduating upwards ¼d. per lb. Some rather extensive sales of

Western leaf tobacco have recently been made, for Mediterranean port, and the better qualities of this description becoming relatively scarce, bring very full prices, whilst Maryland and Ohio tobacco do not realize the improvement that had been expected, and the trade generally is without any great amount of activity. American wheat and flour, in common with our own, is influenced by the extremely fine weather for the harvest, and with its continuance lower prices may be regarded as tolerably certain. With extremely little doing, American oil-cake remains stationary in value. The trade in turpentine is at the moment confined to the produce of France, which offers at 89s. to 90s. per cwt., whilst the small stock of American is held at 99s. to 100s. Petroleum is again coming more into demand, and crude Pennsylvanian is firm at £17 per ton; stocks are not considered heavy. The few American orders in the market for Cape aloes can be filled up only at high prices, good qualities being firmly held at about 45s. to 46s. per cwt. Cardamoms promise a better market for buyers, available supplies having increased, and further consignments of some extent being on the way. Camphor has fallen 20s., bringing the present price to £6 per cwt.; the stock here is heavy, and a large quantity coming; a further reduction is therefore probable. American oil of peppermint, the stock of which is very much reduced, is firm at 16s. for Hotchkiss mark, an advance of 3s. to 4s. from the late lowest point. Alexandria gum arabic is scarce, and likely to rule high; fine "sorts" are difficult to buy under 60s., and fine picked ranges up to £7 per cwt. Shellac is 5s. per cwt. cheaper, but is still very dear; and, considering the statistical position of the market, prices are supported remarkably well. Plumbago suitable for the American demand continues very scarce and dear; 29s. to 30s. per cwt. is quoted for fine. Several purchases of bar iron for the States are reported, and moderate orders are said to be still in hand; full rates have in all cases been paid, and there are no indications of being able to buy upon more advantageous terms. Pig iron is also very firm, and has advanced 2s. to 2s. 6d. per ton within a month, in the face of considerable stocks.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 1.

At the close of our last report the cotton market was dull and lifeless, with a small demand daily from the trade, prices were barely steady.

On Thursday and Friday, with sales of 6000 and 5000 bales, a considerable desire to realize was apparent, and lower prices were accepted to effect sales—Chinas being sold in quantity at 14½d. and Middling Bowed at 20d. This depression was mainly caused by the revived mediation rumours, which still obtained some credence.

On Saturday, however, it became known by Lord Russell's statement in the House that no overtures had yet been made by the Emperor of the French to our Government regarding mediation; at the same time the startling news was received by the Persia of a second Northern invasion by the Confede-

rates, and the advance of a small force into Pennsylvania. This movement on the part of the Confederates was generally considered as unfavourable to the prospect of cotton supplies from the West, as it would prevent reinforcements going forward to Grant, and so strengthen the Confederate cause on the Mississippi; at the same time by the rigorous measures President Lincoln had adopted, and the response to these by the different state governors, the flagging zeal of the North appeared to have received a fresh impetus, and under an invasion cry—probably an exaggerated one—their armies would be largely recruited, and volunteers thus obtained for the prosecution of the war which could be raised in no other way. Our market accordingly showed more activity, and with sales of 6000 bales, the decline of the two previous days was recovered.

On Monday a fair business was done at steady prices, sales 5000. Yesterday the market was very slow, awaiting the result of Roebuck's motion for Southern recognition. To-day 5000 bales have been sold without change, the market closing very quietly. We quote Middling Orleans 21½, Fair Egyptian 20½, Fair Dhollerah and Omrawatie 17½ to 18.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, June 30.

Since our last report there has been no new feature in the condition of our market, the same dull feeling has prevailed throughout the week, buyers taking only the smallest parcels possible, and making business of quite a retail character.

The uneasy feeling, as regards the present aspect of the American question, and the fear that France may enter into negotiation with our Government, having for its object the recognition of the South, all this has a depressing effect on the market generally.

Spinners and manufacturers who are running out of contract, are anxious to take orders, as they do not feel disposed to go on working to stock with such an uncertain future hanging over their heads, and rather than do so if the present state of things should continue, they will close their mills again.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of June 25, are—

- Case of the Alexandria.
- The Siege of Port Hudson; our New Orleans Letter.
- The Alabama and the Georgia.
- Special Correspondence from Bahia.
- Letter from Paris.
- Letter from Turin; Federal Recruiting in Italy.
- Letter to the Editor on Recognition.
- A British Monument to Jackson.
- Recognition before Parliament.
- Vicksburg and Port Hudson.
- The Value of the Southern Trade.
- Mr. Mason a Friend of England.
- Extracts from Southern Papers.

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It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

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The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COURTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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# THE INDEX

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Vol. III—No. 63.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 9, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

THE EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS: FEDERAL REPULSE AT PORT HUDSON.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE EMPEROR AND MR. ROEBUCK.  
THE NORTH ON ITS DEFENCE.  
A CONCEIVABLE CALAMITY.  
DRAMATIC TOPICS.  
TWO WRITERS ON THE WAR.  
AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN ON THE SOUTH.  
REVIEWS FOR JULY.  
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.  
LIST OF REFUGEES FROM NEW ORLEANS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE only definite intelligence of the movement of the Confederate army is, that the Federals have evacuated Carlisle, that the Confederates have occupied McConnellsburg, after driving Milroy out of that place. According to the Northern reports General Lee is cutting off Washington from communication with the States. The estimates of the Confederate forces differ considerably. The highest gives General Lee 130,000 men for his forward movement, and leaves 40,000 troops in the neighbourhood of Richmond. The Northern critics seem to agree that "General Hooker can no longer choose his ground, or, as he boasted, give battle or abstain. He will be compelled to fight at the moment General Lee thinks proper to attack him, and he cannot postpone a fight when the day comes."

On the 14th of June General Banks made an attack on Port Hudson. The assault was repulsed with heavy loss, and the Confederates, making a sortie, spiked the siege guns. An account of the operation will be found in the letter of our New Orleans Correspondent.

We have no news from Vicksburg, except that General Kirby Smith has possession of Milliken's Bend, above that city. There are various rumours about Confederate forces in Grant's rear.

The apathy of the Northern people, whilst their soil is being invaded, is a complete refutation of the oft-repeated assertion, that the recognition of the Confederate States would rouse the North to fresh exertion to continue the war. The most bigoted opponent of recognition cannot pretend that it would be more galling than invasion.

The Northern accounts of the defeat of Milroy at Winchester represent it as a complete and disgraceful disaster. The Confederate attack commenced on the 13th of June, and was renewed on the following day. At midnight a council of war was held, and three hours later the Federal troops were ordered to retreat to Harper's Ferry. The retreat soon became a rout. "Our losses," writes a Northern correspondent, have indeed been terrible. Not a thing was saved, except that which was worn or carried upon the persons of the troops. Three entire batteries of field artillery and one battery of siege guns—all the artillery of the command, in fact—about two hundred and eighty wagons, over twelve hundred horses and mules, all the commissary and quartermaster's stores and ammunition of all kinds, over six thousand muskets and small arms without stint, the private baggage of the officers and men, all fell into the hands of the enemy. Of the seven thousand men of the command, only from sixteen hundred to two thousand have as yet arrived here, leaving to be accounted for over five thousand men. These comprise the list of horrors, except the names of the killed and wounded, which it is impossible to ascertain, as the

slain remained unburied, and the wounded unsurgeoned where they fell." Other accounts estimate Milroy's forces at 15,000 men. Nor does the above extract give the entire losses. The *New York Herald* informs us that "two regiments were captured wholesale," and that "the officers were compelled to leave even their wives behind them in the hands of the enemy." They knew that their wives would be safe, for there are no such men as Milroy in the Confederate service. According to a letter written by a Federal officer, and published in the Northern papers, the flight was commanded,—"The General told us to look out for ourselves." This Milroy, whom his countrymen now justly stigmatise as an arrant coward, is noted as a bully. He it was who made war on the women and children of Winchester. He it is who has shown no mercy to the weak and defenceless. He it was who lately wrote a letter to a meeting of the "loyal league," held in New York, in which he proposed to curb the freedom of the press and freedom of speech in the North. He it was who behaved himself so extravagantly at the second battle of Bull Run. "When he spoke to me," says General McDowell in his evidence before the Congressional Committee, "he was in a frenzy, not accountable scarcely for what he said, and attracted the attention of every one by his unseemly conduct." No wonder that such a creature should flee in terror from the presence of a brave enemy. The only wonder is that even such a Government as Lincoln's should trust him with a command. It is reported that he has been relieved of his command.

How the negro fares in the North, and particularly in the city which is the head-quarters of Abolitionism, we may learn from a paragraph that appeared in the *New York Herald* of the 23rd June. It says—"In Boston last year the number of coloured births was only forty-five, and the year before only forty-seven. In the last eight years the births have been three hundred and four, and the deaths five hundred. In every year the deaths have exceeded the births." In the South the negro increases in a greater ratio than the white race. Such facts tell us plainly where the negro is best treated.

The Confederate cruisers are daily destroying Federal vessels, or releasing them on bond. A Confederate steamer is off Cape Sable destroying the fishing vessels; and three other vessels are reported at work off the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. In all the published statements of the captains of the vessels so destroyed or bonded, there is a frank admission of the courteous treatment of the crews by the captors. It seems as if the North determined to do all that is possible to make the South give up conducting war according to the rules of civilization.

The commanders of the blockading fleet at Charleston, maddened by their non-success, and the small amount of prize money they make, have commenced sinking blockade runners instead of capturing them. The *Herald*, from Nassau, has been sunk, and the Federal Lieutenant West reports, "The fate of her officers and crew is unknown, as broadside after broadside was poured into her on every side until she sank." It is also asserted that another vessel has been sunk in like manner, name unknown. The same report from which we have quoted says,—"The blockade off Charleston is perfect. The fleet hereafter will not wait to capture, but will fire broadside after broadside into the blockade runners, until they sink or surrender." Are the Confederates to submit to this system without retaliation? And where is it to end? Will the fleets blockading the British port of Nassau, and the port of Matamoras act on the same plan? Will British vessels going to these ports be sunk on the supposition that at some future time they intend to try to run

the blockade? Perhaps this accounts for the Federal steamer persistently firing into the *Jessie* and *Margaret*.

A glance at the Northern papers shows the disunity at the North. All the comments on the war consist of angry recriminations against the Government and against the several parties. The *New York World* declares that incompetent generals have been selected for the highest posts. "The South has sent its best men to the front, and its worst to the rear, but we have reversed their process." The *Tribune* virulently abuses the people of Pennsylvania: "No passion stirs the sluggish blood of this unworthy race to any noble purpose. Roused they certainly are, but the excitement is wholly of fear, and the only thought is of retreat." The *New York Times* says—"It becomes Washington to put its hand on its mouth, and its mouth in the dust. While Washington monopolises the military power and resources of the States, it has no right to cast upon the States the duty of self-defence." The *New York Herald* bitterly denounces the apathy of New England, and asks, "Where are Greeley's 900,000 abolitionists who have never smelled battle, but who were ready to advance against the rebels, making the welkin ring with the song of 'John Brown' the moment the President complied with the demands of the radicals?" The same journal, referring to the indifference of the people of New York, and especially of the Government contractors, says:—"Hitherto they have had no desire that the war should cease. Every day that it has been prolonged they have been able to coin more money from the distresses of their fellow-citizens, and for this purpose they have assisted in prolonging it. Now, at length, they will perhaps be taught by bitter experience some of the woes which they have prepared for other people; and, if they could all be drafted, equipped in their own shoddy uniforms, fed upon the hard tack and diseased meat they have foisted upon our soldiers, armed with the defective rifles and useless muskets they have sold to the Government, and sent to the frontier to be the first targets for the rebel cannon, the country would be greatly benefited by the operation." The quarreling is not confined to the press. General Parker, of New Jersey, has disagreed with General Curtin, of Pennsylvania, and has directed the troops recently sent into that State to return to their respective places of enrolment, to be mustered out of the service.

The Northerners are astonished at the orderly conduct of the Confederate troops. Referring to the occupation of Chambersburg, we are told, "The rebels behaved themselves unusually well for soldiers. \* \* The people are well satisfied that the raid brought with it only so few disadvantages. They did not expect the considerate treatment that they have received at the hands of the enemy; on the contrary, they were prepared to witness scenes of the wildest disorder. The town does not present an injured appearance. The streets are very dirty; but the general appearance of the whole place is about the same as it was before the raid." The *New York Express*, of June 23rd, says, "The Confederates heap coals of fire upon our heads by not acting in a similar manner in Pennsylvania. Indeed, they might relieve us from shame, if they would only burn up a town or two, and thus take the blushes off our cheeks."

The Vicksburg correspondent of the *New York World* declares that the ammunition furnished by the Government contractors is so bad, that "the troops were ordered to fall back to save them from their own guns."

The Confederate steamer *Atlanta*, formerly the *Fingal*, commanded by Captain Webb, has been captured by the Federals after an engagement of fifteen minutes. After the surrender, Captain Webb addressed his crew, and



attributed the misfortune to the vessel running aground. The Atlanta only fired five times.

Federal officers are not all good soldiers, but some of them are excellent hauguen. Two Confederates have lately been sentenced by General Burnside to be hanged: J. C. Lisle, of General Morgan's command, on the charge of being a spy; and J. T. Deal, on the charge of aiding and abetting the enemies of the Government.

The *New York Tribune* gives a list of five Federal lieutenants who have lately been dismissed the service: three for drunkenness and two for cowardice.

#### ENGLAND.

On Wednesday, the 1st of July, the Lord Mayor of London entertained the Earl of Derby, and the most eminent members of the Conservative party, in the two Houses of Parliament at dinner at the Mansion House. In answer to the toast of his health, proposed by the Lord Mayor, the noble earl made a long, and of course an eloquent harangue. He eulogised the forbearance and loyalty of the Conservative party in Opposition, which was the more praiseworthy when the pretext for its expulsion from office was considered. He ridiculed the weakness of Lord Palmerston's administration, the barrenness of its attempts at legislation, and its inability to rely on its supposed supporters, while he pointed out that the Opposition had in fact been supreme, its efforts in the furtherance of a Conservative line of policy being ably seconded by the present Premier. He stigmatised the representation of the city of London by four Liberal members as a monstrous monopoly, and deprecated the return of his own party to power, except in the event of its attaining an absolute majority in the Lower House. Mr. Disraeli returned thanks for the House of Commons, but his speech was more of a lively and humorous tone, than replete with political declarations. Speeches were also delivered by Lord Stanley and Lord Chelmsford. The distinguished visitors wore official costume, the remaining guests wore uniform or Court dress. Many ladies of high rank were present.

An equally interesting and not unimportant dinner took place the following evening in the metropolis; the anniversary festival of the Acclimatization Society being the subject of celebration. The particular purpose on this occasion was, "to illustrate in the first place some of the special objects of the Society, as for example—the introduction of the Chinese sheep, and the yam, or *Dioscorea Batatas*; and in the second place, the food of other countries which do not usually find their way to our tables." The chair was taken by Mr. Herman Merivale, C.B., and besides many noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, the celebrities, Captain Speke and Captain Grant, and M. P. Du Chaillu were present. The peculiar dishes were the white soup of the Channel Islands, *Lucio-perca*, grenouilles, or edible frogs, pepperpot, Chinese lamb, with pilaff and kuscoussoo, poulets à l'émancipation des negres, and ostrich eggs. Greek, Hungarian, Australian, and Californian wines were drunk. The rooms were of tropical temperature, and decorated with the horns and skins of many strange beasts.

A most disastrous fire, involving considerable loss of property, occurred last week in Liverpool, in the immediate vicinity of the Town-hall and Exchange. The buildings in which the fire broke out contained Egyptian and Sea Island cotton, and were flanked by other warehouses stored with petroleum and resin. The principal destruction of property was on the premises of Chapple, Dutton, and Co. At the time that the fire was demonstrating its ruinous powers in Liverpool, a series of experiments were being conducted in the gardens of the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham, to test the most effective description of steam-engine for the extinction of fires. Premiums of £250 for the best engine, and of £100 for the second best in the respective classes of engines not exceeding 30 cwt., and engines over 30 cwt., but not exceeding 60 cwt., exclusive of coal and gear, secured an entry not only of several English, but also of two American engines, designated as the Manhattan and the Alexandra. Each engine was to work for two hours, to raise its feed-water from a depth of eighteen feet, and to deliver it up a very steep hill through a 400 feet length of hose. The Manhattan, the representative of the New York Fire Brigade, after much straining vibration, and various vain efforts to project the water through the water-target, broke down hopelessly, and refused to do any more work. The Alexandra was more successful, and the general results of the English engines were highly satisfactory.

The annual match at the great English game of cricket between the Government and the Opposition side of the

House of Commons has taken place. The Opposition was in immense force, and obtained 259 runs in the first innings. The Government only scored 46 runs in the first and 136 runs in the second innings, and consequently was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Not one of the eleven gentlemen on either side, however great they may be in athletic sports, or whatever may be their constancy in parliamentary attendance, and consistency in voting for their party, is known to fame as an orator or politician. It is not impossible that the cricket match was quite as attractive in the absence of the learned element. However that may be, the Government seems destined to defeat in all places and under all circumstances; and the disaster at cricket following close on the vote for the Exhibition Building, in which the Government was left in a minority of 166, must be ominous of evil in the eyes of many, even of those who do not belong to the modern prophetic school of Zaddiel.

The Archers from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland held their annual contest on the first and two following days of this month, at the city of Oxford. There were 155 competitors; 55 ladies, and 100 gentlemen. Unfortunately the weather was too boisterous to admit of satisfactory shooting. The renowned Mr. Ford was defeated for the championship by Mr. Peter Muir, while Mrs. Horniblow succeeded in maintaining her position as the Lady Champion of England.

In a suit in the Court of Chancery, instituted by Messrs. Tinsley, to restrain Thomas Hailes Lacy, the theatrical publisher, from issuing in a dramatic form the celebrated novels "Lady Audley's Secret" and "Aurora Floyd," the works of Miss Braddon, the Vice-Chancellor Wood decreed a perpetual injunction. The novels have been already dramatized with the sanction of the author, and played at various theatres since Christmas. However, a Mr. Suter, not content with the authorized versions, had written one of his own for Mr. Lacy, and this new version had been put on the stage. His method had simply consisted of patching the sensational scenes of the novels, copied bodily from the original, with some low comic business pre-eminently of his own composition. The counsel for the defence endeavoured to institute a comparison between the use which Shakespeare made of Boccaccio's tales and the imitation by Mr. Suter of the works of Miss Braddon. The idea was not particularly complimentary to the great English Dramatist, and the learned judge drew a very decided distinction between the efforts of the poet who had clothed the borrowed incidents in his own immortal language and given "to airy nothings a local habitation and a name," and the compilations of Mr. Suter, the principal design of which seemed to be to illustrate the most glaring method of infringing the Copyright Acts.

At the weekly meeting of the Central Executive Committee, held at Manchester on Monday last, it appeared from the report for the month of June, that a great increase of employment had been afforded in the mills, and that 47 local committees had suspended operations. Moreover, it was stated that 234,642 hands are in full work, 125,037 short time, and 180,729 out of work, against 192,527 full time, 129,741 short time, and 215,512 out of work in the month of April. No further improvement can be anticipated before next summer; and it is expected that at least 100,000 more persons will be in receipt of relief after the commencement of the winter season. No doubt seems to exist but that, with all possible care and economy, the funds of the committee will be entirely absorbed before the close of next winter.

The half-yearly return of the Government emigration officers has been completed. For the half-year ending June 30th, the number of vessels which sailed under the regulations of the Emigration Act was 103, and the number of steerage passengers 47,310. Of these ships 87 sailed for the United States, with 39,902 steerage passengers. The total emigration, up to the end of June of this year, amounted to 78,877 persons, while the return for the whole of last year was but 64,814. The Irish and the inhabitants of the mining districts furnish the great proportion of the emigrants—two classes among which the Federal agents are particularly active.

On Monday last the renowned tragedians, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean sailed for Melbourne, in the Black Ball liner the Champion of the Seas. They were accompanied by Miss Chapman, their niece, and also by Messrs. Cathcart and G. Everett.

The will of Mr. John Gully was proved last week in London. He bequeathed £70,000 of personal property, besides landed estates. This remarkable man, in his boyhood a butcher's assistant, then a prize-fighter and champion of the ring, next a "book-maker" on the turf,

then possessing race-horses of splendid character and performances, eventually succeeded in amassing a large fortune, in obtaining a seat in Parliament, and what is more, in displaying qualities of mind and goodness of heart, such as utterly belied his early life, and extorted from every one a respect enhanced by a knowledge of the adverse circumstances in which so good a reputation had been won.

Her Majesty the Queen has left Windsor Castle for Osborne, in the Isle of Wight, where she will remain till the prorogation of Parliament. The Prince and Princess of Wales are still in London. The former dined with the Duke and Duchess D'Aumale, at Orleans House, last week. The principal members of the Orleans family were present. The Queen of Prussia, who had been staying at the residence of the Prussian Ambassador, in London, since leaving Windsor Castle, started on Monday morning on her return to Berlin. She visited the Queen Marie Amelie at Ramsgate, and then embarked on board the Vivid, Government steamer, for Antwerp.

Last Saturday, the screw steam ship Gibraltar, under which name our Southern friends will recognise the ancient Sumter, left the Mersey for Nassau. She has been considerably strengthened, and carries out some monster guns.

In September next, a Rifle contest will take place at the same time, in England and Australia, between ten English and ten Australian Volunteers. The challenge emanates from Australia, and the No. 1 Company of the Nottingham Robin Hoods, which proved itself the best shooting company in England in the year 1862, will supply the English Champions. The distances will range from 200 to 800 yards, five shots at each distance. The affair is in the management of the Council of the National Rifle Association.

The great annual meeting of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon Common commenced last Monday. Immense exertions have been made to render the meeting as attractive as it has been hitherto. The competitors for the principal prizes to be shot for during the two weeks are encamped on the common, according to the usual custom, and their wants have been engrossing the labours of the Council to a great extent. Nothing can exceed the advantages of Wimbledon, either as a site for the encampment or for the shooting. It is picturesque, very dry, and within six miles of the metropolis. Yet the expense and trouble of rendering it a fit place for the sojourn of the 500 marksmen under canvas convey a faint idea of the wants of an army in the field. The water-service alone costs £190; a comfortable saloon for the sale of more potent liquors—ovens, telegraphs, camp equipage, and a hundred minor contrivances, are provided by the Association, while the volunteer officers appear to escape with the nominal payment for all these contrivances of 25s. each for the whole meeting, and the privates pay but 1s. a-day. The aggregate value of the prize list this year amounts to £4,300, while 1,300 volunteers have entered as competitors for the Queen's prize. The targets are sixty in number, and the Swiss or circular disc principle of marking has been adopted for the majority of them. In the way of eccentricities, the "running deer," the outline of which was sketched by Sir E. Landseer, and which is executed in iron and painted to the life, and also the "running volunteer," with one side in a grey and the other in a red uniform, to test the more distinguishable of the two colours, are not easily to be surpassed. On Monday the Prince of Wales visited the camp, and after a careful examination into the details and plans of the encampment and shooting, proceeded to try his own skill at the various ranges by way of an inauguration of the contest. He was immensely successful both at the fixed targets and the running deer, and his practice was considered equal to that recorded of any single rifle for the year 1862. The Rival Eight, who are to represent England and Scotland in the International match, have been selected. Four members of the famous family of Ross are named among the representatives of Scotland. The regular business commenced on Tuesday with the county matches, in which Lancashire defeated Gloucestershire and Middlesex. In the Oxford and Cambridge match Captain Ross, of Cambridge University—a member of the Scotch family already mentioned, won the Association medal. Amongst the flags of all nations exhibited in the encampment, the Confederate flag was conspicuous.

#### EUROPE.

ALTHOUGH the Russian reply to the English, French, and Austrian notes has not yet been despatched, and is probably not yet drawn up, several continental journals profess to know its substance. According to these soi-



disant authorities—who, it must be observed, are, for once, pretty nearly unanimous—Russia will accept in principle the programme of the three Powers, or, at least, that of Austria, and especially will give a ready assent to the suggestion of a congress. As Russia has everything to gain by delay, it is probable enough that, rejecting altogether the scheme of an armistice, she may accept the rest of the allied programme as the basis of negotiations, which may be protracted until the season for war in the Baltic is over, and she has six good months in which to crush out at her ease the ashes of the insurrection. That she will ever honestly concede the guarantees which are asked for Poland is out of the question. She does not misunderstand her position; she knows that war is very possible, and she is actively preparing for it. The Government is making immense preparations. The fortifications of Cronstadt and Sveaborg are being strengthened under the direction of General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, who has time and means enough at his disposal to render them impregnable; the army is being vigorously recruited, and every disposition is being taken to sustain a gigantic war. It is quite certain, too, that the Government has the enthusiastic support of the nation, which sees in the interposition of the three Powers an offensive interference in the affairs of Russia, a determined resistance to which is demanded by the national dignity. It is said that so entirely has this feeling expressed the public mind, that a complete revolution has occurred in its views of Poland. Formerly, people were ready to abandon Poland, or, at least, to give her the autonomy she is entitled to ask; now they insist upon her retention at any cost, and applaud all the severities of Mouravieff. The Poles, on their part, refuse to accept the six points. They are fighting for national independence, and not for liberty; and these points, moreover, refer only to Congress Poland, and leave the old provinces entirely at the disposition of the Czar. It appears that the National Government has made the demands which the *Morning Post* was instructed to intimate that it would make; it has announced that it will consent to a conference upon condition that an armistice is concluded; that its representatives shall be admitted to the Conference; and that a Diet shall be convoked for Poland and the Western provinces, under the guarantee of Europe and the protection of a Polish national army. These are terms to which Russia cannot consent, and least of all at a time when she feels that she has the insurrection at her feet. She may profess to treat to gain time and disarm Europe, but she would refuse, point-blank, the demand for an armistice.

The telegraphic accounts of great victories and drawn battles, which have come upon us rather thickly this week, may appear to indicate a revival of the insurrection, but, closely examined, they rather bear out the impression that it is at its end. The one piece of intelligence entitled to credit is the incursion into Volhynia from Galicia of a strong expedition numbering nearly two thousand men, under the command of Wysocki, a colleague of Langiewicz. The reports as to the fate of this little army are rather conflicting. It is certain that it has been engaged in several very bloody encounters, has lost one of its chiefs, whilst one division has retreated into Galicia, and it is probable that the advantage is with the Russians. But whatever the issue, this is no insurrectionary movement in Russian Poland. This force has been organizing for a long time in Galicia; its members are Poles, but they are Poles who are subjects of Austria, or who, although subjects of Russia, have long been fugitives from their country. As we have before said, the warlike material of Russian Poland is exhausted, and the contest is kept up from Posen and Galicia.

General Mouravieff goes merrily on with his brutal business at Wilna. He has not shot the Bishop, only sent him to Dunaburg, and afterwards to Perm, not far from the Ural, and a step on the way to Siberia. (Archbishop Felinski has been banished to Jaroslaw, in the interior beyond Moscow), but he goes on shooting priests and proprietors, and fines women who appear in mourning—the flogging was an invention of the Poles.

The National Government of Warsaw on its part is busy issuing decrees, most of which are evidently designed for foreign consumption. Amongst those which are intended for native use is one prohibiting all traffic on certain railways under terrible penalties, and another suppressing lotteries. The latter is worth giving as a sample of the revolutionary style:—"Considering that the lottery is an immoral institution, and that, moreover, it forms a source of revenue for the usurping Government, the National Government decrees, 1. The lottery existing in the kingdom of Poland is suppressed. 2. After the 101st drawing no one may engage in the sale of tickets or purchase them. 3. The execution of the present

decree is confided to the civil and military authorities." The mixture of "considerations" is amusing. The second, we may fairly assume, had the more force.

It is said that the Treasurer of the General Post-office at Warsaw has absconded with 45,000 roubles, leaving a notice to the effect that he acted in accordance with the orders of the National Government. The functionaries who robbed the treasury are to be tried, if they can be caught—the two leading culprits are said to be in Sweden—by a military court.

Telegrams from Constantinople *via* Paris and Vienna announce the outbreak of a revolution in Georgia. Prince Cholukoff, they add, has been murdered, together with 200 soldiers, near the citadel of Zalatal, and the whole province is represented as in revolt. It is not improbable that the tribes which Russia has so recently brought under her sovereignty have availed themselves of the embarrassments created to her by the Polish insurrection to attempt to throw off her yoke; but these telegrams require confirmation.

An Imperial decree orders that a universal exposition of agricultural and industrial products shall open at Paris, in the Palace of Industry, on the 1st of May, 1867, and close on the 30th of September. The products of all nations are to be admitted to this Exposition; the conditions of which are to be regulated by a future decree. The report of M. Rouher, upon which the decree is founded, recommends that the Exposition shall include, as far as possible, the industrial products of all countries, works of art, and, in general, all branches of human activity, and announces that the Minister of State will immediately submit to the Emperor a special decree, authorizing the opening of an Exposition of Fine Arts for the same time. As the charge of the Fine Arts has now been transferred to the Ministry of the Imperial House, Marshal Vaillant is, we may suppose, engaged in preparing the decree, which Count Walewski, had he remained in office, would have presented for the Imperial signature.

A superintendent of theatres has been appointed, and the office given to M. Bacciochi, one of the chamberlains of the Emperor.

Decrees have been published—one re-establishing the class of philosophy in the lyceums, suppressed in 1852, on the ground that the study was unfit for children, and produced only vanity and doubts; the other appointing a special commission to inquire into the means of developing artistic and professional education.

M. Casimir Perier, who had been prosecuted for an article published in the *Impartial Dauphinois* during the elections, and impeaching the financial administration of the Empire, has been acquitted. He was defended by M. Berryer.

The Duke de Morny has repudiated the part assigned to him in the formation of the new Ministry. Complimentary as the imputation was, for the new Ministry has been generally well received, the Duke is right to refuse a position which, if honourable, is also awkward. He writes to the *Constitutionnel*,—"Several journals represent me as intervening in the formation of the ministry, and that in terms which would seem to indicate that they are almost authorized to do so by me. The fact is inexact, and the indecency of such supposition makes me overcome my habitual repugnance to concern myself with what is published on my account."

The King of Prussia is to leave Carlsbad on the 18th. He is, according to some accounts, to meet the Emperor of Austria at an estate in Bohemia belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who is making great preparations for the reception of his distinguished guests. The Crown Prince and Princess have returned from their provincial tour.

There have been some disturbances in Berlin, but not of a political character. A beerhouse-keeper in the Oranien Strasse was ejected by his landlord; his customers, sympathizing with him, broke into the house, and committed a great deal of mischief. A crowd assembled, and refused to disperse when ordered to do so by the police. Ultimately, barricades were erected with the materials taken from some houses building near—Berlin is about the worst town in the world for barricade-makers; its streets are very broad, and pavement is "conspicuous by its absence"—the military were called out, and soon cleared the streets with their swords. Several persons were wounded, and more than twenty were arrested, for the most part apprentices and young workmen. The excitement continued for several days, in spite of warnings and threats from the President of Police, and one or two serious con-

flicts are said by the telegraph to have taken place. Of course, if these disturbances are not suppressed soon, they may assume a political aspect. At present, they are nothing but an outbreak of the Berlin mob; one of the rudest, roughest, and most reckless in the world against the police, for whom they have an intense hatred.

Warnings continue to be freely distributed to the newspapers, and the result is that most of them abstain from all comments on domestic questions, only reprinting the triumphant articles of the organs of the Junker party, which enjoy an unlimited licence, and use it to revile and libel their opponents, who cannot answer them.

A trial has just finished at Turin which has excited very great interest, but to which, from the character of the crimes charged against the prisoners, a very general allusion only is possible. Six fathers of the order of the Ignorantelli, who possessed an establishment in Turin, at which the youth of the upper classes were educated, were arraigned upon the charge of acting with gross immorality towards their pupils. All the youths in the school, it was alleged, had been scandalously corrupted. Three of the fathers fled, and were condemned in *contumaciam*,—one, Father Theoger, the head of the establishment, to fifteen, one to eight, and one to six years' imprisonment. Of the three before the court, one was condemned to five years' imprisonment, and the other two were acquitted. In the present excited state of feeling against the clergy, much political passion has been imported into the trial.

The Italian Parliament is engaged in financial business for which it does not seem to have much stomach. It was so tired of the work of voting the budget of 1863, that it voted the same budget for the following year. Doubtless Herr Von Bismarck-Schonhausen regrets that the Prussian Parliament has not the same horror of figures. The question now before the Parliament is the income-tax, one of the measures by which Signor Minghetti promises the establishment of an equilibrium between income and expenditure at the end of four years. The Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, to which the measure was referred, has made a small rent in his calculation by striking a million sterling from the amount of the tax. The Minister wanted fifty-five million *lire*; it offers him thirty millions, which it divides amongst the provinces; the proportion of each commune, or rather group of 6,000 persons, to be settled by a syndical council with an appeal to the Council of State, the share of each individual to be determined by a municipal commission with an appeal to the prefect. The declaration of the tax-payer is to be the first basis of repartition, and incomes of 200 *lire* (£8) or less are to pay only two *lire*, or 1s. 7d.

The news from Greece is very unsatisfactory. The return of the deputations from their successful mission, charged with an autograph letter from the King to his people, could not stay the party conflicts. The Assembly did, indeed, declare the King of age, but it continued its stormy faction discussions; and now a mutiny has broken out in the army, which, accustomed by the Assembly to consider itself the ruling body, cannot brook the slightest attempt to reduce it to its proper position. We know nothing yet beyond the fact of the outbreak and the inability of the Government to suppress it. According to one account, the English, French, and Russian Ministers have arranged an armistice between the Government and the insurgents. Meanwhile in the provinces the same insubordination is manifest, and Nauplia is in the hands of a discontented soldiery.

The close of the Portuguese Chambers is, perhaps, a matter hardly worth recording, but if recorded at all, the record should be correct. We must, therefore, make a second rectification thereon. We announced, first, on the faith of a telegram supplied to the papers through the usual telegraphic agency, that the Chambers had been closed on the 12th of June, although the budget had not been voted. On the faith of a second telegram we corrected this statement, and substituted the 20th as the date of the event. We have now to make another and final correction—not on the faith of a telegram. The Chambers were closed on the 1st of July by a royal speech, which, *inter alia*, congratulated the members upon having voted the budget.

#### MADAGASCAR.

A revolution has taken place in Madagascar. King Radama II. has been strangled, and his widow Rabodo has been proclaimed sovereign under the name of Rasahery-Mangaka, which, as the *Réunion* newspapers tell us, signifies "Strong power." The revolution seems to have arisen in the discontent provoked by the king's favourites. The notabilities of the island, disgusted with



their corruption, immorality and injustice, assembled, some 5000 or 6000 strong, and demanded from the king the heads of thirty-three of these favourites. The king resisted as long as he could, and at last gave way in part. In vain, however; he was himself strangled—it was announced that he had committed suicide. Rabodo was proclaimed sovereign, accepted the constitution, which it is said provides that she shall not drink strong liquors, and ascended the throne not as successor to Radama, whose reign seems to be treated as null and void, but of his predecessor Ranavolo. This intelligence created some excitement in France, who has always interested herself in Madagascar, and had, indeed, only abandoned her own claims to the sovereignty in a treaty of amity and commerce recently made with Radama, and not yet ratified. It was assumed without waiting for particulars, that the object of the revolution was to put an end to the treaties, and England was at once accused of being its instigator. One of the French papers went so far as to ascribe it to the influence of a particular English missionary. The particulars supplied by the French newspapers of the island of Réunion and by the French consul in Madagascar prove conclusively the absurdity of these accusations. The revolution seems to have had little or nothing to do with the treaties, which, in all probability, will be ratified. It is already announced that liberty of conscience is to be maintained, and the inhabitants say that the whole business is one which exclusively concerns themselves, a statement to which, as they have not injured any foreigners in the slightest degree, we heartily assent.

#### HAYTI.

President Giffard has had a little disagreement with the representatives of the people. They wanted to effect some reduction in the army, and the President disapproving the direction their labours were taking, had recourse to a dissolution. As this measure was not expected, it produced considerable discontent, and the President fearing disturbances has collected troops at Port-au-Prince, and declared the city in a state of siege.

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JULY 2.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A bill for the separation of the Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island was, after a short discussion, read a second time.

THURSDAY, JULY 2.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to a question, Mr. Layard stated that no answer had yet been received to the notes sent by the three Powers to St. Petersburg, relative to the Polish question.

In answer to Mr. Forster, who inquired whether the Emperor of the French had, as Mr. Roebuck had said, made any application to our Government touching Mediation in America, which had been shown to Mr. Seward, and also, whether any recent proposition of that kind had been made by France, Mr. Layard said: I will answer the questions that have been put to me very briefly. It has been asked, first, Has any communication been made to her Majesty's Government by the French Government inviting her Majesty's Government to combine with the French Government in any proposed intervention, mediation, recognition, or interference of any kind? I stated on Tuesday night that no such communication had been made to her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) I repeat it without equivocation (hear, hear), in the broad sense of the word, that no such communication has up to this time been made. (Hear, hear.) I mean, of course, since the communication of last November. (Hear, hear.) I was blamed, too, the other night for not having stated that a communication had been made to the noble lord at the head of the Foreign-office, who mentioned it in another place. The fact is, I was not at the time aware that such a communication had been received, inasmuch as it was not delivered until late in the afternoon. I now repeat it, that Baron Gros, hearing that rumours were in circulation that the hon. and learned member had stated that a communication had been made to her Majesty's Government by the French Government, came to Lord Russell of his own accord, and stated that he had not received any communication on the subject for her Majesty's Government, nor had he received any order to make a communication. (Hear, hear.) Lord Cowley has no knowledge of such a communication, and none has been made to him. I say, therefore, no such communication since last November has been made to her Majesty's Government. (Hear.) I trust that will be satisfactory to the House. (Cheers.) It is well known that M. Drouyn de Lhuys wrote a despatch proposing to her Majesty's Government to invite the United States to claim an armistice, in order that terms of arrangement might be come to between the contending parties. Although that despatch was dated the 10th of October, the communication was not made till the 10th of November. That despatch was read to her Majesty's Government, but no copy of it was given. In the papers relating to North America, marked No. 1, which have been laid upon the table of the House, it was stated in the first paragraph of a letter from Lord Russell to Earl Cowley, dated November 13th, that Count de Flahault came to the Foreign-office and read a despatch relating to the war in North America; but no copy of that despatch was given to her Majesty's Government. (Hear.) A very unusual course with respect to that despatch was taken by the French Government before her Majesty's Government had sent an answer to the proposal. The proposal itself, which had not been communicated to her Majesty's Government otherwise than by reading it, was published in the *Moniteur* of the 13th of November. I hold in my hand a copy of the *Moniteur* containing that despatch, and it is a curious fact that the published despatch ends by requesting Count de Flahault to read the despatch to her Majesty's

Government; but it does not say anything about leaving a copy of the despatch. (Hear, hear.) The answer to that proposal, in the shape of a despatch to Lord Cowley, was sent off on the 13th of November, the very day on which it was published in the *Moniteur*. The answer was delivered to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the 14th; but it was considered so important that the truth should be known, the French Government having taken the unprecedented course of publishing the despatch before receiving the reply of her Majesty's Government, that her Majesty's Government decided on publishing the answer on the same day it was delivered, and accordingly the answer appeared in the *Gazette* on the 14th. (Hear, hear.) The French Government explained why they had published the despatch. They stated that various rumours were abroad that the facts were very much exaggerated, and they thought it necessary to enlighten the public mind. Well, on the 15th, the day after the publication in the *Gazette*, the following despatch was sent, with a published despatch, to Mr. Stuart, who was Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, but it was received by Lord Lyons, who by the time it had arrived out had returned to his post:—

"Lord Russell to Mr. Stuart.

"Foreign-office, Nov. 15, 1862.

"Sir,—I inclose for your information a copy of the *London Gazette* of last evening, containing the answer returned by Her Majesty's Government to a proposal from the Government of the Emperor of the French, that the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia should jointly propose an armistice to the contending parties in North America."

No copy of the French proposal was sent, because Her Majesty's Government had not one at that time in their possession. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir, on the 28th of November, Lord Lyons wrote to Earl Russell:—

"The intelligence that France had proposed to Great Britain and Russia to join her in advising the belligerents in this country to agree to an armistice reached New York by telegraph from Cape Race on the 25th inst. The substance of your Lordship's answer was received at the same time. Yesterday the text of the French proposal, of your Lordship's answer, and of the principal part of the Russian answer, was forwarded to New York by telegraph from Halifax."

(Hear, hear.) I may say that all the papers of the United States had got the entire text of the proposal and answer, and both were extensively commented on, and awakened a great deal of interest and excitement throughout the United States. M. Mercier had received a copy of the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the 22nd, but did not communicate it. But on the 25th, the day of the arrival of the telegrams, M. Mercier went to Mr. Seward and communicated to him the text of the proposal of the French Government. So anxious had Lord Lyons been that he never broached the subject to Mr. Seward, and if hon. members will refer to the papers which I have quoted they will see a despatch from Lord Lyons on the 2nd of December in which he says—the first time Mr. Seward had spoken to him about the French proposal,—

"Mr. Seward, without my having in any way led to the subject, spoke to me yesterday of the proposal made by France to Great Britain and Russia to unite in advising the belligerents in this country to agree to an armistice."

(Hear, hear.) I hope the House has followed me as regards dates. (Hear, hear.) What I have stated will prove that it was not the English Government that published the proposal, but the French Government published their own despatch before we answered it—(hear, hear)—secondly, that it was not Lord Lyons but M. Mercier who communicated to Mr. Seward the copy of the proposal (hear, hear); and, thirdly, that it was Mr. Seward who spoke first on the subject to Lord Lyons, and not Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward. (Cheers.) I leave it to the House and the country to draw their own conclusions. (Loud cheers.)—Mr. Roebuck wished to ask a question. He wanted to know whether an application from the French Government to her Majesty's Ministers did not take place in the early part of the spring, very much to the same effect as he had stated; and whether the transaction to which he had referred was not that application.—Mr. Layard said he had requested every search to be made in the Foreign-office. Every despatch had been looked to, and he could find no other than he had referred to.—Lord R. Cecil asked whether there had been no verbal communications whatever.—Mr. Layard was understood to reply in the negative, and to say that he had stated all that was within his knowledge. (Hear, hear.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Committee of Supply, moved a vote for the purchase of the building in which the late Exhibition was held, the ground having been already purchased by the Government. He explained that the builders were not, according to contract, bound to remove the building in any given time; and therefore, as the House had agreed to purchase the ground, it would do well also to purchase the building that encumbered it.

The House evidently thought that this fact ought to have been communicated to it before the vote was taken for the purchase of the ground. It felt entrapped; and though all the chiefs of parties were committed to the measure, a furious debate ensued, ending in such a scene as has rarely been witnessed in the House of Commons. When Sir Stafford Northcote rose to address the Committee, the manifestations of impatience on the part of the hon. members were carried to such a height that the attempts of the hon. baronet to obtain a hearing were utterly in vain. Equally useless were the efforts of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Lowe to restore something like order to the debate. At length, amid the universal uproar, the voice of Lord R. Cecil was heard entreating hon. members to conduct themselves with greater moderation.—Mr. Disraeli then succeeded in explaining that the object of Sir Stafford Northcote was to move that the matter be referred to a select committee. Subsequently, however, the committee divided on the proposal of the Government, when there appeared—For the vote, 121; against it, 287; majority against the Government proposal, 166. The announcement was received with great cheering from all parts of the House; and the vote having been struck out, the Chairman reported progress.

The House was shortly afterwards counted out.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Russell presented a petition from a few Fellows of divers colleges at Oxford, praying that subscription to the Articles of Religion may no longer be required as a qualification for certain academical degrees. The Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Oxford strongly objected to the proposal, which was supported by Lord Granville and the Bishop of London. The subject dropped, and their Lordships soon afterwards adjourned.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply,—Mr. Caird brought under the notice of the House the question of the supply of cotton, and moved for a Select Committee to inquire whether any further measures could be taken, within the legitimate functions of the Indian Government, for increasing the supply of cotton from that country.—Mr. Cobden ridiculed the efforts hitherto made by the Indian Government to stimulate the growth of the cotton plant in our Eastern possessions, and which he said were more like those of a small chandler's shop than of an Imperial Government intrusted with responsible duties. Two measures had been recommended for encouraging cotton cultivation in India. One was the settlement of the land upon a perpetual tenure, and the other the sale of the waste lands; but he owned he did not share in the sanguine hopes which some persons formed with regard to the effects of these measures. He thought, however, that an alteration in the system of collection in India might be introduced with advantage. The hon. member also observed that at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, in the western valley of the Mississippi, there was an exhaustless field for the production of cotton, with a soil and climate admirably adapted to the plant, and which only required the investment of English skill, capital, and enterprise for its full development.—Sir C. Wood said he admitted that it was the duty of the Indian Government to improve the internal communications of the country, and that duty they had not neglected. In fact, the communications in India were quite equal to those of the United States, while every effort was being made still further to improve and extend them. As to cotton cultivation, it had already been tried in India, and after a five years' experience the experiment had proved a failure. It was true that in some instances it had been attended with a measure of success, but, on the whole, it was found that cotton raised in that country could not compete with that which was grown in more favoured regions. At the same time there was no indisposition on the part of the Government to assist private enterprise in the attempt to promote its culture in India.—Mr. Crawford approved of the course which had been followed by the Government in reference to this question.—Mr. Bright complained of the flippant and offensive manner in which the Indian Minister had treated the representations made by the deputation which had waited upon him. He did not believe that any material increase in the production of cotton could take place in India, or that the difficulties which now existed could be got rid of by any legislative miracle. Although as a rule demand created supply, that phrase had nevertheless its qualifications; and in India it was necessary to remedy the neglect, oppression, and total violation of all the economic laws which had so long prevailed there. Unless a proper land tenure was established, it was vain to hope for any customers or rapid improvement in the cultivation of the soil. What they wanted in India was an altogether new life—a revolution in the ideas and the practice of government. But that could not be brought about in a single year. It must be the work of time; and it was with that view he himself, some fifteen years ago, asked the House to consent to changes which, in his opinion, might have produced such a result. The House, however, objected, and now everybody was running down everybody else, and there was a contest as to who was to blame for the misfortunes which had arisen.

After some further debate the motion was withdrawn.

In reply to Mr. Butt, the Marquis of Hartington said that as the offence with which Colonel Crawley, of the Inniskilling Dragoons, was charged was of a military character, he would be tried by court-martial on his return to this country, and not by any civil tribunal.

Mr. Coningham again mentioned the case of Paymaster Smales, and the circumstances under which he had been cashiered in the same regiment. Having been more than once called to "order" by Mr. Bernal Osborne, who remarked that the hon. gentleman was doing an injury to the cause of his own client, Mr. Coningham made a personal observation insinuating that the hon. member was not "sober," which elicited from Mr. Osborne the retort that the member for Brighton was "not sane." Mr. Coningham then, in excited and angry terms, taunted the independent member for Liskeard with his habitual reticence when in office and the busy and prominent part he played when out, and concluded by expressing a hope that the Government would take compassion on him, and confer upon him some small appointment in the outskirts of the Administration. This outbreak of passion appeared to take the House completely by surprise, and Mr. Speaker sat bewildered and dumbfounded. At length Sir G. Grey rose and emphatically pronounced the scene discreditably to the House of Commons, rebuked both the gentlemen engaged in it, and suggested that here all further bandying of personalities must cease. The House then proceeded to business. Several orders were disposed of, and the House rose.

MONDAY, JULY 6.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of interest was transacted.

MONDAY, JULY 6.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday the 13th instant was fixed, by agreement, for the resumption of the debate on the recognition of the Confederate States.

In answer to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Mr. Layard said that the Government had received from the Governor of the Bahamas an account which tallied pretty well with the facts stated in the public press with regard to the Margaret and Jessie—namely, the deposition of the commander of that vessel. At the same time, the Government had heard from Washington that on a similar account having appeared in the American papers, Mr. Seward immediately wrote to Lord Lyons a note stating that he had received from the commander of a vessel of war an account of the same transaction, and that officer denied having fired into the Margaret and Jessie when within British waters. Mr. Seward stated that inquiries would be made, and that if it turned out that the vessel had been fired at in British waters the most ample redress would be afforded. This reply was received with cheers from the Radical benches.

After a debate raised by Mr. Ayrton in regard to the estate of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, which had no result, Lord Naas called the attention of the House to the policy of the present Government in China, of which he gave an elaborate history, and which he censured as likely to involve us in embarrassments and responsibilities of which no one could foresee the end. A long discussion took place on this subject, without any motion being put.

In Committee, a vote of £650,000 was passed, on the motion of Lord Palmerston, for coast and dockyard fortifications.

The House soon afterwards adjourned.



## TUESDAY, JULY 7.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

After a brief conversation among the Law Lords, the Bill for the revision of the Statute Book was read a second time. On the motion for going into Committee on the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Bill, Lord Derby remarked that there had been of late a great increase of employment in Lancashire, inasmuch that forty-seven Local Relief Committees had suspended operations. He also stated that during the last year no less than £1,900,000 had been subscribed by private charity for the benefit of the sufferers, and that there still remained available a sum of £600,000, given or promised; but that this would be wholly insufficient to meet the demands of the coming winter.

The Bill passed through Committee, and after some formal business had been disposed of, their Lordships adjourned.

## TUESDAY, JULY 7.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The morning sitting was occupied with a discussion on the Irish Fisheries Bill, which passed through Committee.

The evening sitting was consumed by an attack on the constitution of the Commission of Public Works, defeated by a majority of 116 to 24; and a motion by Sir F. Kelly, for inquiring into the claims of a pretender to the dignity of Nawab of the Carnatic, on which the House was counted out about half-past eight.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 8.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

No business of public interest was transacted.

## THE EMPEROR AND MR. ROEBUCK.

The *Moniteur* of the 4th contains the following:—"Explanations have been rendered necessary by an occurrence which recently took place in the House of Commons. Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay visited Fontainebleau to engage the Emperor to take official steps at London for the recognition of the Southern States. The Emperor expressed his desire to see peace re-established in America, but observed that, England having declined his proposal of mediation the previous October, he did not think he could submit a new proposition without the certainty of its acceptance. His Majesty stated further that his Ambassador should nevertheless receive instructions to sound the English Cabinet upon the subject, giving it to understand that if England thought the recognition of the South likely to put an end to the war the Emperor was disposed to follow her in that course. These explanations will demonstrate that the Emperor has not attempted, as certain publications pretend, to influence the British Parliament by the medium of two of its members. All that took place was a frank interchange of opinions, in an interview which the Emperor saw no reason to refuse."

The *France*, in copying the above says,—

"If the pacific proposals of the Emperor were resumed, their certain and well-defined object would be the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Six months ago that recognition was looked on only as the eventual result of the cessation of hostilities. At present, in the opinion of the French Government, it is not the end of the war that would bring about recognition, but recognition that would bring the war to a close."

In the *Times* of July 4th, the following letter appeared from Mr. Lindsay:—

Sir,—Pardon me for saying it would have been as well to have reserved your comments on the statements made by Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, until the debate was ended.

The debate is yet pending, and those comments can only prejudice. In the meantime I think it due to Mr. Roebuck to say that what he has stated is true, and shall be confirmed by me in Parliament with time, place, and circumstances when the debate is resumed. I have to regret that it is postponed for a time, even so long as the 13th inst.

You have been pleased to speak of us as self-constituted ambassadors. I have only to reply that at my first interview with the Emperor, in January, 1861, I was accompanied by her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris. That interview was proposed upon matters referring exclusively to English and French maritime interests.

My subsequent interviews with the Emperor, preceding the last, were upon a like mission. At some of them he introduced the subject of the civil war in America, and spoke freely upon it. Whatever he said was fully reported by me at the time to Lord Cowley, with the Emperor's knowledge and permission. The interview I had in company with Mr. Roebuck on the 23rd ult., to which he referred in the House, was brought about by circumstances which, in due time, shall be fully made known to the country. I should have had no objection to make what then passed equally known to Lord Cowley when returning to London from Fontainebleau, through Paris, had time permitted.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. S. LINDSAY.

A glaring inaccuracy in the statement of dates, made by Mr. Layard in Parliament on the 2nd, is thus exposed by the *Times*' Paris correspondent:—

In the explanation given by Mr. Layard in the House of Commons on Thursday night on the despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, relative to intervention in America, it was stated that, "although that despatch was dated the 10th of October, the communication was not made till the 10th of November." I have before me the *Moniteur* of the 13th of November, to which Mr. Layard refers, and I find that the despatch is dated not the 10th, but the 30th of October. Where dates are in question a difference of twenty days is of some importance. The same despatch was addressed to the Russian Government, and bears the same date—viz., on the 30th of October.

IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SPIRIT LAND.—The *Independent* has the authority of spiritualists for declaring that since his death Stonewall Jackson has become a strong anti-slavery man. We have the same authority for the statement that Greeley, Beecher, and Cheever will be Union men within five years after they are hung in 1865 by the democratic administration.—*New York Herald*.

THE WOUNDED IN THE LATE BATTLES.—We have been enabled to ascertain the exact number of our men who were wounded in the last battles about Fredericksburg. They amount to six thousand one hundred and thirty-eight. Six thousand one hundred have been brought by railroad to this city. The balance remain in hospital near the battle field. Of those who have been brought hither, the wounds of two thousand are very slight—only sufficient in the majority of cases to enable the sufferers to obtain furloughs.

## THE GULF DEPARTMENT.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 14.

General Banks is fast earning the reputation of being a military Micawber. Ever since the assault of May 27 he has been waiting for something to turn up. So likewise have the people in this city. We receive news from Port Hudson by boat every day, but nothing is permitted to be published here; and, indeed, there is very little to print in the way of army movements. Excepting daily skirmishing between pickets, an occasional gun from the batteries at Port Hudson and a response from the Federal batteries, the affair at Clinton, and a subsequent fight between Augur's division and a few Confederates at Plains Store, near Springfield Landing, nothing has been done on either side. The Federals "hold out," and the Confederates hold in—in Port Hudson. Farragut's fleet lies below, and is ineffective now, since there is a liability of shelling their own troops if they fire at Port Hudson. Banks has advanced his lines, and several nine-inch guns with men to work them have been brought from the fleet to shore. The Confederates have fired whenever they saw an attempt to mount guns on the Federal earthworks, and the sharpshooters on both sides have been busily engaged in picking off men. A few deserters and prisoners taken by pickets report that there is an abundance of food in Port Hudson, and that there are plenty of cattle. All think the place will not surrender, but that the Confederates, if hard-pushed, will cut their way out through the Federal lines.

Last evening a telegram to this city announced that Banks was ready to make another assault, and the steamer to sail for New York this morning is detained for despatches, which are hourly expected by boat from Port Hudson. I hardly think, however, that I can send you an account of the reduction of that place by this mail.

We have had another "Fox" affair. The tug Boston, towing the bark Jenny Lind into the Passe à l'Outre, Tuesday last, was boarded by men from shore, who cut the tow line, and steamed out into the Gulf that night, as we learn by despatch last evening; and the Boston overhauled the bark Lenox, bound from New York to New Orleans, sent the crew and passengers ashore in the long-boat, carried away the captain and two mates, and burnt the bark. A Federal gunboat was sent in pursuit of the Boston, but did not find her. The steamer Matanzas, last from New York to this port, passed a large cotton-laden steamer, which had probably come through the blockade at Mobile. I wish our arrivals and departures were as frequent and regular as they are with our "strongly-blockaded" neighbour.

I inclose a list of the persons sent away from this city as "registered enemies." They arrived in Mobile as "Exiles from Louisiana," and most of the men are now doing good service in the Confederate States' army.

The fine St. Louis Hotel, in this city, has been seized for a Federal hospital, though the city is full of large, fine, and vacant stores and warehouses, which would answer for hospital purposes much better than the St. Louis.

A young girl has been murdered in this city, "because"—the evidence says—"she insulted" a drunken Zouave, "by talking seditiously!" The Zouave has been convicted of manslaughter only. I annex the account of the affair from Banks's organ:—

TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER.—In our court reports will be found the proceedings in the case of the State v. George White, for manslaughter. White shot and killed a young female of bad character in Burgundy-street in December last, because she insulted him by talking seditiously. The girl's name was Susan Parker; she was quite young, and remarkable for her beauty, but as frail as she was beautiful. White deliberately shot her in the back with his revolver, and she died two months subsequently from the effects of the wound in the hospital. The evidence showed it to be clearly a case of murder, but as the grand jury had, through error, indicted him for manslaughter only, he is spared the rightful punishment of death for an atrocious and cowardly crime. Susan Parker, we believe, was a native of Louisville, Kentucky—was well born, respectfully connected, and bred for a higher position in society than the one she filled in this city. White was from New York, and was a member of the 6th Zouaves. He led a wild and dissolute life in this city, associating entirely with persons of the character of his victim, whose company he had kept for some time previous to the difficulty which resulted in her death.

The following defence is from the official organ's report:—

Mr. Horner remarked that he had been appointed by the Court to defend the prisoner. He said that this was a case resulting from the military condition of things; that the accused was justified by the provocation he had received. It was remarkable, since the military occupation of this city, how few cases of this kind had occurred. Without enlarging, he would submit the provocation and the military circumstances of the times in mitigation of the killing, which latter fact could not well be denied.

What do you think of our civilization in America? MORE anon.

## EXILES FROM NEW ORLEANS.

Our New Orleans correspondent transmits to us a List, alphabetically arranged, of the "Registered Enemies," who have been banished from their homes by the edict of the Federal commanders. The list comprises all the arrivals in Mobile up to June 1st:—

John Allston, Joseph Adams, C. Andry and family, E. A. Atkins, J. Albert, M. M. Aloone, L. Anglade, E. Anglade, O. de Armas and wife, Mrs. A. de Armas and family, Joel Aken, J. R. Anderson, Gavine Albert, Mrs. Axson, Mrs. Alvares and family, W. H. Almindinger, C. Allain, E. Allen, Alex. Abrams and family, O. Andry, Jos. A. Adde, C. W. Allen, Mrs. V. Alvado, R. Alvado, A. Alvado, Felix Armand, Arthur Arroyo, Frank Alvarez, H. T. Axson, A. Barrit, A. Blake, Wm. Bell, T. T. Bolliny, Francis P. Beck, W. P. Brewer, Dr. J. C. Batchelor, Mrs. V. Barranco and family, W. H. Brooks, D. F. Bryan, James Bushy, L. D. Brindley, T. Bracken, E. Boudousquie and family, F. Bertoulin, Jules Bernudez, M. Bogart, W. Barnes and wife, R. B. Barrett, A. A. Brugier, Aug. Brugier, A. L. Brugier, S. E. Brunet, O. Blache, C. C. Bryant, John Bryan and family, J. A. Bailey, R. Y. Black and family, J. C. Black, E. C. Buchanan and family, Wilson Bibb, J. S. Berthelot, O. Benson, A. W. Brewerton, J. W. Breedlove, John Brooks, H. Burke, John Byrd, W. Bedford and wife, Mrs. Berry, Wm. Barker, George Blume, Bernaben, T. J. Black, W. Blumer and wife, J. B. Bailey, N. J. Baybi, V. J. Bellaume, W. J. Brabasin, A. H. Brevard, Dr. J. Burns and family, Jas. S. Brander, jun., John Black, W. Bramp, Mrs. Bertin, Alex. Bertin and family, Miss T. Bertin, Miss Bertin, M. A. Bertin, John Boyce, Felix Belson, J. Belson, jun., D. Belson, Mrs. Col. Bartlett and family, J. Baudreaux, A. Bochey, James S. Butler, C. Betat, P. Blanc, Alexander Baudier, Chas. A. Baudier, Louis M. Comes, Dr. Caire, R. B. Clark and family, Thos. Corbitt, W. W. Cooper, John H. Curry, George Clincher, C. W. Culbertson, A. T. Crebick, L. E. Charbonnet, G. E. Courtin, M. Contreras, A. Courtin, F. D. Craanes, M. S. Collier, M. Centliver, Mrs. M. Covett and child, S. Cottarex, S. S. Callender, Thos. Connell, Wm. Crayon, W. Cunningham, Dr. A. H. Cenas, A. R. Clark, Thos. S. Collins, Chas. W. Clark, Miss S. Calder, E. A. Clark, Thomas Condon, Mr. John Corbett and family, Chas. Clark, John E. Crone, Henry Campbell, Mrs. Charlton and son, Mrs. Anne Cooke, H. C. Clark, Alex. Cook, John Cox, J. A. Clough, R. B. Cenas, Thos. Cannon, John Conwell, Miss R. G. Cross, Ernest Corne, P. C. Cuvillier, Wm. G. Crawford, Mrs. Ann Cooper, E. V. Courtrain, S. Conen, B. E. Coffee, E. Cornu, F. Charleville, F. Coping, George Dunn, A. D. Dapny, R. A. Dumnit, Louis Dapremont, E. Davenport and family, F. A. Dentzel, John Davenport, Mike Dunn, E. Delesdernier, J. W. Davis, S. P. de la Barre, A. de la Barre, and wife, J. O. de Dastro and family, J. S. O. de Castro, A. Deby, L. Desforges, M. C. Dunn, Miss M. C. Dunn, P. C. Demier, W. H. Dumas, H. M. Dysart, E. A. Degruy, Alphonse Degruy, G. Duburst, Jos. Duvinageud, Thomas H. Dryden, W. W. Dixon, J. A. DeBlanc and family, A. Deley, W. Dennison, J. Davidson, E. Davenport, G. de Feriet and family, F. W. Delesdernier and family, S. M. Darby and family, Mrs. L. De Blanc, John E. Dutillet, A. Durie, V. Decoux, B. S. Delahoussay, P. Duvernay, Dr. Robert Davis, Frederick Eberhard, Y. T. Eggleston, Martin Eagan, P. H. Elliott and family, Peter Esuard, T. S. Elliott, G. W. Elmer, Miss A. Edgar, Miss H. Edgar, L. Exmielos, M. Esnard, George Ehrenborg, Mrs. D. R. Eakin, John N. Elliott, John Engleheart, Dr. E. D. Fenner, Mr. Francis, Tim Fannin, Thomas W. Fisher, C. H. Fearing, Charles Ford, James Fin, J. P. Fulkerson, F. B. Fleitas and servant, Charles E. Forstall, E. Fillicul, Joseph French, Jno. Forbes, A. H. Foster, Anatole Fagot, Frs. Faber, James Fitzgerald, P. H. Flood, C. S. Fayssoux, E. H. Flynn, E. F. Fayle, M. Fisher, Mrs. G. Folsom and family, Valcour Fortier, Mrs. E. Flood and family, J. Fennimore, Mrs. Fowler and family, P. D. Farrar, G. T. Freret, Justin Fremaux, Oscar J. Forstall, Ernest L. Forstall, H. Ferand, L. O. Fontenette, M. Greenwood and family, Robert Gray, Miss M. Grivot, James C. Gratton, James Grant, H. V. Garidel, R. P. Giles and servant, Thomas Gavin, F. H. Guillot, J. A. Guildig and wife, J. F. Gomez, James Grass, A. P. Garcia, E. P. Girod, F. Grace, Adam Giffen, F. H. Galpin, H. D. Gaines, S. Golden, W. S. Goff and wife, Rev. J. K. Gutheim and family, C. F. Grater, John W. Gayle and family, Mrs. H. Gallagher, Misses Gentin, Miss J. Garidel, William Garvey, Mrs. I. Gibbons, George A. Grimes, M. E. Garcia, Ed. Golden, L. M. Gerard, W. D. Hennen, S. S. Hatch, D. M. Hollingsworth, E. D. Hubbell, Benjamin E. Handy, W. H. Hoover, George F. Haller, J. M. Hodgkinson, J. O. Harrison and family, J. S. Hurst, A. W. Hill, Mrs. Henry O. Hall, Misses Emma and J. Hall, F. Holyland, Rev. C. S. Hedges and family, George Hull, James Hossacks, James H. Huckins, N. J. Hoey, John H. Heslin, Wm. Hale, J. B. Hubbard, Wm. J. Hammond, Miss Bettie Horrell, Captain S. Heno, Mrs. Dr. Hester, N. E. Hyams, H. J. Hurt, John Houlihan, John Holiday, George Hawthorne, H. Hombeight, John P. Hoffman, John Jones, P. L. Jacobs, A. Jacobs, J. Jackson, J. Johnston, Tim S. Jewitt, J. U. Jerreau, Arthur Jordis, Peter Jacobum, T. P. Jones, William E. Jerver and family, James H. Jagot, J. G. Judice, W. F. Johnson, P. Jourdan, James Kelly, John E. Kernan, J. P. Kofsky, jun., D. L. Kuerion and son, Miss Kerr, Aleck B. Kerkenot, J. B. Kendrick, James Kinrney, M. Kain, G. Kronberz, J. D. Kitchen, R. H. Kitchen, Wm. H. Kitchen, C. Kohler, James Kelly, R. C. Kerr, M. G. Kennedy, T. H. Kennedy and two sons, J. P. Kofsky, sen., F. S. King and family, Mr. Layton, John T. Luddy, S. B. Logan, George Land, John Land, Joseph Littlejohn and family, Mrs. Dr. Luckett and child, Dr. J. A. Lanauan, Lewis Levy, William De Lacy, Mrs. Lance, G. A. Landeaux, V. Labranche, Mrs. Lodge, C. Lombard, J. M. Lamare, Ernest Lehman, C. A. Labazan, Felix and Ernest Lambert, D. C. Labati and family, J. Lazare, S. Lyon, jun., Gustave and Eugene Leclerc, Eugene Lason, A. Lawson, F. A. Lombard, Dr. W. Lamberti and family, Charles Le Breton, A. L. Labarre, Philip Lodge, E. E. Livandais, Arthur Legendre, J. H. Landun, John E. and Jules Livandais, J. E. Le Conge, J. L. McIntyre, Philip Munch, John Murrah, Rev. G. L. Moore and family, L. J. Maddox, Miss Messey, A. T. Maxwell, Thomas McCanley, John Myers, L. V. Marye and family, Camille Monteau, Judge D. F. Mitchell, Frank Martin, J. E. Mortimer, J. F. Mayer, John McLeod, R. McCollum, G. W. Mader, Camille Montanet, L. M. Merrill, Geo. Maxent, J. E. Maguire, Patrick McDonald, Jeff. Moore, J. Maxent, T. A. Macosas, R. H. Marr and family, John Madden, Jere Mitchell, John Morrison, W. H. Manson, H. C. Marconneau, A. Magnon, E. H. Magnon, H. V. McCall, Emile Martin, M. Moran, Wm. A. McNemara, L. McCready, B. McDermott, Mrs. Mongean and children, S. D. McNeill, J. Minier, H. H. Marks, Mrs. A. S. Morgan, L. P. Melvaire, Dr. J. J. McQuilty, C. Moran, I. Macready, A. Maurice, A. McNeill, Jacques Mascot, A. Meit-



leur, W. T. McGanghreen and family, C. C. Mazerat and wife, Mrs. Col. J. O. Nixon and family, Lucas Norris, J. O. Neibert and family, George Noble, W. C. Neal, J. Nugent, S. Nathan and family, Chas. Neames and family, Chas. Natall, A. Natall, W. R. Norcom and family, L. Nathan and family, O. J. Noyes, Chas. Newman, Edward Newman, H. L. Noyes, Peter O'Neal, Thos. O'Neal, A. Oehmichan, T. D. O'Rourke, Martin O'Keefe, Richard O'Donnell, John O'Neill and family, Gen. A. J. Powell, Saml. Phillips, H. J. Peterson and servant, F. F. Proctor, R. Painpare, Misses V. and E. Pollard, Wm. M. Pinckard, jun. and wife, Z. M. Pike, W. H. Paxton, A. Pettipain, E. Pettipain, S. Pescaux, Mrs. Pollock and child, A. Padron, J. H. Preston, G. A. Pierce, John Pfeiffer, Philip J. Panch, Philip Power, jun., Mrs. L. Palms, Geo. Palfrey, J. Paizer, P. S. Quaid, Smith Raynes, W. L. Robinson and family, J. H. Rareshide and family, F. J. Reade, C. H. Reed, P. Rousseau, C. Raymon, Isaac E. Roberts, Felix Ruleau, H. F. Requier, R. C. Richardson and lady, Eli Rhodes, John Reeves, Mrs. Ramp, J. W. Riddle, A. Reggio, W. H. Robinson, James Robinson, William Roger, H. C. Ranet, A. J. Rugely, R. L. Risk and wife, John Rodewald, Henry Rideau, D. D. Rogers, Paul E. Retif, Armand Retif, L. E. Retif, A. Reinert, Ed. Reffier, B. F. Sims and family, Wm. J. Starke, Patrick Swan, Theo. Smith, John Saul, Dal. Shay, E. A. Sannier, Benj. Stakeman, Thos. Stapleton, John D. Sebastian, W. H. Starke, Mrs. J. L. Shaw and three children, Solomon Spiers, F. Seheissnaydre, Dr. C. Seuzenneau, J. A. Simillier, John Stenfeltz, P. Shiger, Mrs. U. Sadler, Mrs. George Sadler, Mrs. E. Sadler, Miss F. Sadler, U. Sadler and son, A. Saulet, J. B. Scott, A. St. Arman, O. Smelser, Wm. Salomon and family, L. Seichsnaydre, A. Seichsnaydre, T. S. Semmerau, Chas. Staplin, W. F. B. Scott, E. Sauler, J. D. Sul, J. P. Todd and family, John Thomas, J. G. Taylor, J. Tucker and wife, John B. Tourant, Theo. Tureau, W. J. Thompson, M. J. Trinchard, Louis E. Tabaro, A. Treford, Jules Train, Henry Train, jun., G. W. Turs, N. O. J. Tisdale and family, W. S. Toledano, O. J. Toledano, James J. Tarleton, Wm. Vincent, G. Vincent, W. Van Benthuyssen and family, Miss H. V. Van Benthuyssen, Ch. Van Benthuyssen, Delphin Vinetti, J. G. Vienne, Oscar Villere, Cyr. Villere, O. Valetton, T. L. Villa, Edgar Verret, Joseph Vautier, S. P. Valette, Alfred Vean, A. D. Voisin, G. Villars, D. Villars, Abram L. White, Wm. White, L. D. C. Wood, Edward White, James Williams, J. L. Wilbur, J. H. Woods, Henry Wilkinson, Mrs. E. B. Wilson, John J. Wilson, D. P. White, Mrs. S. Walker, John Williams, W. Williamson, Mrs. Mary Williams, John Wallace, M. Whoolehan, W. T. Wagner, J. Winterhalter, T. Winterhalter, P. E. Wiltz, jun., J. C. Weems, J. R. Wooldridge, Henry Wright, Willis Watson, James Wallace, R. H. Walker, W. Weymouth, M. M. Wootan, Jules Webre, Philip Wirt, J. H. Young, R. Zimmerman.

The following are reported as having arrived in Mobile since June 1:—

Mrs. Nuna Augustin and family, Louis C. Arny, wife and three children, E. Bounep and family, H. Boislanc, J. L. Bourgeois, Mrs. M. C. Blair, Miss Anne Brown, Wm. H. Barnett, Adolphe Bourcin, Gen. B. Buisson and family, Edward Crevon, Mrs. Canter and daughter, E. D. Cuvillier, H. F. Cantson and family, Mrs. Chapotin and family, H. Dubuys, A. D'Aquin, Jules G. Dreux, Charles Funel, W. F. M. Fortier, Mrs. J. W. Fowler and family, William Fink, Mrs. Pagot, Anatole Forstall, Octave Forstall, William Forstall, Paul Forstall, Joseph Genois, jun., H. Girars and family, Pierre Gerard, Philibert Gerard, P. Greenwall, H. Guilloite, R. D. Hubbard, J. G. Harrington, E. J. Houston, Mrs. E. M. Keplinger and two children, L. M. Kennett, jun., Mrs. R. M. Lusher, John Miller, Julien Michel, Louis Mongeon, Catherine Myers, E. Mondelli, M. E. Marceaux, Mrs. Jane M. Farland, Mrs. Vessage and family, Mrs. Mathews and family, P. Michell and three children, Jeff Moyman, J. J. Osborne, S. O'Connor and family, J. A. O'Connor, P. S. Quaid, C. E. Quiza, Thomas Reid, Mrs. A. J. Rugely, L. N. Roche, D. Roche, G. Renaud, William Reef, H. St. Germain and family, E. Salomon and family, J. S. Saropara, Wm. R. Skelton, J. Thibaut, L. A. Trinchard, John Tonglet, F. B. Trinchard, T. Taquino, Wm. Thompson, R. Tarsan, Henry C. Weymouth, Carl Weysham, W. A. Woods, J. H. Young, R. Zimmerman.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 7.

I HAVE the pleasure of beginning a letter without having to devote the first lines to Poland. The press allows us a breathing space while waiting for the answer of Russia, and public opinion at once takes advantage of the lull to believe that the danger is past. Yesterday's Bourse was active, and there was a considerable rise in most of the public securities.

Sunday's *Moniteur* contained at the head of its non-official part, an article on Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay's interview with the Emperor, which I need not translate, as the London papers of the next morning gave it in the telegrams. Of course, the newspapers which had only by degrees gathered courage to reproduce the divergent statements of Mr. Roebuck, Lord Russell, and Mr. Layard, all hung comments on this note, each as its affections prompted. The *Presse*, which, with the *France*, is the boldest of the French papers, concludes from the article, that "Baron Gros must have received instructions to sound the intentions of Lord Palmerston. This is now an ascertained fact; and without venturing to pry too closely into the mysteries of diplomacy, we think we may hope that at no distant time the question will again engage the attention of the two Governments and will assume a definite shape." The *Opinion Nationale* considers the note as a proof of ill-will on the part of France to the Cabinet of Washington. The *Siecle* produces the note without remarks, but in its next number it prints a letter dated from New York, the 23rd, which represents the enthusiasm with which the North is about to repulse the Southern invasion as equal to that which inflamed the population on the fall of Fort Sumter. It describes the cordial co-operation of the Governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York in providing

the means of an energetic resistance. Your readers are aware that the French press really has a powerful influence on public opinion, and the false suggestions in which many of its members indulge are only equalled by the suppressions of the truth which mark their daily polemics. The opposition papers have, of course, a wider circulation than those friendly to the Government, among a people in whom the old spirit of the *Fronde* is as vivacious as in the days of Mazarin. All the sympathies of the French Government have, from the outset, been with the South, and this quite independently of other reasons, dictated the line which the opposition press has consistently followed; the Orleanist *Debats* republican *Siecle*, the Palais Royal *Opinion*, all join in the halloo against the South.

The *Presse*, which seems to aim at placing itself above party, though it is generally considered an opposition paper, and was formerly bitterly hostile to the South, has, since M. de Girardin's resumption of the pen, consistently advocated separation, which it has proved in many able articles to be inevitable. It is to the influence of the opposition papers that the general indifference of the French people to the bloody nature of the American struggle is to be ascribed, for here it is the reverse of England; the people is indifferent or hostile to the South, while the Government is strongly in its favour; while with us the popular sympathy with the Confederates has not yet reacted on the stiff-necked old gentlemen who govern us. The feeling of the country in England always ends by influencing the Government, but it is one of the great merits of our system that it does so slowly. In home questions this saves us from rash changes, but in such a case as the American civil war it necessarily delays our action and paralyses our influence in the cause of humanity.

The 4th of July was celebrated by a breakfast at the Grand Hotel, which passed off very quietly, notwithstanding an incident that might have had disagreeable results to that very flourishing establishment. The managers of the banquet had indulged their patriotism by hanging from a window of the room they were to meet in, the stripes and all the stars of the old Union. There are a number of Southern families living in the hotel, and at the sight of this emblem waving over their heads as they lounged in the great court, a natural feeling of indignation seized them. Might they not at least count on having their ease in their inn? One after another they called for their accounts, to the bewilderment and astonishment of the steward, a Frenchman, who knows not the Union or its flag. When the reason of the threatened exodus was explained, he at once had the cause of offence removed. The culinary merits of the entertainment probably suffered nothing by the withdrawal of the flag, and for the purposes of the speech-makers it would serve as well when hung from a peg in the room, as if it had fluttered in the gentle July breeze. The company, to the number of twenty-five, or according to a Northern authority of eleven, was exceedingly well conducted, and separated without creating any disturbance in the neighbourhood. In fact, no one would have suspected that a national festivity was being celebrated.

The news from Madagascar has created a very painful sensation here. All the published accounts, excepting those which occupy the first page of to-day's *Moniteur*, agree in ascribing the instigation to the king's murder to an English missionary named Ellis, and some go so far as to say he was present. In one account it is added that the English Consul countenances this accusation, which is too monstrous to be credible. There is only too great readiness in France to see the hand of England in an event which is a blow to French influence, and affects considerable pecuniary interests. The entire staff of a French company, lately formed for working the mines of Madagascar, was expected to arrive at the very time when this tragedy was enacted. The official accounts from the French Consul contained in the *Moniteur* are in very moderate language, and he confirms the report that the king had authorized duels and private wars by laws—laws which were the pretext at least of the movement, and too fully justified it. There are rumours for the truth of which I do not answer, that an expedition is already projected to *revindicate* the old French settlements, which the Emperor had renounced all claim to in the treaty which has just been thus violently annulled.

The French Exhibition of Fine Arts closed last Wednesday. The *Moniteur* gives the list of *recompenses*, among which are nine decorations of the Legion of Honour for Frenchmen and five for foreigners. Among these is the Russian artist Swertchikow, whose "Return from the Boar-hunt" was so much admired.

Notwithstanding my regret to be obliged to return to a subject which I had hoped to be able, for one week at least, to avoid, a violent article in this evening's

*Patrie*, headed "Intervention in Poland," forbids my silence. "In the case not of belligerents, but of victims and their executioners, diplomacy is powerless. In presence of the cruelties without name committed by the Muscovite pro-consuls, its prolonged action is illusory and even inhuman.... Diplomacy has played its part: it is the term for war. This will be short but effective: it must not be delayed. Every hour that passes is an hour lost to civilization. If autumn comes without something having been done, it may be said that Poland is no more—*Finis Poloniae!* She will be crushed, and Europe will remain with the shame of suffering the murder of a generous people when it could have saved it. The re-establishment of Poland is a question of European order. Let Europe look to it." The feeling of uneasiness, which for the last few days seemed to be quieted, has again made itself felt, and there is a heavy fall at the Bourse.

## JACKSON AND HIS FORMER PUPILS.

The following is the General Order in which the death of Stonewall Jackson was officially announced to the Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, in which the late General had for ten years been a professor:—

Head-quarters, Virginia Military Institute,  
May 13, 1863.

General Orders, No. 30.

It is the painful duty of the Superintendent to announce to the officers and cadets of this Institution, the death of their late associate and professor, Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson. He died at Guinney's Station, Caroline county, Virginia, on the 10th instant, of pneumonia, after a short but violent illness, supervening upon the severe wounds received in the battle of Chancellorsville. A nation mourns the loss of General Jackson. First, in the hearts of the brave men he has so often led to victory, there is not a home in this Confederacy that will not feel the loss, and lament it as a great national calamity. But our loss is distinctive. He was *peculiarly our own*. He came to us in 1851, a Lieutenant and Brevet-Major of Artillery, from the army of the late United States, upon the unanimous appointment of the Board of Visitors, as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and Instructor of Artillery. Here he laboured, with scrupulous fidelity, for ten years, in the duties of these important offices. Here he became a soldier of the Cross; and, as an humble, conscientious and useful Christian man, he established the character which has developed into the world-renowned Christian hero. On the 20th of April, 1861, upon the order of his Excellency, Governor Letcher, he left the Institute in command of the corps of Cadets, for Camp Lee, Richmond, for service in the defence of his State and country; and he has never known a day of rest, until called by the Divine command to cease from his labours.

The military career of General Jackson fills the most brilliant and momentous page in the history of our country, and in the achievements of our arms, and he stands forth a colossal figure in this war for our independence.

His country now returns him to us—not as he was when he left us. His spirit has gone to God who gave it. His mutilated body comes back to us—to his home—to be laid by us in his tomb. Reverently and affectionately we will discharge this last solemn duty. And,

"Though his earthly sun has set,  
Its light shall linger round us yet,  
Bright—radiant—blest."

Young Gentlemen of the Corps of Cadets.—The memory of General Jackson is very precious to you. You know how faithfully, how conscientiously he discharged every duty. You know that he was emphatically a man of God, and that Christian principle impressed every act of his life. You know how he sustained the honour of our arms when he commanded at Harper's Ferry—how gallantly he repulsed Patterson at Hainesville—the invincible stand he made with his Stonewall Brigade at Manassas. You know the brilliant series of successes and victories which immortalised his Valley campaign—for many of you were under his standard at McDowell, and pursued the discomfited Milroy and Schenck to Franklin. You know his rapid march to the Chickahominy—how he turned the flank of McClellan at Gaines' Mill—his subsequent victory over Pope at Cedar Mountain—the part he bore in the great victory at second Manassas—his investment and capture of Harper's Ferry—his rapid march and great conflict at Sharpsburg—and when his last conflict was passed, the tribute of the magnanimous Lee, who would gladly have suffered in his own person, could he, by that sacrifice, have saved General Jackson, and to whom alone, under God, he gave the whole glory of the great victory of Chancellorsville, surely, the Virginia Military Institute has a precious inheritance in the memory of General Jackson.

His work is finished; God gave him to us and to his country; He fitted him for his work, and when his work was done, He called him to Himself. Submission to the will of his Heavenly Father. It may be said of him, that while in every heart there may be some murmuring—his will was to do and suffer the will of God.

Reverence the memory of such a man as General Jackson; imitate his virtues, and here, over his lifeless remains, reverently dedicate your service and your life, if need be, in defence of that cause so dear to his heart—the cause for which he fought and bled—the cause in which he died!

Let the Cadets' battery, which he so long commanded, honour his memory by half-hour guns to-morrow, from sunrise to sunset, under the direction of the commandant of the cadets.

Let the flag of the State and Confederacy be hung at half-mast to-morrow.

Let his lecture room be draped in mourning for the period of six months.

Let his officers and cadets of the Institute wear the usual badge of mourning for the period of thirty days; and it is respectfully recommended to all the alumni of the institution to unite in this last tribute of respect to the memory of their late professor. All duties will be suspended to-morrow.

By command of Major-General F. H. SMITH.

(Signed) A. GOVAN HILL,  
A. A. V. M. I.



## THE FIGHT AT MARYE'S HILL.

(From a Letter in the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

Fredericksburg, May 13, 1863.

When General M-Laws moved up the river, on the night of the 30th of April, my brigade was detached from his command, and I was ordered to report to General Early, who was charged with the duty of watching the movements of that portion of the Federal army which had been left in the vicinity of Hamilton's Crossing and opposite this place, on the other side of the river, and, as I supposed, to give him battle if he should offer it.

About 2 o'clock on Sunday morning, having thrown a pontoon bridge over the river, the enemy commenced crossing into Fredericksburg in large numbers. General Early was then with his entire division at Hamilton's Crossing. I at once informed him of the fact, and asked for reinforcements. With several batteries, which were under the command of General Pennington, and a single brigade of infantry, I had a front of not less than three miles to defend, extending from Taylor's Hill, on the left, to the foot of the hills in rear of the Howison house, and not "the short line in rear of and to the left of Fredericksburg," as stated by General Early. The 21st regiment was posted between the Marye house and the plank road, three companies of which were afterwards sent to the support of the 18th regiment, which was stationed behind the stone wall at Marye house. The 17th regiment was placed in front of Lee's Hill, and the 13th still further to the right.

One regiment from General Hayes's command was subsequently placed to the right of the 13th. Four pieces of artillery were placed on the right of Marye's house, two on the left, and the balance on Lee's and the hills in the vicinity of the Howison house—thus making the only disposition of the small force at my command, which, in my judgment, would prevent the enemy from passing the line. The battle commenced at daylight. A furious cannonading was opened from the enemy's batteries in town and along both banks of the river. Two assaults were made upon Marye's heights, but both were signally repulsed. About 8 o'clock a heavy column of the enemy was seen moving up the river, evidently for the purpose of getting possession of Taylor's hill, which, if successful, would have given him command of the position which I held. But this was prevented by the timely arrival of General Hayes with four regiments of his brigade. The enemy having thus been foiled in his purpose, turned the head of his column down the river again; but it was impossible to tell whether he had abandoned the attempt or intended to advance again upon the same position with a still heavier force. General Wilcox had now reached Taylor's hill with three regiments of his brigade, one of which he promised to send to the right in case it should be needed. This regiment was sent for, but there was not sufficient time for it to come up before the action was over. With a line as extended as this, and in consideration of the small number of troops at my disposal, and the uncertainty as to the point against which the enemy would hurl the immense force he had massed in town, I deemed it proper that the regiments should remain as they then were, and wait the happening of events.

Very soon, however, the enemy came out from his hiding place and moved in three columns and three lines of battle—20,000 strong—against the positions held by my brigade. At the same instant Colonel Humphries was assailed on the left, Colonels Hulder and Carter and the Louisiana regiment on the right, and Colonel Griffin in the centre. After a determined and bloody resistance, by Colonel Griffin and the Washington artillery, the enemy, fully twenty to one, succeeded in getting possession of Marye's Hill. At all other points he was triumphantly repulsed. But seeing the line broken at this point, I ordered the 13th, 17th, and the Louisiana regiment to fall back to the crest of Lee's hill, to prevent the enemy from getting in our rear. This they did, resisting his approach at every step, and with the aid of Frojin's and Carleton's batteries, both of which were handled with the most consummate skill and courage, finally succeeded in checking his advance. The 21st regiment, with the remainder of the 18th, after Marye's hill had been taken, fell back and rejoined the brigade on the hills.

The distance from town to the points assailed was so short, the attack so suddenly made, and the difficulty of removing troops from one part of the line to another was so great, that it was utterly impossible for either General Wilcox or General Hayes to reach the scene of action in time to afford any assistance whatever.

It will thus be seen that Marye's hill was defended by but one small regiment, three companies and four pieces of artillery, and not by the entire brigade. A more heroic struggle was never made by a mere handful of men against overwhelming odds. According to the enemy's own accounts, many of this noble little band resisted to the death, with clubbed guns, even after his vast hordes had swept over and around the walls. His loss, from reports, published in his own newspapers, was 1,000 killed and wounded; but, according to the statements of intelligent citizens, it reached 2,000.

WM. BARKSDALE.

## THE BRITISH CONSULATE AT RICHMOND.

The *Daily Telegraph* copies from the *Richmond Sentinel* of June 12th, the subjoined de-patch from the Confederate Secretary of State to Mr. Mason, the Southern Commissioner at London:—

Confederate States of America, Department of State,  
Richmond, June 6.

Sir,—Herewith you will receive copies of the following papers:—

A. Letter of George Moore, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's consul in Richmond to this department, dated 16th of February, 1863.

B. Letter from the Secretary of State to Consul Moore, 20th of February, 1863.

C. Letters patent by the President, revoking the exequatur of Consul Moore, 5th of June, 1863.

D. Letter inclosing to Consul Moore a copy of the letters patent revoking his exequatur.

It is deemed proper to inform you that this action of the President was influenced in no small degree by the communication to him of an unofficial letter of Consul Moore, to which I shall presently refer.

It appears that two persons, named Maloney and Farrell, who were enrolled as conscripts in our service, claimed exemption on the ground that they were British subjects; and Consul Moore, in order to avoid the difficulty which prevented his corresponding with this department, as set forth in the paper B, addressed himself directly to the Secretary of War, who was ignorant of the request made by this department for the production of the consul's commission. The Secretary of

War ordered an investigation of the facts, when it became apparent the two men had exercised the right of suffrage in this State, thus debarring themselves of all pretext for denying their citizenship; that both had resided here for eight years and had settled on and were cultivating farms owned by themselves. You will find annexed the report of Lieut.-Col. Edgar, marked E, and it is difficult to conceive a case presenting stronger proofs of the renunciation of native allegiance, and of the acquisition of *de facto* citizenship, than are found in that report. It is in relation to such a case that it has seemed proper to Consul Moore to denounce the Government of the Confederate States to one of its own citizens as being indifferent "to cases of the most atrocious cruelty." A copy of his letter to the counsel of the two men is annexed, marked E.

The earnest desire of this Government is to entertain amicable relations with all nations, and with none do its interests invite the formation of closer ties than with Great Britain. Although feeling aggrieved that the Government of her Majesty has pursued a policy which, according to the confession of Earl Russell himself, has increased the disparity of strength which he considers to exist between the belligerents, and has conferred signal advantages on our enemies in a war in which Great Britain announces herself to be really and not nominally neutral, the President has not deemed it necessary to interpose any obstacle to the continued residence of British consuls within the Confederacy by virtue of exequaturs granted by the former Government. His course has been consistently guided by the principles which underlie the whole structure of our Government. The State of Virginia having delegated to the Government of the United States by the constitution of 1787 the power of controlling its foreign relations, became bound by the action of that Government in its grant of an exequatur to Consul Moore. When Virginia seceded, withdrew the powers delegated to the Government of the United States, and conferred them on this Government, the exequatur granted to Consul Moore was not thereby invalidated. An act done by an agent while duly authorized continues to bind the principal after the revocation of the agent's authority. On these grounds the President has hitherto steadily resisted all influences which have been exerted to induce him to exact of foreign consuls that they should ask for an exequatur from this Government as a condition of the continued exercise of their functions. It was not deemed compatible with the dignity of the Government to extort, by enforcing the withdrawal of national protection from neutral residents, such inferential recognition of its independence as might be supposed to be implied in the request of an exequatur. The consuls of foreign nations, therefore, established within the Confederacy, who were in the possession of an exequatur issued by the Government of the United States prior to the formation of the Confederacy, have been maintained and respected in the exercise of their legitimate functions; and the same protection and respect will be accorded to them in future, so long as they confine themselves to the sphere of their duties, and seek neither to evade nor defy the legitimate authority of this Government within its own jurisdiction.

There has grown up an abuse, however, the result of this tolerance on the part of the President, which is too serious to be longer allowed. Great Britain has deemed it for her interest to refuse acknowledging the patent fact of the existence of this Confederacy as an independent nation. It can scarcely be expected that we should, by our own conduct, imply assent to the justice or propriety of that refusal, now that the British Minister accredited to the Government of our enemies assumes the power to issue instructions and exercise authority over the Consuls of Great Britain residing within this country—nay, even of appointing agents to supervise British interests in the Confederate States. This course of conduct plainly ignores the existence of this Government, and implies the continuance of relations between that Ministry and the Consuls of her Majesty resident within the Confederacy, which existed prior to the withdrawal of these States from the Union. It is, further, the assertion of a right on the part of Lord Lyons, by virtue of his credentials as her Majesty's Minister at Washington, to exercise the power and authority of a Minister accredited to Richmond, and officially received as such by the President. Under these circumstances, and because of similar action by other Ministers, the President has felt it his duty to order that no direct communication be permitted between the consuls of neutral nations in the Confederacy, and the functionaries of those nations residing within the enemy's country. All communication, therefore, between her Majesty's Consuls or consular agents in the Confederacy and foreign countries, whether neutral or hostile, will hereafter be restricted to vessels arriving from or despatched for neutral ports. The President has the less reluctance in imposing this restriction, because of the ample facilities for correspondence which are now afforded by the fleets of the Confederate and neutral steamships engaged in regular trade between neutral countries and the Confederate ports. This trade is daily increasing, in spite of the paper blockade, which is upheld by her Majesty's Government in disregard, as the President conceives, of the rights of this Confederacy, of the dictates of public law, and of the duties of impartial neutrals. You are instructed by the President to furnish a copy of this despatch, with a copy of the papers appended, to her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

Hon. James M. Mason, Commissioner, &amp;c., London.

## INTERESTING DETAILS OF THE BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.

(From the *Richmond Whig*.)

First. It was a battle of manoeuvre, in which we beat the enemy utterly in strategy. We marched from below Chancellorsville, where their left wing rested, by the flank in front of their fortified position, in order to get around their right wing and attack them in their rear—making a circuit of from eleven to thirteen miles to reach a position less than three miles from where we started. In this we had a grand success. It was a bold move, verging on the extreme of rashness, thus to expose our flank and weaken our centre; but our leaders knew the men they led and the men they had to attack.

Second. There was no straggling or disorganization. Our men came out, after eight or nine days of forced marches, and fighting against great odds, in perfect trim, ready to fight and march again. The army is now truly an army. It can move in compact column to front, rear, or flank, and lose no men by the way—a thing which would have been simply impossible eight months ago—a thing, too, which is worth all the rest of the battle. Adding this new-found solidity to the old fire, the army is capable of every task that may be set it. In the late actions, it formed front in three different directions, exclusive of the movements made in the encounters with Sedgwick at and about Fredericksburg.

Third. Our artillery is at last perfected. Under the new organization, for which the officers of this important arm have been so long and earnestly clamouring, and which red tape has so long delayed, ten batteries can be put together with more facility than, under the old scattered system, two could. Moreover, the artillery is now composed of the best and most approved pieces—consisting wholly of Napoleons, the best rifles, Parrots, and 3-inch guns of the Parrot or Dahlgren model. Hence the late battle was an epoch in that branch of the service. On one occasion thirty pieces were massed on a single point, and the duel that followed proved what our artillerists have always asserted, that gun for gun, the enemy can be whipped with ease. At Chancellorsville, our artillerists drove them from their guns. The fight was waged at a distance of from 800 to 1,200 yards; and at or inside of that distance our gunnery and courage are to theirs as our infantry to theirs.

The importance of these facts in relation to our artillery, which may be fully relied on, cannot be over-estimated. But for artillery, in which the enemy greatly excelled us, the war would long since have been over. McClellan knew this, when he declared that it was to be a war of artillery, and Hackett reiterated the opinion, when, six weeks ago, he sent for Lincoln to attend a review of 14,000 horse artillery. If we have succeeded in making this arm of the service as superior to the same arm in the enemy's service as our infantry have heretofore been, the gain is immense, and the announcement will be hailed with joy throughout the country. We repeat that what has been stated above comes from unquestionable sources.

A few words more in regard to the enemy and we have done. First. Theirs was a battle of manoeuvre also. They, like ourselves, separated their forces and tried the flank. Their general plan was good, provided it had been well carried out; but there is a glory of the sun and a glory of the moon. We can divide and conquer; they cannot. The leaders know the led, the led the leaders; with them, however, as at Chancellorsville, the head (whether of Hooker or of Halleck) planned well, but the hand lacked nerve.

Second. Their fighting, though assisted by a position superior to that at Gaines' Mill (we speak soberly) was fitfully brilliant but never obstinate. Our infantry officers confirm the opinion that their artillery is the only arm they now rely on, and that was overmatched in the late fight, as both parties confess. Their fighting did not compare with that at Malvern, Cold Harbor, Manassas No. 2, or even Fredericksburg.

For many reasons, therefore, we believe the struggle just ended to be more encouraging than any that preceded it. The enemy crossed, all told, 136,000 fighting men; took magnificent positions; fortified them completely, and were driven in confusion out of them and almost captured, by less than half their number. Let none complain that the battle was indecisive. A bare repulse, under the circumstances, would have been glorious; and this was literally a great and splendid victory. The battle is to the campaign, as Williamsburg was to that of last summer; compare the two.

SINKING BLOCKADE RUNNERS.—The most singular intelligence which has reached us by the late mail is that which relates to the blockade of Charleston. For some reason or other not very apparent the commanders of the vessels constituting the blockading fleet have decided for the future on sinking and destroying instead of capturing vessels which they conceive to be guilty of attempting to run the blockade. The "law's delay" appears to have disgusted them, and, sooner than await the judgments of prize courts, they have determined on constituting themselves Judges of Admiralty with summary jurisdiction. Two steamers have already been sunk in attempting to leave Charleston, and one whilst endeavouring to enter that port. At one vessel broadsides were fired until she sank, and of the others very probably the same story might be told. The fate of the crews is still unknown. Now, it is needless to say that if this extraordinary course of action has been taken by the blockading fleet, it is not only opposed to the dictates of humanity, but is in direct contravention of the principles of international law. No belligerent with prize courts open to it can be justified in delegating to its naval officers the functions of Admiralty Judges. The South has been reproached with destroying its prizes at sea; but then it must be recollected that neutral States have claimed their prize courts to both belligerents, and every port on the Southern States is under strict blockade. But at all events it has never been implied to the captains of the Alabama and Florida that they fired into defenceless merchantmen until they sank; nor, in the case of any of the captures which they have made, has the fate of the crews remained unknown. In the presence of the circumstantial account before us we can scarcely hope that the statements are unfounded, and if not it will become the duty of neutral States to take official notice of this novel mode of enforcing the rights of blockade. The Federal cruisers have no right to sink vessels if they can effect their capture and send them for adjudication to a prize court. The law of blockade is one which especially affects the rights of neutrals as well as of belligerents, and it does not lie with the latter to put on it whatever construction may best suit their inclination or their interests.—*Morning Post*, July 6th.

If this war has proved anything that was known before, it has only made it more evident that, on the whole, the Southern temperament and the social organization of the South produce the men best qualified to govern and command. That is a matter independent of moral principles and political opinions. Rome was at once the slave market and the mistress of the world, and the very men who never appeared but to show a natural superiority over the rest of the human race were themselves slave-owners. Whether they made the best use of their superiority, and whether they were as good as they were great, is another question. In this country we are accustomed to ascribe certain moral deficiencies to the aristocratic class in the comparison with that engaged in manufacture and trade, and the latter claims to itself a large share of the virtue supposed to be characteristic of England. With this estimate it is unnecessary to interfere; but be it ever so correct, it is, nevertheless, equally true that the habits of government and command are more natural and familiar to the higher class than the lower—that is, to the gentry than to the trading class. Even when the fact is resisted, and when it is urged that such a state of things ought not to be, and there are good moral reasons against it, the fact is all the time admitted. We mean, then, no defence or palliation of the moral condition of the Southern States when we admit that they produce the best soldiers, the best Generals, the best Statesmen, the best public functionaries of all kinds in the Union, and are thereby proved to be the nearest approach to a governing class. A fact is not the less a fact because it has its dark side, its dangers, and perhaps even a decidedly objectionable character.—*Times*, 9th July.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following subscriptions since July 2nd.

The Marquis of Lothian .. ..	£5 0
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The Emperor and Mr. Roebuck.

It is only natural that the friends of the Foreign-office should press the advantage gained by its exculpation from the two-fold charge so defiantly and—with all due credit for good intentions, be it added—somewhat injudiciously preferred on the night of the American debate. To judge by the solemn indignation of one of our morning contemporaries, it might be supposed that Mr. Roebuck and his colleague had committed a crime only one degree removed from high treason. But the sober truth is, that, whether or no the use of a foreign sovereign's name in such a connection is sufficient ground to arouse the susceptibilities of the House, the most important and only essential point of Mr. Roebuck's statement is fully borne out by the Emperor's own version of this memorable interview, in the columns of the *Moniteur*. There is not, as malevolent critics have affected to discover, any discrepancy between the two versions which is not easily accounted for by the necessary caution of a monarch directly addressing the public on the one hand, and on the other by the characteristic vivacity of a speaker in the warmth of debate. Mr. Roebuck charged the Government, at least by implication, with prevarication or diplomatic evasion for the purpose of concealing the Emperor's communication. In this Mr. Roebuck, no doubt, was precipitate, since we are bound to believe that the French Ambassador had not, on the evening of the debate, received any instructions, although it is stated on high authority that he was entrusted with a communication, if not to Lord Russell, to Lord Palmerston, at the very time that he volunteered his visit to the former. But the really important question is, whether indeed the Emperor was ready to join England in recognising the Confederate States, and whether he had decided on signifying this willingness to her Majesty's advisers, and this question the Emperor has answered substantially according to Mr. Roebuck's statement. On the other charge preferred by Mr. Roebuck, that the Foreign-office had made an improper use of a former communication from the Emperor, the *Moniteur* is silent, and, considering in whose name it spoke as well as the nature of the charge, the official organ could not be otherwise than silent. But were it possible to consult the oracle on this subject also, it would no doubt transpire that Mr. Layard wasted his showy array of dates—not, by the way, so accurate

as might have been expected, since Mr. Layard, as is pointed out by the *Times'* Paris correspondent, makes an error of twenty days in the date of the French despatch—to no purpose. The public, we have reason to think, would then learn that the Emperor's complaint referred not to his Mediation Proposal of October, but to a confidential communication far anterior in date; and that if Mr. Layard did not know this, Earl Russell could not have been ignorant of the fact. Much has been said at the expense of Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck about their assuming the character of amateur diplomatists. But we are not able to see how the most punctilious stickler for proprieties can justly object, if the mover of an important resolution, depending for its appropriateness and success mainly upon the intentions of a foreign Sovereign, avails himself of an opportunity to ascertain these intentions. Gentlemen interested in a question of foreign policy have often taken the pains to qualify themselves as eye-witnesses, and whether their testimony related to Italian prisons, to the state of things in America or in the East, it has never been considered as unacceptable to the House or inappropriate to a debate. Mr. Roebuck clearly intended nothing more than this; and it is further shown by Mr. Lindsay's letter to the *Times* on Saturday, that the opportunity by which both profited, was not altogether of their own seeking, for it was Her Majesty's Government which first introduced the last-named gentleman to the Emperor's acquaintance and confidence in what is now called an "extra-ambassadorial" quality, and it was out of his interviews with the Emperor in that capacity that the conversation about America incidentally arose. It is scarcely probable that in "a frank interchange of opinions" the Emperor of the French should have wished to communicate to his two visitors state secrets; and his authorizing them to repeat his words whenever or wherever they thought proper, neither would make him responsible for the use that might be made of this permission, nor is in any way inconsistent with his disclaimer of any "attempt to influence the British Parliament through two of its members." Nor, on the other hand, is it probable that these two gentlemen went to Fontainebleau with the intention or expectation of influencing the Imperial policy, but simply to set their own minds at rest in regard to conflicting rumours, which in London and in Paris had acquired considerable circulation and a tangible shape. Apart from the improbability of the Emperor being affected by private representations, it is now well known that he had decided upon "sounding" the English Cabinet before Messrs. Lindsay and Roebuck left London; and it is even reported that the United States' Minister at Paris had considered the previous interview obtained by the Envoy of the Confederate States a sufficient ground for a protest on the part of his Government.

But it is profitless to carry such speculations further. Whether Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Roebuck acted advisedly or not in what they did and said, is a question of individual judgment, but which in no way affects the important fact which it was evidently their sole object to bring to light and into full relief. "The Emperor," says the *Moniteur*, "expressed his desire to see peace re-established in America, but observed that England, having declined his proposal of mediation the previous October, he did not think he could submit a new proposition without the certainty of its acceptance. His Majesty stated further, that his Ambassador should, nevertheless, receive instructions to sound the English Cabinet upon the subject, giving it to understand that if England thought the recognition of the South likely to put an end to the war, the Emperor was disposed to follow her in that course." Here we have an authentic and explicit announcement of the Imperial policy, which can neither be retracted nor explained away. The Emperor leaves us in no doubt as regards his opinions and wishes, and he throws upon Great Britain the responsibility of declaring that recognition is inexpedient or ineffective. If Great Britain makes this declaration, she assumes the attitude of being the only obstacle to the admission of the Confederate States into the commonwealth of nations, and

she rejects for ever the golden opportunity of retaining the friendship and earning the gratitude of a gallant people which has proved itself the better and the stronger half of the late American Union. The favourite assertion which those opposed to recognition have never wearied of repeating, that recognition will only embitter the North, is exploded by the glaring fact that even the actual invasion of their soil cannot rouse the masses of the Northern population from the apathy of despair into which uninterrupted failure has plunged them. If ever the arguments for recognition told with irresistible force, it is now, when this act of justice comes to stem the onward victorious march of the Confederates, and to save the crumbling fragments of what but latterly was a formidable aggressive power. It is, in fact, become an act of mercy to the North quite as much as an act of justice to the South. And it would be the crowning glory of the long and brilliant career of Lord Palmerston, which would retrieve and cause to be forgotten the many blunders in the foreign policy of the present Administration, were he, who is supposed to lack neither the courage nor the sagacity to appreciate great opportunities, to step forth as the sponsor of the young nation which has so well and wisely vindicated its title to existence. But it will not relieve him nor the country of the momentous responsibility, if he takes advantage of the ill-feeling that has sprung out of the recent debate and been designedly fostered and embittered, to change the real issue involved in the pending motion, and to make the result of the division, if it be brought to one, depend upon other questions than that of the claim of the Confederate States to recognition.

The state of the American question, as it now stands, can be resumed within a few words. There is an appeal made to the British Government by its nearest and most important ally to recognise jointly the independence of the South; there is a military situation pre-eminently favourable for such recognition, and in itself the strongest refutation of all opposition to the act; there is a general opinion throughout this country and the continent that the time has at length arrived; and the only objection to be argued against all this is, that the facts have been presented to Parliament in a manner which caused some unpleasant feelings, and has given umbrage to some excessively fastidious susceptibilities.

The North on its Defence.

WHATEVER doubts may have been entertained as to the expediency of an invasion of the Northern States, they must have been dispelled by the attitude of the population of the invaded districts, and the tone of the Northern press. Passing by the conclusive argument in favour of immediate recognition in the presence of a large "rebel" army within twenty-five miles of Washington, what are we to say of the strange apathy, the panic, and the want of patriotism exhibited by the sturdy farmers of Pennsylvania, at the moment when the Confederate soldiery, in comparatively small numbers, are stretching themselves over their well-cultivated fields, carrying off their accumulated stores, and even menacing their capital? Could there be stronger proof of the absence of all real feeling for the war policy of Mr. Lincoln? The New York press can hardly find words strong enough to depict the stolid indifference of the people of Pennsylvania. In vain are the most stirring appeals promulgated to these unexcitable yeomen. In vain are they summoned to take up arms against a danger which they are assured will pass away, like "rebellion" itself, in ninety days. They remain deaf to the call of honour. They prefer selling their goods for Confederate scrip. New Jersey sends her militia to their aid, and they insult them. They have contributed their quota of men to the prosecution of the war, and they hold the Government responsible for their property. Failing this, they decline to offer up themselves and their towns as victims on the altar of patriotism; and the Confederates find themselves in quiet occupation of a country teeming with agricultural produce and stores



of every kind, in the midst of a population practically as favourable to their cause as their Virginia neighbours south of the Potomac. Perhaps some of this apathy is to be attributed to the mode in which the Confederate generals carry on the war. There is a wide difference between General Ewell's disciplined soldiers and the plundering Bashi-Bazouks of Milroy, and Schenk, and Blenker. No excesses, no flaming homesteads, no bombarded cities mark the progress of the invaders. The Southerner shows himself as superior to the Northern hordes in his treatment of unarmed towns as in the fury of battle; and at Chambersburg and Greencastle life and property and honour are as secure as at Philadelphia. But there are other causes than this to account for the disgust of the New York press. It is now clearly proved that the North has not its heart in the war. Were the men of Pennsylvania fighting for a great principle, they would not be found laggards. But they feel that this war is waged for objects with which they have nothing to do. They have made enormous sacrifices of men and treasure, at the call of the Administration, for the furtherance of these objects. It is too much, they say, that they should be expected, in order to secure Mr. Lincoln's credit and redeem Mr. Seward's pledges, to submit to the cruel fate of the Southern people, and have to fight for their own hearths. So if Hooker and his army cannot protect them, they will bow to the storm and leave the fighting to the men who have taken the bounties and have a taste for it. Contrast this with the stern, unflinching fortitude of the South, with the firm resolution which has made every man capable of staggering into the fight under the weight of his heavy musket a soldier, which lines every river and fastness with the rifle of the bushwhacker and guerilla, and makes every defensive position in the South a battle-field. If there were no other demonstration of the hopelessness of the contest on the part of the North, the indifference of Pennsylvania, and the absolute inability of the Federal Administration to afford protection to its own citizens, would suffice to place it beyond a doubt.

It would be idle, on the mere speculations of Northern writers, to discuss the probable objects of General Lee's advance. The secrecy which has attended the Confederate movements from the first, the pains taken to prevent any knowledge of the Confederate plans reaching the councils of the North, make the information of the Northern press concerning the plans of the invaders of very little value. But we know enough from the actual movements of troops to assume that we are on the eve of a great crisis in the war, and that the present campaign is likely to surpass all that have gone before it in the magnitude of the issues which it involves. Washington is in danger. Foreign representatives at the capital are discussing the alternatives of retiring with President Lincoln, or treating the district of Columbia as neutral ground, and awaiting there the ingress of the victorious Confederates. Baltimore is in a state of panic; Philadelphia and Pittsburg are clamorous for troops. The invasion is not a mere cavalry raid; it is a serious operation of war conducted by a principal army well supplied with pontooning appliances, siege guns, and all the equipments for a protracted campaign. And while Hooker is drawing up his army in order of battle south of the Potomac, division after division of the Southern troops is spreading itself over Maryland and Pennsylvania, and pushing on to the rear of the capital. The Confederates hold the country for nearly ninety miles along the river. Everything betokens a terrible conflict for Washington. According to the New York press the plan of the Confederate General is to isolate the capital: to march a considerable force from Fredericktown, and cut off the communication between Baltimore and Washington; to hold the Baltimore and Ohio railroads, so that no reinforcements can come up from the West, and to push a division across the Potomac below Washington on to Bladensburg. We may dismiss this programme without much consideration. General Lee is not the man to expose an isolated corps to the attack of General Hooker's whole army. Doubtless, if the

Federal army be once drawn across the Potomac, the batteries on the southern bank will be rearmed, and a new blockade of that river be introduced. But we do not believe the reduction of Washington is the immediate object of the advance. It must be recollected that Virginia has for two years been trodden by the two hostile armies, and that the "subsistence" of the Confederate troops about Richmond has been seriously threatened. The present movement has already given them the Shenandoah, with its luxuriant grain crops ready for harvesting; it has opened to them the barns of Western Maryland, and the pastures of Pennsylvania, up to the banks of the Susquehanna. Confederate cavalry have ridden up to the very gates of Baltimore and Washington. And to rescue this vast tract of country from the grasp of the invader, to wipe out this national humiliation, Hooker's army must once more assume the initiative, and attack the Confederates, on ground of their own selection. Hooker, it is said, is waiting for reinforcements. From Suffolk, from the York Town Peninsula, from Newbern the Federal troops are hurrying up in transports to the aid of the capital. What has become, then, of that boasted army of 150,000 men which, two months ago, was intended to march into Richmond? The battle of Chancellorsville cost at least 30,000 men. The expiration of the term of service of the two years' men has deprived the North of its most serviceable troops, and at this moment Hooker is barely able to hold his own in the lines of Alexandria or Arlington Heights.

In the meantime General Lee is steadily enveloping Harper's Ferry, and in all probability Hooker will be compelled to fight to save the garrison. General Milroy's retreat has cost the Federals 5,000 or 6,000 men, a splendid artillery, and \$5,000,000 worth of stores. But the fall of Harper's Ferry would be a still more terrible disaster, and General Hooker dare not remain quietly south of the Potomac, while Maryland Heights are stormed by the Confederates. So far victory has favoured the latter. General Lee has completely outwitted his antagonist. He has marched nearly round him; he has inflicted a series of disasters on the Federal armies opposed to him; he threatens half-a-dozen of the greatest cities of the North, the capital amongst the number. Above all, he is in possession of a great area of grain-growing country, which will "subsist" the whole Confederate army of Virginia for months to come. Even were there no other advantages to be reaped from this movement than the moral and material gains we have alluded to, Lee's advance would be amply justified; but we are not without hope that as his plans are developed, the objects of his northward march will assume greater dimensions, and that the time has really arrived when, in the opinion of this great general, there is a favourable opportunity for striking the decisive blow of the war, and enforcing a peace upon the beaten, disgraced, and panic-stricken Administration of the North.

### A Conceivable Calamity.

In Mr. Bright's violent and malignant diatribe against Mr. Roebuck, the South, and the proposal of recognition, there was one suggestion which, as coming from so ardent a partisan of the Federal Government, thoroughly imbued with Yankee feeling, and more familiar with the temper of New York and Massachusetts than with that of the English people, deserves a brief consideration. It is a suggestion which has more than once been repeated by the eccentric but well-informed New York correspondent of the *Standard*, a thorough-going Unionist of the democratic school, and a fair representative of the passions and extravagances of the unthinking majority of the Northerners. What if this war should end neither in separation, nor yet in the conquest of the South by the North, but in the submission of the North to the South? There was more sense than some of his hearers seemed to think in the question of the member for Birmingham—

Is it not possible that a Union may be formed on the basis of the South? There are persons who think that possible. I

hope that it is not, but I would not say that it is absolutely impossible. (Hear, hear.) Is it not possible that the Northern Government might be beaten in their military operations, and that, by their own incapacity, they might be so humiliated before their people, that even what you call the peace party in the North, but which I say is in no sense a peace party, might unite with the South, and the Union be reconstituted on the basis of Southern opinions? Is it not possible that the Southern people should appeal to the Irish population of America against the negro, there being but little sympathy and respect between the two? Is it not possible that they should appeal to the rich commercial classes of the North, who, like the same classes in other countries, from the uncertainty of their possessions and the fluctuations of their interest, are always timid and almost always corrupt? (A laugh, and "Hear, hear.") Is it not possible that the commercial classes might prefer the union of the whole country on the basis of the South, rather than that disunion which so many members of this House seem to look upon with hope and approbation?

As an argument against recognition, of course, this possibility has no force whatever. It is the very height of absurdity to allege, as a reason for refusing to recognise a new Power, that there is a chance of the indefinite extension of its Empire, and even of the submission to its rule of the State which now claims to exercise sovereignty over it. The greater the equality of strength between the belligerents, the clearer becomes the claim of the new State to be placed on a footing of diplomatic equality with the old; and if it be the case that the South is in the remotest degree likely not merely to conquer its own independence, but to receive the adhesion of the whole or a certain number of the Northern States, it is difficult to understand on what conceivable ground Mr. Bright can affirm that the power of the Southern Confederacy is not yet established on such a basis, that it has a right to be acknowledged as a *de facto* Government by foreign nations. When Mr. Forster urges that we ought not to recognise the Confederate Government, because we do not know as yet whether it will be able to retain four of the States whose allegiance it already claims, but which, lying westward of the Mississippi, may be cut off from the Eastern States by the Federal supremacy on that river, we understand the bearing of the argument, though we dispute the truth and deny the relevance of the premises. But when Mr. Bright urges that we ought not to recognise the Confederacy because it may one day come to receive applications for admission from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, we confess that he seems to us to be talking sheer paradox. The greater the probability of such an event, the stronger the case in favour of recognition, and the more urgent the necessity of securing the goodwill of the dominant section of a country so powerful as this supposed Confederacy would be.

We do not agree with Mr. Bright in thinking that the reunion of the severed States in this manner would be so undesirable an event for England and for the peace of the world, as the restoration of the Union by the re-conquest of the South, if such an event were possible. We should see in the latter issue an omen of continual disturbance, and probably of immediate war. We know that it would not be long before the victorious army of the North would need fresh occupation, and we can hardly doubt that our American provinces would furnish the employment necessary to keep the lawless mercenaries of President Lincoln from preying upon the country which pays them. The enlarged Confederacy would, no doubt, be a Power formidable by its greatness, and by the energy and ability of its Government; and it would also have some difficulty in finding employment, not indeed for its own forces, but for those disbanded hordes which, on the conclusion of peace, would infest each of the States that would severally join it. But the Confederate Government not only would not covet Canada, but would see in its acquisition a source of imminent danger to itself, as increasing the power of that free-soil element which would, in any case, be constantly and increasingly troublesome. Our West Indian colonies might be better worth having; but no one would dream of invading the island possessions of the mistress of the seas. And moreover, the vast commercial interests of the South would be an invaluable security for peace. War with England would involve, to the Southern States alone, the deterioration, waste, and possible destruction of pro-



erty worth forty millions sterling per annum; and, therefore, it is hardly likely that to gratify national ambition, or to satisfy the restlessness and cupidity of a disbanded army, a Confederacy in which the South was dominant would pick a quarrel with England. Still it is clear that the reunion of the States—"on the basis of the South," or on any other basis—would be a misfortune to England and to the world. Their division is a security for peace, and the best security that we could have. Even separate, each section will be strong enough to be respected; but the two will hold each other in check, and the South, for its own sake, will be ever ready to assist us in restraining the inordinate ambition and covetous greed of land which has always made the Northern States of the Union our most dangerous neighbours and most inveterate enemies. Separation is a security for free trade; reunion on any terms would almost certainly be followed by a revival of protection in some form or other. And while it is certain that the carrying trade of the South will, in the event of separation, be done by English ships, that its markets will be supplied with English hardware and English manufactures, and that its trade will be carried on by the help of English capital, it is almost equally certain that political reunion would restore these advantages to the North, and that the bright commercial hopes which open to us as the immediate consequence of peace would be snatched from our grasp. Our interests, therefore, are most clearly and strongly opposed to a reconstruction of the Union on any terms whatever. This would not, of course, entitle us to prevent that reconstruction, if it should appear that the North were likely to succeed in its hope of reducing the South to submission; but it does entitle us to consider how far we are doing wisely in forcing upon the Confederates a temptation so strong and so hardly to be resisted. If we recognise them, we shall, in all likelihood, terminate the war; and the Confederates will be enabled to make peace on their own terms—simple and unconditional separation. If not, we may possibly drive them to consider whether they would not do well to consider another method of making peace. They have seen their towns burnt, their country ravaged, their women insulted, their families threatened with the horrors of servile war; and they know that while the contest continues they must remain liable to suffer these outrages and endure these perils. It would, no doubt, be insufferable to them to receive once more into political fellowship those who have scourged their land with an invasion marked by utter disregard of all the laws of civilized warfare. We do not believe that they will do it. But by encouraging, as we do encourage, the prosecution of the war, we tempt them to terminate it in any way they can; and it happens that a way is open to them of ending it in triumph, with glory to themselves and humiliation to their enemies. Has England no fear that they should embrace the opportunity? Are our Statesmen indifferent to the consequences, or blind to the folly of a course which offers every inducement to the South to close with the offer which the Northern democrats are only too ready to make?

Only a very few of the most reckless and untruthful of the partisans of the North in this country pretend that their clients are fighting for Abolition. Nay, in the North itself, the Abolitionist faction finds itself compelled to veil its real purposes, and to pretend a furious zeal for that Union which it was wont to denounce as a league with Death and a covenant with Hell. Abraham Lincoln, the President of the party which includes the Abolitionists, surrounded by Abolitionist advisers, and owing his election in no small degree to Abolitionist intrigues, is forced to pretend, or actually feels, indifference to Abolition, and professes to look only to the restoration of the Union. There is no Democrat, there are few Republicans, who would not consign the whole negro race to slavery for all eternity in order to restore the Union. For President Lincoln no one cares; towards the Confederates, except as Secessionists, no hatred is felt. And, therefore, if the Confederates were to repudiate Seces-

sion; if President Davis or General Lee were to issue an address to the Northern States, declaring that they made war not against the Union, but in defence of the Constitution, that they are sending their armies northwards not to enforce separation, but to overthrow an imbecile and unconstitutional faction in possession of power, to vindicate State Sovereignty, to punish treason, and to restore liberty; if they were to invite the Northern States to send in their adhesion to the Confederacy, or propose a reconstruction of the Union with the Montgomery Constitution—the Federal armies would melt away like snow before the suns of spring, and not another regiment would go from any of the Western or Middle States to the defence of a hated creed and a despised Administration. Nay, we doubt whether the army itself would not be likely to seize Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, and his Provosts Marshal, and deliver them up to be tried as traitors to the Union and rebels against the law. Except in New England, it would scarcely be possible to offer any resistance to a proposal to deliver up the leaders of the Abolitionists to be hanged as traitors and instigators of arson and murder, and to reconstitute the union with Jefferson Davis as President, and the Montgomery Constitution as the law of the land. New England might demur; with all her selfish baseness, with all her Puritanic hypocrisy, she is not wholly shameless in her devotion to Mammon, nor wholly insincere in her hatred of the slave-owner. But the Union could do without the Puritan States; and the proposal to "leave New England out in the cold" has been cheered at many a meeting of Northern Unionists. It rests, then, with the South to be "lords of their own lands," or lords of the Union; Mr. Davis has but to say the word, and the North would seat him in the chair of George Washington.

We do not fear that even this temptation will overcome the strong national antipathies, the just and prudent instincts of the Southern people, or the loyalty and wisdom of their leaders. The countrymen of Stonewall Jackson will never accept as friends and brethren the ruffianly soldiers of Butler, the plundering banditti of Blenker, the worthy comrades of Turchin, and Mitchell, and M'Neil. They could not forget, even if they could forgive: they would remember that no dependance can be placed on Northern promises and constitutional guarantees, even if they were willing to cancel the recollection of burning towns and devastated homes, and to trample over the bodies of Southern martyrs to shake hands with their murderers. Mr. Davis, and those who enjoy his confidence, Ministers and Generals, soldiers and civilians, will be true to the people's trust, and will prefer their posts of honour and duty at Richmond to those of fame and power which they might hold at Washington—will prefer to be remembered by posterity as the founders of a great nation, than as the reconstructors of an unnatural and abhorrent Union, doomed inevitably to a renewed disruption. But England will not do well to put this strain upon Southern virtue and moderation; to teach the Confederates that they may have peace and Empire at once, but that they must wait for years, it may be, for peace and independence; and English Statesmen will have no reason to regard with pride the timid, selfish, senseless part which they have played at this great crisis of a struggle as momentous for England as for America.

### Dramatic Topics.

If we may judge from the attendance, two opera houses have not proved too much for the demands of the musical public. But for the production of M. Gounod's "Faust" at Her Majesty's, and of the same opera under the title of "Faust e Margherita" at the Royal Italian Opera, we might have said that neither house had done anything to signalize the season of 1863, except that hitherto unheard-of achievement of both managers doing a profitable business. "Faust," which was first given at Her Majesty's, is a genuine and, we may add, an unqualified success. The music hits the happy medium between the grand which requires an artist to appreciate its beauties, and the simple melodies of Balfe, which are common place as well as pretty. Besides several vocal gems, a waltz which is wonderfully fresh and inspiring, is a great favourite at Covent Garden; the scenic effects are, thanks to the superiority of the stage, grander than at Her Majesty's; but though Mr. Costa has done his best, and of course done well,

no one pretends that M. Gounod's fine work can be heard to better advantage at one place than at the other.

There is, however, a novelty in connection with Her Majesty's which is worth a passing notice. When, at the commencement of his career as a tenor, Mr. Sims Reeves made a tour in Italy, he was everywhere received in that land of song with boundless enthusiasm. Strange stories are told of diplomatic intrigues to keep the English vocalist in Florence or in Naples when he was engaged to be in Rome, but whether they be true or false he had unquestionably a triumphant reception. It occurred to the then manager of the London Italian Opera to engage the services of Mr. Reeves. If he had been an Italian there would have been no question about the propriety of so doing, but it was contrary to all precedent for an English artist to appear on the stage of the London Italian Opera. The manager determined to try the experiment, and Mr. Reeves made a successful debut; but soon the prejudice against native talent compelled him to throw up his engagement. We have become wiser and more liberal. Mr. Santley has been singing during the season at Her Majesty's, much to the satisfaction of the subscribers, and now Mr. Sims Reeves has also joined the company, appearing first as *Edgardo* in "Lucia di Lammermoor," and being announced to take the part of *Huon* in "Oberon."

Mr. Lumley has published a pamphlet, in which he explains the history of his difficulties in connection with Her Majesty's. The moral he would have his readers draw from the narrative is, that he has been harshly used by the Earl of Dudley. The matter seems to be, that the Earl having assisted Mr. Lumley with advances of money, took the best security for repayment that he could procure, and was not slow to enforce his claims. We have only an *ex parte* statement, and before we charge the Earl with harshness, we must know what reasons he alleges for showing his creditor so little indulgence.

It would be impossible to give even a bare list of all the concerts of the season. They have overflowed the concert halls, the Crystal Palace, and other places appropriated to such entertainments, and have, in several instances, been given at the private houses of the nobility and gentry. The lovers of the pianoforte are regretting the retirement of M. Thalberg, who announces his farewell *matinée* for Saturday next. M. Thalberg leaves his profession whilst his power is undiminished, and there is no one to succeed him. His peculiar school of playing will not survive his own performances.

The concerts of the Wandering Minstrels have, and are attracting a large share of public attention, but not more than they deserve. The Wandering Minstrels are a company of amateurs belonging to the *élite* of society, and the object of their public appearance is to further the cause of charity. Under such circumstances, the most acrimonious critic would be little disposed to find fault, even if the performances were a trifle below professional mediocrity, but it happens that the Wandering Minstrels need not any merciful consideration, for their performances are altogether excellent, and marked by an artistic finish that only first class professionals attain.

Although the musical attractions have been so numerous, the drama has, by no means, been neglected. The only failure we know of, or what seems to be a failure, is a performance at Drury Lane, to procure funds for the erection of a monument to Shakespeare in the Metropolis. We suspect this foolish scheme would never have been propounded, if there had not been a prospect of the promoter's name finding a place on the pedestal. There is next year to be a festival on the 300th anniversary of the poet's birth. We may remark, without depreciating the laudable effort, that the demonstration is hardly likely to be worthy of the occasion, and that we rather wish these celebrations, which are so thoroughly German in their character and conception, were left to the Germans.

There is no lack of evidence that the English people are continually mindful of the classic drama. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean started on Monday for Australia, on a professional tour, and their farewell performances were attended by enthusiastic audiences. It is some comfort to find that there are a few thousands who have not bound themselves to pay homage only to sensation dramas and the innuities of Lord Dundreary.

Not less noteworthy is the reception we give to such foreign artistes as M. Fechter, who won his position in England by his personation of *Hamlet* and *Othello*, and though we refuse to tolerate his presentments and emendations, we admire him as an accomplished actor. At the Lyceum M. Fechter has not yet produced "Othello" as he promised. One reason is, that "The Duke's Motto," which has had a run of 150 nights, still draws full houses, and whatever may be the taste of the actor, it is the business of M. Fechter, as manager, to let well alone. Another reason is a dispute with Mr. Phelps. That gentleman refused to play the *Ghost* to M. Fechter's *Hamlet*, and the engagement was broken off. Indeed, M. Fechter has found the manager's place anything but a bed of roses. Closely following on the dispute with Mr. Phelps, was a disagreement with Mr. Walter Montgomery. Mr. Montgomery pined to make his London debut, and seeing no end to the run of "The Duke's Motto," refused any longer to receive a salary for doing nothing, took an engagement at the Princess's, and the Court of Chancery has decided that he was justified in so doing.

At the Princess's Mr. Montgomery is playing with Mdlle. Stella Colas, a French actress. Four months ago she was entirely ignorant of our language, and placed herself under the tuition of Mr. Ryder, and her excellent though not faultless pronunciation of English is remarkable. She has made her debut as *Juliet*, and a more charming *Juliet* has never appeared on any stage. Her natural rendering of the love scenes, and the dramatic power which she infuses



into the tragic scenes are equally admirable. She pays more attention to the minutie of stage effect than is common with English actresses; but though her success is heightened by, it does not depend upon these effects.

It is a pity that Madame Ristori, who has been playing in London, has not learnt our language. Her personation of *Lady Macbeth* is magnificent, yet the Italian version of the play is awfully wordy, and the Italian company has not generally much idea of English tragedy. The actor who took the part of *Macbeth* was provokingly comic. According to his reading, *Macbeth* was a kind of sneaking brigand. However, the genius of Madame Ristori triumphed over all disadvantages, and made the performance an event not to be forgotten.

Another distinguished foreign actor—Mr. Levasior—has been visiting London, but he has played French pieces in French. Critics have joined with the world of fashion in paying tribute to his genius and versatility.

"Our American Cousin" having departed from the Haymarket *pro tem.*, Lord Dundreary's place is supplied by a comedy, by Lady Giffard, entitled "Finesse." This piece, after a run of nearly fifty nights, is, it is said, about to be withdrawn. At the Olympic, Mr. Tom Taylor's play "The Ticket-of-Leave Man," has met with a qualified success. The subject is not a very attractive one, and though Mr. Tom Taylor's moral is good, it does not reconcile the public to the plot. At an East End theatre—the Standard—the same topic is treated, under the title of "The Return of the Ticket-of-Leave Man." No doubt it is very cruel that society should not allow penal servitude to fully expiate crime, but the custom is useful in deterring many from committing crimes. A comedy by Mr. John Brougham, called "While there's Life there's Hope," is being played at the Strand. At the Adelphi, and at a very minor theatre, the Britannia, the present stars are literally nobodies—that is, they are scientific ghosts, and very awful apparitions to the young and to the superstitious. At the Adelphi, Mr. Dickens's "Haunted Man" has been adapted for the occasion. Professor Pepper, the inventor of these scientific ghosts, has patented them. He enjoys a complete monopoly, being the only person licensed to sell such spirits.

Mr. Boucicault, in spite of the success of "Colleen Bawn," has gone to bankruptcy—or, rather, bankruptcy has gone to him. The *coup de grace*, it is reported, was a dispute between Mr. Boucicault and the gentlemen who were to have found him the money for carrying on the Westminster Theatre, and to build another. The affair with Mrs. Jordan had very likely something to do with bringing about the crisis. There is considerable curiosity to learn how much was made by the "Colleen Bawn," and still more to know what, in so short a time, has become of the money.

A very important decision as to copyright has lately been decided in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. An injunction was sought by the proprietors of the copyrights of Miss Braddon's novels, "Aurora Floyd" and "Lady Audley's Secret," to restrain the publication of the dramas named after and founded upon the novels. The Vice-Chancellor held that even if the performance of the dramas was lawful, the publication was an infringement of the copyrights. In the course of the argument the counsel for the defendant said that such publication was usual, and that Mr. Dickens's works had been dramatised without complaint. The learned judge, referring to the argument, remarked, "he must say that he felt it might well be that the distinguished authors to whom reference had been made found that their greater genius manifested in their works was a better protection to them than any court of law could be." True enough, but very unkind to Miss Braddon. That lady ought not, however, to complain after the way she has—most unintentionally—injured the reputation of her country. A version of "Aurora Floyd" is being played in Paris under the quaint title of "Le Secret de Miss Aurora," and the dramatic critic of *Le Constitutionnel* says the drama founded upon the novel,—which, as our readers are aware, is a tale of sensational crime, a highly-spiced hash of Newgate Calendar horrors,—is "a picture of English manners," not of imaginary English people, but "of veritable English people of the present age," and the worthy critic emphatically repudiates the notion of Miss Braddon's story being coloured.

Miss Helen Western, an American actress, who is a capital representative of male characters where there is plenty of fighting, has been playing for a few nights at Sadlers' Wells. She is a sprightly lady, and will not lack engagements on either side the Atlantic.

A rope-walker, calling himself Valerio, was lately killed by a fall at Cremorne Gardens. We are a droll nation. We protest against the brutality of bull-baiting in Spain, we punish cock-fighting at home, but we permit a pastime from which the only pleasure derived is the thrilling consciousness that the performer is in imminent danger of breaking his neck.

**THE CONFEDERATE PUBLIC DEBT.**—The debt of the Confederate States bears no proportion to that of other States in like extremities. Suppose it to amount at the end of the fiscal year to 1,000,000,000 dollars. France, when exhausted by long wars, by the loss of all her colonies, and a population about two and a half times our number, and prospective resources certainly not greater, had about assignats to the amount of 8,000,000,000 dollars. Her revenue was 187,000,000 dollars; perhaps a little more than our tax will yield in our present blockaded and isolated state. England, with twice our population, in 1831, had a debt of \$4,000,000,000, while her revenue was \$247,000,000. Yet her credit has been sustained, and why not that of the Confederacy?—*Charleston Courier.*

**THE Peter-bury (Virginia) Express** announces the arrival of several steamers at Mobile, "from blockaded British ports."

## TWO WRITERS ON THE WAR.\*

We have copies of two reprints—English and Northern—of Mr. Pollard's "First Year of the War." As we gave, some time ago, a very complete analysis of the contents of this work, we shall not now enter into any discussion of its merits. It is enough to say that Mr. Pollard at all times writes very badly; and that when, as now and then happens, he forgets the patriot in the partisan, and the dignity of history in the zeal of opposition criticism, he writes not merely ill, but unfairly. It is not his fault that he is unable to rise above the style of a third-rate newspaper article; nor do we impute it to him as a crime that he belongs to a party which bears no goodwill to the great and good man whose name, as the founder of a new and better Union, will stand in history on a level with that of George Washington. But the presumption which has led so incompetent a person to assume the important duty of historian of the war is, we think, censurable; and we can find no excuse for the want of taste and temper which has led him to introduce into such a history poor ebullitions of temporary party feeling and personal malice. Happily there is not the least chance that so unsatisfactory a work will go down to posterity. It can only serve an ephemeral purpose; and for that purpose—to remind living observers of the chronology and details of the great struggle waged before their eyes—it is useful enough.

Infinitely less respectable in every way than the work of Mr. Pollard is that of Colonel Estvan, recently published in an English form. We do not know whether this person be really a Colonel, or in what European service he may have earned that rank. But we do know that he was not a Colonel in the service of the Confederate Government. We believe that he never held a commission from that Government. We feel assured that he has not seen one-half of the battles of which he speaks as if he had been an eye-witness; we know that when the statements now compiled in two octavo volumes originally appeared in the newspapers, they were publicly denounced as a tissue of falsehoods; that many of his assertions are notoriously untrue; and that on the evidence afforded by its own pages the work may be condemned at once as the production of a man to whom no credit can be given—a man who, on his own showing, ought never to have been allowed to associate with the officers and gentlemen of the Confederate army, and who pleads guilty to baseness in comparison with which that of slanderous misrepresentation seems absolutely trivial.

Colonel Estvan, be it remembered, was under no obligation to join the Confederate cause. He does not, like another author of the same stamp, pretend to have been forced into its service. He was not a citizen of the Confederate States; he was not even an American; but a European by birth, an adventurer by profession, ready to sell his sword to any Government, and cut throats at the bidding of any commander who would give him the pay and position he desired. Men of his sort are not honourable soldiers, entitled to the courtesies of war or to those of literature. He was not indifferent in the quarrel in which he agreed to draw his sword. On the contrary, he was a strong partisan of the North. Ignorant of American politics, but attached, like most European exiles of his class, to the lawless democratic notions prevalent in the Free States, his sympathies, such as they were, and his convictions, if he could be said to have any, were entirely with President Lincoln. This much is clear from the English edition of his book; and from the German edition we learn that he actually offered his services to the cause which he approved, and only drew his sword against the cause because he could not obtain satisfactory terms from the Federal Government. He held that the South was engaged in a wanton, wicked, and causeless rebellion. He held that the North was doing its duty to itself, to the slave, to myriads of Unionists in the Southern States who had been silenced by the violence of the seceding faction. He held that Mr. Davis and the leaders of the South were engaged in a foul and treacherous conspiracy against an excellent, just, and equitable Government; he held that President Lincoln was entitled to put down this conspiracy by force. He considered that the North was fighting for liberty and nationality; the South for a system of social tyranny and political iniquity. He believed that secession was the work of a factious minority; he believed that coercion was the right and duty of that which he probably mistook for a sovereign power. Yet this man deliberately cast in his lot with rebellion; took part in a conspiracy which he himself regarded as not merely treasonable, but purely selfish; agreed to fight for slavery against freedom, for evil

against justice, for wrong against right; hired himself to kill the men whom he regarded as patriotic soldiers, doing their best to defend their fatherland against the ambition of traitors bent on its destruction. We can draw no distinction between the case of such a man and that of one who deserts his colours for fear or lucre. We cannot accept him as a credible witness; we must rank him with the class which Clarence Randolph Young represents.

We do not know whether General McClellan, whom Colonel Estvan represents as the hero of the war, is much gratified by an admiration which he shares with the braggart and murderer Corcoran. With all his ability and his military virtues of generosity and humanity, McClellan is said to be vain; and it is possible that if he should one day be reappointed to command, by some reviving gleam of rationality in the Federal Government, his panegyrist may be offered a commission under him, and may not refuse it. Almost the only true portion of Colonel Estvan's book is that which describes the strategic genius of the only Northern general who has yet ventured within sight of Richmond, and even here there is a scandalous amount of exaggeration. It is quite true that General McClellan's plans were well laid, that his forces were well led, and that he achieved more than any other Northern officer, and more than any average officer of any country could have achieved with such troops and against such an enemy. It is true that he was ill-treated and ill-supported by his Government, though not half as ill-treated as Wellington in his peninsular campaigns. But it is utterly untrue that, however well supported, he was likely to have proved a match for Lee, and Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson; or that his mongrel horde of mercenaries would ever, in fair fight, have been a match for their own number of Southerners. McClellan's greatest achievement was the creation of the Federal army; a work which required much moral courage, and no small powers of organization; his other great achievements consisted rather in the retrieval of disaster than in the accomplishment of success. The retreat across the Chickahominy to the James River; the six days' fighting, often with balanced success, in which the surprised and beaten Northerners made good their retreat in the face of a victorious army, led by such men as Lee, and Jackson, and Longstreet; the battle of Antietam, fought with the remnants of beaten and disgraced armies; these were feats which proved McClellan a good soldier, a brave man, and a general not unworthy of the enthusiastic regard in which he was held by his troops. Far be it from us to disparage the only Federal officer who has made war like a soldier and a gentleman; who has understood that marauding does more harm to the army which perpetrates than to the country which suffers it, and that murders in cold blood never serve any other purpose than that of turning every citizen into a soldier, and exposing the murderers to that condemnation by the conscience of mankind at large, against which, in modern times, no Power has been able permanently to make a stand. But to compare McClellan to his opponents is as absurd as it would be to compare President Lincoln to President Davis, or Colonel Estvan to Stonewall Jackson; and to say that, if properly supported, he would have conquered them, is as irrational as to affirm that, had he commanded in Sebastopol, Inkerman and the Tchernaya would have been Russian victories. It cannot, perhaps, be fairly affirmed that on any occasion except on the first day's fighting on the Chickahominy, McClellan was simply and completely out-generalled; but it is certain that with every advantage of numbers and *matériel* he was completely beaten, and his reputation will not gain by the desperate attempts of his eulogist to prove that he ought to have been victorious.

Colonel Estvan, as we have said, sympathizes entirely with the North; but more than this, he hates the South. His sketches of the Confederates, from first to last, betray a rancour that is perfectly inexplicable by anything that is publicly known of his history. If he had been drummed out of their service for cowardice, or detected in a treasonable correspondence and forced to fly for his life, he could not revile them with more unscrupulous and unparing bitterness. He paints them as mere braggarts and boasters, apt at talking, but by no means ready to make good their boasts when it came to fighting; drunkards at home and savages in the field; four-fifths of them were ignorant peasants, fighting because they were ordered to fight by their lords, and the rest a selfish oligarchy, disposed to stay at home themselves, and leave the war, begun for the defence of their property, to be fought out by those who had less to make life worth having. He says in one place that "this has been a rich man's war, but a poor man's fight." No one, who had spent even a few weeks in the South, could possibly believe such an outrageous mis-statement. The first army raised in the Confederacy was composed almost exclusively of the sons of the richer class—of the youth of that slave-

\* "The First Year of the War." By E. A. Pollard.

"War Pictures from the South." By R. Estvan, Colonel of Cavalry in the Confederate Army. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge.



owning aristocracy so bitterly denounced by Radicals like Mr. Peter Taylor, and renegades like Col. Estvan; and these men are still in the army, and multitudes of them are still in the ranks. The battles of the South have been won, not by Irish and German mercenaries, but by Southerners of every class mingled in the same ranks; the blood that has dyed half a score of Virginian battle fields is the blood of the very flower of Southern chivalry. From the first, the war was a war of the people, not of politicians; and it has been sustained by the people at large, fighting as citizen-soldiers for all that citizens hold dear, and not by men whom poverty has forced or high pay allured into the ranks of a mercenary army.

We need hardly take the trouble to vindicate against the sneers and slanders of such a writer as this cosmopolitan colonel, the political honour and personal courage of the Southern President. Mr. Davis was chosen to the high position which he fills at present by the voice of an assembly which knew well what it was doing; he was accepted with unanimous satisfaction by a people familiar with his past history; he was confirmed in office by the people after a year's experience; and he has won for himself and his country the esteem and admiration of Europe by the statesmanlike calmness which he has displayed in the hour of triumph, and by the heroic fortitude which never deserts him in the hour of peril. His military reputation was made by a display of rare personal courage at the crisis of a great battle; his political reputation has been made as much by the moral courage which is a remarkable and almost exaggerated feature in his character, as by his high political sagacity; and it would need something more than the assertion of an Estvan to make the most stupid and prejudiced Englishman believe that this man was found wanting in courage when the enemy approached his capital.

We need not enter into an examination of minor misrepresentations; such as that which describes the siege of Fort Sumter as a mere sham fight, or that which assigns to the Confederates a superiority of numbers at the first battle of Manassas. It is enough to repeat what we have already said: that no assertion of this writer's is entitled to any credit whatever.

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF STONEWALL JACKSON.—Character is as well, and very often better, illustrated in the trifles of every-day life, than in the acts which form the eras of a great career; and for this reason the subjoined private note, addressed to an English gentleman of this city, deserves a place in our columns. It is another evidence of that simplicity and modesty which formed the leading characteristics of a man whose fame fills two continents:—

Head-quarters, 2nd Corps,  
Army of Northern Virginia, February 24, 1863.

I have had the honour of receiving your esteemed favour of 14th of November last, accompanied by your present of an English military saddle, with every appurtenance for its complete use which a liberal and judicious taste could suggest. I take pleasure in advising you of the safe arrival of the box with its contents, and to assure you of my cordial acceptance of your present. I desire especially to return you my thanks for those generous sentiments towards my country which have prompted this testimonial of your friendly consideration.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

T. J. JACKSON.

#### AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN ON THE SOUTH.\*

WE have before had occasion to make incidental reference to a little book of modest literary pretensions, half diary, half table-talk, chatty, gossiping, which, if it is not destined to any very brilliant or enduring fame, is yet sure of finding very many kindly and interested readers. It is "An Errand to the South," by a clergyman of the Church of England, who visited the much-vilified country from no mere curiosity, nor for the purpose of making a book, and who tells what he saw and heard there in a straightforward, honest manner, as if he rather had the object to fix his own impressions than to instruct the public. He was a welcome and honoured guest in every hospitable household. His descriptions are lively rather than graphic, and he was evidently most favourably impressed with the persons he met and the things he saw. There is a sort of enthusiasm of friendship which shows how agreeably he must have been disappointed in his visit. Such a witness is worth hearing, and though his sympathies are not concealed or disavowed, the most inveterate prejudice could not suspect him of wilfully misrepresenting facts. The precautions which the author took to reach his destination are characteristic and not a little amusing.

Mr. Malet desired to go to the Confederate States to communicate to an English lady, the wife of a planter in South Carolina, the sad intelligence of the death of three

of her nearest relatives in this country. In order to effect his object, he applied to Mr. Adams, who at once gave him a letter of recommendation to Mr. Seward. Earl Russell gave him a letter to Lord Lyons. Having thus procured what assistance he could from the ready kindness of the Federal Minister, and from the "warm neutrality" of our Foreign Secretary, he called on Mr. Mason, who gave him an introduction to General Hugér, then commanding at Norfolk, and to the Governor of South Carolina. With these credentials, he went to Washington. He had an interview with Mr. Stanton, who told him, "I cannot give you a pass, Mr. Malet, to go to South Carolina at present; I will give you one when Charleston is taken, and that will be very soon." Mr. Malet, not being perfectly satisfied with this assurance, waited on Mr. Stanton the next day, accompanied by a brother clergyman. He then obtained the required pass, and at the same time was introduced to Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward. He gives a curious account of his interview with the President. "He told me he was born in 1809; and remarked that when employed as a lawyer to settle the French claim in Illinois, he had met with my name. We pored together over a comparative chart of rivers, which showed that America had the two longest rivers in the world—Mississippi and Amazon—the former 4,400 miles long." Mr. Malet must not suppose that Mr. Lincoln was poring over the chart for the purpose of glancing that fact. The first lesson taught to a Yankee child is that America has the biggest rivers in the world, and that the American people can whip all creation. Mr. Lincoln was only bent on instructing his benighted guest after the manner of his people, whether at home or abroad. We readily believe that he was sincere when he "lamented the occurrence of the war, observing that, if he could have foreseen it, he would not have accepted the office of President." Mr. Seward came in and shook hands with Mr. Malet, "not speaking a word," but on the 1st of June, at the solicitation of Lord Lyons, he gave him a permission to land at Charleston, and on the 10th of June our traveller, after an uneventful voyage in H.M.S. Rinaldo, found himself in the Palmetto City. It is fortunate for the Confederate States and for Europe that it is not so difficult to run the blockade, or to cross the lines, as it is to go South *en règle*.

We lately reviewed a book written by an English Merchant, who visited the Confederate States on business, and who paid little or no regard to any matters that did not immediately concern the commerce of the South, present and prospective. Mr. Malet also confined his attention to those things which directly concern his vocation. Whilst he was in the Confederate States, the military events were more than usually interesting; but a bare mention of them suffices for our author. Nor does he give much space to politics. Only now and then, when he has been describing a religious gathering of whites or negroes, he cannot refrain from expressing surprise that a whole people—a people manifesting ready obedience to law and government and earnest piety—are called "rebels." Rebellion should be made of sterner stuff than faultless obedience to ancient laws, time-honoured institutions, and prayerful intercessions for Divine aid in defence of home and country against an invader. Our author was impressed with the entire absence of boasting in the South. He quotes at length an eloquent sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Reed on the 11th of September, the day appointed by President Davis for thanksgivings for the Southern victories gained by General Lee at Manassas, and General Kirby Smith at Richmond, Kentucky. The preacher says very little about the success of the Confederate arms, except as they have induced the people of the Confederate States to "humble themselves before God, and to implore His mercy." So far from concealing reverses he parades them, and notes how they have been beneficial to the Confederacy, and especially calls attention to the way in which the war has vindicated the character of the South to Europe. In the very flush of victory the preacher says:—"We look to the future with hope, we feel assured that all that courage and skill can do, will be done; and if we are finally overborne, it will be because God does not will us to be a nation." \* \* \* We do not know what is in the future. Neither the power nor the spirit of our persecutors is broken. \* \* \* Or if it should be God's pleasure to subject us to final overthrow, we shall leave to the world another legacy of heroic endurance that will animate another generation in the eternal contest of right against power. But let us pray against such an issue. Let us beseech God, who hears prayer, to interpose His own arm to stay the shedding of blood." This is what the North will call the language of pusillanimity and defeat. We think it is the language of true heroism, and that it presages victory. We think a people who confess that the issue of war is dependent on the will of the Lord of

Hosts, and who in the hour of triumph dare to contemplate the chances and exigencies of defeat, are more likely to endure to the end and to conquer than a people who prate about their invincibility from platform and pulpit, and blasphemously assert that Heaven is pledged to the success of their enterprise.

Mr. Malet's business in the South was soon disposed of, and he then gave his attention to inquiring into the condition of the slaves. Our author is a conscientious clergyman. He never feels that he is off duty. He held a service on the Cunard steamer that took him to New York. He preached several times in Washington; and when in the South, he lost no opportunity of praying, preaching, attending the sick, baptizing the young, and administering the sacrament. We will not repeat his testimony respecting the piety of the white race. We can well understand how, under present circumstances, the religion of the people is fervent and prominent. They cannot help feeling that they have been wonderfully cared for and protected. When the war began, they were totally unprepared, but their well-equipped foe was for months kept at bay by Quaker guns, and feared to assault fortifications innocent of cannon. Then there were a series of victories of inferior numbers against superior forces, such as military genius never before achieved. Even on the sea, where the Northern boast of absolute supremacy seemed reasonable, all the laurels of the war have been gathered by the Confederates. Cut off from intercourse with foreign markets, the Confederates find that they have within their own territory all things necessary for their maintenance and defence. Threatened with a servile war, they find that the negro is devotedly loyal, for we venture to say that in no country in Europe could the working population prove more true and patriotic. The Confederates have been deprived of all foreign aid, and however strong the sympathy with their cause throughout the civilized world, yet their very existence has been officially ignored. No wonder that so situated they should confess that they do not stand alone, and that their success is to be ascribed to the blessing of the Giver of all Victories, even more than to their valour and their patriotism.

But Mr. Malet was even more surprised and delighted with the moral and religious condition of the negroes. He found that the tales about the separation of negro families are grossly exaggerated, if not wholly false. Such separations happen, but they are much less frequent in the South through slavery, than in Europe through poverty.

It is the custom for masters to arrange for man and wife to be together; the wife is often bought on purpose to be with her husband, and *vice versa*. A man who sells a wife away from her husband, out of reach, is reckoned inhuman in society; still it is done, and none that I conversed with on the subject but agree that a law should be passed to prevent it. A master at Wilmington sold a little child away from its mother; a subscription was immediately raised to buy the mother from him to put her with the child. He dared not refuse, and he was so avoided that he was obliged to quit the place.

The Abolitionists are not always so humane to the negro, if it be true what was told me, viz., that among some property in South Carolina left to Mr. Sumner, the Senator, was a remarkably fine, intelligent servant. Some friends wrote to him in the North, saying, that if sold by private contract a good place could be ensured for the man, though the price would be less than if put up for competition; the answer was, that he was to be sold for as high a price as he could fetch. Certainly, this was all fair; but what an opportunity was lost of practising this principle!

The hours of labour for the negro are remarkably few. At the plantation in South Carolina where Mr. Malet was residing—and in this respect it is not exceptional—the negroes have finished their day's toil at 3 o'clock, and on Saturdays at noon. There may be plantations where the labour is more protracted. We only speak to the rule, not to the exceptions. There might have been, though we do not, in the absence of evidence, believe it, a Legree in the South, just as in London there is a court dress maker whose assistant died from the effects of overwork and sleeping in an overcrowded chamber; but the slaves in the South are usually privileged to work fewer hours than any other labouring class in the world. The food for the negro is abundant, but we do not in this case claim any particular credit for the Southerner. It is his interest to feed his negro well. The negro is his servant for life, and not his Coolly slave for seven years. The weekly allowance for the field hands in South Carolina is as follows:—

Each adult, male and female, had one peck of clean rice, and half a peck to each child; sometimes corn flour is given instead. As soon as a child is born, the mother has half a peck a week for it; they can lay by plenty for their poultry and pigs. Meat is given out to the field labourers three times a week, in such quantities that every family may have meat daily; honey, sugar, and salt were also given out.

Mr. Malet was struck with the care taken of the aged; with the free intercourse between the white and coloured children, leading to that affection which subsists between the two races in the South and nowhere else; and with

\* "An Errand to the South in the Summer of 1862." By the Rev. William Wyndham Malet, Vicar of Ardeley, near Buntingford, Herts. London: Richard Bealey.



the devotion of the negroes to their masters and their masters' families. That the negroes should dislike the Yankees, who hate them, is but natural, and this war is likely to confirm and increase the dislike. Mr. Malet embraced every occasion of catechising the negroes, and he discovered that they were exceedingly well instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion. The spread of Christianity amongst the black race is miraculous. There are more communicants among the negroes in the South than in all the other missions of the world. Ethiopia has stretched out her hands unto the Lord. Even the enemies of the South even Mrs. Beecher Stowe and the fanatics of New England—unwittingly testify to the religious progress of the Southern negroes. And this does not conciliate, but it rather exasperates the Abolitionists.

At Richmond, our author visited President Davis, with whom he had a *titre-à-titre* over a cup of tea, Mrs. Davis and the children on that occasion being at Raleigh, North Carolina, and he gives us a very full summary of the conversation. Soon afterwards Mr. Malet was invited to breakfast by Mrs. Davis, "to consult with their clergyman, Dr. Minnegrode, about organizing some system for Divine service in the hospitals." The description of the party is graphic:—

¶ Here was I sitting at a breakfast table, with certainly very good fare upon it, in company with the ruler of 10,000,000 of people, and commander-in-chief of 400,000 soldiers—the President of a Senate and a Congress—the chosen chief of thirteen States, each one more extensive than England—and no more formality than at a squire's table in England. Everything was in order—nothing extravagant; and last, not least, Mrs. Davis had good but loving rule over her fine, healthy children, whom I had the pleasure of seeing.

Beside the clergyman, Generals Pendleton and Gustavus Smith breakfasted with the President:—

The two generals were off to the army at Gordonsville soon after breakfast, Mrs. Davis disappearing for a time to order sandwiches, &c., to be put up for them on their journey. When they were off, we two clergymen sat talking with Mrs. Davis, and arranging for the Divine service in the military hospitals; and before we left, the President held out two cigars, one for the doctor and one for myself, which we smoked in the garden portico. His Excellency called me "doctor;" I said I could not lay claim to such an honourable distinction, on which he replied: "Oh, they must make you a doctor on your return to England, after this visit you have paid us."

The world has often paid homage to the simplicity of great men in their retirement after their task has been accomplished, but there is something still more grand and touching in the simple yet earnest life of the Chief Magistrate of the Confederate States. We had marked several more passages for quotation, but our space is limited, and we must refer our readers to the book itself for a mass of useful information about the South, and for many pleasing incidents and anecdotes. Among other things, not the least acceptable to lady readers will be the words and music of the song of "Maryland, my Maryland," which now deservedly disputes with the more homely "Dixie" the honour of being regarded the national song of the South.

#### THE REVIEWS FOR JULY.

*The Westminster Review*, No. 47, New Series. In recommending the current number of the *Westminster* to the notice of our readers, particularly as regards the article on Lancashire, it will scarcely be necessary to state that we have not the slightest sympathy with its principles. We utterly repudiate the infidel doctrines of the *Westminster* as we do its political theories, which combine all the vices of French and German socialism, without any of the virtues that grace, though they do not redeem that system. It is singular that wherever we go we find abolitionism and infidelity linked together. We do not moralize; we merely state an indisputable fact. We do not mean that a sincere and hearty opposition to slavery is incompatible with a sincere and hearty profession of Christianity, we only refer to abolitionists. Take up the *Westminster*. The first article is on "The Growth of Christianity," and is just such an essay as Voltaire might have called extreme, and Hume and Thomas Paine would have cordially endorsed. When we come to Article 10, we find the Southern defence of independence called an "infernal project," and the cruel, vengeful, and selfish war waged by the North described as a revolution on the part of the North "to purge this stigma from mankind." We nevertheless do not see any objection to culling a few facts from heathen ground, and since these facts are strongly in favour of a course which we advocate, they will not be less trustworthy because they are the utterance of a clever and unscrupulous enemy.

We are not going to present our readers with a synopsis of the article on Lancashire. We cannot do so, for the article in itself is an admirable and ably-condensed summary of a mass of valuable information. All we care or need to do is to notice the reviewer's results. He begins by disposing of the fallacy that the cotton famine is over. The problem is thus stated:—

"By last returns nearly 300,000 of the best workpeople in England are still, after sixteen months of idleness, without their ordinary employment. Their numbers have been slowly diminishing; but the causes of that diminution are not increasing." The reviewer in another place suggests a simple reason, and one which we have frequently had occasion to advance, why our cotton trade cannot revive under present circumstances. "The vast cotton trade of England is virtually dependent on the low price of the manufactured article," and in a note we are reminded that in 1861 we exported to China 160,000,000 yards of plain cotton goods, and in 1862 only 54,000,000 yards. It follows that if India is effectively to replace the American supply of the raw material, Indian cotton must be as cheap as American cotton. And here we must be careful not to be guided by a mere comparison of the price per lb. Irrespective of the difference in the quality of the fabrics produced, there is an enormous difference in the cost of production. Speaking of the working of Surats compared to American, the reviewer says, "It is our belief that, on the average, the loss of wages is about 30 or 40 per cent.," and this is still more important when we recollect that in cotton fabrics the raw material is of vastly less value than the labour. The reviewer recommends that the operatives should be to some extent encouraged to emigrate, and those that remain at home should be employed on public works. We have not, be it observed, only to deal with 300,000 persons. Nearly the whole of Lancashire is directly and indirectly dependent upon the cotton trade, and so if affairs do not become better than they are at present, we shall have to provide, at a moderate and inadequate calculation, for 1,000,000 persons.

Emigration—at least to our own colonies—on a very large scale is out of the question. If we chose to provide the funds, our colonies are not ready for such a sudden augmentation of their population. No doubt New England looks to, and will make a great effort to secure our skilled operatives, but just now emigration to the United States is neither profitable nor attractive. Besides, emigration is a ruinous alternative. It demolishes our most profitable industry, by transferring it to other lands. On this head the reviewer says, "In a word, wholesale emigration is no specific for the cotton crisis; firstly, because it would be fatal to capitalist and workman; secondly, because it is repugnant to both; lastly, if it were not, because it is impossible." The other alternative of employing the operatives on public works is nearly as objectionable. It is costly, can only engage a few of the operatives, and unfits them for the resumption of their normal industry.

Must our cotton trade be permanently crippled? If we can get our usual supply of raw material the saints of New England will have been premature in singing songs of triumph over our industrial decadence. But we cannot get for years, if ever, a supply from India, even if we adopt the protective system of Mr. John Bright, who with the zeal of a renegade from free trade clamours for the Government to foster the agricultural resources of India. Our only chance is the return of the American supply. The *Westminster* sees no hope of this, and says that, even if we had peace now, the effects of the war "would be to leave the Cotton States exhausted, depopulated, disorganized, changed in character, and broken in credit. Cotton would again be grown, but slowly, precariously, and under new conditions." What may be the result of a prolongation of the war we cannot say, but it would undoubtedly cripple the productiveness of the South. But we have to deal with the actual, not to speculate upon the future. At present, the Confederate States are neither depopulated nor disorganized. A present peace would replenish our exhausted stocks, and ensure a supply equal to the demand. A present peace would save our cotton trade from ruin and restore it to its pristine prosperity. It is surely then the duty of the British Government to do all that is possible to bring about peace, for the sake of Lancashire and for the sake of British interests. Surely it is criminal to encourage the continuation of the war by ignoring such a palpable fact as the existence of the Confederate States. Although we have no hand in this war, we are not the least of the sufferers.

The *New Review*, No. 3. When the *New Review* made its debut, we had occasion to commend it to the notice of our readers, and the perusal of the third number confirms the first favourable impression. We do not, however, endorse all the opinions of the *New Review*, or credit all its assertions. We do not believe that the Polish insurrection "creates an interest more purely sympathetic than the struggle raging in the New World." If it were so it would not be accounted for by the suggestion that, in America, "no sure promise of wide-spread good unfolds itself in the ultimate success of either party." If it is a good thing for an alien race to throw off the yoke of political servitude, it must be a good

thing for a kindred race to succeed in defending their independence. In an article on "Our Constitutional History," the effects of political agitation are considered. The reviewer thinks the "pressure upon Government" resembles that of stimulants on the human system which leave it more languid and enfeebled after each dose. There is an evil which is more palpable. Agitators are usually men of one idea. If the agitation succeeds their work is done, but their restless ambition is not satisfied. Like the worn-out *prima donna*, they long in their retirement for another public appearance and more public applause. So they hinder good Government by trading on their reputation. Ever since the repeal of the Corn-laws the Corn-law agitators have been like fish out of water, and it is to be regretted that they were not provided with places or pensions as soon as their occupation was gone. The *New Review* has an essay on "Married, or Single Life," for which spinsters ought to feel grateful, but we do not think that any benefit results from such exhortations. If the winsome charms of the fair cannot persuade young men to marry, we are convinced the persuasion of the reviewer will be in vain. An article on autographs is illustrated by some curious specimens. One is of Queen Victoria, dated 1844. A note of Sheridan's, in which he says, "in future I will discharge my accounts every month," is eminently characteristic. The calligraphy of distinguished persons is bad, and the bad handwriting of a lord looks just as ugly as the bad handwriting of a peasant. The prevailing fashion of bad, that is illegible, handwriting, is a discreditable nuisance.

#### A NORTHERN DEFENCE OF RECOGNITION.

This pamphlet is an able *resumé* of the leading arguments in favour of recognition. Mr. O'Sullivan first dilates on the legality of the proceeding, and in doing so gives a very proper and courteous reply to the special pleading of "Historicus." He says, international law is not "dependent upon minute identity of precedents. New cases are very apt to arise, to which no parallel perfect in all its features may have been furnished in past history. Not only so, but in no case or under any circumstances do we expect a precedent to be exact. When our English barrister cites a former decision he does not plead identity of circumstances, but identity of principle." In the various instances of recognition it was not asked how many troops the belligerents had in the field, or how long the contest was likely to continue. European Governments were guided by far more precise principles; and these principles are fairly applied to the present instance by Mr. O'Sullivan. He asks, if there is any prospect of the South being subjugated? Are the people of the South united in demanding independence? Is the Confederate Government capable of maintaining public order—that is, is it a Government in fact? Now no one believes the South will be subdued. No one believes in the farce of Union feeling in the South. It is beyond dispute that the Confederate Government is vastly more popular in the South, than the Lincoln Government is in the North. All the conditions that are involved in the legal doctrine of recognition are satisfied. There is no prospect of the subjugation of the Confederacy; the people of the Confederate States are singularly united in their determination to get rid of the connection with the North; and the Confederate Government is as constitutional, as free, and as loyally supported a Government as is the Government of England. Mr. O'Sullivan enforces the doctrine by an enumeration of the details of some precedents that have escaped the notice of "Historicus," or have been kept in the background by that rash advocate. For example, "it is not necessary that hostilities on the part of the Northern Government should have actually ceased. Such was not the case in regard to the Swiss Cantons, to the United Provinces, to Greece, to Belgium, to some of the South American States, to Texas, or (as a precedent in point for the present argument) to Hungary in 1848." Mr. O'Sullivan supplements his plea for recognition by reciting the constitutional right of secession, and the greatest and political efforts of the South to maintain their independence; and he further urges the policy of recognition. He contends that the threat of war with the North is a mere bugbear; that peace in America is important to the commercial and industrial interests of Europe; that for the sake of humanity we ought to exercise our moral influence on the side of peace, and for other reasons. In conclusion Mr. O'Sullivan urges the policy and duty of immediate recognition. He says—"But beware that your necessary eventual recognition be not too tardy to wear any aspect of grace or value in the eyes of any party or of any body on either side of the Atlantic. The general

"Recognition. A Letter to Lord Palmerston." By John L. O'Sullivan, late United States' Minister to Portugal. London: Waterlow and Sons.



opinion of the country will both justify and applaud, and, on a word from your lips, Parliament will sanction with acclamation, that recognition for which the friends of peace in America, alike at the North and at the South, now appeal to England, and to Europe, as a means of peace, and as the necessary precursor of peace. France is prepared, most of the other European Powers are prepared to unite in the act. And at the door of England, and England alone, will rest the true moral responsibility, with all its consequences, both to Europe and to America, of its refusal." The British Government may not heed, but it cannot deny the right of the Confederate States to recognition.

#### FEDERAL REPULSE AT PORT HUDSON.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, JUNE 18.

Sir, - From May 27th to June 14th, operations in the vicinity of Port Hudson were confined to occasional skirmishes between pickets, skill-tests among sharpshooters, with now and then a gun from the earthworks on either side. Last Sunday morning, soon after daylight, Generals Weitzel and Grover commanding the brigades on the right of the Federal army, attempted once more to carry the northernmost part of the Confederate works by assault. So soon as the assault commenced, the Federal centre, under Angur and Dwight, also opened attack from behind the earthworks. This last was a feint; but as a diversion, was not more successful than the famous attack of March 14th, when General Banks gave battle on the Plains of Port Hudson, to "divert" the attention of the Confederates, while the fleet should pass the river batteries. Diversions, in a military sense, are evidently not the Federal forte. Thus the feint of the centre last Sunday morning seemed only to concentrate the Confederate resistance at the actual point of attack. Weitzel and Grover assaulted vigorously, and in half an hour were disastrously repulsed. They were driven back with a loss, at the lowest admitted estimate, of 700 killed and wounded. Among the killed were the colonels of two regiments, Holcomb, of the 1st Louisiana (white), and Bryant of the 175th New York; Colonel Paine, Acting Brigadier-General, was severely wounded; Colonel Smith, of the 114th New York, was mortally wounded; Colonel Curry, of the 131st New York, was also wounded; and the 75th New York lost a large number of line officers. No accounts are permitted to be published here, but the wounded have been brought down the river by boat-loads since Monday, and I do not understand this Federal mode of computing figures; but of the "700 killed and wounded" nearly 800 wounded men have already arrived in New Orleans.

While Sunday's assault was in progress, five companies, comprising 400 men of the Metropolitan cavalry, were on picket duty within one mile and a-half of Banks's headquarters. Suddenly, and without warning, down swept a squadron of Wheeler's Confederate cavalry, surrounded the Metropolitan, and, without a shot on either side, "bagged the lot," and took them prisoners. At least 400 of the Teche-seized horses were thus recovered, with an equal number of sabres, revolvers, and carbines.

The assault of the Federal right was as short as it was sudden. It was worse, if possible, as a repulse, than the ineffectual attempt to carry the same part of the works three weeks ago. Banks can scarcely be blamed for his want of success. The Confederates have been preparing Port Hudson for these very assaults since November last. Their line of works is formidable—indeed frightful. On the road—every route—to the interior of Port Hudson, the following obstacles present themselves to the assaulting army: Almost impenetrable abatis of felled and interlacing trees and branches; a ditch forty feet wide and from four to six feet deep, filled with water; a glacis with an earth embankment at the summit, covering and concealing regiments of rifle-armed sharpshooters; next comes a dry ditch, and then the batteries themselves—the defenses proper of Port Hudson—heavily mounted with guns *en barbette*. These obstacles are more easily passed by than passed through. As a Federal officer says, "We cannot blame a man for not carrying such works, but he is open to criticism for being such a fool as to attempt to carry them."

And yet the attempt will, perhaps, be made again. The boats down to-day bring word that General Dudley was willing to lead 4,000 or 5,000 men, who would volunteer as a forlorn hope to carry Port Hudson. It is said that an order for the volunteers has been issued, but I do not imagine we shall hear anything of their movements in time for the morning steamer to New York.

These repeated assaults, closely followed by repeated repulses, can hardly fail to dishearten the Federals and encourage the Confederates. The investment of Port Hudson has thus far proved an investment unproductive, save in large returns of killed and wounded. Banks's force is not large enough to accomplish what has been undertaken. It is said that he has sent to Grant twice for reinforcements from the army in the rear of Vicksburg, and that Grant has been equally anxious for assistance from Banks.

Since the assault of Sunday last, the old programme of skirmishes between sharpshooters and pickets has been resumed, varied with a gun or two occasionally from the batteries. We are waiting now for the forlorn hope. If Port Hudson is carried, your readers shall have a faithful account. There is no necessity for an evacuation of the position, and there seems to be no immediate need for a surrender. The attempts, thus far, do not indicate a reduction by assault.

There are persons in this city to-day, and they are neither soldiers, deserters, prisoners, nor contrabands, who have been in Port Hudson within a week. The

ingress and egress to all but Federal soldiers is by no means difficult. I know of a boy, body-servant to a Confederate officer, who has been from Port Hudson to New Orleans and back again twice within thirty days past. A gentleman who was there June 4, gave a flattering, but, I know, truthful account, of affairs inside the Confederate works. There were 7,000 effective men behind the batteries. In addition to the large supplies of bacon, corn, and salted meats laid in for the anticipated siege, and accumulated before Red River was cut off, there were about 500 cattle on the hoof; and that day's inventory showed 170,000 lbs. of powder. The place will not be "starved out" this week. The few picket-taken prisoners, an occasional deserter or runaway negro to the Federal lines, all carry the intelligence that there is plenty to eat in Port Hudson; and a scout from General Kirby Smith, who visited General Gardner to see if he wanted reinforcements, was sent back with word that there were men enough there to hold the position.

Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, declaring for ever free the slaves "in the States and parts of States in rebellion against the United States," expressly excepts the very small portions of the Confederacy where the Federal armies had secured a foothold. I do not propose to refer to this proclamation at present, more than to say that it virtually declares Louisiana in rebellion, "except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans." These parishes, in respect of territory, embrace a very small portion of the State. But they cover every inch of ground where the Federal authorities had possession on January 1 (the date of the proclamation), and it is questionable whether the Federal jurisdiction extends over all of the section specified, to-day. The recent raid—for it was nothing more than a negro, mule, cattle, and cotton collecting tour—through the Teche and Lower Red River country, cannot be called a conquest of territory, an extension of the Federal lines, or a restoration of so much of the State to the Union, since the occupation was followed by an immediate abandonment for the movement, *via* Red River, upon Port Hudson. Recent accounts say that piles of collected cotton waiting for shipment have been destroyed. The army went through that part of the State as a whirlwind might have done,—devastating, destroying, leaving a wide-swarth of prostrate and ruined property to mark its course, and then was gone. Banks did not hold the country, simply because he had no force to leave in occupation. And yet there are those who consider the Attakapas advance of so great importance, that they fancy they already have control over the whole, instead of a limited portion of Louisiana, and they propose to immediately divide the entire property among the new-found and self appointed heirs.

Thus a small and restless set in this city, made up mainly of new-comers, some of whom have been here six weeks, and a few of them, perhaps, six months, declare that "we Louisianians" need a revision of the State Constitution, and a civil (in place of the military) Government. The "we" of the Tooley-street tailors calling themselves "the people of England" is entitled to respect when compared with the claims of the new "citizens" of Louisiana—or, rather, it would be, if the assumption of the latter did not merit a degree of admiration for the intensity of its impudence. Apart from the fact that a large part of the State is now governed by a regularly and constitutionally elected Executive, these criers for a new civil Government seem to forget that General Banks with a large army corps has been trying since March 14th—more than three months—to add one small town to the few "excepted parishes," and that, so far as we know in this city to-night, Port Hudson is not yet taken, unless it has been "taken" (at a safe distance) by some Federal photographer. Mrs. Glass, I believe, suggests some slight preliminaries before cooking the hare, and it might be well enough to "get" the State before devising the means and mode of its government.

The Federal "military governor of Louisiana," as he is styled—which means, in plain English, the governor of the few parishes which are not governed by some one else—has yielded to the pressure of the reconstructionists, and has ordered a registration to be made of all free white male citizens of the United States, who have resided six months in the State, and one month in the parish where the registry is made, who shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation:—

I ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I am a citizen of the United States of America; that I have resided six months in the State of Louisiana, and one month in this parish; that I am of the age of twenty-one years and upwards; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and will support the Constitution thereof; that I solemnly renounce all allegiance to any other Government, or pretended Government, and especially the so-called Government of the Confederate States; that I now register myself as a voter, freely and voluntarily, for the purpose of organizing a State Government in Louisiana, loyal to the Government of the United States.

Imagine, if you can, a popular election in Poland for a king, with the registration of voters limited to those who would swear true faith and allegiance to Russia, and renounce all allegiance to any other Government, especially to the so-called Government of Poland. The proposed scheme here is so farcical and so transparent that it does not even provoke public discussion. It is simply the plan of a few Northern adventurers to go through with the farce of a pretended election by Federal soldiers and followers, of a sufficient number of officers to draw the salaries attached to the offices they will pretend to fill. Those who have no been participants in the profits of cotton and sugar transactions, may thus revive their fortunes by holding a nominal yet lucrative office. When this promising programme is carried out, from the governorship at \$4,000 a year to the gubernatorial boot-black at four shillings a day, the parishes to

be "governed" must be controlled then, as they are now, by martial law. The "civil" government, so clamorously demanded by the would-be public officers and their friends, is only a respectable name for a disreputable swindle—a "constitutional" pretence for otherwise unauthorized plunder.

This horse-leech, shilling-sucking mania for unearned and unnecessary salaries is becoming disgusting even to Federals themselves. A few days ago, a city ordinance was passed incorporating the school and city libraries into a single public library for the benefit of the people. There was a natural desire to know what necessity prompted this purely literary scheme in an almost beggared city, depleted in population, and filled mainly by strangers, adventurers, and soldiers. A clause providing for the appointment of a librarian, an assistant, and a page, with an appropriation of \$5,000 therefor, explains the motive for the plan.

A few days since we recorded the capture in *Passé-a-l'Outre* of the towboat Boston, and the subsequent destruction in the Gulf, by the Boston, of the New York barks Texana and Lenox. This morning, a boat going up the river, discovered at Plaquemine Landing (fifteen miles below Baton Rouge) two Federal towboats on fire, and nearly burned to the water's edge. On landing it was ascertained that they were the Sykes and the Anglo-American. The first was bringing down about sixty bales of cotton; the other boat had no freight. While lying at the landing they were boarded by some of Wheeler's men. The officers, crews, and negroes on board were taken prisoners, and the boats were then destroyed. Think of this happening in broad daylight, between this city and Port Hudson, under Banks's very nose as it were, and within a few miles of his base at Baton Rouge. The matter was telegraphed to headquarters in this city.

General Magruder has withdrawn all his forces from Western Texas. There is no danger of a Federal occupation of that portion of the department so long as the Mississippi is unopened. In the meantime, Magruder's men, with General Dick Taylor's and Kirby Smith's forces, are "reviewing" the ground so recently "gone over" by General Banks in his advance to Alexandria. Squads of cavalry come down occasionally as far as Berwick city, opposite Brashear, and the Confederates hold undisputed possession of the Teche region.

The New Orleans refugees in Mobile are kindly cared for. Those who are poor are receiving relief from local committees, and from banks and citizens in other places. Affairs in Mobile, as indicated by late papers, are very lively, and plenty of English goods are arriving, in spite of the blockade.

#### AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The favourable state of the weather for the harvest, and the payment of the Dividends, will, for the next week or ten days, exercise a partial effect upon the rates of money, both in the discount market and at the Stock Exchange. The cessation of active business, usual at this period of the year, is likely to induce an additional accumulation, the flow of capital to one common centre being sure to follow at a time when *bona fide* and speculative operations are equally neglected. Last week severe pressure was experienced through exceptional causes; the liquidation of the Hudson Bay claims, with the termination of the engagements for the end of the half-year, having sustained the demand to the last moment. This week, there seems in every quarter a better supply, with considerable balances over among the Lombard Street and Cornhill establishments. The rates for first-class paper this afternoon were 3½ and 4 per cent., with the greater proportion of business at the former figure. Although sums of money are withdrawn for export to Brazil and Constantinople once or twice a month, they are speedily supplied by receipts from Australia and America, and since little or no Continental orders are in the market the Stock at the Bank of England will, no doubt, be maintained at a very satisfactory point. It is not therefore immediately anticipated that we shall see any important fluctuations in the terms; even under the most favourable circumstances, it is not supposed that a reduction below 3½ per cent. will ensue should such an alteration in reality take place. On the Stock Exchange the last twenty-four hours, the abundance has become complete, for whereas loans from day to day ruled on Monday and Tuesday at from 2½ to 3½ per cent., the principal money-jobbers this afternoon offered large sums at 1½ and 2 per cent., and could not secure employment for a quarter of the amount with which they had to deal. Concurrently with the disbursement of the dividends, important totals in the shape of advances have to be repaid to the Bank, and these will have the effect of shortly reducing the existing plethora.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The quantity of gold sent into the Bank during the past week has been unusually small, the total being only £150,000, but there was withdrawn this afternoon 100,000 sovereigns for transmission to Brazil. The arrivals of bullion have been moderate, the aggregate being £415,078, of which only £25,143 was from America, nearly the whole of the remainder being from the Australian colonies. There has been no alteration whatever in the price of bar silver, which is still at 5s. 1d. per ounce, and Mexican dollars 5s. 2½d. per ounce; the late large arrivals of the latter by the Shannon, from the West Indies, have not yet been sold. From a statement just issued, it appears that the total shipments of specie from this country to India and China, for the half-year ending the 30th of June, amounted to £5,234,998, against £4,839,531 in the corresponding period of last year. Of the above sum £4,311,522 was in silver, and £923,476 in gold. From the Mediterranean ports, in the same period, the shipments have been £3,020,588 and £2,253,694 respectively.

##### A LOAN FOR WELLINGTON.

A small loan is being raised by the Union Bank of Australia, for the Government of Wellington, New Zealand. The sum required is only £25,000, for which debentures of £100 each will be issued, with coupons attached, and which will become due on the 1st of July, 1877, and bear interest up to that time at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum.

##### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

Notwithstanding that business has been inanimate generally on the Stock Exchange, prices have, on the whole, shown a rising tendency, although there have been occasional inclina-



tions toward a decline, induced by the somewhat unsatisfactory nature of political affairs on the Continent. Consols, which on Wednesday last closed at 92 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  for money and 92  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  for the account, are to-day 92  $\frac{1}{2}$  for money and the same for the account. There has also been a corresponding improvement in Exchequer Bills, which now stand at 2 dis. to 1 prem. There has been much less speculation during the past few days in Foreign Stocks, particularly in those descriptions which have been more immediately affected by political influences. Greek has been dealt in at a slight decline, and leaves off at 35  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Mexican are likewise rather less firm, but the variation is merely fractional, the closing price being 36  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 37  $\frac{1}{4}$  for the account. There has been a considerable decline in Spanish, particularly the passives, which are down to 33  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 33  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Russian Stocks have been more extensively dealt in, at steady prices, but Peruvian have been quite neglected. Venezuela has slightly recovered from the recent heavy fall, the 6 per cents. closing at 56  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

#### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

American Securities have been rather more actively dealt in during the past week, at firmer quotations. United States 5 per cent. 1874, have been sold at 59; Virginia State 6 per cent. 44 to 44  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Atlantic and Great Western New York Sec., 1870, 1870, 71  $\frac{1}{2}$  ex. div.; do. Pennsylvania 1877, 70  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Erie shares \$100 (all paid), 60  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Illinois Central \$100 shares (\$90 paid), 29  $\frac{1}{2}$  div.; ditto \$100 (all paid), 62; Pennsylvania Railroad bonds, 2nd mort. 6 per cent. convert. 86  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The Confederate Cotton Loan has been rather depressed, but to-day there has been some improvement manifested, and it closed at 1 to 0  $\frac{1}{2}$  discount.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

In railway shares the business has been remarkably quiet, but prices, notwithstanding, continue to be well maintained. Although the traffic receipts hitherto have contrasted favourably with those of the corresponding periods of last year, they are now beginning to show less satisfactorily, but this was to be expected, as the returns from about July to November in 1862 were unusually swelled by the arrivals to the Great Exhibition. Still, on a general comparison the traffic continues to improve. In Colonial descriptions there has been rather more business doing, with a tendency to an advance in value, but in foreign shares the transactions have been very limited.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The state of the money market being still favourable for the introduction of Joint Stock projects, new undertakings from day to day continue to be brought forward, though as to some of them their ultimate success appears very doubtful. During the past week six have been launched, for which the aggregate capital sought to be raised is £3,030,000. The most important of these is undoubtedly that of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the auspices of the International Financial Society, the latter having agreed to purchase the interests, territory, business, &c. of the former, and to conduct operations on a very extensive scale. The next is the Company of African Merchants, and the London and African Trading Company, each of which required large capitals. The minor undertakings comprised the British and Foreign Domestic Machinery Company, the Portugal Iron and Coal Company, and the City of London Hotel Company.

#### JOINT STOCK BANKS.

Several of the Joint Stock Banks have held their half-yearly meeting during the past week. At the meeting of the proprietors of the Union Bank of Australia a dividend was declared of 8 per cent., making with the previous distribution 16 per cent. for the year, which as compared with the previous year is an increase of 2 per cent., the chairman remarking that the bank was never in a more prosperous state. At the first annual meeting of the shareholders of the Bank of Hindustan, China, and Japan, a very satisfactory report was presented, although it was stated that from the short time the bank had

been in operation it was impossible to furnish a complete balance sheet; but the statement of accounts received to the 30th April, showed the liabilities of the bank on sums due to the public; on current accounts, deposits, bills payable, &c., to be £450,000. Branches had been already opened at Calcutta and Bombay, and arrangements had been made for others at Hong Kong and Shanghai. The chairman stated that £4,000 had been paid to the promoters of the undertaking, but this expense would be spread over a number of years. At the Union Bank of London meeting to-day, an increased dividend of 18s. per share, free of income tax, being at the rate of 15 per cent. per annum, for the past half-year was declared, and after adding £60,000 to the reserve fund, which would then stand at £110,000, there would remain £668 to be carried forward. The net profits for the half-year were £39,446. The proprietors of the Colonial Bank also met to-day, when a dividend of 6 per cent. for the half-year was declared, out of an available balance of £34,827.

#### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The Confederate Cotton Loan has been very firm throughout the past week, but transactions have been only on a limited scale. We close to-day, buyers, at 1 per cent. discount, but no sellers. The public are waiting for further news from America, and if favourable to the South, as nobody doubts it will be, we may see a considerable rise in the loan. The closing quotation is 1 dis. to par.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In American produce transactions continue restricted, no deviation being made from the cautious line of policy hitherto observed. The great reaction in prices, that would follow any sudden termination of the war renders the merest possibility of it sufficient on the one hand to keep purchasers rigidly in check, whilst on the other hand, any anxiety to sell is as effectively prevented by the utter improbability of such an occurrence. The American advices from time to time have, therefore, but little effect in these markets, although consulted with undiminished interest. The proceedings of the Confederates in Pennsylvania have induced holders of Petroleum to enhance their terms, 2s. 2d. to 3s. 3d. per gallon for refined, and £18 per ton for crude being the present London rates for parcels on the spot, at which, however, sales progress slowly. For future delivery there is more inquiry; business has been done in refined for the last four months at 2s. 4d., and at the close 2s. 6d. was asked. American spirits of turpentine continue in some request for shipment to the United States, and the small quantity here is held for 98s. to 100s.; whilst French, owing to increased supplies, have further declined to 87 per cwt. American rosin is firm at 26s. 6d. to 28s. 6d. for common to medium, but the trade buy only for immediate requirements. Barrel flour has given way another 6d. from rather large arrival upon a very dull market, and the fine weather renders a further decline by no means improbable. Nearly all kinds of cured provisions are steady in price. American cheese is dearer; 46s. to 48s. being the current rates, with very light stocks; bacon at 24s. to 28s. per cwt., hangs on hand; and lard at 36s. to 38s., moves off slowly. The cotton market has not undergone any quotable change since our last report, but American descriptions now comprise only a very small proportion of the moderate daily sales. The tobacco trade generally is quiet; for small selected lots of most growths, rates are very firm, whilst large parcels can be moved only by some concession in terms. Stocks of Cavendish, notwithstanding some important transactions, are still increasing. American oil peppermint remains at 16s. An improved continental demand for Peruvian and other barks has given an upward tendency to prices. Sales of crown and yellow have been made at 1s. 8d. to 2s. per lb., being 3d. advance. Gums, suitable for the American trade, still graduate upwards in value; red Arabic makes 30s. to 40s.; and good "sorts" 60s. to 65s. per cwt. Gedda at 25s. to 27s. is steady. Anime is purchased sparingly, but maintains its

value. Tartars are all very flat; cream offers at 110s.; gray at 92s. 6d. to 95s.; and brown at 85s. per cwt. Argols also participate in the prevailing dullness, and are generally lower. Cape can hardly be quoted over 90s. to 95s.; and white Bologna 85s. to 90s.; whilst common red Oporto is quoted as low as 40s. per cwt. The metal market throughout is very firm. Scotch iron brings 58s. to 58s. 6d.; tin is purchased less freely, but is firmly held; spelter with a marked extension of demand, has risen 2s. 6d. to 5s. per ton; the closing price to-day being £17 17s. 6d. to £18.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 8.

At the date of our last report the market was very quiet, and prices barely steady.

On Thursday and Friday the demand was extremely languid, and though holders generally adhered to previous prices, buyers in some cases obtained a slight concession, sales 4,000 and 5,000 bales. On Saturday, upon receipt of the Africa's news, a more cheerful feeling prevailed, and 5,000 bales were sold at full prices. This improved tone was maintained on Monday, and with a large attendance of the trade 7,000 bales were sold, at rather higher rates for longstaples and good Sarats. Yesterday and to-day, with a healthy feeling in the market, and sales of 5,000 and 6,000 bales, prices are quite steady. We quote Middling Orleans, 22d., Middling Bowdels, 20  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., Fair Egyptian, 21d., Fair Dhollerah and Omrawtee, 18d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar 18  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and the best Inglegthaut 19  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In the Eastern markets the decline in goods and yarns appears at length to have been arrested, and as news had been received of the heavy shipments from this side, some improvement in prices was anticipated. The Brazilian markets were also showing more signs of life, and a scarcity of goods was at length apparent.

The Confederates steadily advance into Northern territory, but their movements are still wrapped in mystery, and their ultimate designs concealed. On the Mississippi they increase in strength, and have, at Port Hudson, repulsed Banks with heavy loss, so that the prospects of a supply of cotton through the opening of the Mississippi are as remote as ever.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, July 7.

Since our last report there has been a much more cheerful feeling evinced on the part of holders than for some time past, although there has been a very small amount of actual business in either yarns or goods. The telegraphic advices from Calcutta and Bombay are of a more satisfactory character than was expected by our India merchants for a month or so to come; and attempts have been made to buy both yarn and cloth suitable to those markets, at prices which might have been accepted in some instances a week before, but would not tempt holders now.

Our market, altogether, is quiet just at present, but there is a feeling prevailing to the effect that we shall see a better state of things shortly, as advices from nearly all parts of the world report small stocks of piece goods.

#### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of July 2, are—

- LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.
- THE ENGLISH PRESS ON RECOGNITION.
- CORRESPONDENCE FROM CHARLESTON, NEW ORLEANS, NASSAU, AND PARIS.
- THE DEBATE OF TUESDAY.
- THE ADVANCE OF THE CONFEDERATES.
- BRITISH SECURITY AND YANKEE IMPUNITY.
- THE STRATEGY OF THE WAR.
- THE MAGAZINES FOR JULY.
- THE OFFICIAL ORDER FOR THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSUL AT RICHMOND.
- AFFAIRS COMMERCIAL AND MONETARY.

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Per oz.	Per oz.
24 carats fine is worth.....£4 4 11	13 carats.....£2 6 0
23 ditto.....4 1 5	12 ditto.....2 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
22 ditto (British standard).....3 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 ditto.....1 18 11
21 carats.....3 14 4	10 ditto.....1 15 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
20 ditto.....3 10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 ditto.....1 11 10
19 ditto.....3 7 3	8 ditto.....1 8 24
18 ditto.....3 3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 ditto.....1 4 9
17 ditto.....3 0 2	6 ditto.....1 1 24
16 ditto.....2 16 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 ditto.....0 17 8
15 ditto.....2 13 1	4 ditto.....0 14 2
14 ditto.....2 9 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 ditto.....0 10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	2 ditto.....0 7 1
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# GENERAL THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON.

Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence.

It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

The eminent sculptor, J. H. FOLEY, Esq., R.A., has undertaken to execute a marble Statue, heroic size, of the General for £1,000, while £500 may be required for pedestal, inscription, and other extras. Accordingly, for £1,500 a complete Statue of "Stonewall" JACKSON, by one of our most distinguished sculptors, may be prepared for transmission to his native country when the unhappy war shall have ceased. Towards raising this sum, the Subscriptions of our countrymen and countrywomen are earnestly solicited. Central and Local Committees, with auxiliary Ladies' Committees, are being formed to collect the necessary funds.

The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COUTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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REVIEW. No. V. (July, 1863).

CONTENTS:

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2. AUSTRIA AND GERMANY.
3. ALBANIA.
4. IRON-CLAD SHIPS.
5. EPIGRAMS.
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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 64.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 16, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.  
ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP.  
THE BATTLES IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
THE DISCHARGED ORDER.  
BRITISH INTERESTS IN SECESSION.  
THE VETERAN OF SOCIETY.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND AND NEW ORLEANS.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE WINCHESTER CAPTURE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

AGAIN we have to record a series of battles; but whether the conflict was over when the mail left, is more than doubtful. We have only Northern accounts, and those accounts are signally, exceptionally confused. President Lincoln, in the very midst of the contest, has published a congratulatory order, and not for the first time has sung a song of triumph before the issue is decided. We may, however, conclude from the accounts before us, that the battles fought on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd inst. were hotly contested, and resulted in great loss, perhaps, on both sides, but certainly on the Federal side. General Meade says that it was one of the severest contests of the war; that he has suffered severely in killed and wounded, and he adds a list of one general killed and four wounded. The result of that battle, according to Federal and official accounts, was that the armies occupied their respective positions after the engagement, and it must be remembered that, in this instance, the Confederates were the invading force, and that, therefore, such a result is *prima facie* a Federal defeat. It will be observed that the Federals had concentrated all their available forces for this engagement, and that the Federal General French had abandoned the Maryland heights and destroyed all the fortifications; but except the unsupported assertion of General Meade, we have no reason for knowing that the main body of the Confederate army was in the battle; and, therefore, it is not only possible, but probable, that whilst President Lincoln was rejoicing in the supposed triumph of his forces, the Confederates had brought up fresh troops. In our leader column we have discussed, as far as the intelligence will permit, these engagements, and we must wait for the next mail for reliable details.

From Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the news per Bohemia is very favourable to the Confederates. Vicksburg is holding out, and General Johnstone, reinforced from General Bragg's army, which has taken up a position behind fortifications, is pressing on Grant's rear. The supplies of General Banks have been cut off by the Confederates occupying the position of Berwick Bay, opposite New Orleans.

The Federals have been beaten at Lafourche Crossing, and compelled to retire to New Orleans. The Confederates occupy the whole of the State of Louisiana, west of Lafourche Crossing, and north of the Opelousas railway.

The Confederates have also captured Brashear city, with 1,000 men, 20 pieces of artillery, and valuable stores, and have seized Pass Manchoc Bridge.

General Ewell is highly praised by the Southern press for his skill and conduct in the present campaign, and Stonewall Jackson's veterans are delighted with their new commander. The *Richmond Sentinel*, of June 20, says, "General Ewell's success will be counted as among the most brilliant of the war, and has already invested the successor of Jackson with much of his *éclat*."

The letter of our Richmond correspondent, found in another column, though backward in arrival and speaking of events already fully known and canvassed in England, will be found to contain many items of especial interest to those desirous of being candidly informed of the state of feeling existing in the Confederate capital. Our correspondent's anxiety for the safety of Vicksburg is natural in a warm-hearted patriot many hundreds of miles from the scene of conflict, but unnecessary for Grant and his army are now in the identical dilemma prepared for them long ago by the sagacity and foresight of General Joseph Johnstone. Instead of besieging, Grant is himself besieged; and Johnstone's seeming inactivity is far more destructive to the Federals at this season of the year, than any losses he might inflict upon them from a series of operations culminating in a relief of the city. When accused of inactivity before Richmond last year Johnstone quietly answered,—"I am fighting, sir, without firing a shot!—Is it nothing that I keep McClellan in yonder swamps, unable to move, and losing hundreds daily?" Such is the policy at present pursued at Vicksburg.

The current letter of our New Orleans correspondent contains various items of moment to those interested in the sanguinary conflicts which have lately taken place at Port Hudson and its immediate neighbourhood. Although from the pen of one actually living under the military despotism of Northern rulers in the "Crescent City," it speaks boldly and without fear, of things as they really are. His picture of the gallant Gardner commanding at Port Hudson, and of the unparalleled heroism of the garrison, are hopeful signs of the future now unfolding to Confederate forces in that distant and little known region. The approach of Magruder and his corps of Texans and Louisianians threatens Banks it would not be at all surprising if he should find his base of operations completely cut off.

The most interesting item of information received from the North, per Scotia, is the withdrawal of General Hooker from the chief command, and the appointment of General Meade in his stead. General Hooker was relieved, it appears, at his own request, and in his farewell order, states that "he parted from the army impressed with the belief that his usefulness as a commander was impaired." General Meade, the newly-appointed chief, has hitherto commanded the 5th Army Corps, and has accomplished so little of note that his name has seldom or ever been mentioned before, and is alike unknown to persons North or South. In assuming command, he modestly states that "he accepted the appointment, which was totally unexpected and unsolicited, with just diffidence; that he relieved an eminent and accomplished officer, and relied upon the troops to assist him in discharging his trust." It was rumoured that General Butler has been appointed Secretary of War, *vice* Stanton, and McClellan as Commander-in-Chief; but as these persons are strong democrats, and inimical to the Administration, no one credits the report.

Northern advices represent the state of things to be in the utmost confusion and alarm. Confederate forces have pushed forward through Pennsylvania to within three miles of Harrisburg, its State Capital, and have vigorously shelled the many intrenchments thrown up around it. A panic seems to have seized the Pennsylvanians. Thousands from the districts immediately threatened, have journeyed eastward with all their movables, while others remain quietly under the rule of their Confederate friends, and astonish the whole North by their apathy. In Philadelphia, "great numbers are leaving the city, and the wharves are crowded with property for shipment to places of greater safety. Bankers are sending their specie to New York." Defences are being thrown up around the city, and there seems to be a general stampede.

among the Quakers. To prevent Southerners crossing the Susquehanna, many valuable bridges have been destroyed—one of them having originally cost more than £250,000. General Ewell has levied taxes upon the inhabitants of York to the amount of \$150,000, \$30,000 of which was immediately paid.

New York city is also in a state of alarm. Much concern is manifested on account of its defenceless condition by land and water. Large appropriations have been made to remedy the evil, and citizens are urged to rally to its defence. The Governor of New Jersey has recalled home the troops already sent to Harrisburg, and it is probable that George Seymour, of New York, will act similarly. Such is the need of men for defence, that the Northern Government has issued an order offering \$400 bounty and one month's pay (\$13) in advance for all volunteers between the ages of 18 and 45, whose term of service has expired or is about to expire, who will patriotically re-enlist for three years or the war." From all appearances none are inclined to do so.

While General Lee and his army of invasion was concentrating in Pennsylvania for important movements, the Northern Government sent forth an expeditionary force to the Yorktown Peninsula. General Dix commands this corps, but at latest advices he had resolved to abandon the peninsula and join his force to that of Meade.

It is said that great excitement prevails throughout Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, from the fact that Generals Humphrey, Marshall, and Pegram, with 15,000 veteran troops, are advancing through Cumberland Gap, from Tennessee, and are invading the first-named State. With every available man drawn from them for other quarters, the people of Ohio and Indiana are in just alarm, for from the well-known character of the Confederate commanders, they expect little else than the invasion of their States, with its many accompanying evils. Cincinnati, Pittsburg, New Albany, and Evansport, on the Ohio River, are being put into a state of defence by municipal authorities.

Late telegrams inform us of a brilliant feat performed by Lieut. Reed and his Confederate privateers. Having captured the merchantman Tacony, they committed sad havoc among the mercantile marine in eastern waters, and for a long time eluded detection and capture. The Tacony proving unserviceable, Lieut. Reed and crew transferred themselves to the schooner Archer (prize), and attempted something truly brilliant. Quietly proceeding to the harbour of Portland (Maine), and observing the Federal cutter Caleb Cushing to be improperly guarded, they boarded her during the night, overpowered the crew, and put to sea. This bold proceeding was soon discovered, and fleet-armed steamers immediately sent in pursuit. The Cushing was overtaken, but finding himself unable to contend against such a disparity of force, Lieut. Reed and crew fired the Federal cutter, and transferred themselves to the Archer again, and endeavoured to get far out to sea. They were shortly overtaken, however, and conveyed in great triumph to Portland, where the bold privateer is now in close confinement.

From General Joe Johnstone's main army, under Bragg, in the West we learn that, unable to entice the Confederates towards his fortified position on the Cumberland, General Rosecrans took the initiative and began his advance (24 June) towards the Confederates, who were camped on Duck River and at Shelbyville. Except skirmishing between the advanced posts, little transpired worthy of comment, as the Confederates were probably disinclined to offer or accept battle until they had enticed the Federal commander under their works at Chattanooga—a point more than a hundred miles south-



ward. Such a march to the Federals at this season of the year must prove more disastrous than a general action.

It was reported that the wife of General Milroy had been captured, and the Southern journals discussed what ought to be done with her. Milroy has almost rivalled Butler in his savagery and his dishonesty. We are in a position to vouch for the truth of the statement contained in the following paragraph, that is to say, we know that General Milroy notified to a lady that she was to leave her house in two hours, as he required it for the use of his wife; and the house and the property, including the wearing apparel, were seized, and appropriated by Mrs. Milroy and her daughter. The *Richmond Sentinel* of the 20th of June, says:—

She took possession not only of a lady's house—who was driven out for her accommodation—but she stole the wearing apparel and the ornaments, and the household effects of all those whom her husband's tyranny placed in her power. Let the stolen goods be displayed, and the owners be invited to come forward and claim them; and, if Justice gets her due, our penitentiary may prepare for another inmate. In any event, it would be eminently proper to hold her and her daughter as general hostages for the proper treatment of our ladies whom fortune may place in the power of such brutes as Milroy, and such vixens as his wife.

We elsewhere publish a correspondence between Earl Russell and some Liverpool shipowners. We do this not from the intrinsic value thereof, for it has none; but many of the signers have had business in the South in times past, and may hereafter continue in the same trade, and it is well that the people of the Confederate States should know who are their friends and who are their foes.

#### ENGLAND.

In our last number we gave some account of the inauguration of the meeting of the National Rifle Association, at Wimbledon, and the events of the first two days of the affair. Even now the meeting is not concluded, and the contests, which have been pursued with the utmost vigour up to the present time, will not be concluded till next Saturday. The otherwise favourable character of the proceedings has been somewhat marred by the occurrence of accidents to the "markers." The authorities had allowed men from the Coldstream Regiment of Guards to fulfil that office, and, unfortunately, no less than three men were, more or less, wounded in one day. We have before explained that the targets used are principally on the Swiss plan, so that it is the business of the marker to indicate upon the face of the target with an iron disc the point where the bullet has struck. It seems that one marker imagined that he was sufficiently protected by the back and sides of his hut, and that it was unnecessary to retire before each shot behind the glass door which warded off the leaden splash that rebounds from the target. The other two men were probably injured from the premature firing. Eventually the military authorities declined to expose the troops to the risk, and the Volunteers, being equally determined not to impair the success of the meeting by giving up the adopted system, performed the office of markers for themselves, the members of the Council leading the way. However, as a fresh accident occurred, fresh contrivances have been used, calculated to avert similar misfortunes. On Wednesday, July 8th, the public schools of Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Marlborough, Winchester, and Cheltenham competed for Lord Ashburton's challenge shield, which was won by Eton, Rugby being second and Marlborough third. Eleven boys were champions for each school, and the shooting was at 200 and 500 yards. Earl Spencer's cup, in which one boy only was champion for his school, was carried off by the representative of Winchester. The shooting for this prize was at 500 yards. The firing for the Queen's Plate, so far as the shooting at the range of 200 yards was concerned, was completed on the same day. The competition for the twenty-one prizes given by the House of Lords, and also the several series of extra prizes commenced on that day, and continued in their various stages through the week. On Thursday evening a meeting was held round the camp fire, at which not only volunteers, but also the wives of the more distinguished officers were present. Part of the time was consumed in amusement, and the remainder in the debates of what may be called the Rifle Parliament. The general administration of the camp, the commissariat department, and the question of the discipline of marking came in turn under discussion. Lord Elcho presided, and entered fully into the merits of the various suggestions offered, while the particular question of the targets and the arrangements at the firing points were explained by Captain Page. On Monday, the 14th of July, the match between the members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons was shot off. The Prince and Princess of Wales were present to view the contest. The Lords were favourites in consideration of their last year's victory. However, the

Commons had gone into training for the event, while the Lords relied on their ascertained merits. The result was an easy victory for the Lower House. Eleven champions appeared on either side. The best scores made for the Lords were those of Earl Ducie and the Marquis of Abercorn, and for the Commons those of Viscount Bury and the Hon. W. Duncombe. On the same day Cambridge University defeated Oxford, the Alexandra prize was decided, and numerous other matches advanced in their several stages. On Tuesday the Queen's prize was decided in favour of Sergeant Roberts, of the 12th Shropshire, a true English Yeoman. On the evening of that day a camp fire meeting was held, at which little business and much fun, revel, songs, and music were satisfactorily accomplished.

The running-man, with one side of him in a grey, and the other in a red tunic, received the greater portion of his wounds on the grey colour. This seems to point to the fact that the uniform of the British army is not so good a mark for the rifle as that of the Confederate or the Russian armies; but it is right to remark that at Wimbledon the background is green or dark, and, perhaps, the result would be different if the scarlet were backed merely by the sky line; moreover, the red man runs from right to left, and the grey from left to right.

In the Schedule to the Fortifications Bill, the second reading of which was carried last Thursday evening by a majority of seventy-one in a house of 193 members, the total estimated cost of the works is set down at £6,920,000, of which amount the sum of £3,200,000 has already been voted, and £2,041,449 spent. The vote taken on Thursday was for £650,000, leaving the sum of £3,070,000 to be voted in succeeding years. The proposed works are being, or are to be constructed at Portsmouth, and at the Isle of Wight, at Plymouth, Pembroke, Portland, Gravesend, Medway, and Sheerness, Chatham, Dover, and Cork, with the doubtful addition of a central arsenal. The most important works, however, are those at Spithead and the Needles for the defence of Portsmouth. At the present time Portsmouth is amply secured on the land side, but from the sea it lies completely at the mercy of the first fleet of iron-clads that chooses to attack it. It is now proposed to convert our great arsenal into a Cherbourg, and not to trust entirely to the power of the English Fleet for protection. In the channel at Spithead, leading up to Portsmouth, two sea forts will be built, one on the Horse-Sand, and the other on No-Mans-land, and will occupy, with respect to each other and to Portsmouth, much the same positions in which Forts Moultrie and Sumter are placed in regard to each other and to Charleston. The distance between the forts will be 2,000 yards, and their distance from Portsmouth 7,500 yards. Each fort will mount ninety guns of the heaviest kind. As to the Needles, a different plan is to be adopted. The defences there will consist of a series of batteries scattered along the Needles shore, placed at high elevations at points where the channel is narrowest, and the windings too intricate to admit of an advancing fleet proceeding, except slowly and with caution. The entire range on both sides of the Needles passage will amount to about 250 guns, of which 100 guns will be able to concentrate their fire on a vessel in any part of the channel. The passage at the Needles as well as that at Spithead would, of course, in case of need, be rendered doubly secure by the usual appliances of chain-booms, and nets, and floating batteries. The Spithead channel will also receive the additional strength of a second line of forts and batteries, the principal of which will be a circular fort on Stourbridge Sand, situated at a distance of 4,500 yards from the outer forts; and mortar batteries will be erected, calculated to shell vessels lying in the open water mid-way between the two lines of defence. When these works are completed, Portsmouth will not suffer by comparison with either Cherbourg or Charleston.

A Royal and State review on a magnificent scale took place on Tuesday at Aldershot. The Prince and Princess of Wales were present, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief. The number of troops on the ground was 16,000, consisting of six regiments of cavalry, with three troops (18 guns) of horse artillery; 12 battalions of infantry, with 4 field batteries (24 guns), engineers, military train and ambulance corps. General Pennefather was in command. The formal inspection was followed by a sham fight, in which the troops holding position on heights which may be described as a miniature Fredericksburg, resisted, charged, and overthrew an army advancing from London. The heat was terrific, and the dust such as only Aldershot can produce.

Last Saturday gave the public a delightful opportunity of comprehending the singular urbanity, forgetfulness of self, and consideration for others which has throughout life characterised the Earl Russell. The

Prince of Wales had gone down to Caterham, to lay the foundation-stone of certain schools for the orphan children of members of the warehousemen and clerks' charity. Earl Russell, as President thereof, opened the proceedings by reading an address in so pleasing a manner that not a word of it was audible, even to persons in his Lordship's immediate vicinity. To this the Prince made answer, and duly laid the first stone; after which all the ladies who had made, by dint of the most extraordinary exertions, a collection on behalf of the charity, amounting to about £4,000, advanced in procession in the most exquisite of toilettes, themselves wreathed in smiles, to deposit the purses of £5 and upwards, in which the collected sums had been placed for the purpose. All the return that these kind creatures expected for their toil and trouble was a smile from their pleasant Prince, and that gained, each would have felt duly and amply rewarded. The Prince, too, would doubtless have taken as much pleasure in contemplating the procession as in gazing into the profound and intellectual countenance of the noble Earl; yet that important personage, for some reason best known to himself, took it into his head to engage the Prince in conversation a little apart, so that his Royal Highness was quite unaware of the outpourings of gold or the courtesies of the fair file of ladies. Earl Russell's idea of good taste and good manners in public affairs has, however, long been appreciated.

Immediately after the vote in the House of Commons negating the proposal to purchase the building used for the Exhibition of 1862, the contractors commenced pulling down the whole structure. The work of demolition has, however, come to a full stop, as the Alexandra Company has opened negotiations for the purchase of nearly the whole pile. This company, with a capital of half-a-million, has purchased an estate of 400 acres on the slopes of Muswell-hill, above Highgate and Hornsey, on the north of the Metropolis. The building, when erected on the new site, and surrounded with beautiful gardens and all the appliances of art, will prove a formidable rival to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The estate at Muswell-hill is nearer London, and possesses even more magnificent views than the hills of Norwood.

From all parts of England, and also from Ireland, the reports of the state of the crops are most encouraging. Potatoes are excellent and free from disease; the prospects for barley and oats are good, and in both great improvement has latterly taken place. But the wheat harvest promises to be unique in bulk and yield. It did not suffer much in the spring droughts, and it has since recovered even its slight defects. It is probable that a crop will be obtained such as has not been seen in England since the Crimean War. The foreign producers will find their trade very considerably curtailed.

It appears from the returns, that, in the year ending Michaelmas last, out of the number of persons who passed through the prisons of England, 4,053 had been in prison ten times before. Of these 2,968 were women and but 1,085 men. Four years ago the number of such criminals was less by 1,000. Of the 33,364 females who passed through the county and borough prisons in the year, 15,268 were old offenders. Indeed the women seem far less susceptible of reformation than the men, and more liable to relapse into crime. 117 women were tried for burglary and housebreaking, and 55 for robberies from the person with violence.

The returns of the expenditure on National education, under the management of the Committee of Council, from 1839 to the end of 1862, have been published. The total sum is £6,710,863. Schools connected with the Church of England absorbed £4,039,333. The British and Foreign School Society, £587,279; the Wesleyan Schools, £308,113; the Roman Catholic Schools, £228,110; the Church of Scotland, £406,185; and the Scottish Free Church, £332,778.

The most delightful of all the cricket *réunions* of the season took place last week at Lord's cricket-ground with immense success. The great rival schools of Eton and Harrow joined in their annual contest for supremacy in that peculiarly English sport, and it may safely be affirmed that on no occasion has a finer display of skill been made by the schools, or a more remarkable proof been given of the vast interest excited among the noblest classes of England in everything that concerns those important institutions. Indeed, it is impossible to suppose that ten thousand persons of the highest rank in society would assemble to see a match the details of which were unintelligible to many of them, if the clue to their attendance were not to be discovered in the fact that each could claim a relationship, more or less close, a connection more or less interesting with those who are



or have been members of one or other of the two schools. The match lasted for two days, but unfortunately even that time was too short to accomplish a solution of the problem of superiority. The Etonians enjoyed the luck of obtaining the first innings, and made 184 runs. Their adversaries obtained the formidable score of 268 runs, and advanced thereby to the position of decided favourites. However, this success served only to raise the courage of the Eton boys, who outdid all previous efforts by adding the number of 285 runs to the quantity gained in their first attempt. The unusual magnitude of the three scores left no time for the Harrow boys to prove whether they could obtain the 201 runs necessary to entitle them to the victory, the match being limited to two days; and the result consequently exists only in the hopes and imagination of the respective partisans. An enormous number of ladies were present in carriages and on foot. Bonnets, parasols, walking-sticks, driving-whips, bridles, and coats, bore evidence, by the decoration of dark or light blue ribbons, of the side to which the wearers or owners bore allegiance; and the excitement of the boys and men who were spectators, though naturally more demonstrative, seemed scarcely more intense than that of the fair portion of the community. A visitor who was a stranger to the whole affair might well have imagined that a most important national problem was being solved, and that all the gentlemen and ladies of the highest rank in the country had met at Lord's cricket-ground to witness the solution.

The Court of the Vice-Chancellor Stuart was the scene of a remarkable exhibition last week. Every one who has ever watched the career of that learned judge is as fully aware of his kindness of heart and his high principles of conduct, as of his impulsive and somewhat irritable temperament. In the course of the week a matter in which the Countess Della Seta was the plaintiff and Lord Vernon defendant, and which affected the interests of their children, had been heard by the Vice-Chancellor in private, and in spite of this precaution some particulars of the case had found their way into certain of the daily journals. There are cases in which the Court of Chancery has held that a private hearing is suitable, and this appeared to the Vice-Chancellor to be one. We are not prepared to discuss here whether on this point his decision was sound, but we certainly shall not, in imitation of some of our contemporaries, assume that we understand the practice of the Court better than a Vice-Chancellor. However that may be, the disclosure had a very startling and painful effect on the Vice-Chancellor; and when the case was referred to by the counsel on Saturday last, the judge gave way to an uncontrollable fit of splenetic abuse. He first called the press "vile and scurrilous," and appeared to cast an imputation on the learned Queen's Counsel who conducted the case, as though that individual had been concerned in the unauthorized publication. Thereupon that functionary insisted on an explanation, and the imputation was withdrawn; but this was merely a shifting of the charge on the solicitor, in whom the judge seems to have caught a decided Tartar, for he not only stated that the expression "base" ought not to be applied to any officer of the court, but even told the judge to his face that "he would not submit to such observations from the Vice-Chancellor, or from any judge in the kingdom." After this terrific rebuff, the Vice-Chancellor took refuge in vague and abstract denunciations of the press and its representatives, designating the whole concern as "contemptible," "even beneath contempt," and declaring that the publication was made either for a pecuniary purpose or a malevolent purpose—either to extort money from Lord Vernon or to give pain. We can easily understand that, after a judge has been careful to screen from the public eye what he honestly believes should be heard in secret (and what Sir John Stuart does he assuredly does from the most honourable motives), the knowledge that his precautions have been foiled by the astute machinations of the agents of the press, may cause considerable vexation; but we must regret that an English Court should be the scene of such a glaring mistake on the part of an English judge—a mistake rendered the more striking by the rarity of similar occurrences. Matters were rendered almost worse the next day, for on taking his seat the judge stated that he had received a letter, dated from Brooks' Club, addressed to him as "My dear Vice-Chancellor," purporting to be written by Lord Vernon, and containing a gross insult to the judge. However, the counsel and solicitor were enabled to state that the letter was a forgery, and thereupon the document was handed to them that steps might be taken against the possible author. The principal point in the suit was to obtain a decree to raise the lady's allowance from £400 to £700 a-year, and also to secure to her proper access to her children. The story involved simply amounted to this, that in the year 1842 an intimacy commenced between Lord Vernon and

the Countess, which lasted for ten years, and resulted in the birth of four daughters. At the close of it Lord Vernon settled £1,000 a-year on the lady for life, with remainders of £200 a-year to each of the four children, and as to the balance with remainder to himself. Shortly afterwards the lady married the Count, from whom she subsequently separated. One of the children had died, and the three survivors were under the care of their mother. The children, a short time since, were unable to live with their mother on terms of happiness, and left her at Cairo. A suit was then instituted by Lord Vernon to make the young ladies wards of the Court, and pending the suit the allowance was withheld from the Countess until the Court should arrange a scheme for maintenance and education. The payment had only been withheld for two months, and the Countess now brought a cross-suit to obtain the arrears. There does not seem to be any reason to suppose that Lord Vernon in any way desired to avoid his liabilities under the settlement.

The palmy days in which our grandfathers could indulge in a third bottle, and then turn out to fight the Watch without the smallest shock to public opinion, seem to have faded entirely away. Not even on a Derby or Oaks night may gentlemen let off their superfluous Teutonic muscle and fighting instinct, without the painful sequel of a trial for riot and conspiracy to commit a breach of the peace, to the no small horror of their respected relatives, and with serious injury to their purses. Last week, Reginald Herbert, John Birkett, Joseph Edward Saville, Robert Shawcross, Charles McDougall, and Charles Mott, were placed at the Bar at the Middlesex Sessions to answer the charge of creating a riot, committing a breach of the peace, and assaulting the police at Cremorne Gardens, on the night of the race for the Oaks stakes at Epsom. There was no doubt about the riot, no doubt that doors had been broken in, glasses smashed, plants thrown about, women pushed about, men's hats knocked off, and no doubt that some policemen had been struck, and that all the policemen had drawn their staves and struck some persons in return. The question was, how far the defendants were implicated in the affair. All of them were persons of most respectable positions in life, two or three being gentlemen of fortune, and one an officer in the army. The evidence for the prosecution was furnished almost exclusively by the police, whose statements were suspiciously uniform, and their testimony was supplemented, though, perhaps, not strengthened, by that of a man named George Forest, who was not exactly a rioter, because he offered to fight, not the police, but "the white-choker division," who got his coat torn to pieces for his trouble, and seemed desirous to avenge the loss, and whose antecedents were that he had fought a battle with one Ward about a bet, on which occasion he had received the professional assistance of the renowned Tom Paddock, Jerry Noon, and Bob Travers. However, as in the face of the averment of such noted pugilists being his friends he swore that he had never been at any other prize-fight in his life, we must conclude that that was the only spot in his otherwise pure and exemplary career. His chief recommendations at present are, that he is a commercial traveller, and on the free list at Cremorne Gardens; and the proprietor, if he be wise, will not readily remove so valued a supporter from off that list. Mr. E. T. Smith, the lessee of the gardens, was also called, and both as a witness and also after the verdict, made certain reservations and recommendations to mercy, on behalf of the accused, in virtue of what he was pleased to call his position as a "public man." What is the precise meaning which Mr. Smith attaches to that stupendous expression, it may be difficult to define. We believe that the person in question was once in what is called "the public line;" we know him also as ex-lessee of Drury Lane and Her Majesty's Theatre; and we also are aware that he has for five years conducted Cremorne Gardens in such a manner, as his counsel somewhat hyperbolically said, as to render them a fit and proper place for all classes of society. But still, we shall not conscientiously concede to Mr. Smith the title he so loves and covets until he represents some metropolitan borough in the House of Commons, or in some equally superb style realizes our ideal of "a public man." The defence set up consisted in the statements of the friends and companions of the accused, who appeared to be unanimous in their opinions that the defendants were all of them "the quietest men about town," and on the particular occasion were harmless spectators, occasionally receiving violent blows from the staves of the police. The jury were evidently rather staggered by the conflict of evidence, for they remained locked up for two hours and a half, and then returned a verdict of "guilty of riot" against all the defendants, with an acquittal on the charge of conspiring to riot. Fines were

inflicted by the Judge, varying from £50 to £10, and the parties were all bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. Of course, in all such cases the most guilty parties, as a rule, escape detection; and, perhaps, therefore, these persons are rather to be pitied on the score of their bad luck; but the general public will congratulate themselves on the probability of the trial diminishing the chances of a "row" at Cremorne for a considerable time, to the better security of their heads, and the smaller jeopardy of their reputation.

## EUROPE.

We have now the text of the three notes which have been the subject of so much speculation and anxiety. The Foreign-offices of England, France, and Austria cannot, or will not, keep a secret. The substance of the despatches, and even the special character of each, was stated correctly enough a month ago. They are all three couched in moderate language; and even Earl Russell, although he cannot drop the schoolmaster, labours to be courteous and conciliatory. His lordship begins by disavowing any desire to continue a barren controversy or fix the precise meaning of the article of the Treaty of Vienna which deals with Poland; he is willing to seek with the "enlightened" Emperor, whose benevolent intentions he admires, for a practical solution of a difficult and most important problem. He then, a matter of course with him, lays down two leading principles on which any future government of Poland ought to rest—confidence in the Government on the part of the governed, and the supremacy of law over arbitrary will. This confidence and this supremacy are wanting in Poland. It will be no easy task to restore confidence. In present circumstances, it appears to her Majesty's Government that nothing less than the following outline of measures should be adopted as the basis of pacification:—

1. Complete and general amnesty.
2. National representation, with powers similar to those which are fixed by the charter of the 15th (27) November, 1815.
3. Poles to be named to public offices in such a manner as to form a distinct national administration having the confidence of the country.
4. Full and entire liberty of conscience; repeal of the restrictions imposed upon Catholic worship.
5. The Polish language recognised in the kingdom as the official language, and used as such in the administration of the law and in education.
6. The establishment of a regular and legal system of recruiting.

But how, asks his lordship, after referring to the allegations of atrocities made by each side against the other, can we hope to conduct to any good end a negotiation carried on between parties thus exasperated? The first thing to be done, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, therefore, is, to establish a suspension of hostilities. This might be done in the name of humanity by a proclamation of the Emperor of Russia, without any derogation of his dignity. The Poles, of course, would not be entitled to the benefit of such an act, unless they themselves refrained from hostilities of every kind during the suspension. Tranquillity restored, the next thing is to consult the Powers, parties to the treaty, as to the best means of giving effect to the treaty. England proposes, therefore, the adoption of the six points as the bases of negotiations, a provisional suspension of arms to be proclaimed by the Emperor, and a conference of the eight Powers who signed the treaty of Vienna. Earl Russell makes no allusion to concert with the other Governments. He speaks for England alone; and so far as his note is concerned, there is no sign that these propositions had been agreed to between the three Powers. The French and Austrian notes, on the other hand, expressly refer to this concert. The French note, after presenting the six points as bases of negotiation agreed upon by the three Cabinets, observes that many of the propositions embraced in this programme already form part of the line of conduct which the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has traced out for itself; others hardly go beyond the advantages it has promised or allowed to be hoped—they are all but the most simple expression of the elementary laws of justice and equity, and contain nothing which is not in conformity with the stipulations of the treaties which bind the Russian Government with regard to Poland; and expresses the consequent confidence of the French Government that they will meet with no objection from Russia. M. Drouyn de Lhuys then refers to the sanguinary manner in which the struggle is carried on, and points out that the continuation of these calamities during the negotiations might irritate a debate which ought to remain calm if it is to be useful. A provisional pacification founded upon the maintenance of the military *status quo*, to be promulgated by the Emperor and



observed by the Poles under their own responsibility, should therefore be provided for. The French Minister remarks that Russia has already suggested the form which the negotiations should take by recognising the right of the Powers which signed the treaty of Vienna to concern themselves with the question; and the Government of the Emperor is therefore ready to enter into a conference if Russia, as it hopes, accepts the bases proposed by the three Cabinets. The despatch, which is written with M. Drouyn de Lhuys's usual elegance, concludes with the hope that the resolution of the Emperor Alexander will be in harmony with the great interests which considerations at the same time legitimate and powerful have induced France to recommend to his enlightened solicitude; for this question withdrawn from the judgment of force, which would cut it once more, perhaps without deciding it, would enter from the present time into a friendly discussion; the only way to prepare a solution vainly sought up to the present day.

The Austrian despatch, after recommending the six points as the bases of negotiation—the one difference being that in the third, where England and France ask for a national representation with powers similar to those which are fixed by the charter of 1815, Austria asks for a national representation participating in the legislation of the country, and possessing efficacious means of control—urges, in almost the same words used by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that some points of the programme have been already adopted by Russia, and that none go beyond the treaty stipulations in favour of Poland. Count Rechberg then, referring to the form of the negotiations, declares that Austria will have no objection to a conference, and expresses a hope that the wisdom of the Russian Government, and the conciliatory efforts of the Powers, may succeed in arresting a deplorable effusion of blood. He is glad to believe that the generous sentiments of the Emperor Alexander will powerfully aid in effecting this result, which, if it could be obtained, would much facilitate the task of the Cabinets in the conferences. Austria, it will be observed, does not propose a suspension of hostilities, probably because she does not believe it can be obtained, but she says it would be a very good thing if it could be secured.

The Russian reply left St. Petersburg on Tuesday, the 14th. It will probably be an acceptance of the six points as bases of negotiation, and of the conference; but it will reject the suspension of hostilities, which must prove abortive even if proclaimed. The Polish National Government, and the recognised organs of Polish nationality, protest against the points as completely inadequate to their wants, and denounce the armistice. Their views may be modified by the emphatic declaration of Earl Russell and Derby against war under any circumstances. The English Government has pledged itself not to fight for them, and its declaration will have a very pacific influence on the French Government.

The expedition into Volhynia proved a complete failure. Prepared at great sacrifices it has only damaged the Polish cause. It was intended to influence European public opinion, to induce a belief that Volhynia and Podolia are hostile to Russia. It has fixed upon the European mind what it had obstinately refused to believe before in spite of the clearest testimony, that in these provinces of old Poland the population prefers the Government of the Czar to the citizenship of a reconstituted Poland.

It was only by immense exertions on the part of the Galician nobility that this expedition was collected together, and concealed as well from the peasants as from the Austrian troops. One of the leading members of that nobility, Prince Adam Sapieha, and heir of the Prince Sapieha, who is marshal of Galicia, and an hereditary member of the Upper House of the Austrian Reichsrath, seems to have carried his sympathy too far, and exhibited it so actively as to have made it impossible for the Austrian Government to wink at his proceedings. He has been arrested.

The telegraph mentions encounters in different parts of Poland. They are, however, of very little importance, even if we assume them to be true.

The invention of the Polish manufacturers of news is inexhaustible. They announced that the Emperor of the French had written a letter of condolence to the mother of Count Leo Plater, executed at Dunaburg by order of Mouravieff, in which he expressed a hope of a better fate for Poland in a near future. It was added that the father of the Count had been an intimate friend of the Emperor. The Emperor, the *Moniteur* tells us, has written no letter to the Countess Plater, and did not know the Count Leo's father.

General Mouravieff is not at all disturbed by the indignation of Europe at his real and alleged cruelties. He reprints in the Wilna official journal, the violent diatribes of the *Morning Post* and some other papers. Amongst his recent decrees we may notice one directing that all moneys taken by the insurgents from the State or communal treasuries shall be refunded within ten days by the Polish proprietors of the district. Forced sales are to take place on the estates of those who refuse to comply with the order. He has also addressed a proclamation to the peasants, in which he tells them that they have no longer any obligation to work for their lords, promises that they shall have land in full and free property, and, in fact, authorizes and orders them to seize all persons whom they may consider discontented and unreliable, such as "priests, gentlemen, proprietors."

The National Government is making itself rather ridiculous. It has addressed a *communiqué* to one of the clandestine journals, and it has prohibited crinoline. The last order led to a most disgraceful disturbance in Warsaw. Boys and men seized ladies wearing crinoline, tore their clothes, and treated them in the most disgusting manner. The police could not protect the women, and the military were obliged to go to their aid. The National Government has since expressed its annoyance at the disturbance, but it cannot escape the responsibility of provoking it.

The Marquis Wielopolski has left Warsaw on leave of absence for the benefit of his health, and General Von Berg has everything his own way.

We do not know whether there is any truth in the story that the new King of Greece has already abdicated, but at any rate, the accounts of the recent disturbances in Athens might well incline him to take that step. As far as the wretched squabble which has cost more than two hundred lives, and made the streets of Athens a bloody battle-field for two days and two nights, can be understood, it seems to have originated in an endeavour on the part of the friends of Bulgaria, one of the members of the former provisional Government, to recover the power lost in one of the paltry revolutions which took place a few weeks since. The artillery, the gendarmerie, the military police, and a large number of other soldiers were for the *émée*; the Minister of War rallied to his side some battalions of infantry, the larger part of the cavalry, and a few members of the national guard. The fight lasted two days and nights without result. At last, the ministers of the protecting Powers addressed a very energetic remonstrance to the President of the National Assembly, to the effect that if the fratricidal struggle was not put an end to within forty-eight hours, the Ministers would invite their countrymen to retire to the ships of war, and would immediately take their departure. The President managed to have the note placarded. The leaders of the two parties consented to an armistice of forty-eight hours: the national guard then made their appearance and occupied the public buildings. The Assembly was convoked at a gymnasium, its usual place of meeting being threatened by the artillery of the movement party. Some members made their appearance spontaneously; others were dragged there by force by the national guards; some being taken from the bath and carried to their seats, we are told, in something like a state of nature. The Assembly being legally constituted voted the removal of the entire garrison from the capital, their provisional replacement by the national guard, and a new Provisional Government under the presidency of Roufos, composed of members of both factions. These measures, received with frantic applause by the people, who seem to have seen in them a wisdom seldom or never displayed before, appear to have had the desired effect, and peace is restored for a short time. What hope can there be of settled government, when the leading politicians of the country can be guilty of such disgraceful proceedings? King George should either resign the Greek throne and abandon the Greeks to their own devices, or if he still holds to his kingdom, he should commence his reign by banishing every member of the National Assembly, and every officer of the national army.

The German Diet has adopted the proposition of the committee to which the Holstein question had been referred, that Denmark should be required to withdraw the ordinance of the 30th March. A few votes were given for the proposition of the Oldenburg Government, which asked the Diet to declare all the agreements and treaties of 1851 and 1852 null and void, and the representatives of Denmark and of Holland voted against both resolutions. If Denmark refuses to withdraw the ordinance, and there is no doubt that she will do so, the next step for the Diet to take will be to vote federal execution in Holstein; but that next step, although it would like, it will hardly dare to take.

The Estates of Schleswig, the elections to which have been rather in favour of the Danish party, are convoked for the 17th. Bills for extending the right of petition, the electoral franchise, and religious liberty, are to be submitted to their approval. The bill for extending the electoral franchise will certainly be rejected. The existing law gives the nobility who are Germans very great advantages which they certainly will not surrender. An extension of the franchise would give the Danes a large majority in the Estates, whilst now the two parties are about equal. The other bills are evidently designed to meet the complaints of Earl Russell: the denial or restriction of the right of petition, and the use of the Danish language in church and schools, were the grievances which he has in different despatches pressed upon the Danish Government.

The *South German Gazette*, a Frankfort newspaper, which preaches Prussian hegemony to the somewhat incredulous South Germans, and, as a reward for its zeal, has recently been prohibited in the Prussian kingdom, publishes a correspondence which, if genuine, and the relations of the newspaper with the Prussian liberal party are in favour of the genuineness, has a very considerable importance. The correspondence consists of a remonstrance addressed by the Crown Prince to the King, his father, against the decrees of June—a remonstrance which indicates that for a considerable time the Prince had been urging his father to adopt a liberal policy—a reply of the King, in which he vindicates the decree, and recommends the Prince to prove the truth of his statement, that he does not wish to offer his father any opposition by slighting the Progressionists and courting the Conservatives. There is then a formal protest of the Prince against the press decree addressed to Herr Von Bismarck, in which his Royal Highness says, "I deem the proceedings of the Cabinet both illegal and injurious to the State and the dynasty." This protest is followed by a letter to the King, in which the Prince says that the constitution is set aside by the decree. We have then a letter of the King, provoked by the speech of the Prince at Dantzic, and rebuking him very strongly, and the Prince's reply, justifying his conduct on the ground that the Ministry are imperilling his future and that of his children, refusing to retract, but promising to be quiet, and offering the resignation of his commission in the army and his seat in the council, and requesting the King to appoint him or permit him to select a place of residence at home or abroad. The King's reply is couched in a milder tone, and amounts to a refusal to accept the proffered resignation. Assuming this correspondence to be genuine, its publication will be of great use. The Prussian people have already resolved to take their stand upon the law, and this identification of himself by the Prince with their contentions will encourage them in their determination not to abandon that ground.

General Von Roon, the Minister of War, made a speech the other day to a conservative assembly in a rural district, in which he said, amongst other things, that it did him good to look at so many thousand true faces, after being obliged so often to look upon regards of hatred and dislike. All affairs of State were determined and decided by the king alone, and that was of course the case with the army reorganization. He was nothing but the king's sergeant, and every one who had served knew that the captain directed the company, although the sergeant, as loyal assistant, had at times to speak a word in loyalty and obedience. Herr Von Roon may be an honest man and a good soldier, but he certainly is not in his right place as the responsible minister of a constitutional king.

The disturbances in Berlin have at last been suppressed. The rioters appear to have been composed, almost entirely, of the criminal class. All of them, it is said, had made acquaintance with the criminal courts on their own account. More than four hundred persons have been apprehended, and are awaiting their trial, and altogether an immense amount of damage has been done in the part of the town which was the scene of the riot.

The so-called brigandage, far from suppressed, seems to be more rampant than ever in Naples. The more vigilant guard of the French authorities upon the Roman frontier does not affect it, the truth being that it is indigenous, and so far from being provoked by supplies of men and money from Rome, has its roots in the discontent of the inhabitants of the Neapolitan kingdom. The conscription is a great cause of discontent. It has just been carried out in Sicily, but only by the adoption of the harshest means. The young men drawn have all attempted to evade their fate, and have been hunted down, it is said, like wild beasts. Some brigand chiefs were arrested the other day on board a French vessel in the harbour of Genoa, as urns out, without the



consent of the French Consul. The affair seems likely to lead to some little discussion between the French and Italian Governments.

### THE EAST.

A telegram from the rebels are quiet in China, or rather in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, and that a further delay has been accorded to the Japanese Government, to determine upon its answer to the English ultimatum. There appears, however, to be little hope that this answer will be satisfactory. A most important announcement, if true, is that troops have been sent for from India. This would imply the intention of the British Government to occupy one of the Japanese ports, if not to make war in regular form.

### MEXICO.

The French have taken possession of the city of Mexico, the Mexican garrison having evacuated it. The chiefs of the Conservative party have made their submission to the French.

### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 9.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The sitting was occupied by a discussion on the dismissal of two Ionian judges, which terminated by the Government consenting, with much reluctance, to produce all papers on the subject.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 9.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Palmerston moved the second reading of the Fortifications Bill. He said that the greater part of the works which had received the sanction of the House were now nearly completed, and expressed a hope that the Government would be allowed to carry out their scheme in its entirety.—Sir F. Smith proposed as an amendment, "that no further expenditure be incurred for the present upon that part of the project for fortifications which is based on the assumption that an enemy might land in force and attempt to besiege Portsmouth and Plymouth, except such works as are in a very advanced state of progress."—General Sir de Lacy Evans supported the Government proposals, declaring that unless our principal naval arsenals were secured against attack, the effectiveness of our land forces would be materially diminished.—The Marquis of Hartington, as Under-Secretary for War, defended the Government measure, and explained its details.—Mr. Cobden said that this scheme of fortifications was entirely attributable to one person (Lord Palmerston), and if that person were now absent, he believed the project would not be carried further. In fact, as the member for Birmingham had somewhat bluntly remarked, nothing could be done in this House unless the Prime Minister was present. The whole matter had its origin in the brain of that noble lord, who had been long haunted with the idea that steam had bridged the Channel, and thus diminished our power of resistance to France. But how could that be unless the French possessed a larger amount of steam than we? And comparing our steam mercantile marine with that of the French, we had twenty horse-power to one of theirs. Surely, then, a fact like that could not have rendered this country more vulnerable. With regard to the fortifications on Portsdown Hill, if the House would agree to hold a session there for one day, he undertook to say that they would vote either that the works should be stopped, or that Englishmen must no longer sing "Rule Britannia" or "Ye mariners of England." For what was the object of these fortresses, but that English soldiers should take refuge in them from the attack of an enemy's army who had succeeded in effecting a landing on the coast. His objection to the scheme of the Government was that it was a disgrace and dishonour to the age, new to Englishmen, and one that would never have been tolerated in former times. It was also calculated to inflict a more permanent wound upon the reputation and good fame of the so-called Liberal party than anything that had yet been done by a Parliament that was famous for ignoble deeds. These inland fortifications, moreover, would require an enormous force to render them safe or useful, and protect them from capture by a *coup de main*. He concluded by entering his earnest protest against the bill.—The Government scheme was defended by Sir J. Fergusson, Mr. Newdegate, and Lord C. Paget, and opposed by Col. Dickson, Lord Fermoy, Sir E. Colebrooke, and other gentlemen.—Lord Palmerston condemned the amendment of Sir F. Smith as neither more nor less than a motion to throw out the bill, stop these works, reverse the decision deliberately arrived at by the House, and act in opposition to the general sense and intentions of the country. Mr. Cobden had undoubtedly been a successful amateur diplomatist; but he warned the House by the example of America how they trusted the public defences to the hands of amateur generals; for in America, where a military uniform and a cocked hat were sufficient to qualify a man for the command of an army, they had seen that instead of Richmond being captured by the Federals in ninety days, as had been predicted, the ninety days had not even yet begun, and the rebels were daily expected at Washington. The noble lord also replied to the various objections that had been raised against the proposal of the Government, and reiterated his opinion, founded upon the advice of the most experienced military men, that the contemplated works were essential to the security of our naval arsenals and dockyards, and that whatever might be the value of iron-cased ships it was absolutely necessary that they should be supported by permanent land defences.—On a division the amendment was negatived by 132 to 61. The bill was then read a second time.

The Bill for the Sale of Crown Livings, of which we gave an account when it was brought forward in the Lords, was read a second time; after a debate and division, 179 to 29. Some further business was disposed of, and the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 10.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Carnarvon called for an account of the reasons which had led the Government to threaten hostilities against Japan, censuring especially the demands made on the Tycoon to do more than his limited powers allowed.—Lord Russell defended the course of the Government, and insisted on the necessity of protecting British subjects, and enforcing treaty

rights.—Lord Grey protested against the practice that had grown up of late years of making war without consulting Parliament.—After a few remarks from the Duke of Somerset and Lord Wodehouse, the subject dropped, and the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 10.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The morning sitting was occupied by Committee of Supply. At the evening sitting Sir J. Fergusson moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of requesting Mr. Roebuck upon the recognition of the Confederacy of North America, as in presence of the great events now acting in the United States, this was a time not for action but for observation.—Lord Palmerston seconded the motion, in order to add his request to the member for Sheffield to drop the continuance of the debate which stood for Monday. Events of the utmost importance were now transpiring in America, and he thought these were of themselves sufficient to show that it would not be desirable to resume the discussion at the present moment, or to call upon her Majesty's Government to pledge themselves as to their future action. Upon general grounds, then, he should urge upon Mr. Roebuck the propriety of complying with the request. But there was yet another circumstance peculiar to the debate which made compliance still more advisable. It was hardly possible that the debate could be resumed without a discussion on what had passed at the late interview between the hon. member, the member for Sunderland, and the Emperor of the French; and he submitted that what took place on that occasion between two independent members of the English House of Commons and a foreign Sovereign was a delicate matter scarcely fitting to be detailed in that House, and might tend to prevent the Emperor of the French from according that courteous and gracious reception with which he was wont to honour all Englishmen of distinction.—Mr. Lindsay complained of the attack which had been made upon his veracity by a Ministerial organ, and declared that all Mr. Roebuck had stated respecting the late interview with the Emperor Napoleon was true—he regretted to say too true! He believed that if her Majesty's Government would only utter the word recognition in concert with the Emperor, that word would be heard in the States as the harbinger of a speedily-returning peace. With regard to the request made of his hon. friend, he hoped his hon. friend would take time to consider the question before he gave it an answer.—Mr. Osborne had never doubted the veracity of Mr. Roebuck, but he had not the same confidence in his discretion. He thought, therefore, his hon. friend was not acting fairly by the House in keeping this subject in abeyance, and not letting them know whether it was to come on next Monday or not.—Mr. Gregory believed that if Mr. Roebuck persisted with his motion it would be rejected by a large majority, in which case the opinion would go forth to the world that the feeling of the House of Commons was opposed to the independence of the Southern Confederacy, whereas the fact was, that a vast number of members were Southern heart and soul, but did not wish, in the face of events now pending, to force the Government or the House to pronounce a premature decision on the subject.—Mr. Newdegate thought the House should mark its sense of the unconstitutional course which Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay had pursued, and their attempt to import a foreign element into the debates and decisions of the House.—Mr. Forster objected to the interruption of the debate. He thought the House ought to come to a decision.—Lord R. Cecil pointed out to Mr. Roebuck that the friends of the South desired to postpone further discussion, which only the fanatical partisans of the North desired to go on.—Mr. Roebuck said he would give his answer on Monday; but he thought that a very much better answer might possibly be given before that day.—Mr. Layard repeated his assertions with regard to the non-appearance in the Foreign-office of the communications referred to by Mr. Roebuck on a previous occasion, and made a violent attack on Mr. Lindsay.—And Mr. Peter Taylor railed at the idea of recognition *durante bello*. The motion for adjournment was then negatived.

A discussion subsequently took place on the bombardment of a Siamese port by a British man-of-war, in which Sir C. Wood admitted that there had been "precipitation." Mr. Bentinck initiated a long conversation on the speed of railway trains as a cause of accidents, which elicited much diversity of opinion, but led to no result. The House was counted out a little before two A.M.

#### MONDAY, JULY 13.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

After some conversation upon the Burial Service, in the course of which the Archbishop of Canterbury said that he hoped to be able to propose some measure on the subject when Parliament reassembled,

Earl Grey moved an address to the Queen for papers with regard to Poland. He entertained such serious apprehensions with regard to the existing state of that country that he thought Parliament ought not to separate until the opinion of her Majesty's Government had been elicited on the subject. A war with Russia on behalf of Poland would be a great calamity, and his fear was that, whilst we did not intend, we might be gradually drawn into hostilities. He wished to know, therefore, what ground her Majesty's Ministers had for supposing that the Poles would accept national institutions upon the terms proposed to Russia by the Western Powers? His own impression was that the insurgents were not prepared to accept anything short of complete independence, and he condemned the interference of England between a Sovereign and his subjects as much more calculated to produce a bad than a good result, and to encourage hopes which might prove cruel and delusive. If negotiations were to go on month after month without any practical advantage accruing to the Poles the only effect would be to excite passions in the public mind which it might be difficult to restrain, and perhaps to eventually plunge us into war; for already significant symptoms had been exhibited in Russia, where the people were prepared unitedly to support their rulers in engaging in what they regarded as a holy war. But although he deprecated any idea of war on behalf of Poland, he deeply lamented the condition to which that country was reduced, and he had read with horror and indignation the published accounts of the atrocities committed by the Russians upon an unfortunate people. He contended, nevertheless, that this was not a case for armed intervention, which he believed would only aggravate and increase the evils that he would gladly see at an end. Earl Russell did not complain of his noble friend for bringing forward the question, nor for the tone and temper in which he had treated it. But the question was one in which her Majesty's Government were acting in concert with the Governments of France and Austria, who would necessarily have to be consulted in regard to any ulterior steps that might be taken. He admitted that this was not a case for armed intervention, and that such a proceeding would be more likely

to produce fresh calamities than put an end to those which already existed; but he denied that simple diplomatic action need lead to war, or that the remonstrances and good advice which this country had offered to Russia could produce any evil results. The course which her Majesty's Government had pursued was this:—In the first place, they entered into communications with France, which had always displayed a warm sympathy with the wrongs of Poland; and also with the Government of Austria, which was strongly in favour of ruling its Polish subjects with as much regard as possible for their nationality, their religious opinions, and their habits and customs. In conjunction, therefore, with these two Powers, her Majesty's Government submitted six propositions to Russia, which provided for an armistice, and would, if accepted, secure for Poland national institutions and a national representation. Further than this, they could do nothing. They could neither assist the Poles by force of arms, nor propose terms to Russia for the recognition of the independence of Poland. If anything was obtained for the Poles, then, it would be the result of the force of reason and representations of what upon principles of honesty and good faith was demanded from Russia. He could not say what the answer of Russia would be, or what course after receiving that answer it would be the duty of her Majesty's Government to pursue. Everything depended upon the answer itself, and the spirit in which the proposals of the Western Powers were received. He regretted to say that the appointment of General Mouravieff and the decrees issued by that officer were not favourable to the hope that the Emperor of Russia would act a liberal and generous part towards Poland.—Lord Brougham regretted that the Foreign Secretary should have thought fit to declare, before the answer of Russia was received, that an armed intervention was out of the question.—Earl Russell said the Emperor of Russia had already decided upon his answer, which would be sent off from St. Petersburg this (Tuesday) morning.—The Earl of Derby said the present moment was inopportune for thus discussing the propositions which had been submitted to Russia. At the same time he wished to express his entire concurrence in the views entertained by the Government with regard to the impolicy of an armed intervention, and he believed it was the general opinion of the country that we ought not to allow ourselves to be drawn into hostilities on this question. But he went further than this, and deprecated even diplomatic interference as calculated to draw us sooner or later into war. It was possible, indeed, that we might be dragged into a war with Poland herself. For if the six propositions were accepted by Russia, and it was then found that the Poles themselves were the obstacle to carrying them out, Russia would have a right to call upon us to throw the whole weight of our moral influence into the scale on her behalf. He thought her Majesty's Government had acted injudiciously in basing their demands on Russia upon the Treaty of Vienna. They ought to have declared that it was a matter of European interest that the insurrection should end and the grievances of the Poles be redressed. Such a course as that he could have understood; but he did not understand the policy of basing the propositions upon a right to demand the fulfilment of the treaty obligations of 1815. He saw great danger in the line on which the Government had entered; and he should have regretted the occurrence of this discussion were it not that it had elicited a clear and distinct answer from the Foreign Secretary to the visionary and exaggerated dreams of Poland with regard to an armed intervention in her behalf.—Earl Granville vindicated the policy pursued by her Majesty's Government in a brief speech; and after some observations from the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Duke of Argyll, and the Earl of Harrowby, the motion for papers was agreed to.—The House shortly afterwards adjourned.

#### MONDAY, JULY 13.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the order for the adjourned debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion, that gentleman moved that the order be read and discharged. He had brought forward his motion in the hope that the House might be induced to adopt a step which would have the effect of arresting the terrible carnage in North America, and be of service to the interests of Great Britain. For taking this course he had been subject to much obloquy from a noisy, if not very wise, party. He wished it to be understood, however, that he had arrived at his present determination not on that account, but because the Prime Minister had stated that he considered the continuance of the debate would be an impediment to the good government of the country. Having, in brief and sarcastic terms, commented upon the official arrogance of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the hon. member proceeded to address some admonitory remarks to Lord Palmerston, who, he said, had a heavy responsibility weighing on his shoulders. The noble lord had stated that the time was not yet come for the consideration of this question by the House; and to that suggestion he (Mr. Roebuck) had yielded; but let the noble lord bear in mind that there were two dangers which would have to be met. One was the possibility of a reconstruction of the Union upon a Southern basis; the other the acknowledgment of the Confederacy by the Emperor of the French alone. No doubt the noble lord would fully justify the confidence of the people in considering these two grave questions; and without hesitation he would leave them in his hands.—Mr. Lindsay complained of the manner in which he had been treated by Mr. Layard, who had denounced him as an amateur diplomatist, and had taunted him with having come over from Paris on a former occasion as a special envoy, and being repudiated by a telegram sent by order of the Emperor. He had been employed for three years, with the full knowledge and sanction of the Ministry, in communicating with the French Emperor on the subject of the maritime and commercial relations of the two countries. On one occasion he had been charged to communicate certain matters directly to the Foreign-office, and had done so. He knew nothing of any telegraphic repudiation; and thought the story "passing strange." He had been received on his return to Paris on that occasion in the same manner as usual; whereas, had he really been the blunderer and busybody that Mr. Layard represented him to be, he certainly should have found his Majesty "not at home" when he called.—Lord Palmerston was of opinion that Mr. Roebuck had judged rightly in moving to discharge the order, for no good could possibly arise from a debate and division. He regretted, however, that both Mr. Lindsay and the hon. member should have mixed up with that well-considered determination an attack upon the Under Secretary; and he hoped this would be the last time that any member of the House of Commons would deem it to be his duty to communicate to the House what might have passed between himself and the sovereign of a foreign country. He did not impute the slightest blame to the hon. members, who, he was persuaded, had acted with the best intentions; but he would impress upon them and on the House that their proceedings were most irregular, and he trusted would never be drawn into a precedent. The British Parliament received com-



munications from the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, but they had no relations or intercourse with or official knowledge of any other sovereign, and it was no part of their functions to receive communications from a foreign government unless through the responsible Ministers of the Crown. If the Emperor of the French and the Queen of England had any communication to make to each other the Queen had an ambassador at Paris and the Emperor an ambassador in London; and these were the proper channels for the interchange of such communications. Sovereigns and governments communicated with the sovereigns and governments, not with the legislatures of other countries. The hon. member for Sunderland had left it to be inferred that he was employed by the British Government to communicate with the French Emperor on matters connected with trade and navigation. The fact was that the hon. member had called at the Foreign-office, stated that he was going to Paris, and made an offer of his services with regard to these questions, and then the Foreign Secretary gave him a note of introduction to Lord Cowley, in order to secure him access to the Emperor. It was not the practice of her Majesty's Government to carry on a double diplomacy; and the case of the hon. member for Sunderland was entirely different from that of Mr. Cobden; for the latter was employed by the British Government, the former was not.—After a few words from The O'Donoghue and Mr. Whiteside, Mr. Newdegate thanked Lord Palmerston for having given a warning to the House against the repetition of conduct which was not only in derogation to the prerogatives of the Crown, but was calculated to lead to grave complications between England and other states of the world.—The order was then discharged.

The House then went into Committee on the Fortifications Bill, the several clauses of which were agreed to after a long and stormy debate. The House adjourned at a quarter to one.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 14.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of Airlie called attention to the case of the Margaret and Jessie, and also to the report that the blockading squadron at Charleston had threatened to sink all blockade runners, which, as he contended, they have no right to do.—In regard to the Margaret and Jessie, Earl Russell said the Governor of the Bahamas had not mentioned the circumstances of the case from his own knowledge, he only said there was a report to this effect. On the other hand, Mr. Seward, having seen the statement in the New York papers, immediately assured Lord Lyons that the captain of the Rhode Island gave a different account of the affair. Obviously the facts must be inquired into further. It was impossible to do anything more than ascertain what the facts were, and if it should appear that the statement made was borne out, he had no doubt that the Government of the United States would give the reparation which they volunteered. With regard to the other occurrence which had been reported in the newspapers, there had been no official information of it, and he hoped the report was inaccurate.—A discussion then took place on the Brazilian quarrel, the conduct of Lord Russell being censured in strong terms by Lords Chelmsford and Malmesbury, and defended by himself in a speech, in which the facts were curiously mis-stated. He informed the House, however, that the King of Portugal had instructed his Minister at Rio to use his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation.

The House soon afterwards adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 14.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The morning sitting was occupied by a discussion on the report of the Fortifications Bill from the Committee, and by the consideration of the Union Relief Act (Lancashire), which passed through Committee.

At the evening sitting, Mr. H. Sheridan moved a resolution that the duty now chargeable upon fire insurances is excessive in amount, that it prevents insurance, and should be reduced at the earliest opportunity. Having explained the reasons which had prevented this question being brought forward earlier in the session, he stated the grounds upon which he supported his resolution, and the reduction of duty he proposed—namely, that the present rate of 3s. per cent. should be reduced 1s. per cent., and at the end of five years another 1s. per cent. The immediate loss of revenue, he contended, would be more than made up by the increase of insurances, while the reduction would be a benefit to the country. He showed, in the course of his argument, the vast amount of property that might be brought within the area of insurance, criticising, in considerable detail, the positions laid down in the work of Mr. Coode, upon whom, he observed, the Government relied, but whose authority upon this question he impugned, preferring the evidence of practical men; and he cited the testimony of well-known writers and public bodies to the soundness of his own views.—Mr. Hubbard, assuming, from the manner in which Mr. Coode's work had been circulated, that its arguments and facts were adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, minutely examined some of the conclusions of the writer, exposing what he considered to be his fallacies and false views regarding not only the theory of insurance, but the general principles of taxation, and his arithmetical errors. He supported the resolution.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the question really before the House was, be the merits of the fire insurance duty what it might, whether the resolution was proper to be adopted by the House. With respect to Mr. Coode's report, although the Government did not adopt all his conclusions, in his opinion it had been the means of leading to a more thorough investigation of the subject. In replying to Mr. Sheridan, he pointed out the essential distinctions between the duty in question and other taxes. Its increase, he observed, had been more rapid than that of the general wealth of the country. He did not, however, push this argument as a reason why this duty should be maintained. But the question was whether it was right for the House to adopt an abstract resolution without taking any step to remove the duty. He protested against such a practice as at variance with the duty of the House. It was an attempt to secure for the fire insurance duty a preference over all other taxes for a remission to the extent of £500,000. He was not prepared to write down any duty No. 1 for reduction, which circumstances might hereafter render inexpedient. What occurred in regard to the paper duty ought to be a warning of the danger attending these abstract and ambiguous resolutions. After some observations by Mr. Hankey in support of the motion, and a reply from Mr. Sheridan, the House divided, when the resolution was carried by 103 to 67.

Some matters of minor interest were discussed, and the House adjourned at twenty minutes to one.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

No business of public interest was discussed.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 14.

THIS has been the week of accidents. No less than four persons have been killed by the bad driving of French coachmen in this short time. Those who know how coachmen drive in Paris only wonder that so few accidents occur, they cannot be astonished at anything which happens. Much less danger is incurred driving the crowded streets of Paris than in the comparatively empty Boulevards of Paris, broad as they are, or even in a side street down which a single carriage is driving. The aim of a Paris coachman seems to be to go over the greatest possible amount of ground in the smallest possible space, and to effect this he goes from one side of the road to the other as if at the will of the horses or according to some law of curves not described in works on geometry. We complain of the evil of "crawling" which the police does everything in its power to put down; here there is a licensed class of crawlers, the *remises*, carriages with red numbers, which seem invented on purpose to render the streets impassable. On the Boulevards, which are twice as wide as Piccadilly, with two files of carriages going in each direction, and a few interlopers, it is often dangerous, always difficult to cross, from the different pace at which each advances, and the utter uncertainty as to its course. In the widest street of Paris, the *Rue Royale*, a distinguished German journalist was killed a few days ago by an omnibus, which knocked him down, one of the wheels passing over and crushing his head. On Thursday a carriage containing Mlle. Augustine Brohan, the well-known actress of the *Theatre Francais*, with two gentlemen, was run away with; the coachman was thrown to the ground and died of the injuries received, one of the gentlemen was also thrown out and seriously injured; the other, in jumping out, was killed on the spot, and the celebrated actress alone escaped with slight injuries. She was well enough to write a letter, describing the accident, a few hours afterwards, and the papers were able to announce with congratulations, that her child was not an orphan, that she had been able to go to her country seat at *Tille d'Avray* the next day. A hundred years ago the *Mercur* would have told the sad tale, with the addition that the actress, who in these present days will no doubt still charm many an audience, had entered the Carmelites. Other times, other nerves. Yesterday there was a collision of two carriages in the *Avenue de l'Impératrice*, another wide road; the lady who was in one of them, not possessing Mlle. Brohan's presence of mind, unfortunately jumped out, and was killed on the spot. If French coachmen cannot keep their horses in hand, they should be forbidden to drive beyond a slow pace. As it is neither foot passengers nor the occupants of carriages are safe. Whoever has dined or supped at the *Maison Doré*, remembers the precipitous staircase which leads from the private rooms down to the street. On Friday evening the Duke of Hamilton, who had been dining there, missed his footing, and was precipitated, head foremost, on the pavement. He was carried to his hotel, where he still remains in a precarious state. The Empress, on hearing of the accident, came from St. Cloud to see him, but he was unable to receive her.

The news of the fall of Mexico was received with the usual official illuminations, excepting the Palais Royal, which remained dark, but it produced only an improvement of 2½ centimes or one farthing in public securities on the Bourse. The explanation is that, the news had already been discounted, as they say here; hardly a satisfactory one when the 3 per cents. are at 63½. The fact is, that a long occupation of Mexico, with all its attendant expenses, is counted on, and, however, desirable this may be for the re-establishment of order in Central America, it is not a cheering prospect for those who will, or may, have to pay the bills. It is generally believed in well-informed circles, that the Archduke Maximilian is still the favoured competitor for the throne, which it is not doubted will be founded in the capital of Montezuma. This will, of course, entail an occupation, in the present distracted condition of the country, but it may be accompanied with conditions which will retain France from the threatened outlay. It is supposed that the crown of Mexico is, in some way, to compensate Austria for the surrender of Venice, but one cannot see how a great Empire can be brought to accept a gift to a member of the reigning house as a compensation for loss of territory. I therefore give you the rumours without in any way vouching for their truth. For myself, I do not give them any credit. The Emperor has the well-earned reputation of respecting his word. There is a princess to whom he is under engagements, which events have hitherto prevented his fulfilling, a daughter of France, and it is much more probable that his choice would fall upon the Duke of Parma, her son, who is also an infant of Spain, than on a prince whose only claim can be that he has

none whatever. Spain would accept this arrangement with pleasure, and the Duke of Parma, though a Bourbon, is too completely a stranger to the royal family of Spain, for his name to create any adverse feeling in Mexico. On this occasion the Queen of Spain has been the first to send her congratulations to the Emperor, a <sup>thrice-given</sup> Queen of England, <sup>probably</sup> <sup>secretly</sup> have not arrived. Any event which promises regular government in Mexico, and payment of the just claims of its creditors, must be welcome in England.

I need say nothing of the effect which the last news from North America has had here among those who interest themselves in the restoration of peace. It is not doubted that on the news of General Lee's next victory, the Emperor will press upon England the mediation between the two parties, or, at least, the immediate recognition of the South. It is generally reported that at the last ministerial council held before he left for Vichy, he laid down as the French programme, both in the Polish and American questions, joint action with England. But this does not, of course, preclude his urging his views in either case on the English Cabinet. In a conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys at the end of the week, Mr. Dayton, in answer to a question as to whether an offer of mediation would be well received at Washington, answered that it would not be accepted, but no longer spoke of making it a *casus belli*. This change in his language, which is said to be very reserved, is reflected in the papers which favour the North. The *Siecle* ascribes General Milroy's defeat to the retirement of a French officer, General Cluseret, whose letter of resignation complaining of the utter want of discipline in the Federal army, it reprints. The comments which follow may be accepted as a first confession that things in the North have not been as they should be. "The steady attachment of the *Siecle* to the cause of the North, which is that of justice and humanity, entitles it to be plain-spoken with its friends, and not to palliate their faults. It is certain that these have been grievous. It is not with the absence of discipline, of which so many generals have shown the example, that an enemy, fanatically proud, and subject to the iron rule of an implacable despotism, can be beaten. Those same volunteers who disgrace themselves under incapable leaders, would be heroes if properly officered. It is not soldiers which are wanting to the North. It possesses all the elements of victory, but these elements must be properly marshalled." This is a great change in the language of the *Siecle*, which has hitherto extenuated all defeats, and been silent on the atrocities which have for ever disgraced the armies of the North. We may hope that it will next discover that the volunteers whom it praises hypothetically are hirelings, and that their want of discipline is the most unbridled licence.

The *Débats* has recommenced its crusade against recognition, taking for its theme the French interest in the preponderance of the power of the United States of America, against the English interest, to which their division would be favourable. It therefore exhorts Frenchmen to maintain a neutrality which has hitherto been so advantageous, and of which the results must be ruinous to England. The *France*, blaming the selfish policy of England, is equally opposed to the not less selfish policy of the *Débats*. "Nations do not live only by bread and cotton. They live also by sentiments and ideas, and the selfishness of a people is not more respectable; nor in the long run, more profitable than the selfishness of an individual. How, then, could the recognition of the South, decided at the same time by England, France, Russia, and by the other powers whose maritime interests are less important, become hurtful to us or to our neighbours? Who will venture to say that this recognition would expose us to the danger of a war with the Northern States? Where have these States a navy capable of opposing at the same time us, and the English, and the Americans of the South? What diversion would be caused at Washington and New York by a division of French troops, supported as they would be by the population, as well as by the soldiers of the South? The recognition of the South would present none of the dangers with which it is the fashion to menace Europe. It promises, on the contrary, to the whole world, and in particular to France, advantages which the very nature of things renders too self-evident for it to be necessary that we should insist upon them." The *Presse*, in giving a view of the present position of the war, notices the new measures adopted against neutrals at Charleston. "The blockading squadron at Charleston seems to have adopted a new system against the vessel which attempt to pass it. It no longer takes the trouble to make prizes; it shells and sinks them. This is certainly expeditions, but is it the way of carrying on war among civilized nations?"

The new ministry is giving satisfaction to all parties



and seems determined to earn the name it has already received, as that of men of business. Its appointment is unquestionably a pledge for the continuance of peace, an impression still further strengthened by the measures of the War-office, which all point to a reduction in the effective strength of the army. The new Minister of Instruction, M. Luruy, has just instituted a board of assessors, without whose concurrence no professor is henceforward to be suspended or removed, and this only after hearing his defence. Up to the present time all the professors in France have been at the mercy of the Minister, who could dismiss or suspend them at his pleasure.

Notwithstanding that no fear of war is any longer entertained, for this year at least, the Bourse is very heavy, and although money is abundant all public securities remain very depressed. This is probably owing to long outstanding engagements, which are only now being liquidated, and force sales in larger proportion than there are buyers.

Nothing is known of the decision of the Government regarding the recent events in Madagascar, but the belief that ships and 3,000 troops will be despatched to protect French interests seems to gain ground.

The evening papers contain nothing on any subject but Poland.

I regret to state that the Duke of Hamilton died yesterday morning (Tuesday) at four A.M.

### THE RECONSTRUCTION FARCE.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—It is astonishing to any, of Southern feeling, to hear an intelligent press like that of England still speculating on the possible "reconstruction of the Union" on a Southern basis, although reason should teach them the impossibility of such an event; for none at all acquainted with the spirit of Confederates but are fully aware that the bare idea of again affiliating with the North fills them with loathing. To once more go hand in hand with a Power who has moved Heaven and earth to debase, humiliate, and destroy them—to once again call them "brethren" who have sacked and robbed among the unoffending, whose fathers and brethren were on distant battle-fields—who have traversed the land with fire and faggot—ignominiously punishing the old and feeble, exciting very servants by every possible means to uprise and cut the throats of women and children—to again live with such in the bond of brotherhood and friendship fills the soul of every Southerner with unmitigated contempt and scorn. A thousand deaths—total extinction—positive obliteration from the earth and history's annals, would be a fate far more preferable than to once again coalesce with such an ignoble race.

The *Morning Post*, in commenting upon this subject, so complacently advocated and urgently advised by Northern politicians, very justly observes:—

Already sanguine politicians in the North have begun to speculate on the possibility of the Union being restored in its original integrity under Southern auspices, and have gone so far as to express a hope that, under the restoration, the North may once more secure its previous supremacy. "We will fetch up again on that arrangement," writes Manhattan, the correspondent of one of our contemporaries, "for we can out-vote if we cannot outfight them." But it might possibly have occurred to Manhattan, and those whose spokesman he is, that the South has not "outfought" the North in order to afford the latter an opportunity of afterwards "outvoting" it. Setting aside political considerations, is it at all probable that the South would ever coalesce with a people which has laid its territory desolate, and which would, if it had been possible, have exterminated its population? The bare idea of such a contingency appears to our mind so inexplicable that again we are obliged to account for its being entertained by referring to the singular condition of opinion in the North. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Southern States will, if they prove victorious, form an independent league. They have learnt too bitter a lesson during the administration of an ultra-republican President not to profit by the moral which it inculcates. Slavery is no doubt an odious institution; but for that very reason there can be no amalgamation of States if by some it is tolerated and by others disavowed. The separation which has at length taken place between the free and slave States of America was foreseen long since by American statesmen; and the only cause for wonder is that it was so long postponed. It is much to be regretted that the separation was not effected, as it might and as it ought to have been, in peace; but having occasioned a war, the bloodiest and most disastrous with which modern history has made us acquainted, it would be strange indeed if it was not final.

### THE WINCHESTER CAPTURE.

(From the *Rockingham Register*, June 19.)

General Lee is first rate at keeping secrets, and so are the few to whom he is obliged to intrust his designs. Hence, the movement upon the enemy at Winchester was almost a profound secret, until it burst upon us "like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky." The important responsibility of directing our army movements in the valley has devolved upon Lieutenant-General Ewell, who has already won a name and a title to proud distinction in former movements over this field of strife. Who so fit as he to lead the Confederates in triumph again over former victorious battle-fields? And who so eminently deserving of the high honour of rushing upon the vindictive and cruel foe who has been desolating the fairest portion of this lovely Valley, as the gallant troops who constitute a portion of the old "Stonewall Brigade?" Such a leader, with such

veteran troops as he commanded in the expedition for the recovery of Winchester, would almost necessarily be successful. How could they fail? They could not, and yet their success has been far greater than the most sanguine or hopeful could have expected.

The attack was made on Saturday last, when the enemy were driven into Winchester and into their intrenchments near by.—We again fought them on Sunday, opening again on Monday morning, at four o'clock, and after a struggle of one hour, the Abolition flag was lowered, and Milroy surrendered his entire command, from 4,000 to 5,000 strong. We captured all the enemy's stores, ammunition and equipments, with several hundred wagons, horses, artillery and trains. We had previously, that is to say on Sunday, "picked up" Colonel Ellet, and his command of 2,000 men, on their way from Berryville, Clark county, to reinforce Milroy at Winchester. We took this detachment of the Abolition army without firing a single gun, "overwhelming them," as the Yankees frequently say now, "by superior numbers." Our loss in killed, wounded and missing around Winchester does not, we are assured, exceed one hundred. We had no officer killed. The only drawback upon the completeness of the victory was the stealthy escape of the brave and gallant Milroy, who either hid himself or got out by adopting the guise of his master and illustrious predecessor at Washington—the guise of the "plaid cloak and Scotch cap."

We need not say the good people of Winchester were glad when the Confederate flag once more floated over their town; they were happy, and their joy found expression. Our noble women, the especial object of chivalrous Yankee cruelties and barbarities, were wild with delight when they saw their deliverers march in.

### RECENT CAPTURES OF FEDERAL STEAMERS.

The *Richmond Sentinel* of the 20th of June copies the following account of the capture of the steam-tug, Boston, and burning of the barques Lennox and Texana, from the *Mobile Register*:—

A party of our daring marines started to get a steamboat; the party was under the command of Captain James Duke. After experiencing rather hard fare in the marshes of the Mississippi for some days, they discovered the Boston towing the ship Jenny Lind, loaded with ice, up to New Orleans.—This was some three miles from the Passe l'Outre light-house. The brave fellows hailed the ship, and a line was thrown out to them; they were in an open boat. On getting aboard of the Boston, the Confederates made a very pretty display of revolvers, when the captain of the ship remarked, "I told you they were d-d rebels." It was too late, the fastenings were instantly cut, and our men were in possession of the steamer.

In coming round at sea, they met the bark Lennox, from New York, loaded with an assorted cargo, principally stores, to which they helped themselves, and retaining the captain and mate as prisoners, sent the passengers and crew ashore; they then set fire to her—completely destroying the vessel. This took place yesterday (Wednesday). There were about forty on the Lennox.

About an hour afterwards they came up with the bark Texana, also from New York. They did not take anything from her but the captain and mate—the balance they sent ashore. The Texana was then set on fire, and was burning splendidly when she was left.

Among the prisoners is Captain Wolf, of the old bark Asa Fish, well known here.

There are about seventeen prisoners on board of the Boston, all of whom seem quite resigned to their fate.

The Boston arrived at Port Morgan this morning about two o'clock, and at the wharf at eleven o'clock. She is a staunch tug, runs about twelve knots an hour, and is a propeller.

In the Mississippi river the Confederates were for some time in speaking distance of the United States man-of-war Portsmouth, 16 guns, and about half-an-hour previous to their capturing the Boston, a gunboat had passed up within gunshot of our men.

This prize will prove very valuable to the captors, and shows what daring can accomplish in the way of a little private enterprise. What a howl will go up in New York when they hear the news.

The Boston was cheered all along our front as she came in, the Confederate flag over the gridiron. She now lies in the slip back of Gage's icehouse.

### SOUTHERN SUMMARY OF WAR TO THE 30TH OF JUNE.

(From the *Richmond Sentinel*.)

It is difficult to obtain early and accurate information from Lee's army. The present interesting operations are in a region the mail facilities with which are in a state of suspension. In addition to this, each advance of our column puts it further away from us.

We find ourselves unable to add much to-day to the previous accounts. The destruction of Milroy's force at Winchester laid the whole line of the Potomac open to us from Harper's Ferry up. General Ewell was free to go where he pleased. It is believed, and we suppose there is no doubt of it, that he has crossed the Potomac at several points. He has doubtless seized such places as contained magazines. There is a report that he has thus occupied Harper's Ferry, capturing 300 prisoners; but we are not able to verify it.

The number of prisoners captured is believed to be 7,000. The exchange officer here has been notified to expect that number on to-day or to-morrow.

The despatch from General Lee, which we published yesterday, showed Ewell's plan of operations was admirable. While advancing the veteran Early directly against Winchester, that promising officer, General Rodas dashed down the Shenandoah, leaving Winchester to the left so as to get in Milroy's rear. On his way he caught up, without firing a gun, a couple of thousand soldiers who were going to Milroy's aid. Pushing on, he occupied Martinsburg, 22 miles north of Winchester, on Sunday evening, while yet the fight was pending at Winchester. Securing the valuable stores of the enemy at that place and capturing the guard, he was ready to operate against Milroy, whose retreat he had cut off. But early the following morning, Winchester was ours, and both Early and Rodas had nothing to do but move on. Rodas was only ten miles distant from Williamsport or Shepherdstown, both on the Potomac.

This manoeuvre and success will be counted as among the most brilliant of the war, and has already invested the successor of Jackson with much of his *déclat*. We trust that the mantle of Elijah, with a double portion of his spirit, has fallen on Elisha.

We are without Northern dates since the operations in the Valley. But a citizen who has made his way from Washington reports the most delightful consternation as prevailing there,

All Lincolndom was in ferment, and Abraham was chief among the sorrowful. The mystery which hangs over Lee's movements was a prime source of their terror. They did not know where to look for him, or when. A hundred thousand "melish" had been called for to resist invasion. Pennsylvania, it is said, is asked for half the number, and Massachusetts is called upon for thirty thousand.

Where is Hooker? It was reported, in the early part of the week, a large part of his army was strewn along the Orange and Alexandria railroad, near Warrenton Junction. But we have no idea he is there now. Lincoln has called him, we doubt not, to cover Washington.

The defamer of McClellan will attempt to imitate his Maryland campaign. But our generals are immensely ahead of him. Last year we sent into Maryland a battle-wasted footsore army. They fed on green corn and apples for want of food, and arrived weak and exhausted. Now we send an army in excellent condition, full fed, and in the highest spirits. They are in Maryland all bright and fresh. It is Hooker who will have to make forced marches to bring his whipped men in front of those who have whipped them so often that both sides recognise it as a thing of course.

### YANKEE OUTRAGES IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

The following paragraph requires no comment—deeds such as those detailed are too frequent to excite surprise in the minds of any at all acquainted with the Northern mode of warfare, among a people whom they profess to consider friends and fellow-citizens:—

The Yankees have recently been committing a series of outrages in the county of Gloucester, Virginia. During the past week they visited York River, and after burning his stable and cornhouse, stole all the horses of Mr. W. T. Taliaferro but two, and all the horses of General W. B. Taliaferro but one. From there, they went to the house of Dr. Philip A. Taliaferro, the only practising physician in the neighbourhood, and destroyed his stock of medicines, stole his clothes and books, and some of his chairs. Every house on the river was visited and plundered. They burned the barn on the farm of Mr. James Dabney; went to the residence of Mr. Patterson Smith, who suffered so severely some time ago, and searched his house again, and stole every horse upon his farm. They also visited, we understand, the farms of Messrs. James and Charles Talbot, of this city, and took all their stock of horses, cows, and wagons, and destroyed nearly all their furniture. Two gunboats co-operated with the land force.

The officers landed at Mr. W. T. Taliaferro's, and though his house was searched, they are represented as having been polite and respectful to the ladies of the family. One gentleman of the county was compelled to surrender his gold watch, some of the scoundrels presenting a cocked pistol, and demanding it at the peril of his life in the event of his refusal.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.—The late Duke, who died in Paris, on Wednesday, was not only a peer of England, but also the premier peer of Scotland, and a peer of France. From the *Red Book* we learn that the late Right Honourable William Alexander Archibald Hamilton Douglas, Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton, Douglas, and Clydesdale, Earl of Angus, Arrian, and Lanark, Baron Hamilton, Baron of Abernethy, Jedburgh Forest, Aven, Polmont, Machanishire, and Innerdale, and premier peer in the peerage of Scotland, Duke of Brandon and Baron Dutton, county Chester, in that of Great Britain (by which titles the Duke sat in the House of Lords), and Duke of Chastellault in France, was the only son of William, tenth Duke, by Susan Euphemia, second daughter of Mr. William Beckford, the author of *Vathek*, and owner of Fonthill Abbey. He was born on the 19th of February, 1811, so that he was in his fifty-third year. He married on the 23rd of February, 1843, her Serene Highness the Princess Maria Amelia Elizabeth Caroline, youngest daughter of Charles Louis Frederick, late reigning Grand Duke of Baden, by the late Grand Duchess Stephanie, and cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III. By his marriage the Duke leaves surviving issue, William Alexander Louis Stephen, Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, born March 12, 1845; Lord Charles, born May 18, 1847; and Lady Mary Victoria, born December 11, 1850. The late Duke was Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood Palace, (an honour held by his ancestors since 1646), Knight Marischal of Scotland, and Colonel of the Queen's Own Royal Lanark Militia, and was from 1849 to 1857 Major Commandant of the Glasgow Yeomanry. He was Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire, and a Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Bute. The titles and estates are inherited by his eldest son, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale.

REPORTED SEIZURE OF A CALIFORNIA MAIL STEAMER BY THE ALABAMA.—A telegram was received on Wednesday at Liverpool, from Lloyd's, dated Barbadoes, June 25, to the effect that the steamship Moses Taylor, with \$1,000,000 of Californian gold, had been seized by the Confederate cruiser Alabama, and that the conveying vessel was sunk. This report is probably incorrect, as the Moses Taylor was in the Pacific and the Alabama in the Gulf of Mexico, according to the latest advices. Another telegram from Barbadoes states that the prize crew of a vessel captured by the Florida, being pursued by a Federal vessel, ran her ashore and fired her. The Federal Consul claimed the wreck, but the Vice-Admiralty Court took possession of it.

"I HAVE no confidence, therefore, in this policy of doing nothing, nor can I imagine that a great country like this can separate itself from all the affairs of the world, and say, 'Let not our voice be heard, or our influence prevail. We must look only to ourselves, and take no part in the politics of the world.'" This frank and unadorned statement is in strict accordance with the principles that we have constantly advocated in opposition to the policy of selfish inactivity pursued by our Foreign Secretary in reference to America, and we commend it to his attention. Strange to say, the above words were used by Earl Russell himself on Monday night, in the course of the debate on Poland. His lordship did not conclude his speech without explaining these generous utterances, and limiting their meaning. With respect to Poland, our only right of interference is to encourage insurrection by diplomatic action, and at the last moment avow that we do not mean to move a finger to enforce our diplomacy, but we will leave the Poles to be dealt with by Russia. Earl Russell said we were justified in interfering with Poland because of the treaty of Vienna, but we had no right to interfere in America because we had no such treaty. Surely, if we wanted an excuse for intervention in the name of our interest, and for the sake of humanity, we might find it in the separate recognition of the several States, as in the Treaty of Vienna, which treaty has been broken over and over again.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—  
At Liverpool, to Wm. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.  
At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.  
At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following subscriptions since July 9th.

Lord Edwin Hill Trevor, M.P.	..	..	£5	0
Mrs. Majnard Ingram	..	..	5	0
Lord Campbell	..	..	10	0
Captain Thompson	..	..	1	0

England and Southern Statesmanship.

"ENGLAND has no interest to maintain the moral superiority of the South, for it is to Southern Statesmen that she owes the numerous insults she has received from America, and the generally impracticable tone of American diplomacy." This is the language of the leading organ of British public opinion in a recent article professedly friendly and commendatory to the South. It expresses a popular conviction which has outlived most of the other equally glaring misconceptions about the South and its position in the late Union, and which, thanks to Northern ingenuity in perverting the truth, has gained so firm a hold upon the public mind of this country, that to dispute it at this late day will appear, even to many friendly readers, as something rather worse than a paradox. And yet not only is it not true in fact, but the very reverse is the truth. It is the turbulent, restless, quarrelsome, excitable democracy of the Northern States, egged on by reckless and ambitious demagogues, that has constantly driven the transatlantic Federation to the verge of hostile collision with other countries, and especially with this Empire; and it is the staunch conservatism of the Southern populations which has more than once stemmed the impetuous torrent, and the prudence and sagacity of Southern Statesmanship which have averted the threatening storm.

We might content ourselves with the *a priori* argument in support of our position, and we might ask which of the two great sections of the late Union was most exposed to the temptation of breaking the peace of the world on any pretence whatever? Was it the agricultural free-trade South, with its fixed population, incapable of artificial or extraneous increase—the South, absorbed in a desperate struggle to maintain its ground against the preponderating rival section—the South, which had nothing to expect from further territorial expansion except an addition to the already overwhelming strength of its rival? Or was it not rather the North, whose commerce and manufactures were in jealous competition with those of Great Britain—the North, eager for maritime supremacy, and intoxicated with visions of "manifest destiny"—seeking outlets for the stream of foreign immigration which inundated its shores—its lust of territory sharpened by the contiguity of British possessions? Was it the jealous competitor and greedy neighbour, or the wealthy consumer and distant customer, that would be most likely to come into collision with this country? The answer is self-evident. Or we might start at the facts of the

present; and we might ask, has the North, since it was released from "the incubus of Southern dictation," shown itself more friendly and more conciliatory to Great Britain than the Union in its integrity? Has its diplomacy, as represented by Mr. Seward, Mr. Dayton, and Mr. Cassius M. Clay, been less impracticable? Or are the insults systematically perpetrated by Wilkes and his colleagues less numerous and less galling than those she had to complain of before Southern statesmanship was banished from Washington?

But we need not rely upon arguments of this nature. The truth is broadly traced on every page of American history. Open any volume of Congressional debates. Wherever the eye lights upon a vehement denunciation of the "effete monarchies of despotical Europe;" wherever shameless boasting, insolent threats, impudent vulgarity move your pity or disgust, you will find a Northern speaker addressing from the legislative arena a constituency whose tastes he consults, and whose self-conceit he flatters. The exceptions are so few and stand so boldly in relief, that they only the more conclusively prove the rule. The "spread Eagle" and all its rhetorical paraphernalia have constituted from the beginning the exclusive property of the North, and secession neither did nor could carry off any part thereof. Among other items of this delectable stock in trade of the Northern politicians is the patent process of punishing England by fomenting an insurrection in Ireland, and of this Mr. John Quincy Adams, the father of the Federal representative in London, may claim the merit of invention. Frenzied appeals to popular passions fell upon deaf ears among the sparse rural populations of the South, whose representatives replied to them, sometimes by silent scorn, more often by solemn warnings, and always by prudence and moderation in action. Take as an illustration the Oregon dispute. During the whole period between the last war with Great Britain and the dissolution of the Union, there has occurred no crisis so dangerous to the peaceful relations of the two countries. The alliterative war-cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight," resounded from one end of the Northern States to the other, drowning the voice of reason and of common sense, just as did, two years ago, the cry of "Union." It was a question easy of settlement by negotiations,—the United States claiming as the boundary of a tract of wilderness, the line 54deg. 40m. latitude, while Great Britain insisted on placing the line a few degrees southward—ultimately compromised by adopting the present frontier, coincident with the 49th degree. But it suited the purpose of Northern politicians to describe the British claim as a heinous attempt at aggression, and characteristic of her "insatiable rapacity;" and accordingly they delivered themselves from the stump and in the Halls of Congress of philippics against this country, much after the fashion of the orators and presses of the present day, when speaking of the "rebels." The aged ex-President, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, acted in literal accordance with the example of his Puritan ancestry, who resolved "that the earth was the inheritance of the saints, and that they were the saints." He had the Holy Scriptures read by the clerk of the House of Representatives to prove that God had decreed man to multiply and replenish the earth, and that to His chosen people He had given the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession. This, he argued with a blasphemous application of the Word of God to the purposes of politics which has never found toleration or imitation outside of New England—this was the title by which the United States might rightfully claim the disputed tract in Oregon. "The Government of Great Britain," he added, "hold the island of Ireland by no other title. . . . If we come to war, she will find enough to do to maintain that island. . . . I want the country (Oregon) for our Western pioneers." This was said on the 13th of April, 1846. Almost simultaneously in the Senate, General Lewis Cass, of Illinois, the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party of the North, as ex-President Adams was of the Whigs, thundered

forth threats of war and conquest against Great Britain. "Let us have no red lines on the map of Oregon," he said, "and if war comes be it so. . . . England might as well attempt to blow up the rock of Gibraltar with a squib as to attempt to subdue us. . . . Why the honourable Senator from South Carolina fixes upon ten years for the duration of the war, I know not; long before the expiration of that period, if we are not utterly unworthy of our name and our birthright, we should sweep the British power from the Continent of North America." (*Congressional Debates*, March 30, 1846.)

Much more violent language might be quoted from the almost daily speeches of Northern members of both Houses during that memorable controversy; not a word in behalf of peace or conciliation was heard, except from the South, and just as the North was united, without distinction of parties, for war, so the South, democrats and whigs alike, was resolved on peace and compromise. Mr. W. L. Yancey, of Alabama, was then a rising young member of the Lower House, and already then, as in his later years, regarded as a representative of ultra-Southern views. Let us see what this young Hotspur of the South had to say on so inflammatory a topic:—

We should be careful lest prosperity and continued success should blind us to consequences; lest in our pride we fall. Sir, it cannot be treason—it cannot be cowardly—it cannot be unwise—for us calmly and dispassionately to consider our true position in this matter. And I beg of our friends that, if some of us of the South are disposed to put a curb on this hot impetuosity, we shall not be deemed their enemies on this great issue. . . . I desire to notice these animated attacks of England, these burning appeals to our patriotism, these outbreaks of enthusiastic love for our country, these firm resolves to resist encroachment and insult. But I look around in vain for a point, to which to apply all this pent-up ammunition. This is, then, it seems to me, a useless waste of patriotic enthusiasm. . . . I can well imagine, however, how such a course will operate upon the public mind, how the honest farmer, on reading such furious denunciations of what he is accustomed to think his natural enemy, and of her rapacity, can have his feelings wrought up under the idea that his country is the object of English aggression and overbearance. I much fear that this is the surest way of accounting for the strong popular ferment in relation to this question. . . . The arguments of the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts (J. Q. Adams), breathe a fierce and energetic war spirit. Truly and well did he himself depict the whole character of this movement, when he illustrated it by citing a celebrated event in history, exclaiming with very great emphasis, "This is the military way of doing business." (*Congressional Debates*, Jan. 5, 1846.)

South Carolina was at that time represented in the Senate by her greatest statesman, the author and apostle of secession, John C. Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun was opposed to war for territorial aggrandisement whether to the northward or the southward; and no man more clearly understood the true interests of the section of which he is so pre-eminently the typical representative. But it will be observed that he deprecated war with Great Britain for higher and nobler reasons, the mere statement of which should for ever silence the malignant or ignorant reiteration of the error that Southern statesmanship in the old Union was hostile to this country:—

Having been thus brought, by a line of policy to which I was opposed, to choose between compromise and war, I without hesitation take the former. . . . I am opposed to war between the United States and Great Britain. They are the two countries the furthest in advance in this great career of improvement, and of amelioration of the condition of our race. They are, besides, diffusing by their widely extended commerce, blessings over the whole globe. We have been raised up by Providence for these great and noble purposes, and I trust we shall not fail to fulfil our high destiny. I am especially opposed to war with England at this time, because I hold that it is now to be decided, whether we are to exist in future as friends or enemies. War, at this time and for this cause, would decide supremacy. We should hereafter stand in the relation of enemies. It would give birth to a struggle, in which one or the other would have to succumb, before it terminated, and which in the end would prove ruinous to both. On the contrary, if war can be avoided, powerful causes are now in operation, calculated to cement and secure a lasting, I hope a perpetual, peace between the two countries, by breaking down the barriers which impede their commerce, and thereby uniting them more closely by a vastly enlarged commercial intercourse, equally beneficial to both. If we should now succeed in setting the example of free trade between us, it would force all other civilized countries to follow it in the end. The consequences would be to diffuse a prosperity, greater and more universal than can well be conceived, and to unite by bonds of mutual interest the people of all countries. But in advocating the cause of free trade, I am actuated not less by the political consequences likely to flow from it, than the advantages to be derived from it in an



economical point of view. I regard it in the dispensation of Providence as one of the great means of ushering in the happy period foretold by inspired prophets and poets, when war shall be no more. I am finally opposed to war, because peace is pre-eminent our policy. (*Congressional Debates*, March 16, 1846.)

So spoke the great Southern statesman, the representative man of "fire-eating, slave-holding, secessionist South Carolina," while Northern demagogues were hounding the people into a suicidal war. The South was then still strong enough to make her voice heard. Her counsels prevailed, and a great calamity was averted. We trust that these few quotations will be sufficient to illustrate the true positions in the past of North and South toward England. They are the positions which their respective interests and aspirations rendered obligatory on each, and they are the positions which they must continue to occupy until the conditions of their existence shall be utterly changed. While leagued together into one great empire, Europe failed to distinguish their opposite tendencies, and generally held both alike responsible for the faults of one, while she was not equally impartial in crediting the virtues. Their superior genius in politics rendered Southern men conspicuous in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the whole Union, and they were thus held chargeable with much they could not prevent, without account being taken of the more serious collisions which their influence averted. In the last few years of the tottering Federation, many Southern men became less anxious to avoid foreign complications, in the desperate hope of escaping from the impending internal dangers. But these cases are too few and too recent to weigh against the traditional policy of the South, so long as it retained the numerical and electoral strength to assert its equality in the Union. Yet these isolated cases have been perverted into a significance they never possessed, just as the ebullitions of Southern anger and contempt, when Slavery is made a political engine of malignant enmity, are daily being tortured to bear the construction of deliberate defiance to humanity and civilization.

### The Battles in Pennsylvania.

THE event on which the destinies of the Northern Republic depend, and on which the eager expectation of the Old and New Worlds is fixed, has taken place. A great battle, or rather a series of great battles, has been fought between the Federal and Confederate armies in Pennsylvania, and possibly by this time the crisis of the war is over. But the news is terribly meagre. It is the old story. Tremendous slaughter and doubtful results. Two great armies mingling day after day in desperate conflict, and scarcely separating at night. Thousands killed and wounded, but no decisive victory. The vanquished claiming a success, and the conquerors hardly able to assert a triumph. Such is the picture of the field of Gettysburg presented to us by the telegrams from New York. We must deal with the facts as they are given, and hope that the future, as it brings more light, will also reveal a more definite issue.

Whether General Lee in his invasion of the Northern States had any precise object in view beyond that of a gigantic raid, a temporary occupation of the rich district of the Cumberland Valley, and the appropriation of its vast stores of supplies and provisions to the service and subsistence of the Southern army, is not yet clear. It was part of his plan to strike terror into the very heart of the North, and his line of advance had the double advantage of running directly through the farm lands of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and at the same time threatening three or four of the principal cities of the North. Sweeping the Shenandoah valley of its Northern garrisons, and finding at Winchester ammunition and stores in sufficient quantities to furnish his army for two months, the Confederate General pushed on straight through Maryland into Franklin county, and there took undisputed possession of an immense tract of country, which for natural fertility and excellence of cultivation is probably unsurpassed in the world. From Shepherdstown on the Potomac

to within a few miles of Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna—a distance of some eighty miles; from west to east, from the Tascorora mountains to Wrightsville and Columbia, the light troops of the Confederate army have spread themselves at their will; and from farm and city the horses, cattle, produce and stores have been swept off and hurried southwards to Winchester, where immense depots are now forming for the support of the Southern army in the impoverished and desolated districts of Virginia. What losses have been inflicted on the State of Pennsylvania by forced contributions, the destruction of its great lines of railroad and bridges, remain to be told. The *New York Herald* estimates at \$50,000,000 the damage the Keystone State alone has incurred. If to this be added the ravages which the invasion has necessarily inflicted on Western Maryland, we shall see that the North too has had its taste of the calamities of the war; and even if a fortnight hence we hear of Lee's return without another decisive victory, we shall still think his operations have been worth the risk run and the price they have cost.

It was evidently the Confederate General's plan to menace as many points as possible simultaneously, and so distract the enemy's attention and divide his forces. From Chambersburg, an excellent position for defence, and possessing capital railway communications with Hagerstown and Williamsport, his line of retreat, he threatened Pittsburg, the great national foundry of the North, the whole line of the Susquehanna from Harrisburg southward, the Quaker city itself, and even New York; whilst his light columns operating from that base, left Baltimore and Washington only one communication with the North, and compelled the authorities at both capitals to concentrate all the available forces for purposes of defence. Thus the army of the Potomac was unaided by the levies from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and General Lee knew that his only antagonist in the field would be the force under General Hooker. On the last days of the month of June, it was reported that the army of the Potomac, under General Meade, Hooker's successor, was in rapid motion, and Lee drew his scattered forces together to meet him. From York and Carlisle his flying columns were called in, and a new line was formed along the Cumberland Valley Railroad, of which Chambersburg appears to have been the base, the extreme left resting upon Shippensburg, the right securing its communication with Hagerstown. The Federal army moved across the Potomac for Frederick city, Maryland; the Harper's Ferry garrison, with the remnants of Milroy's division, abandoning Maryland Heights, and swelling its strength by some 10,000 men. From Frederick City the Federals pushed on almost due North in the direction of Gettysburg, and there the battle is fought. Lee has cautiously moved his army in a south-east direction, still narrowing his line, and shortening his distance from Hagerstown; and on the 1st of July the advanced divisions of the two armies came into collision a mile or two east of Gettysburg.

The account of the battle is from Northern sources, but it admits a defeat. Despite a temporary success, the Federals were driven from their position and through Gettysburg, with very severe losses in officers; General Reynolds, their commander, being amongst the killed. The Confederates occupied Gettysburg. On the 2nd instant the action was resumed, and General Meade announces "one of the severest contests of the war," and the repulse of the enemy at all points, but admits a considerable loss in killed and wounded. At eight o'clock, A.M., on the 3rd, he reports that the Confederates attacked him all along his line at daylight, and that "thus far they have made no impression." At eight o'clock, P.M., the Federal General states that the enemy had twice assaulted his line, and were each time repulsed, leaving in his hands 3,000 prisoners. Again the Federal loss is considerable. At night the battle ceases; and General Meade is afraid the enemy is escaping. He is undecieved. The enemy is still in force. The drawn battle has yet to be fought; the final act of that bloody drama has yet to be played out. But the curtain falls, so far as the Old

World is concerned, with a proclamation from President Lincoln, in which he claims high honours for the Federal army, and promises "great success for the Union cause on the morrow." Into the dim and terrible uncertainty of that morrow we will not attempt to penetrate. The news we have, coming from Northern sources, and issued from Washington at such a crisis, must be partial to the Federals. It is not likely that at this juncture the Federal authorities would learn honesty. As no victory is claimed, as the utmost that can be said by General Meade is that he has maintained his position, with forces considerably superior in numbers to those opposed to him, we have good reason to believe that victory has once more rested with the Confederates. But the gallantry on both sides has been great—the struggle has been obstinate—the carnage frightful. We trust that all these successes and disasters have not been without decisive results. Certainly, the absence of news at New York on the evening of the 4th is not unsuggestive of disaster to the Federal army. Had there been a success to report on Independence Day, General Meade would have found means to despatch it.

### The Discharged Order.

IT is an understood rule of Parliamentary courtesy, that when a Minister of the Crown takes upon himself to declare that the discussion of a question—especially a question of foreign policy—at a particular moment would be detrimental to the public service, the members interested in the subject defer to his wishes, and withdraw any motions of which they may have given notice. But for this practice the House of Commons, with its restless anxiety to supervise every proceeding of the Executive, and its well-grounded fear that the Government may be committing the country, without its knowledge, to measures involving the most serious consequences, would be apt to go into discussions that would paralyse the diplomacy of the Government, and make negotiation with foreign Powers absolutely impossible. Government cannot be carried on in public, however necessary it may be that its every act should, ere long, be liable to public criticism; and a Legislature sitting with open doors must be content to forego the privilege of controlling the foreign policy of the Administration otherwise than by informal expressions of feeling, from which the Administration may judge what course is most likely to meet with Parliamentary approval. Indeed, if any member so far doubts the word of the Minister as to hold that discussion is less inconvenient than silence, it must be on the ground that the Minister is so little to be trusted that he is not fit to have the conduct of the foreign policy of the country without direct interference on the part of Parliament; and if such distrust be really felt, the proper remedy is not to advise the Government, but to change it; not to persevere with the motion pronounced by the Executive to be unsafe and unseasonable, but move a vote of want of confidence. Now it is probable that Mr. Roebuck does not disbelieve the personal assertion of Lord Palmerston; it is more than probable that he would not be willing to concur in a vote of want of confidence in the noble Lord; it is almost certain that such a vote would be rejected by a large majority, even in a House which is almost evenly divided between Liberals and Conservatives, and in which at least one-fourth of the Liberals are not staunch supporters of the Liberal Government. When the motion was first brought forward, we expressed our fear that, if opposed by Lord Palmerston, it would be rejected not on its own merits, but on his; not because the House desires to withhold recognition, but because it does not choose to quarrel with the present Prime Minister. And from the moment that the Premier expressed his objection not merely to the motion, but to its further discussion, it became obviously the duty of Mr. Roebuck as a member of Parliament, and his policy as a friend of the Confederacy, to yield to the request of the responsible chief of her Majesty's Administration, and withdraw a motion which threatened to embarrass a Cabinet which he did not desire to overthrow. And therefore, though



somewhat disappointed by the issue of a debate by which much good might have been done—which might have ended in giving peace to America and restoring prosperity to England—we are not disposed to quarrel with Mr. Roebuck's motion of Monday night, that the order for the continuance of that debate be read and discharged.

The ostensible reason for Lord Palmerston's objection to proceed with the discussion, was the manner in which the name of the Emperor of the French had been mixed up therewith; and we incline to think that this reason may have been the true one. It does not follow that Mr. Roebuck was in any degree to blame for introducing that name in the way and for the purpose for which he employed it. Those who charged him with using the Imperial authority to influence the House of Commons, and with making himself the organ and mouthpiece of French dictation, said not only what was not true, but what they must have known not to be true. We except from this reproach Lord Robert Montagu, whose rapid, random, reckless style of talking may naturally lead him to say many things which he does not mean, and who is quite silly enough to be capable of meaning what he said. It matters to no one, except the noble Lord himself, what he says or what he believes; for nothing that falls from his lips can affect for a moment the opinions of any rational being; but we are willing to give him the credit of sincerity. We cannot do as much for Mr. Forster, who hinted rather than stated this accusation; or for Mr. Bright, who stated it boldly and in the coarsest form. These gentlemen understand plain English, as they speak it, admirably well. They knew that Mr. Roebuck had not attempted to persuade the House of Commons that they ought to follow the policy of France. They had heard the Emperor's words quoted; and they knew, as we know, that those words declared that he would follow the policy of England whatever it might be, but that, for his part, he wished that it should be a policy of recognition or of mediation. They knew that there was not in this the semblance of French dictation, or of an attempt to bias the House; and they knew therefore that the charge they pressed against their colleague and quondam friend was not only not true, but was the very reverse of the truth. There had, however, been an attempt to influence, or rather to coerce the House by means of the alleged opinions of the Emperor. A rumour had been circulated, with great diligence, by some party or parties unknown but not unsuspected, that the Emperor's mind had changed; that he had become a convert to Lord Russell's policy of servile complaisance and cowardly inaction. The object of this falsehood was, of course, to defeat Mr. Roebuck's motion by persuading the House that it would be useless; that the Emperor if addressed as he proposed, would refuse to listen to us. This disgraceful intrigue was defeated by Mr. Roebuck's prompt and vigorous measures; and its origin may be confidently attributed to those who turned round on him who had baffled it, and accused him of trying to do by a true statement of the Emperor's views that which they had tried to prevent by a false one. The second falsehood was worthy of the first; and both were worthy of the friends of General Butler and of Abraham Lincoln.

If Mr. Roebuck could have relied on the good faith of the Government, he might have allowed this rumour to circulate, and appealed to them to contradict it. And this would have been the regular proceeding. Or he might have suggested to the Emperor that the contradiction should be administered by the *Moniteur*, which would have been the most effective and satisfactory method of accomplishing the purpose; but it is possible that His Majesty had reasons of his own for avoiding this course. It was clearly impossible for Mr. Roebuck to depend on the honesty of the English Cabinet. Their recent conduct has shown them capable of worse treachery than would have been involved in an ambiguous speech from Mr. Layard, stating that he did not know whether the Emperor's mind had changed, but suggesting that it probably had. This justified, in his opinion and in ours, his "irregular" appeal to Paris, and his citation of the Emperor's words in

the House of Commons. "Irregular and inconvenient" such a course may be; but there is worse inconvenience in the circulation of false rumours on questions of foreign policy under the tacit sanction of the Government, and more serious irregularity in the communication of the private notes of an ally to the very Government for whose perusal they were not intended, and whose hostility they were certain to excite.

In regard to this last matter, it is certain that a gross falsehood has been told, wilfully or not, by one of three persons. No one believes that Mr. Roebuck has wilfully lied; of that he is incapable; and that he neither lied nor was mistaken may be inferred from the fact that this statement was not contradicted or modified in the paragraph in which the *Moniteur* referred to his audience. It is impossible to suppose that the Emperor said, either voluntarily or not, that which was not the case;—he must have known the fact; and he could not tell a falsehood with the certainty of having it published or contradicted within a fortnight. It is, of course, impossible, likewise, that Lord Russell should have kept his under-secretary in ignorance of the receipt of the communication in question; impossible that he should have betrayed it to Mr. Seward; impossible that he should have allowed Mr. Layard to get up in the House of Commons and deny the existence of such a communication, if it had really existed. These things are impossible—but we are by no means sure that the impossible has not occurred. We remember Lord Russell's prevarications about the Vienna negotiations; and we feel that there is scarcely any equivocation of which he may not be guilty. And Mr. Layard's conduct on Friday night proved either that he has a very imperfect knowledge of the business of his department, or a very extraordinary notion of the license to which Ministers are entitled. He sneered at Mr. Lindsay as an amateur diplomatist; he reminded him that on one occasion he had come over from Paris after an interview with the Emperor, fancying himself a special envoy, and had been repudiated by telegraph. On Monday Mr. Lindsay replied to this charge. It then came out that for three years he has been employed unofficially, but with the aid, sanction, and full knowledge of the Ministry, in trying to supplement the work so blunderingly done by Mr. Cobden. In the course of a long series of conversations with the Emperor he was asked to make a certain communication to the Foreign-office here, and he did so. On his return to Paris he was received as usual, and heard nothing of any telegraphic or other "repudiation." Passing strange he called Mr. Layard's story; remarking very sensibly that if he had exceeded his instructions in such a manner as to provoke a repudiatory telegram, he would, on his next call at the Tuileries, have found the Emperor "not at home." From this story it is plain that either Mr. Layard is ignorant of a matter so important as Mr. Lindsay's relations with his department, or thinks himself entitled to misrepresent such a matter in the grossest way; and that he is, for some reason or other, liable to tell stories "passing strange" to the detriment of those who oppose him in debate.

As it is granted on all hands that the account given by Mr. Roebuck, and confirmed in the most absolute manner by Mr. Lindsay, of their audiences is perfectly accurate, the continuance of the debate must have brought out in painful distinctness the obvious fact that a lie has been told, and that it has been told either by his Imperial Majesty or by the British Foreign-office. Unless Lord Palmerston was prepared to dismiss his colleague and apologise for his conduct, he could not allow a discussion to proceed in which such an issue was involved. But the necessity of withdrawal arose not from the painful truths told by the member for Sheffield, but from the extraordinary contradiction given to them by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Layard, not Mr. Roebuck, is answerable for the necessity which induced Lord Palmerston to close the debate.

Independently of this diplomatic reason for a withdrawal of the motion, there was the obvious parliamentary reason that it could not have been

carried, and that its defeat would have done great harm. On Friday night it was well observed by Lord Robert Cecil—than whom no man in the House of Commons takes a juster or bolder view of our American policy—that the well-wishers of the South all desired the withdrawal of the motion, while the avowed devotees of the Northern democracy were eager to have it pressed to a division, Mr. Forster, the self-styled fanatic who sits for Bradford, and Mr. Peter Taylor, whom Leicester has sent to Parliament in order to show that neither sense, eloquence, nor manners are necessary qualifications for a seat in the House of Commons, were strongly opposed to the withdrawal of the motion. They knew that the resistance of the Ministry, several of whom are supposed to be friendly to the Confederate cause, would deprive it of a large number of votes; that many more would vote against it for fear of war; and that the silence of the Conservative leaders would make their party reluctant to run the risk of ousting the Government on a question on which the chiefs of Opposition do not seem to have made up their minds. The result of an unfavourable division would have been to strengthen the Northern faction in the House and in the Cabinet; to mortify the Emperor of the French; to gratify Mr. Lincoln; to insult the South; and to fetter the discretion of the Government for the future. It is well, therefore, that a division has been avoided. We know, as every one knows, that four-fifths of the House of Commons rejoice to see the Confederate States independent, and believe that they ought to be recognised; and we are glad that the minority have not been able to snatch a division which would have utterly misrepresented the real views of Parliament and of the country.

The Administration is now left free to act as it pleases; and its chief has taken upon himself the whole responsibility of action or inaction, by declining to receive from Parliament either advice or absolution. He is at liberty to avail himself of the opportunity now opening to him, and to recognise the Confederacy under circumstances which will afford a triumphant answer to all cavillers. He has it in his power to receive the Ambassador of a Government whose armies are actually overrunning the enemy's territory; to send an ambassador to a capital which, no longer threatened by a hostile force, echoes with thanksgiving for victories which have transferred the war beyond the Southern frontiers. Who can say that he has not the right to recognise the independence of a Power which seems able, if she were willing, to subjugate her rival? or that he would not do wisely to secure the friendship of a people who will probably, before many weeks are over, impose terms of peace on those who have pretended to treat them as rebels, and threatened them now with conquest and now with extermination? And how can he excuse himself if he throw away such an opportunity, if he renounce so glorious a title to the goodwill of our nearest kinsmen, and the confidence of our most valuable commercial ally, if, for fear of quarrel with the conquered, he sacrifice the friendship of the conquerors; if he persist in an injustice in order to avert an unspeakable blessing?

### British Interests in Secession.

UNTIL lately it might have been supposed that Englishmen were unanimous in believing that the disruption of the late United States was a great gain to their country. The friends of the Confederacy have unhesitatingly avowed that their sympathies originate, not only in a sense of justice to a kindred people nobly and triumphantly defending their precious heritage of freedom, but also in the firm conviction that the peace of the world, the security of British commerce, and the inviolability of our North American territory are severally promoted and assured by the Secession of the South. The partisans of the North have incidentally but emphatically admitted the reasonableness of this assumption. They have incessantly reproached the advocates of recognition with being instigated by a policy of



extreme selfishness. Over and over again the Anglo-Federal press and the loquacious leaders of the Anglo-Federal faction have denounced the States as the unworthy rejoicing of a narrow-minded aristocracy at the failure of republican institutions, or as a craven satisfaction at the weakening of a dreaded rival. But no attempt has been made by them to disprove the allegation that the progress of the most arrogant Power on earth was a thorn in our side, for it is too manifest to be denied or even modified. All Englishmen, except the Anglo-Federal faction, have been painfully conscious that we have openly condoned insults, and meekly submitted to acts of injustice from the United States, that we would not have tolerated from any European Government, and that the concessions we have made have involved our loss of national prestige. Frankly, we have been terrified by the most distant prospect of war with the United States. Nor was the fear unjustifiable or dishonourable. Our army and navy were superior to the army and navy of the Union, and, confiding in our pluck and resources, we felt assured of coming out of the struggle with our glory untarnished and with the integrity of our empire vindicated. Yet, under the most favourable auspices, we must have paid a terrible price for victory. The United States could have starved our cotton operatives, crippled our cotton trade, and, in the midst of war, fostered her own manufactures at our expense. Formerly, when she threatened to cut off the supply of the raw material of our staple industry, we used to boast that we could with our fleet open the cotton ports to our merchantmen and help ourselves. This war has taught us that that boast was idle. The Southerner will not sell his cotton to an enemy. The anxiety to avert a cotton famine was amply sufficient to make us shrink from an American war, under provocations that would undoubtedly have led to hostilities in Europe. Then there was Canada, so easy to invade and so costly to defend, that it was a hostage that we should keep peace at almost any price. No marvel that our relations with the Washington Government were always critical and unpleasant. We were, despite our imperial strength, placed at a telling disadvantage. In the separation of the South from the North our people see that the United States lose the whip hand over us, and naturally are glad that England is relieved from a humiliating and harassing position.

Mr. Gladstone dissents from these views. He told the House of Commons, in the course of the remarkable speech which he delivered on the 30th June, that, in his opinion, the aggressive spirit of the North was more restrained by union than it will be by disunion. He said, "I never have agreed with those who thought it was a matter of high British interest that the old American Union should be torn in pieces. . . . I do not think that territorial extension necessarily adds to the vigour of a State. . . . The balanced state of the old American Union, which caused the whole of American politics to turn upon the relative strength of the slavery and Northern interests, was more favourable to us, more likely to ensure the continuance of peaceful relations in America, as well as the avoidance of all political complications arising from the connexion between this country and its colonies, than the state of things which would exist if the old American Union were to be divided into a cluster of Northern and a cluster of Southern States, the cluster of Northern States having lost all connexion with the slavery interests that were formerly adverse to extension northwards, and having, of course, every motive—I do not say by violent or illegitimate measures—to endeavour to re-establish their territorial grandeur by uniting themselves with the British colonies of North America." Seeing that there is the same conflict of interests now as there was before Secession, the conclusion we are forced to if we adopt this statement, is that so long as the North and South were politically and nationally one they were more likely to oppose each other than now, when they form distinct nationalities. Mr. Gladstone does not dispute, but inferentially asserts, that the United States did menace the peace and pros-

perity of the North, only he contends that the aggressive strength is increased by the loss of the South. If he can persuade the North to accept his theory, then the war will soon be ended. It is, however, an ingenious paradox that cannot stand the test of even a cursory examination. It is as curious as the complex attitude of Mr. Gladstone, when, as Lord Russell's ministerial colleague, he had to advocate inaction, that is, practically, a policy of aiding and abetting the Federals, and yet when with manly and generous frankness he confessed his admiration for the Confederacy, and his persuasion that the independence, of which he defended the continued non-recognition by the British Government, was manifestly and lastingly established.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is a brilliant rhetorician, and ingeniously supported his paradox by an appeal to a truism with which we are all familiar. It is the fashion to protest that the British Empire is big enough, and that its further extension would be unwise, and this protest is always backed up with the argument that territorial extension does not add to the vigour of a State. But when does the increase of dominion become a source of weakness? Not while the process of increase is going on, or whilst that which has been acquired is maintained. According to the teaching of history, a power ceases to be formidable when disintegration has once set in. So it has been with Rome, with Spain, and with the Sultan Empire. As to the suggestion of the differences between the North and South being a guarantee of peace, it is first to be observed that political feuds do not hamper a Government in a foreign war. Russia, for example, found no impediment from Poland in 1854. It is a political axiom, a rule without an exception, that the nations which disturb the peace of the world are not those enjoying internal concord, but rather those which are torn with internal dissensions. Foreign war is the recognised remedy for discontent and disagreement at home. It was peculiarly so with America. It was those very political differences in the United States that made a foreign war always popular and imminent. Whenever there appeared some slight danger of the beloved Union being dissolved, a war with England was always spoken of as a means of saving it. It follows that the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is altogether at fault, and that Secession has taken away one of the strongest motives for breaking the peace between England and the United States.

It is true that so long as the two sections were balanced, or, if Mr. Bright prefers it, so long as the South was dominant in the Government of the whole Union, there was very little danger of hostilities. The Southern planter did not want to quarrel with his best customer. The exporting part of the Union did not desire blockaded ports. The South naturally opposed the scheme of Northern aggrandisement, which contemplated the annexation of Canada. The interests of the South were adverse to a war with England, and to her we owe a peace of half a century. Then is not Mr. Gladstone right? No; and for two reasons. Whatever were the sectional differences and jealousies, they were little or nothing compared to the international differences and jealousies that will hereafter prevail. Besides, the balance of power within the Union had actually ceased to exist. The position of the North and South has been altogether changed in the last few years, not so much by creation of States as by immigration. The North at every decennial census, when the representation in Congress is adjusted by the ratio of population, had become more powerful, and at length dominant. If the South had remained in the Union, she must have henceforth followed the lead of the North in fostering the cotton manufacture of New England by imposing restrictions on the export of the raw material, and in essaying to conquer Canada. It is only as a separate power that the South could continue to balance the North—to be the ally and not the enemy of England.

It needs not, however, an elaborate argument to

disprove the clever sophistry with which Mr. Gladstone compromises the issue between his ministerial obligations and his personal convictions. Our political advantages from the secession of the South are as evident as our commercial advantages. Henceforth we may resist the insolence and aggressiveness of the United States without jeopardising the prosperity of Lancashire. Our supply of the precious material will not depend upon the New England manufacturers, but upon the goodwill of the South, which is as much interested in selling as we are in buying cotton. Canada is still vulnerable, but the United States will not be able to enlist the manhood of the South in the enterprise, and will have to think of defending as well as of enlarging her border. Nay, the prime motive for annexing Canada is taken away by secession. The North has not wanted, and does not want room. She has enormous tracts of unpeopled territory, consisting of richer land than can be found in Canada. She wanted our possessions to give effect to the Monroe doctrine, and to add to the number of the Northern States in order to swamp the political representation of the South. The Monroe doctrine has become a thing of the past, for the independence of the Confederate States forbids its realization. There is no longer the incentive to acquire new States to politically overwhelm the South.

Without adding general to special arguments, it is apparent that Mr. Gladstone has no warrant for the startling assertion that disunion is strength. It is a curious parody on the legend of the Sybilline books when we are told that the Union is more to be dreaded as an antagonist, because many of her States have been—not swept away—but erected into a rival nationality. It is abundantly clear that the British friends of the South are the true friends of their country. They can treat with contempt the charge of selfishness, for in this case duty and interest are wedded. When Mr. Canning declared that he had called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old World, he only exaggerated his own share in the work. The New World was ordained for and has redressed the balance of the Old World; but assuredly, if a balance were not established in the New World itself, if the South had sacrificed her freedom rather than the Union, the continent of America might have become the China of the West, and England have had to mourn for the decadence of her commerce; for modern commerce, of which England is the chief representative, owes its existence to the New World, and, cut off from intercourse with the parent stem, must and would dwindle and decay. Vast, indeed, is the debt of gratitude England owes to the Secession of the South; and woe would it have been unto her if by the apathy of her Government the Southern people had been crushed by the Northern foe. Although we do not imagine that a reconstitution of the Union is possible on any basis, yet it is impossible for Mr. Roebuck to exaggerate the disaster to England that would ensue from that event.

#### A VETERAN OF SOCIETY. \*

If a man desire hereafter—in three or four years, when a new succession of guests appears in the saloons and a new generation of looks on the tables of London—to achieve a reputation as a *raconteur*, able to amuse a dinner table or fill up the dreary void which always occurs between the appearance of the first guest in the drawing-room and the welcome summons of the butler, we cannot advise him to do better than deeply to study Captain Gronow's little volume, and carefully to commit to memory its most salient passages. There can be no better anecdotes; and no anecdotes can be better told. The first series of the gallant veteran's recollections was admirable; but this is, by general consent, an improvement on its predecessor. The "recollections" range over a period of some forty years, and are of all kinds, from small but not uninteresting contributions to the history of the Battle of Waterloo, to tittle tattle concerning such small deer as Beau Brummell, and illustrative sketches of the lives of French actresses and adventurers. The vast majority of the stories it contains are such as do not require the absence of ladies to give full effect to their point; and

\* "Recollections and Anecdotes, being a second series of Reminiscences of the Court, the Camp, and the Clubs." By Capt. R. H. Gronow. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.



there is not one which comes under the description applicable to a good many *historiettes* of the same period, as exacting also the absence of *gentlemen*. This is no small merit in a veteran of the days of the Regency, and no trifling recommendation to a book whose character and appearance are certain to claim for it a place rather in the drawing-room than in the study.

We do not pretend to know that all the sparkling phrases recorded by Captain Gronow are given exactly as they were spoken, or that every one of his anecdotes is literally accurate and altogether unembellished. One or two he is accused of spoiling; it is, therefore, only fair to give him the credit of having improved a good many others. About one-third of the little volume is filled with personal observations concerning the battle of Waterloo, at which the author was present as a subaltern with his regiment; and this is not the least interesting portion of the book, though not that which will be longest remembered, or most frequently quoted. The following description is certainly worthy of remembrance, and gives a striking picture of the terrible earnestness of the French attack, and the desperate heroism of the British resistance:—

During the battle our squares presented a shocking sight. Inside we were nearly suffocated by the smoke and smell from burnt cartridges. It was impossible to move a yard without treading upon a wounded comrade, or upon the bodies of the dead; and the loud groans of the wounded and dying were most appalling.

At four o'clock our square was a perfect hospital, being full of dead, dying, and mutilated soldiers. The charges of cavalry were in appearance very formidable, but in reality a great relief, as the artillery could no longer fire on us; the very earth shook under the enormous mass of men and horses. I shall never forget the strange noise our bullets made against the breastplates of Kellerman's and Millhaid's cuirassiers six or seven thousand in number, who attacked us with great fury. I can only compare it with a somewhat homely simile, to the noise of a violent hail-storm beating against panes of glass.

The artillery did great execution; but our musketry did not at first seem to kill many men, though it brought down a large number of horses, and created indescribable confusion. The horses of the first rank of cuirassiers, in spite of all the efforts of their riders, came to a stand-still, shaking and covered with foam, at about twenty yards' distance from our squares, and generally resisted all attempts to force them to charge the line of serried steel. On one occasion, two gallant French officers forced their way into a gap momentarily created by the discharge of artillery: one was killed by Staples, the other by Adair. Nothing could be more gallant than the behaviour of those veterans, many of whom had distinguished themselves on half the battle-fields of Europe.

In the midst of our terrible fire, their officers were seen as if on parade, keeping order in their ranks, and encouraging them. Unable to renew the charge, but unwilling to retreat, they brandished their swords with loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" and allowed themselves to be mowed down by hundreds rather than yield. Our men, who shot them down, could not help admiring the gallant bearing and heroic resignation of their enemies.

The Duke's comment on the battle also is worth recording. What it meant seems clear enough—that the battle was really won by the 12,000 Peninsula veterans:—

The late Mr. Creevey, the well-known Whig M.P., stated in my presence, at a dinner at Lord Darnley's in Berkeley-square, in 1816, that he was at the Duke of Wellington's quarters at Brussels, the night of the battle of Waterloo. It was late when the Duke entered, and, perceiving Mr. Creevey, shook him by the hand, and said, "I have won the greatest battle of modern times, with 12,000 of my old Peninsula troops." Creevey remarked that he was astonished at that, and asked, "What, sir, with 12,000 only?" "Yes, Creevey," replied the Duke, "with 12,000 of my old Spanish infantry. I knew I could depend upon them. They fought the battle, without flinching, against immense odds; but nearly all my staff, and some of my best friends, are killed. Good night! I want rest, and must go to bed." Creevey called at an early hour on the following morning, in the hope of again seeing the Duke, but he had left Brussels before daylight, to join the army.

Sir Thomas Picton's opinion of the British officer has been often echoed by foreigners; but we can hardly think it wholly just:—

He greatly praised the soldier-like qualities and military talents of the French officers, and said, "If I had 50,000 such men as I commanded in Spain, with French officers at their head, I'm d—d if I wouldn't march from one end of Europe to the other." We were all astounded at this praise of the French; and Chambers, very much piqued, observed, "This is the first time we have heard, Sir Thomas, that French officers were superior to ours." "What!" said Picton, "never heard they were superior to ours? Why, d—n it, where is our military education? Where our military schools and colleges? We have none; absolutely none. Our greatest generals, Marlborough and Wellington, learnt the art of war in France. Nine French officers out of ten can command an army, whilst our fellows, though brave as lions, are totally and utterly ignorant of their profession. D—n it, sir, they know nothing. We are saved by our non-commissioned officers, who are the best in the world."

There are one or two social anecdotes of the Great Duke, of which, perhaps, the following is the most characteristic and amusing:—

The Duke of Wellington, then residing at Walmer Castle, had walked one Sunday evening into Deal, and entered Trinity Church. After wandering about for some time in search of the sexton (who, as a matter of course, was engaged elsewhere), the Duke ensconced himself in a roomy-looking pew, in front of the pulpit. After a short time a lady of portly and pompous appearance, the owner of the pew, entered. After muttering a prayer, she cast a scowl at the intruder, which was intended to drive him out of the place he had

taken. She had not the least idea who he was, and probably have given her eyes, had she known him, to have touched the hem of the great Duke's cloth cloak, or asked for his autograph. Seeing that the stranger bore the brunt of her indignant glance without moving, the lady bluntly told the Duke, as she did not know him, that she must request he would immediately leave her pew. His Grace obeyed and chose another seat. When he was leaving the church, at the end of the service, and had at last found the sexton, who received him with many bows and salutations, he said: "Tell that lady she has turned the Duke of Wellington out of her pew this evening."

Captain Gronow spent a considerable time, after this, in Paris, with the society of which he is as familiar as with that of London. He complains greatly of the degeneracy of manners and lack of gallantry in men, and reticence in women both in England and France at the present day; and speaks very severely of what, in opposition to the "*jeunesse dorée*" of old, he calls "*la jeunesse Ruoltz*"—the pinchbeck youth—of this generation. Among his many anecdotes of their want of earnestness in the sole business of their lives—lovmaking—the following is about the best:—

A lady of certain virtue and uncertain age had been courted by a young fashionable in a moment of *désaveuement*, in a country house. The lady was flattered, and at last fell in love, but held out for a time, when one fine day, as the gentleman was languidly pressing his suit, she exclaimed, throwing herself on his neck in an agony of tears, "Eh bien, Raoul, je me damne pour toi!" "Et moi, je me sauve!" responded the terrified Lovelace; and seizing his hat, he rushed to the stable, mounted his horse, and was never seen or heard of again.

There are several very characteristic stories of French literature in these pages. The following anecdote of Dumas is perhaps the most amusing, and certainly the least spiteful:—

Dumas, who is the most generous and kind-hearted man in the world, had been away from his house in Paris on one of his many trips to foreign lands; and, with his usual munificence, had allowed his friends the run of his house and cellar during his absence. On his return home he gave a great breakfast to celebrate the event. His numerous guests, towards the end of the repast, expressed a wish to drink his health in champagne, and the servant went down stairs, as if to look for some, but soon returned with the dismal intelligence that it had all been drunk. Dumas slipped a few napoleons into the valet's hand, and ordered him to buy some at the neighbouring "restaurateur's"; but having some suspicion, he followed the servant, when, to his great surprise, he beheld the fellow emerging from his own cellar, from whence he had brought up his own champagne. Dumas, though the soul of good nature, was about to turn the rascal off on the spot, when the man fell at his kind master's feet, reminded him that he had a wife and family, and implored his mercy.

"Well, I will forgive you this time," said the great writer; "mais au moins une autre fois faites-moi crédit."

Captain Gronow's anecdotes of the humorists of the reign of George IV. are equally good, and some of his political stories are racy enough. He knew and hated Hunt, whom he narrowly missed a chance of shooting; but had a more favourable opinion of O'Connell. The latter having insulted the famous Lord Alvanley, and refused to fight him, Morgan, his son, consented to be shot at in his stead. Shots were exchanged without result:—

On their way home in a Hackney coach, Alvanley said, "What a clumsy fellow O'Connell must be, to miss such a fat fellow as I am; he ought to practise at a haystack to get his hand in." When the carriage drove up to Alvanley's door, he gave the coachman a sovereign. Jarvey was profuse in his thanks, and said, "It's a great deal for only having taken your lordship to Wimbledon." "No, my good man," said Alvanley, "I give it you, not for taking me, but for bringing me back." Everybody knows the story of Gunter, the pastrycook. He was mounted on a runaway horse with the king's hounds, and excused himself for riding against Alvanley, by saying, "Oh, my lord, I can't hold him, he's so hot!" "Ice him, Gunter—ice him!" was the consoling rejoinder.

Very good, too, in its way, is this anecdote of Twisleton Fiennes, the late Lord Saye and Sele:—

Twisleton Fiennes was a very eccentric man, and the greatest epicure of his day. His dinners were worthy of the days of Vitellius or Heliogabalus. Every country, every sea, was searched and ransacked to find some new delicacy for our British Sybarite. I remember, at one of his breakfasts, an omelette being served which was composed entirely of golden pheasants' eggs. He had a very strong constitution, and would drink absynthe and curaçoa in quantities which were perfectly awful to behold. These stimulants produced no effect upon his brain: but his health gradually gave way under the excesses of all kinds in which he indulged. He was a kind, liberal, and good-natured man, but a very odd fellow. I never shall forget the astonishment of a servant I had recommended to him. On entering his service, John made his appearance as Fiennes was going out to dinner, and asked his new master if he had any orders. He received the following answer,—"Place two bottles of sherry by my bed-side, and call me the day after to-morrow."

Since the date of even the more recent of Captain Gronow's anecdotes, a new generation has grown up, which knows the heroes and writers, the wits and the *vauriens* of his day only by report and by tradition. To this younger generation, even in his own class, Captain Gronow's book will afford much pleasure and amusement, as well as some knowledge, which from report and tradition only they might have failed to receive. But it will also be acceptable and delightful to multitudes who seldom hear anything of the social traditions floating in "the great world." That world forms but a very small proportion even of the educated classes of London; and

London. Heaven be praised—is only a small fraction of fugitive anecdotes for having the gallant collector of harmless taste of the middle-classes for the gossip of the upper; for the indulgence he has offered to the most innocent forms of that curiosity which, whether it be snobbish or merely loyal, is deeply rooted in the minds of Englishmen—to say nothing of Englishwomen—and more seriously, for having preserved to us a few interesting traits of character in men who deserve to be remembered, and are remembered, by millions who never heard of Count d'Orsay, and who have no knowledge of the Court of the Regency beyond a dim and vague idea of vice, extravagance, heartlessness, and folly.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

[Affairs at Vicksburg—The Campaign in Virginia: Signs of an Advance—Mr. Vallandigham—Lord Campbell's Speech—The Virginia Elections—Disastrous Fire at Richmond—The Weather.]

RICHMOND, May 30.

FOR more than a fortnight we have been looking with intense interest and solicitude to the operations in the neighbourhood of Vicksburg. The advance of the enemy was made down the west bank of the Mississippi from Milliken's Bend to a point opposite Grand Gulf, which position having been carried by their fleet, the transports which had succeeded in passing the Vicksburg batteries were made available as ferry-boats, and the whole army of Grant, probably 50,000 strong, was brought across the river. Pushing forward in the direction of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, Grant encountered near Raymond a small Confederate force, which he compelled, after a hard fight, to fall back before him, and soon afterwards entered Jackson, General Johnston evacuating the town on his approach. Here the Yankees committed their usual atrocities, pillaging shops and private dwellings, and desecrating the temples of God. On the morning of the 15th inst., Grant attacked Pemberton near Edward's depot, on the line of the railroad from Jackson to Vicksburg, and by force of superior numbers compelled him to retire behind the Big Black River. Full details of this day's fighting have not yet been received in this city, but it is conceded that our loss was heavy, and that twenty or more pieces of artillery were spiked and abandoned by our troops. Pemberton withdrew the next day into Vicksburg, which was then invested by Grant, since which time a series of obstinate engagements have been fought, the advantage remaining with us. On Saturday the 23rd, the enemy made six successive attacks on our works, and were repulsed each time with immense loss. So great was the slaughter that the effluvia arising from the decomposition of the dead bodies rendered it necessary to burn tar in the streets of Vicksburg as a disinfectant. Notwithstanding these facts, the fall of Vicksburg was announced in large capitals in the New York papers. "Victory! Victory! Victory!" was the cry throughout the United States; and the veracious editors, who shouted over the imaginary triumph, were kind enough to give the number of cannon (60), and prisoners (9,200), that were taken by the invincible army of Grant. The account of the capture of Vicksburg was made with so much of certainty and circumstance, that, in the absence of any official information from General Johnson to the War Department, many of our citizens were inclined to credit it; but all who remembered the easy assurance with which the Yankees asserted that Admiral Dupont was in Charleston, and, more recently, the delightful *aplomb* with which they declared General Keyes to be in possession of Richmond, withheld their belief, and were at last cheered by a telegram from brave "Old Joe" announcing, on the 27th, that hard fighting had been going on at Vicksburg for nine days, with uninterrupted success on the Confederate side, and that our troops were full of confidence and in the highest spirits. To-day we have learned by telegram to the Associated Press that Grant has withdrawn from the investment of the town, and is entrenching himself on the Big Black River.

Such is an outline of what has been done before Vicksburg up to the present writing. It will be seen that thus far, the enemy has been completely foiled in his attack, and that the key of the Mississippi still remains in our hands. That it will be wrested from us I do not believe. This is possible, certainly, but it is far more likely that the enemy will be forced to fly across the river, to avoid being caught by Joe Johnstone. After all, if Vicksburg should fall, damaging as the blow would be to the Confederate cause, in severing the new republic into two portions, and separating us from the rich districts of Texas, it would not secure for the Yankees what they have been fighting for in that region—the commercial possession, free from disturbance, of the Mississippi. Partisan and guerilla warfare carried on at various points of eight hundred or a thousand



miles of river navigation, would always imperil transportation along its waters, and every steamer filled with merchandise,—nay, every flat-boat, for perfect security, would have to float down under convoy of a fleet of iron-clads. But, granting that the occupation of Vicksburg would enable the enemy to make the Mississippi as safe a highway as it ever was in time of peace, with only snags and sand-bars to endanger the craft upon its bosom, the cause does not perish through such a disaster. The Confederate States contain within the circumscribed limits to which the loss of the Mississippi would reduce them, all the materials for an indefinite prolongation of the war. As Mr. Davis has so well said, the Confederate Government might be maintained for years in the mountainous districts of the South, whose rich valleys would afford sustenance for the brave men, whom the enemy would never attack without damage in the impregnable fastnesses of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany. You remember what Washington said of West Augusta, in Virginia, when the cause of the American colonies seemed most hopeless. The freemen of West Augusta in his day were the ancestors of Jackson's men, the builders of the Stone Wall Brigade of our own—and whatever advantages the Yankees may gain, we will never despair of the State, nerved to the last extremity by

— the indomitable will  
And courage never to submit or yield.

But little change has occurred in the disposition of the two armies upon the Rappahannock since the "inglorious fight" of "Fighting Joe Hooker" to the northern bank of the stream, after the battle of Chancellorsville. The month of June will hardly pass by without another shock of arms in that quarter, for which, I need scarcely say, our troops are prepared—nay, eager. The rank of Lieut.-General has been conferred on Major-Generals A. P. Hill and Ewell, and the main body of General Lee's army has been divided into three *corps d'armée*, under the respective commands of Hill, Ewell, and Longstreet. The spirit of such a man as Ewell is like the blast of that wild "on Fontarabian echoes borne," and will act upon the veterans of Jackson almost like a visitation of the dead warrior to his former comrades, from the realm of spirits. The brave old soldier is minus a leg, and walks with great difficulty upon crutches, but in the saddle he is all that he was before the enemy struck him down, and he will make them pay dearly for that leg before the summer campaign is over. The North has lost all confidence in the army of Hooker. So little is it regarded as offering any obstacle to the movements of General Lee, that Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, has come to Washington in great alarm, to implore Lincoln to provide other means for the protection of his State. Whether the invasion of Pennsylvania has been determined upon we cannot know with certainty, but the cavalry arm, under General Stuart, has been greatly strengthened, and every man, horse, and mule in Lee's army has been newly shod, within the last few days, which latter fact, unimportant as it might seem in other military organizations, is taken here to indicate the expectation of an immediate march.

The arrest, trial, and condemnation of Vallandigham, and his expulsion from the United States into our lines, have given rise to much discussion in the Confederate journals. It is not supposed for a moment that the arbitrary conduct of Burnside, endorsed as it has been by the Government at Washington, will arouse any determined spirit of armed opposition in the North. There have been popular meetings in New York, and Mr. Brooks and others have made speeches of violent denunciation of the Lincoln tyranny. Governor Seymour has also written a strong letter, but there the matter will end. The masses of the Northern people have been effectually enslaved. If Mr. Brooks's head should be taken from his shoulders by the United States' District Marshal, and stuck upon a pole in Union Square—if Governor Seymour himself should be arrested at midnight in his magisterial bed, and spirited away, no one should know whither, the people would have no resolution to resist. The only regret Seward indulges concerning the Vallandigham business is, that he did not make way with Seymour in the same manner before that obnoxious person was placed in executive authority at Albany; for it is manifest that the Ohio statesman underwent martyrdom, only that he should not be made Governor of Ohio. The people of that State seemed anxiously disposed to vote for him in opposition to the Lincoln candidate, and mischief might ensue from his election. Thus will it be with all aspiring gentlemen who shall seek to be chosen Governors of the Northern States in contravention of the will of the Federal chief magistrate. What to do with Vallandigham is the question which now remains for us to consider. He avows himself an enemy. He frankly declares that he would wage war upon us to the bitter end, *under the forms of the Constitution*. He is undoubtedly entitled to no hospitality at

our hands. Moreover, we cannot admit the right of Lincoln to make a penal colony of the Confederate States. Vallandigham is a gentleman, and would probably conduct himself with propriety while he remained within our lines, but if Lincoln can compel us to receive his political prisoners, he can compel us to receive his gaol-birds, his robbers and murderers as well. For the present, Vallandigham remains in Tennessee, but he expresses the purpose of coming to Virginia, where he modestly hopes to remain in seclusion and quiet till the war is over. The attitude of a martyr is always interesting, and the philosophic composure of Bolingbroke is becoming to a persecuted statesman; but it is doubtful, at least, whether this Constitutional war-maker will be permitted to write here his "Reflections on Exile," and it is certain that, if this permission is extended to him, he will not be disturbed by any excessive demonstrations of hospitality.

The speech of Lord Campbell given in *The Index* for March 29 has been widely copied here, and is considered far the ablest review of the question of secession and coercion which has yet been made by a foreigner. It is difficult to see how the English people, who are at heart lovers of truth and fair play, can resist the arguments of his Lordship. That the so-called neutrality of Great Britain has been no neutrality at all, but a state of *far niente* the most advantageous to the Yankees and the most damaging to us, is clear in Lord Campbell's demonstration. Equally clear is it that the Confederate States have been long-suffering towards England in allowing her consular agents to reside under a Government which she does not recognise, for the protection of British interests. We might long ago have insisted that her Majesty's representatives, holding their *exequaturs* from the Government of the United States, should leave the Confederacy, and in this case the property and persons of her Majesty's subjects here would have been open to impressment and conscription. But we have magnanimously accorded to England the fullest security for all her interests, personal and proprietary, within the limits of the country, all the while that Earl Russell, with cold-blooded indifference, was speculating on the probable waste of blood and treasure by the prolongation of the war for another year; and that meek and mild disciple, Mr. John Bright, advocate of universal peace, lover of the human race in general, was crying out for the extermination of eight millions of men and women of the same complexion and speaking the same language with himself. Were it not for humanity's sake, I could wish that there might never be interference of any kind, by acknowledgment of independence or in any other manner in this quarrel with the low, brutal, savage, cowardly race that holds sway at the present moment in the United States;—for sooner or later we shall succeed in our unaided struggle for independence, and when we enter the family of nations it were a sweeter, prouder privilege to come in as of right, upon our own merits, than under the patronage and by the favour of the mightiest nation of them all. But when I think of the wide-spread desolations of this war, the pillage and wanton destruction of private dwellings, of seminaries of learning, of churches, and charitable institutions; when I look at the mournful per-centage of maimed and mutilated men in our streets, and think of the thousands who, now whole and sound, are yet to wear empty sleeves or hobble on crutches through life; when I consider what melancholy sacrifices of noble spirits we must endure in two years more of such terrible conflict; more than that, when I think of civilization itself imperilled in eighteen or twenty States of what was once my country, I long for the armed intervention of the great Powers of Europe to put an end to the hopeless struggle and restore to us the blessings of peace. There is every reason to believe that Lincoln designs continuing the war "for the restoration of the Union," as long as men and money can be obtained for carrying it on. An intelligent gentleman of Loudoun county, Virginia, who was held for some time as a political prisoner in Washington city, and has but recently been permitted to return home, was sent for by Lincoln, just before his exchange, and asked how long the people of Virginia thought the war would last. "As long as you are at the head of the United States Government," was the reply. "Then they are likely to have a good time of it," said old Abe, "for the end of my term of office is very uncertain." Nothing is more probable than that Lincoln intends postponing indefinitely the presidential election of 1864. He will declare the perpetuity of the Union paramount to every other consideration, proclaim himself President *en permanence*, and threaten to put down all opposition with the bayonets of Rosecranz and Burnside. But, in such an event, there would be no opposition. The people that can tamely submit to the expulsion of Vallandigham would submit to anything. Freedom of speech is quite as sacred a right as the right of suffrage.

The Virginia elections took place, throughout all portions of the State not in possession of the enemy, yesterday. As yet the returns are insufficient to enable us to speak with anything like certainty of the result. William Smith, of Fauquier, an ex-Governor, and colonel of one of the Virginia regiments in the field during the first year of the war, and until a very late date, member of the Confederate House of Representatives, is probably elected as our next Governor. The Honourable William C. Rivers has been chosen to the House from the Albemarle district. Charles F. Collier has been re-elected in the Petersburg district. James Lyons, the recent member for the Richmond district, has been beaten by W. C. Wickham, a cavalry colonel. Generally speaking, military men have been preferred to civilians in these elections. *Toga cedit armis*. Among the defeated Congressional aspirants two may claim some sympathy—John Letcher, the present Governor of the State, and Alexander R. Boteler, of Jefferson county, the friend of Stonewall Jackson, who worked in Congress for the interests of Jackson's *corps d'armée* with indefatigable energy.

Many standards and other trophies of the battles of the Wilderness and Chancellorsville have been brought to this city. One of them, which hangs from the upper gallery of the State Library, is worthy of notice as indicating the gaudiness of the Yankee character. It is a beautiful copy of the Stars and Stripes, of heavy English silk, and bears the name of the *Irish Rifles*, a company belonging to the 37th Regiment of New York Volunteers. A year ago, in one of the battles before Richmond, this regiment lost its regimental colours, which were sent to the State Library, where they have ever since been displayed, and where they have attracted great attention. The device was the coat of arms of the State of New York, with its motto of *Excelsior*; the mountings were of silver, and across the flag was the inscription, "Presented by the City of New York." Now it will hardly be credited, and yet the fact is so, that the *Irish Rifles* had the audacity to inscribe upon their company's colours the name of that very battle claiming it as a victory, in which their regiment lost its regimental standard! The two flags ornament the same room, and all who enter it may see them in patriotic juxtaposition.

A disastrous fire broke out in this city on the morning of the 15th inst., which destroyed the Crenshaw woollen mill and a large portion of the machine shops of the Tredegar Iron Works,—two most valuable and important manufacturing establishments, in which much of the cloth for the clothing of the Virginia troops was made, and the greater part of the guns were cast which drove off the iron-clad fleet from Charleston. The machinery of the woollen mill cannot be readily replaced, but workmen are already engaged in rebuilding the Tredegar Works, and it is thought that in two or three months it will be in full working order again.

A long drought seems to have set in. For weeks we have been without rain, and the crops in Virginia are seriously threatened for want of moisture; but in other States of the Confederacy the quantity of grain and forage produced will, probably, largely exceed the supply of any former year.

#### CAMPAIGN ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

[State of affairs at Port Hudson—Federal defeats—They prepare for a final assault—Their force of 20,000 dwindles down to 12,000 through losses—The Confederate garrisons are invincible and defy all assaults—Advance of Magruder on the enemy's rear with a heavy, well-disciplined force—Great destruction of steamboats and other Federal property by the Confederates—Magruder but a few miles from New Orleans—Northern rule and the "freedom" of it—Long list of prominent citizens who fled from the Crescent City to Mobile—Interesting general items.]

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, JUNE 21.

SIR,—You have already received an account of the unsuccessful attempt of Banks to carry the works at Port Hudson last Sunday. Tuesday following an order, which has not yet been published, was read to every company in the army corps in front of Port Hudson. It congratulates the soldiers upon their steady advance, thinks that but one more assault will be necessary to carry the position of the enemy, calls for a column of one thousand volunteers to make the attempt, and promises promotion to the officers, and honourable mention and a medal to all who shall volunteer in the forlorn hope.

It is understood that the column has been raised. Grierson, late Colonel, and now Brigadier-General, flushed with the success of his recent raid through Lower Mississippi, and anxious to air his new laurels, has volunteered to lead the assault—his men dismounted, and acting as infantry, are also "in," the support will be Weitzel and Grover's divisions. The attack will be made on the enemy's right (the point in the works



already the scene of two unsuccessful attempts), and the assault is to be made to-day.

It is scarcely probable that this morning's steamer will carry the news of to-day's Port Hudson operations. Let me give you the situation of affairs in the State. I wrote you that Magruder had left Texas with his troops. He has been joined by the small forces under Generals Dick Taylor, Mouton, and Sibley, and the aggregate force is supposed to be about 10,000 men. They are everywhere in the Attakapas country, so lately "added to the Federal lines"—in the rear of Plaquemine, Bayou Goula, and Donaldsonville on the Mississippi—and yesterday, three thousand of them were concentrated at Bute station, on the *Bayou des Allemandes*, not twenty-five miles from this city. At Plaquemine they have burned, not two boats, as first reported, but four—the *Sequin*, *Anglo-American*, *Sykes*, and *Southern Merchant*. This was Thursday morning. The *Anglo-American* was going up the river, and saw the *Sykes* on fire at the mouth of Plaquemine Bayou. She went to her relief, was boarded by twenty or more men, her officers were taken prisoners, and she, too, was burned subsequently. The *Southern Merchant* and *Sequin* were destroyed on the same day and at the same place. The boat *Anyone* was up the bayou collecting cotton, was not discovered, and came down yesterday with the men belonging to the destroyed boats, who were taken prisoners and afterwards paroled. The other boats engaged in cotton-collecting were not so fortunate. There is a generally received proverb that God helps those who help themselves—it hardly applies to those who "help themselves" to cotton.

The occupation at Bute station renders the position of the 176th New York and 23rd Connecticut regiments, with the 21st Indiana battery and half a regiment of sick soldiers at Brashear city, anything but pleasant. They may escape the impending "gobble." Last evening the 26th Massachusetts was sent from this city by special train to their reinforcement and relief. Perhaps they will pass Bute station—we shall know to-day.

When it was known at Port Hudson that the boats were burned at Plaquemine, gunboat No. 2 was sent down, and it vigorously shelled the woods for some time, doing, no doubt, some damage to the trees;—but the boat-burners were by that time at Bute station.

The boldness of the recent movements of the Confederates in such close proximity to the Federal lines is not especially encouraging to the Federal hopes. While a certain class of men are engaged in founding public libraries in this city for private benefit, and are clamorous for a new constitution, new legislature, and new civil government generally, a glance at the situation shows that the Federal lines by no means cover the surface of territory that they did one month ago. The Confederates actually have possession to-day of all the country west of the Mississippi, and north of the Opelousas railroad—including the lately "subdued" Teche, the Attakapas, the line of Red River for some distance down, the Grand River to the rear of Plaquemine, the Grosse Tête, the important position at Brashear so lately held by the Federals, but which now holds fast two Federal regiments and a battery, and Fort Buchanan and the line of defences at *Bayou Beuf*. To those who expect to restore Louisiana to the Union, the immediate prospect is by no means cheering.

Banks has strengthened his lines by mounting, since last Sunday's assault, twelve more siege guns at the point below nearest to Springfield Landing.

His actual force, fit for duty, in front of Port Hudson is said to be 12,000 men, against Frank Gardner's 5,500 Confederates inside the works. There is some disaffection among both officers and men in Banks's army. It is difficult to convince them (so unreasonable are they) that a position which nearly 20,000 men in two desperate assaults have failed to carry, must yield now to an attacking column of 1,000 men. The Confederates in Port Hudson, with unaccountable obstinacy, refuse to be starved out. They decline to come out. There is no accounting for this, but they seem to prefer the security of their defences to the charms and chances of an open field.

The assault is set down for to-day. If it ends in another repulse, Banks has collected at Springfield Landing shot, shell, and powder enough to keep up a warm fire upon Port Hudson from to-morrow till next Christmas morning—provided it is for his interest to remain in that position so long. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the Confederates are concentrating in Louisiana for some purpose, and we may hear of more boat-burning, cotton-burning, and similar "outrages by guerillas"—while the fact that on the other side of the Mississippi, in Banks's rear, forces are concentrating at Clinton, indicates that Baton Rouge, even, may not be a safe "base" for many weeks. The wounded in that place are coming here as rapidly as boats can bring them, and it is not now a favourable position for accumulating military supplies.

This is the condition of affairs to-day—the Confederates strengthening; the Federals hopeful—a grand and final assault to be made on Port Hudson. You shall have the result by the next steamer.

The Mobile papers publish the following additional arrivals of refugees from New Orleans since June 2:—

A. Archinard, Mrs. W. Austin and child, Madame Felice Alvado, Sarah A. Andress, Frank Andress, R. De Armas, E. Angout, A. H. Bernard, A. D. Bernudez, J. F. Barthélemy, John Bruquien, A. P. E. Combel, Charles Chapotin and wife, J. Charbonnet, L. E. Clairain, J. E. Conlon, Joseph Carew, H. Chapotin, Justin Casbergue and wife, Joseph Casbergue, F. L. Clayton, James Coulson and family, F. S. Coiron and wife, H. Canon, John Coakley, P. Cannon, A. P. Cleveland and family, Armand Castanede, Henry Chaillet, P. E. Crozat, S. E. Crozat, Edward Drouet, Mrs. Drouet, B. H. Dykers, M. Dodart, J. A. Duchaufout, Alfred Damarin, Thomas M. Dykers, wife and three daughters, R. De Armas, Julien Dufard, A. D. Doricourt, Antoine Doricourt, J. Doricourt, S. E. Du Buisson and wife, Miss M. A. Dudley, Kate Donalin, O. De Armas and family, A. De Armas and family, L. C. Desforges, J. A. Fagot, P. A. Fortier, R. Fisher, Fr. A. Foygnet, J. Fecce, O. Foco, C. L. Flinn and wife, V. D. Flinn, S. Frederick, Mrs. E. Guilloite and family, A. D. Guesnon, John G. Guerin, Edgar Guesnon, S. Garidee, Joseph Garidee, A. Grandpre, F. Guilloite, J. E. Guilloite, F. N. Gonzales and Son, J. Y. Guerin, Josephine Guerin, Louise Guerin, Adele Guerin, Elizabeth Guerin, Jules Guerin, Mrs. Germain and two children, Charles F. Gronberg, L. Golding, C. Harris, E. D. Hyde, Mrs. A. M. Hyde, Miss Laura Hyde, P. E. Hatree and family, S. W. Hammond, Charles Hurley, Thomas Hepp, Octave Hopkins, C. W. Hotchkiss and wife, V. Hernandez, A. F. Hattler, Miss Jane Hiezey, Victor Itattier, Miss E. Hyde, Mrs. C. W. Jorr, Miss E. E. Jorr, Miss M. P. Jorr, P. H. Jorr, P. H. Jorr, junior, L. L. Jacobs, Mrs. Jackson and two children, Mrs. Jaykes and two children, Otto Kinsejo, A. P. Kohler, August Leefe, O. Lequier, John S. Ludlow, C. A. Le Page, Mrs. Lenhardt and child, A. G. Lobdell, P. Lulia, A. Laurent, Mrs. John S. Ludlow and four children, James H. Low, wife, and six children, Mrs. Ann Moore, John S. Mioton, E. Mazent and wife, R. Mayer, Mrs. McKeon, W. C. Micou and family, John Munch, Mrs. Massett and three children, H. Marks, Miss Grace Marks, Miss Minna Marks, J. Marks, Mrs. McGregor and child, Madame Victoria Nunez, Elijah Price, Mrs. A. E. Palmer, H. C. Petty, G. Peitz, F. Poursine, Clara Poursine, Amenaide Poursine, Amelia Poursine, Melanie Poursine, Henry Poursine, Puicherle Poursine, Mrs. Mary A. Powell, George W. Robinson, Octave Rousseau, J. A. A. Rousseau, A. Roquet, L. Roquet, William Reige, M. Rauch, Mrs. H. W. Ray and three children, John P. Rondeau, Jules Sougeron, William H. Steele, P. Salanne, G. A. Sykes, H. Samuels, F. St. Arnaud and family, Mrs. E. Salomon and son, P. J. Spear, Eugene Staes, William Sevey, Joseph Stinson, H. Starr, A. W. Sewell, John C. Sinnott, James Sharron, L. Soraparu, H. H. Smith, Eugene H. Shinn, Troisville E. Sykes, Pierre P. Solet, Frederick Stringer, Mrs. M. P. Stringer, A. J. Steele and wife, Mrs. J. Toledano, Thomas Y. P. Tureman, Edward Treondle, Richard Trott, Charles Tower, Mrs. L. L. Tower and servant, C. Ussler and wife, T. G. Uulhorn and two sisters, J. D. Van Horn, wife and three children, Justus Vairin, Miss Cecilia Violo, Dominique Vautier, Thomas H. J. Walker, D. S. Wasson, Albert Weaver, Simon Wyma and wife.

#### THE FOREIGN ENLISTMENT ACT.

The following copy of a memorial from certain Shipowners of Liverpool to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggesting an alteration in the Foreign Enlistment Act, was published on Saturday:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl Russell, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

The memorial of the undersigned Shipowners of Liverpool sheweth,—

That your memorialists, who are deeply interested in British shipping, view with dismay the probable future consequences of a state of affairs which permits a foreign belligerent to construct in and send to sea from British ports vessels of war, in contravention of the provisions of the existing law.

That the immediate effect of placing at the disposal of that foreign belligerent a very small number of steam cruisers has been to paralyse the mercantile marine of a powerful maritime and naval nation, inflicting within a few months losses, direct and indirect, on its shipowning and mercantile interests which years of peace may prove inadequate to retrieve.

That your memorialists cannot shut their eyes to the probability that in any future war between England and a foreign Power, however insignificant in naval strength, the example now set by subjects of her Majesty, while England is neutral, may be followed by citizens of other countries, neutral when England is belligerent; and that the attitude of helplessness in which her Majesty's Government have declared their inability to detect and punish breaches of the law notoriously committed by certain of her Majesty's subjects may hereafter be successfully imitated by the Governments of those other countries in answer to English remonstrances.

That the experience of late events has proved to the conviction of your memorialists that the possession by a belligerent of swift steam cruisers, under no necessity, actual or conventional, to visit the possibly blockaded home ports of that belligerent, but able to obtain all requisite supplies from neutrals, will become a weapon of offence against which no preponderance of naval strength can effectually guard, and the severity of which will be felt in the ratio of the shipping and mercantile wealth of the nation against whose mercantile marine the efforts of those steam cruisers may be directed.

That the effect of future war with any Power thus enabled to purchase, prepare, and refit vessels of war in neutral ports will inevitably be to transfer to neutral flags that portion of the sea-carrying trade of the world which is now enjoyed by your memorialists and by other British shipowners.

That over and above the chances of pecuniary loss to themselves, your memorialists share in the regret with which a law regarding community must naturally look on successful attempts to evade the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed for a single and simple purpose, but which has been found not to give the Executive all the powers needed for its effective execution.

That your memorialists would accordingly respectfully urge upon your Lordship the expediency of proposing to Parliament to sanction the introduction of such amendments into the Foreign Enlistment Act as may have the effect of giving

greater power to the Executive to prevent the construction in British ports of ships destined for the use of belligerents.

And your memorialists would further suggest to your Lordship the importance of endeavouring to secure the assent of the Governments of the United States of America and of other foreign countries to the adoption of similar regulations in those countries also.

All which your memorialists respectfully submit.

Lampont and Holt.	Rathbone, Brothers, and Co.
J. Baines and Co.	J. Brown and Co.
R. Nicholson and Son.	J. Poole and Co.
W. B. Boadle.	W. Jacob and Co.
J. Prowse and Co.	W. Moore and Co.
Currie, Newton, and Co.	Imrie and Tomlinson.
Nelson, Alexander, and Co.	T. Chilton.
Kendall Brown.	Jones, Palmer, and Co.
G. S. H. Fletcher and Co.	Farnworth and Jardine.
J. Aikin.	T. and J. Harrison.
Finlay, Campbell, and Co.	L. H. Mackintyre.
Cropper, Ferguson, and Co.	Potter Brothers.
J. Campbell.	C. G. Cowie and Co.
S. R. Graves.	W. J. Sealy.
Rankin, Gilmour, and Co.	R. Girvin and Co.
C. T. Bowring and Co.	

Liverpool, June 9, 1863.

Mr. Hammond replies as follows:—

Foreign-office, July 6, 1863.

Gentlemen,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial dated the 9th of June, signed by you and others of the merchants at Liverpool, in which you urge upon his lordship the expediency of proposing to Parliament such amendments to the Foreign Enlistment Act as shall enable the Government to prevent the construction in British ports of ships destined for the use of belligerents.

I am to state to you in reply that, in Lord Russell's opinion the Foreign Enlistment Act is effectual for all reasonable purposes, and to the full extent to which international law or comity can require, provided proof can be obtained of any act done with the intent to violate it.

Even if the provisions of the Act were extended, it would still be necessary that such proof should be obtained, because no law could or should be passed to punish upon suspicion instead of upon proof.

I am, &c.,

E. HAMMOND.

#### AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING,

The supply of money, both in the general discount market and the Stock Exchange, has become more abundant, though the rates on the average are not sensibly lower. The principal bankers and brokers in Lombard-street have, however, been working their resources one-eighth to a quarter per cent. below the official minimum, and consequently they have secured the chief of the business. At the Bank the last two days the applications have been exceedingly moderate, but, although the directors at 4 per cent. will not be able to compete with the large financial institutions, they are scarcely in a situation at present to go to 3½ per cent. The dividends have now, in a great degree, been distributed, and a considerable portion been returned in the shape of the repayment of advances, so that no large influx into the open market is expected, save the remittances coming forward from Australia and America. The brilliant weather for the harvest, the hope that political affairs in Poland may assume a more tranquil aspect, and the impression that the recent speculative mania has almost become exhausted, will give increased confidence to the public, and if no fresh causes for uneasiness shall arise, things in general will progress quietly, at least until the end of the autumn. In the winter months a little more stringency may be looked for, but this change will chiefly depend upon the accumulation of the calls of the various companies, and the pressure they are destined to exercise. The rate this afternoon for first-class paper was 3¼ to 4 per cent.; some of the dealers made a wider price, viz., 3¼ to 4, and the Joint Stock Banks, for their advances, charged 3¼. The terms for short loans on Government securities have varied from 1½ to 2½ per cent.; the heaviest quotation late this evening, owing to an exceptional inquiry, was 2 to 2½ per cent. The next two weekly Bank statements will show whether there is a prospect of a reduction taking place in the official rate of discount.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank of England this week has been unusually small, only £103,000, but on the other hand, there have not been any withdrawals. The arrivals of specie have likewise been limited, comprising only £295,454, of which £240,180 was brought by the West India packet, the remainder being chiefly from America. In addition to the gold previously announced on its way from Australia, £510,000, it is stated, has since been shipped from Melbourne. The Mexican dollars brought a fortnight ago by the Shannon have been disposed of at 62½ p. oz., being the same price as the previous parcel was sold at. Bar silver is a fraction higher, a considerable purchase having been made at 61½ p. oz., previous sales having realised 61 p. oz.

##### TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 30,00,000 rupees in bills on India took place to-day, at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were:—to Calcutta, 16,50,000 rupees; to Bombay, 12,00,000 rupees, and to Madras, 1,50,000 rupees. The declared minimum price was as before, i.e., 11½ p. rupee on Calcutta, and 1s. 11½ d. on Bombay and Madras. The applications within the limits amounted to 91 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta, at 1s. 11½ d. received about 26 per cent.; on Bombay at 1s. 11½ d. about 24 per cent., and all above these prices in full. On Madras all in full.

##### THE WELLINGTON (NEW ZEALAND) LOAN.

The tenders for the Wellington loan for £25,000, 8 per cent. debentures, and having 14 years to run, were opened at the Union Bank of Australia on Friday last. The total amount tendered for was £90,700. The minimum price fixed was £110. Above this price the tenders were £30,500; those ranging between £115 1s. and £110 7s. 6d. were accepted in full, and £1,900 allotted to the tender of £110 5s.

##### CONVERSION OF INDIA DEBENTURES.

The Secretary of State for India has just issued a notice of his intention to raise a sum not exceeding £8,000,000 sterling upon the security of India Four per cent. stock, for the purpose of redeeming £4,824,500 India Four per cent. debentures



falling due on the 8th October next, and £3,172,500 India Four per cent. debentures falling due on the 8th April next; the stock to be created on the 8th October next, and is to bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly at the Bank of England, but is not to be redeemable until October, 1888, but may be redeemed at and after that time upon one year's notice being given. In order to facilitate the arrangement for the creation of the stock, India Four per cent. stock, at par, will be granted in exchange for corresponding amounts of India Four per cent. debentures. Holders of the four per cent. debentures, who do not signify their assent to accept stock in exchange for the same before the 3rd of August next, will receive payment for their debentures at maturity, upon presentation at the Bank of England, from which time all interest will cease.

#### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The market for English Securities, although it has not exhibited much animation as regards the amount of business transacted, is characterised by great firmness as respects prices, a considerable rise having taken place, through the more favourable aspect of political affairs on the continent, and the very satisfactory state of the weather for the crops. Consols left off this evening at 93½ to ½ for money, and 93½ to ¾ for the account. Exchequer Bills have gradually improved to par to 3s premium. There has been less fluctuation in the foreign stock market than for some time past, but on the whole, prices are in a satisfactory position. Turkish securities have been in fair request, and quotations have slightly improved. Mexican are also rather finer, closing at 37½ to ¾. Spanish have varied but little, the certificates being marked at 12½ to ¾, and the Passives 33½. Greek is flat, but without any positive decline in value, being 35½ to ¾. Egyptians are rather better, the first issue being at 103½ to 104½, and the second issue 103½.

#### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

Since our last issue the Confederate Loan has been largely dealt in. In anticipation of the Scotia's news an advance took place, purchases having been made at ½ premium. The Scotia's accounts not realizing the sanguine expectations of the Stock Exchange, the market became flat at ¼ discount, and remained dull until Wednesday, when there was good demand, buyers for large amounts, the closing price being ½ to ¾ premium. The stock appears to be strongly held—and large purchases cannot be effected except at an advance.

#### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

A rather improved business has been transacted in American Securities. Virginia 6 per cent. bonds were first dealt in at 44½, and have improved to 45½. Atlantic and Great Western (New York Section) are also better at 71½ to ¾ ex. div., but those of the Pennsylvania Section are not quite so good, having receded to 70½. Illinois Central 7 per cents. have advanced to 78½; do. \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 28½ dis.; do. all paid, 62. And New York Central \$100 shares, 73 for money, and 74 for the account.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Although business in the market for railway shares has not been particularly active, the absence of animation is to be attributed to the general dullness usual at this period, and not to any depressive influences, as prices in most instances exhibit a gradual improvement, and the market this evening closed with an upward tendency. Foreign shares have been even less active, but prices remain very steady. Colonial descriptions have been rather more looked after, and are better supported.

#### BANK MEETINGS.

At the half-yearly meeting of the London and Westminster Bank, held to-day, a dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, for the half-year, with a bonus of seven per cent. on the paid-up capital, was declared. The net profits of the bank for the past half-year amounted to £129,921. A meeting of

the Metropolitan and Provincial Bank was also held to-day, when it appeared from the report that for the first six months of the year, the profits, after paying interest on deposit and current accounts, amounted to £8,430; being £2,303 in excess of the realization at the corresponding period of last year, and making, with the balance brought forward from the previous half-year, a total of £9,281 for distribution; out of which a dividend of five per cent. was declared. There has likewise been a meeting of the proprietors of the Standard Bank of British South Africa, when a resolution was passed to increase the capital from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000. It was stated that the bank was progressing favourably, that arrangements have been made for the transfer of the business of the Commercial and Colesburg Banks; and that negotiations are pending for the purchase of numerous other local establishments. At a meeting of the Agra and United Service Bank it was announced that the committee of bankers have refused to admit the bank to the clearing-house; and although application had been made for the cause of such refusal, no answer had been returned.

#### THE WESTERN BANK OF LONDON.

The liquidation of the affairs of this bank is, it appears, proceeding in a very satisfactory manner. Mr. Maynard, the accountant engaged in the case, has just issued a statement of accounts, which shows that at the commencement of the winding up, the amount of assets standing on the books was £448,894, of which £431,921 has been realised, leaving as a loss on the realization, only £12,936, or a fraction under 3 per cent.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

During the past week, the number of new Joint Stock undertakings announced has been fewer than for some time past, and the total amount sought to be raised is comparatively trifling, being only £910,000. One only, the Oil Seed Crushing Company, asks for half a million sterling, but the others vary from £30,000 to £100,000, and comprise the Hayling Railway Company, the Metropolitan Zinc Rolling Company, the New Mansfield Copper and Silver Mining Company, the St. Thomas Floating Dock Company, the New Concord Silver, Lead, and Copper Company, and the East Great Work Tin Mining Company.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In the American produce markets the long-prevailing suspense has, this week, been rendered more intense by the Scotia's news, in reference to the progress of the campaign in Maryland and Virginia. The impression is, that the next mail may bring the result of an engagement which, should the advantage be with the South, will do more than anything that has yet occurred to bring the war to an end. The effect has been to cause increased hesitation in entering upon transactions, except in the immediate produce of the invaded States, where production must have suffered to an extent which, at the best, can only be partially recovered. In cotton and cotton manufactures the dealings have been upon the smallest possible scale, at prices favouring the buyer. American wheat and flour have maintained their value, the demand at the moment being supplied chiefly by our foreign imports. Oilcake sells slowly, but is not notably lower. American oil of peppermint is still held for 16s., but buyers operate with increased reserve. In tobacco extremely little is doing; meantime holders show no disposition to force sales until something more is known as to the fate of the crops in certain districts. Petroleum, with some rather extensive operations, has further advanced to 2s. 4d. per gallon for refined, and £20 per ton for crude, in consequence of the diminution in supply which is likely to arise from the events now passing in Pennsylvania. The small stock of American spirits of turpentine is held for 100s. per cwt., and is purchased in limited quantities exclusively for export, the home demand being supplied by French, which offers at 85s. per cwt. Scotch pig iron

has advanced perceptibly; on a rumour that Baltimore had been taken the price went up to 55s to 55s. 3d., receded to 54s. 9d. on the publication of the last mails, but is now again at its highest point, the market being influenced by the expectation of news favourable to peace by the packet now due. Camphor has become extremely uncertain in value. Buyers have shown rather more disposition to come upon the market, but have been met by a disinclination on the part of holders to sell upon the reduced terms lately established, and offers at £5 17s. 6d. to £6 have been refused. Arrivals are, however, expected, which may at any moment produce a reaction. In other drugs, as also in gums and dysaltries, no new feature has occurred. Our quarterly sales of indigo have opened at a decline of 2d to 8d. per lb., low qualities being the most depressed.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 15.

The controlling influence in our cotton market has again been the nature of the American news.

On Thursday, the publication of the *Times'* New York letter, wherein the writer spoke of a marked change in the feelings of the Northern people, and their apparent indifference as to the result of this invasion, produced a quiet tone in our market and increased the desire to realise, the sales reaching 5,000 bales. On Friday a like amount were sold without change.

The Scotia's news were to hand on Saturday, but these were not reassuring to cotton-holders. A great battle was impending between the Confederate and Federal armies in Pennsylvania, and the people of the Northern States, still imperfectly aroused to the nature of the crisis, were strangely apathetic. The desire to sell was accordingly increased, and 1s. 4d. was generally conceded.

On Monday the business reached 4,000, with a dull flagging market, and yesterday 3,000, at rather easier prices. To-day 4,000 bales have been sold, and the market closes very flat; further news is anxiously expected. We quote Middling Bowed, 20½; Fair Egyptian, 20½; Fair Dolarah, 18; and Fair Omrawuttee, 17½.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, July 14.

We have again had a very quiet market during the past week, produced to a great extent by a great and general anxiety to know the result of General Lee's incursion into Maryland and Pennsylvania. The eventualities which may shortly arise from this movement of the Confederate army, are of so serious a character, as to cause all parties to hold aloof from entering into any transactions, except of a retail description.

Telegraphic advices received on Monday from Calcutta and Bombay, reported an improving market at both places, but they failed to impart any amount of buoyancy to the kind of goods suitable to those places, the arrival of further news from America just now being of much greater moment to shippers than anything else.

#### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of July 9, are—

THE EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS: FEDERAL REFUGEE AT PORT HUDSON.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE EMPEROR AND MR. ROEBUCK.

THE NORTH ON ITS DEFENCE.

A CONCEIVABLE CALAMITY.

DRAMATIC TOPICS.

TWO WRITERS ON THE WAR.

AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN ON THE SOUTH.

REVIEWS FOR JULY.

EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

LIST OF REFUGEES FROM NEW ORLEANS.

**SHIRTS**—International Exhibition, Class 27 C, No. 4572. Prize Medal and honourable mentions 1861 and 1862. Shirts, Collars, Flannels, and every description of underclothing manufactured on the premises.

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Per oz.	Per oz.
24 carats fine is worth.....£1 4 11	18 carats.....£2 6 0
23 ditto.....£1 4 11	12 ditto.....£2 2 5½
22 ditto (British standard).....£1 3 10½	11 ditto.....£1 18 11
21 carats.....£1 3 10½	10 ditto.....£1 15 4½
20 ditto.....£1 3 10½	9 ditto.....£1 11 10
19 ditto.....£1 3 7 3	8 ditto.....£1 8 10
18 ditto.....£1 3 3 8½	7 ditto.....£1 4 9
17 ditto.....£1 3 0 2	6 ditto.....£1 1 24
16 ditto.....£1 2 16 7½	5 ditto.....£1 0 17 8
15 ditto.....£1 2 13 1	4 ditto.....£1 0 14 2
14 ditto.....£1 2 9 6½	3 ditto.....£1 0 7 1
	2 ditto.....£1 0 3 6½

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NOTICE.—This Establishment is closed at six o'clock in the evening, and on Saturdays at one o'clock.

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CHARLESTON,

SOUTH CAROLINA.

References to

M. C. MORDECAI, Esq.,

Charleston, South Carolina.

Messrs. COREN and HERTZ,

Savannah, Georgia.

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**WEBER BROTHERS,**

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 65.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 23, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

PENNSYLVANIA AND MISSISSIPPI.  
CONSISTENCY AT THE FOREIGN-OFFICE.  
THE PROSPECT.  
NORTHERN THREAT OF WAR WITH ENGLAND.  
VICTOR HUGO.  
NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.  
THE EDINBURGH AND QUARTERLY.  
CHARLES SUMNER.  
THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE THIRD ALABAMA AT  
CHANCELLORSVILLE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE news brought by the Canada was highly important; for it informed us that the North was rejoicing over the fall of Vicksburg, the retreat of General Lee, and the certain and speedy ending of the rebellion. Mr. Lincoln told a band of serenaders that the Confederates had turned tail and run; General Halleck claimed the glory of the triumph at Vicksburg; Mr. Seward spiced a maudlin speech with sensational blasphemy; gold dropped to 31½ prem.; and the Federal press announced that within a few months the arms of the Union would be hurled against England and France to drive the one from Canada, and the other from Mexico. The mail that came in late last night does not inform us that the excitement in the North has abated; but it gives us intelligence that would have checked a disposition to indulge in boastful prophecies in any people but the Yankees.

General Lee had fallen back, but he had not recrossed the Potomac. He has taken up a strong position at Emmetsburg, and from thence during ten days he was engaged in sending his wounded, trains, supplies, and a vast booty into Virginia. But at the latest dates—the 13th July—he had not parted with one effective soldier, and his army was so placed that Northern accounts imply, if they do not so state, that Meade could only attack at a disadvantage. General Lee has thus secured all his booty, and not lost a gun. Without desiring to detract from the Northern victory, seeing that we have only the Northern version of the affair, we may, at least, tell the Federals that triumphs such as they claim in Pennsylvania do not crush an enemy. In Europe, an invader who carries off an enormous booty unmolested, is thought to have rather the best of it, although he does not achieve all that was expected of him. It is also worthy of remark that we do not yet know how far General Lee has succeeded in the object of his enterprise. It is not from the South that we were told he intended to take Philadelphia or Washington.

Does General Halleck edit the *Baltimore American*? That journal says, "10,000 prisoners have been captured from Lee's army, in addition to numerous prisoners gathered up by the Federal cavalry." Who does not remember Generals Halleck and Pope's memorable pen and ink capture of 10,000 prisoners from Beauregard's army?

The town of Gettysburg lies in a valley almost entirely surrounded by hills, at which point numerous important roads converge. The Federal advance guard, under General Reynolds, passed through the town (July 1st) and had proceeded beyond the hills, when the Confederates were discovered advancing in line of battle. An action immediately ensued, resulting in

the repulse of Reynolds's divisions, which rapidly retreated through the town, and took up a second line of defence on the opposite hills. The whole of the Federal army, under General Meade, arrived towards evening, and every disposition was made to receive the Confederates should they advance on the following day. On Thursday, (July 2nd) it was confidently expected that the great conflict would be ushered in at dawn. Nothing was attempted, however, until late in the afternoon, when General Sickles was sent forward to reconnoitre the Confederate lines, which instantly brought on a fierce engagement. The Northern forces were driven forward through the valley, and up and over the hills; and this movement seemed to have decided the day, when fresh divisions were hurled against them in rapid succession, which compelled them to retire, and with loss, from a well-concentrated fire of numerous artillery. Northern accounts state that the Confederates retained possession of Gettysburg during the night, almost undisturbed, and that heavy reinforcements were constantly arriving to General Meade's succour.

On Friday (July 3rd) the Confederates opened the engagement at an early hour with artillery, and desperate attempts were successively made to turn the Federal right and left wings, which are said to have been repulsed. The centre was also attacked, but unsuccessfully, as was also a general assault by the whole line. At 5 p.m. the battle is said to have ended by the Confederates slowly retiring, unpursued, under cover of artillery. The morning following (Saturday 4th) General Meade telegraphed that General Lee's forces had retreated during the night, and were rapidly pushing forward towards the Potomac. The casualties in these three days' battles are placed by Northern authorities at 50,000—Confederates 30,000, Federals 20,000. The loss in officers on either side is said to have been great, but we cannot hear of more than two Confederate generals, viz., Barksdale and Garnett.

On the 7th July it was announced in Washington on the authority of an official despatch from Admiral Porter that Vicksburg surrendered on the 4th of July. It is curious that on the 10th there should still have been doubts about the correctness of the report. Certainly the detailed history of the surrender as published in the *World* is not calculated to inspire confidence. According to that journal General Pemberton may be a strict Quaker, but assuredly an eccentric soldier. This is the first time we ever heard of a commander surrendering, not that his circumstances were bad, but that he disliked further bloodshed! He is said to have written to Grant, "Although I feel confident of my ability to resist your arms indefinitely, in order to stop the further effusion of blood, I propose," &c. This remarkable narrative concludes by stating that the immediate cause of the surrender was the exhaustion of supplies and ammunition. We shall, in a few days, receive some reliable particulars of the affair. It may be interesting to recall a few important items in the history of this memorable siege:—May 12th, 1862, Commodore Farragut demands a surrender of the town, which is refused; June 11th, passes Vicksburg with his fleet under a terrific cannonade; June 23rd, the upper and lower fleets make a combined attack, which fails; June 24th, naval siege abandoned; December 28th, after a series of operations by land and water, General Sherman is defeated, and withdraws; January 22nd, 1863, General McClelland prepares for the siege; February 18th, General Grant arrives and bombards; March 21st, Admiral Farragut arrives with his fleet; April 29th, many gun-boats pass and re-pass; Admiral Porter arrives from New Orleans with his fleet, and joins the naval attack; April 30th, General Grant commences his march upon the place from the interior, and moves on Port Gibson; May 12th, engagement at Raymond; Pemberton retires; May 13th,

engagement at Mississippi Springs; May 14th, occupation of Jackson; May 18th, Grant evacuates Jackson, and invests Vicksburg; after a series of desperate assaults, in which he loses frightfully, General Grant determines to approach the place by parallels; and on July 4th, according to private intelligence, the garrison surrendered.

The position of Banks is considered somewhat critical. Port Hudson holds out; the Confederates have destroyed Banks's depot of Springford Landing; and steamers are fired upon from the banks of the river between New Orleans and that place. No wonder that New Orleans is not thought to be very secure from attack; and that an attempt should be made to raise troops to defend the city. There is internal, as well as external difficulty, for Banks has succeeded no better than Butler in inspiring union feeling. No one is allowed in the streets after 9 o'clock, all clubs are closed, and all public-houses must shut up at 9 o'clock. No doubt the alarm has been increased by the capture of General Neal Dow and staff, just outside the Federal lines, near New Orleans. It was reported in Richmond on the 6th that the Confederates had captured 7,000 Federals.

The Confederates under General Morgan have made an incursion into Indiana. They have taken Corydon, and are supposed to threaten New Albany and Jeffersonville, where there are large stores of supplies. Business was entirely suspended in Indianapolis, and Governor Morton called for 50,000 men to repel the invaders, who, according to the same account, number 8,000.

The iron-clad *Roanoke*, which the Federals boasted could go anywhere and do anything, is found to be unfitted for sea-going, and is retained for the defence of New York harbour. Meantime the Confederate cruisers are continuing to capture Yankee vessels, which they either burn or ransom.

General Bragg has made Bridgeport his headquarters, and it is said the Tennessee River will be the future line of defence. General Dix, who was, according to Northern reports, to capture Richmond, has returned to Fortress Monroe.

The object of the reported mission of Vice-President Stephens, accompanied by Mr. Ould, the Confederate Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, is still in doubt. If, indeed, this mission have the importance ascribed to it, we consider it probable that the Confederate Government, in its confident anticipation of Lee's victorious advance, wished to seize the opportunity of proffering terms of peace. The speculation of the New York press, that Mr. Stephens was authorized to propose a sort of re-union with a duality of Presidents—a dream of Mr. Calhoun's younger days—is manifestly absurd.

Despite the excitement of "glorious victories," the war fever cannot be revived in the North. On the 13th instant, there was serious rioting in New York in consequence of the enforcement of the conscription. Troops and artillery were ordered from Governor's Island to quell the disturbance.

It is rumoured that the question of peace has been discussed in the Federal Cabinet. The *New York Herald* says that "a Cabinet crisis has been caused by a proposition of Mr. Seward to issue a presidential proclamation offering an amnesty to the Southern people, withdrawing the Emancipation Proclamation, suspending the Confiscation Act, and offering protection to the personal property and rights of the Southern people, except the leaders." As the *Times* of to-day justly observed in view of the riot at New York, "if the North can only obtain recruits at the cannon's mouth, it is time indeed to discuss peace in the Cabinet." But vain as it is to



discuss any other peace than peace found on Southern independence, it is worth remarking, how obstinate in their blindness all classes of the North still continue. In striking down the leaders they imagine that they can "crush rebellion," ignoring the fact which all the events of this war have proved, that these leaders are only the representatives of a universal popular feeling, stronger than and superior to themselves.

A fleet of steamers has arrived at Nassau—the Ohio, Racoon, Kate, Antonica, Elizabeth, Ellen, and Beauregard, from Charleston; and the Banshee, Charleston, Lizzy, Flora, and Fanny, from Wilmington. Several of these had previously been reported sunk or captured in the Northern papers.

General Barksdale, who fell in the second day's fight at Gettysburg, was in command of a Mississippi brigade, composed of the 17th, 18th, 21st, and 13th regiments from that State. He was originally a planter, but being elected by large majorities, represented a congressional district of Mississippi in the United States' House of Representatives for many years, with satisfaction and applause to his constituents. When war ensued, he raised a company, was elected colonel of the 13th Mississippi Volunteers, and upon the sudden death of General Griffith at Savage Station, near Richmond, June 29, 1862, succeeded to his command. He was an impetuous soldier, brave to rashness, and it has frequently surprised many that his headlong valour had not even sooner resulted, as now, in his untimely and much regretted fall.

General Walker, whose death is recorded in connection with the recent storming and capture of Brashear City, Louisiana, by a small Confederate force, was formerly a medical man of El Paso, Arizona Territory, on the frontier of Mexico. He served as captain of cavalry under Colonel Baylor in Arizona, and distinguished himself in many encounters with Indian and Federal forces in that distant region. He subsequently distinguished himself under General Sibley at the battle of Val Verde, in which the Federal General Canby was routed. His character was that of a fiery soldier, who saw nothing but duty and honour before him even when rushing at the cannon's mouth. His death at Brashear City was characteristic of the man;—acting as brigadier of his brigade, though ranking as colonel only, he was the first to lead the way, and cut a path for others to follow.

Late Northern papers inform us of a continuation of the negro riots, so frequent of late in the river cities. It appears that great antipathy is manifested towards the coloured population, on account of their working for wages objected to by the whites, and so bitter has the feeling of both parties become, that shots have been frequently exchanged, resulting in the death of many.

## ENGLAND.

The National Rifle Association brought its annual meeting at Wimbledon to a close on Saturday last. On Wednesday, the 15th of July, the Albert prize, at 1,000 yards' range, was won by a member of the Victoria regiment, who, in seven shots, obtained no less than three centres and three bulls'-eyes. On Thursday and Friday the International match between eight English and eight Scottish volunteers was shot off, and resulted in a decided victory for England. The evenings of both days were delightfully at variance with the stern business of the mornings, and Madame Otto Goldschmidt, aided by M. Goldschmidt and Mr. Blagrove, on the one day charmed the Volunteers by a voluntary series of brilliant performances at a *soirée musicale*, and on the other day the camp-fire meeting was as gay, festive, and crowded, as a final effort could render it. On Saturday afternoon, according to the established custom, the doings of the fortnight were wound up by a review of the Metropolitan Volunteers. The force arrived on the ground at 6.30 p.m., and consisted of about 10,000 men. This force was divided into eight brigades, five of which, under Major-General Sir J. Y. Scarlett, K.C.B., formed the attacking division, while the defence was intrusted to Major-General Lord E. Paulet, C.B., at the head of three brigades. The last-named officer returned from Canada about a month since, whither he had gone to take the command at the time of the Trent affair. The sham-fight was necessarily but of short duration, owing to the lateness of the hour at which it commenced, and the attacking force won the day with somewhat unpractical facility. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the fight was the admirable skill and activity of the Volunteer artillery. After the action the whole force marched past his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief in quick time. The number of spectators was great, the weather fine, and the dust terrific. On the following Monday the prizes won during the fortnight were distributed to

the victors at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham by the Commander-in-Chief, in the presence of a large and important assembly. It was an interesting sight to behold Captain Horatio Ross, with his four successful sons, receiving a perfect avalanche of prizes. The representatives of Cambridge University and Eton School were also conspicuous, and objects of applause. The Duke of Cambridge addressed the assembly on the subject of the Volunteer movement and the Rifle Association, and paid a high compliment to Eton, to the Council of the Association, and to Lord Elcho. After the ceremony the Volunteers adjourned to the gardens and cricket-ground, and finished the afternoon with athletic sports.

The Channel Fleet has left Yarmouth Roads for a cruise along the north-east coast. The squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dacres, consists of the ships Edgar, 71 guns, Emerald, 35, Liverpool, 39, and the magnificent iron vessels, the Warrior, 40, the Black Prince, 40, the Resistance, 16, the Defence, 16, and the Royal Oak, 35. The number of men in the fleet is 4,800. The Royal Oak, in her first cruise, has realized the most sanguine expectations both in point of speed and sea-going qualities. Enormous numbers of people visited the fleet in Yarmouth Roads.

The Royal Agricultural Society of England is celebrating its vast annual exhibition at the city of Worcester. The machinery department, as is only to be expected, displays an advance in quantity and effectiveness, which leads the observer to imagine that the skill of English engineers increases at a rate hardly short of geometrical progression. Last year, mowing and reaping machines, drills, and hoes monopolized prizes and attention; this year, thrashing machines, steam ploughs, and farm steam-engines are the great attraction. The contests for the large rewards offered in these classes of machinery have occupied a week with the most gratifying results. As a specimen of the great success achieved by agricultural engineering, it will be sufficient to note that one firm produced a steam plough capable not only of turning up two acres of the hardest and driest soil in 1 hour and 40 minutes, but even of moving itself out of one field into another, half-a-mile off, in 25 minutes, while another firm displayed a combined cultivator and corn-drill, driven by a double-cylinder 10-horse stationary engine, and formed to crush the soil into a suitable seed-bed for the reception of no less than nine rows of seed at the same time. The show of animals is equally encouraging, and consists of 195 horses, 449 pens of sheep, 161 pigs, and 423 cattle. The Herefords and beautiful Devons are admirable as ever; the short-horn bulls scarcely up to the mark, but bull-calves and heifers of that breed are superb, Lady Pigott, the Duke of Montrose, and Colonel Towneley being as successful as usual. Lord Walsingham is unapproached in South-down sheep, and Mr. Garne's Cotswolds are marvellous. The thorough-bred horses are indifferent, but hunters and hackneys, Clydesdales and Suffolks, exhibit no deterioration in quality or power.

The Bishop of London's Fund, the scheme of which was originated by his Lordship but a few weeks ago, and for the purposes of which it is desired to raise a million of money in ten years, has already experienced considerable success. The amount subscribed within this short space of time is £70,000, and among the remarkable sums and names appearing on the list of contributors may be mentioned the Marquis of Westminster £10,000, Mr. Charles Morrison £5,000, the Bishop of London £2,000, Lords Derby, Ebury, Egerton, and the Duke of Devonshire £1,000 each; the like sum being given by Baring Brothers, and Jones Lloyd, and also by Truman, Hanbury, and Buxton, the great brewers, and by Marshall and Snelgrove, the great drapers in Oxford-street. The object of the fund is to extend the parochial system throughout the diocese of London.

We have passed a bill to suppress "garotters," by awarding the possible punishment of penal servitude for life, or imprisonment with flogging even to the number of three times. Twenty-five strokes with a birch rod are the maximum allowance for a juvenile offender, and fifty strokes for the more aged criminals. We have printed the act, it is now in force, and consequently we have prepared ourselves for the distant terrors of next November. In addition to this we have now got the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the system of secondary punishments and prison discipline. The statistics, moreover, for the past year of the prisons and their inhabitants are published, and the knowledge that 141,742 persons, in some way or other, came under the latter category during the year, coupled with the ascertained fact of a steady rise at the rate of 12,000 a year in their number, gives considerable zest to the report of the Commissioners. These gentlemen

recommend that penal servitude shall never be inflicted for less than seven years; that, generally, the rate of punishment shall be raised; that penal servitude shall be preceded by nine months' separate imprisonment; that all male convicts shall be sent to Western Australia during the latter part of their punishment, and that if "tickets-of-leave" are ever granted strict supervision shall be exercised over the holders. The Lord Chief Justice, who was one of the Commissioners, dissented so entirely from their views, as to draw up a separate memorandum of his own opinions. He rejects "tickets-of-leave" in England altogether, he repudiates all remissions of sentences, marks of merit, and gratuities for labour. Penal servitude of a rigorous kind, but not prolonged, is approved by him, only as a supplement to eighteen months imprisonment, and transportation, where possible, is considered desirable. The pleasant days of English convicts are evidently drawing to a close.

The much-abused game-laws have been transgressed to rather an alarming extent during the past year, the increase in offences of this description being at the rate of 19 per cent. over the previous year. The number of charges of trespassing in pursuit of game in the day-time was 9,144, while the charges for night-poaching amounted to 888, and for illegally selling game to fifty-two. The figures in these items in the preceding year were 7,629, 823, and thirty-one respectively. The increase may be accounted for by the high price of game during the years 1861-2, the unfavourable seasons having diminished the stock of old birds, and destroyed the young to an unparalleled extent. The present year promises a very decided change for the better; the accounts of the numbers and strength of young partridges in England, and of grouse on the Scotch moors, being most encouraging. Two good results may therefore be expected—an increase of the enjoyment of legitimate sportsmen, and a decrease of unlawful attempts to take game, resulting from the plenty and cheapness of the commodity.

It seems that there are persons in the world who are perverse enough to distort their skill to the most perilous enterprises, without the smallest prospect of an adequate remuneration. It is difficult to conceive that even persons on the spot, with every facility for the conversion of the fabricated article into the necessities of life should think the forgery of Federal "green-backs" a promising speculation; but what is to be said of two men of Sheffield possessing the art of engraving, deliberately setting to work to make money by manufacturing representations of \$5 and \$10 notes of the "United States" of America? Any rational being would feel somewhat uncomfortable at the thought of his desk being full of genuine "green-backs," in a country where sovereigns and convertible notes of the Bank of England are within reach; but these men, Edwin Hides and Henry Light, had actually caused to be printed 3,175 of the \$10 notes, not for their own benefit, but as employed by another man, who never paid them one farthing for their work. However, as it turned out on the evidence of Mr. Shannon, of the Federal Treasury, that such notes, or rather the genuine specimens of them being payable on demand, are readily exchangeable for coin at a certain premium in New York, possibly the prisoners might have conceived prospects of gain sufficient to counterbalance the risk of the conviction, which in their cases ensued. The evidence produced went to show that Light being in Dublin, was introduced by one Lament to a man named Clifford Webster, a Yankee, who induced Light to undertake the work. The latter individual returned to Sheffield, enlisted Hides also, and succeeded in sending 3000 of these notes to Clifford Webster, who, with the natural shrewdness of his race, set sail at once for New York with his bundle of counterfeits, to exchange them, doubtless, at the premium already alluded to, leaving his unfortunate accomplices unpaid. Hides was unfortunate enough to have an inquisitive apprentice, who not only discovered the plates, but made impressions of them, which impressions he at once handed to the police. Just before the arrest of the prisoners an attempt had been made to sell 1000 dollars worth of these notes to Mr. Jonas Reece, a money-changer in Liverpool, who was ready to do the exchange at 3s. the dollar, but as he expressed some doubt as to the genuineness of the paper, the vendor ran off, leaving him a present of 100 notes. The prisoners seem to have accomplished the whole work themselves till it came to the "ornamental" part of the note. Light visited Wakefield to find a man capable of accomplishing the task, and there he implored one Gascoign to "touch up the head of Lincoln." This he declined "in spite of an assurance from Light that English laws were not made to protect foreigners." But Gascoign was right; and now, while Clifford Webster is studiously helping Chase to improve the currency of New York,



Light and Hides are enjoying a rest from their labours in an English prison.

From the early part of the present century up to the year 1856, a person named Richard Palmer Roupell carried on, first with his father, and after the father's decease, then alone, the business of a lead-smelter in the Borough of Lambeth. About the year 1820 he formed an intimacy with one Sarah Crane, the result of which was the birth of children four in number, namely, John (now dead), a daughter Sarah, a son William, and another daughter. About the year 1835 R. P. Roupell married this Sarah Crane, and after the marriage, one son, Richard Roupell, was born. This Richard, therefore, was the heir-at-law of R. P. Roupell. Connected with this family was one Watts, an attorney, who married the sister of Sarah Crane, and who had been articled to a firm in which a man named Whitaker was subsequently a partner. William Roupell, having grown almost to manhood, was articled to an attorney, and, therefore, was enabled to render himself useful to his father, R. P. Roupell, from the legal knowledge acquired during his articles. Now this R. P. Roupell had, by great economy and care, succeeded in amassing an enormous property, the real estate in his possession being of the value of £200,000; his habits and ideas, however, prevented him from allowing his son, William Roupell, more than 25s. a week; and mysterious and inexplicable as the fact may be, it seems that in the year 1853, William Roupell owed Watts nearly £1,000; and that he was compelled to find some means of raising money. In order to do this, he committed what he calls his first forgery of a deed of gift to himself from R. P. Roupell, of the Roupell Park Estate; and on this estate, then supposed to be the property of William Roupell, an advance of £10,000 was obtained in the year 1854, through Whitaker, from a lady, a client of this same Whitaker. From that time up to 1856, William Roupell was, as he alleges, employed in forging deeds of gift from his father to himself of various landed estates, on all of which he raised money by mortgage, which money he appears to have disbursed with a rapidity quite unintelligible, in a manner wholly unexplained, and to an extent far beyond even the enormous supplies which he raised by forgery and mortgage. These transactions continued through 1855 and 1856, and the total amount of money raised during that time was £100,000. Now, before and during that time, R. P. Roupell had, from time to time, executed various wills, but it is not necessary to refer to any one previously to that made in the year 1850, by which it is alleged that he left his property equally among his family. To that will a codicil was added, appointing new executors on 30th August, 1856. Enough has been already stated to show that if this will and codicil had remained intact, the forgeries of William Roupell would at once have been brought to light. Things being in this state, R. P. Roupell died on the 12th September, 1856. Immediately after his death William Roupell—we are assuming his evidence to be correct—went to his father's house and found the will of 1850. It was not sufficient to destroy the will, because the codicil was in draught in the proctor's hands. It was necessary to supersede it. William Roupell accordingly obtained a common form of a will, and made a copy, the effect of which was to give all the testator's property to Mrs. Roupell, the Sarah Crane above-mentioned, the testator's widow. A will must be executed by the testator and attested by two witnesses. William Roupell forged the testator's name to the will, and signed the attestation in his own name; but another witness being essential, he betook himself to an old man named Muggeridge, more than 80 years of age, and obtained his signature to a receipt for £5. That signature William Roupell copied, against the attestation clause of the forged will, which bore date the 2nd September, 1856. He being executor under the will in due course proved it. He swore the personalty under £120,000, and then proceeded to deal with realty and personalty as he pleased, acting in all things as his mother's agent, exercising over her absolute control, and obtaining her signature to deeds of gift to himself and to family settlements containing powers to him. By these means he raised and spent vast sums of money. He contested the Borough of Lambeth, and was elected a member of the House of Commons. In March, 1862, his money difficulties overcame him, and he absconded from England. Shortly afterwards he returned to this country, and in an action tried a year ago in which his brother, Richard Roupell, was plaintiff, and sought to eject the mortgagees who claimed under William Roupell, the latter came forward as a witness, and swore to a full detail of the forgeries of various deeds, and of the will; and also explained that he had charged the estates for £180,000. But that action was compromised, and no explanation was given how he had spent the money. After this evidence he was ordered into

custody by the judge, and was subsequently tried for forgery and convicted, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. Such is a succinct account of the doings of William Roupell up to the present time. Last week, however, this drama was commenced anew in the shape of another action (doubtless one of a long series), in which Richard Roupell, as heir-at-law, sought to eject the mortgagees from an estate claimed under deeds from William Roupell. The title of the mortgagees, the defendants to the estate, the name of which is the Great Warley Estate, rested on a deed of gift by which R. P. Roupell, the father, conveyed the estate to William Roupell, his son. That deed was dated 9th January, 1856, and the mortgage was made by William Roupell to the defendants for the sum of £12,000, by a deed executed in July, 1857. The title of the plaintiff rested on his heirship-at-law, and if he could prove that the deed of 9th January, 1856, and the will of September, 1856, were both forgeries, his title would, of course, be upheld. The method, however, by which William Roupell accomplished the forgery of the deed of 9th January, and the skill with which he surmounted the difficulties in his path are well worthy of remark. It was clearly necessary that the solicitor who was to prepare such a deed should have the authority or direction of the donor to do so. This first difficulty was got over by a letter which William caused his sister Sarah to write, to which he then forged his father's signature, and which was addressed to Whitaker, and contained an authority to prepare the required deed. But, of course, this deed did not complete the title for any useful purpose, and it was also necessary to gain possession of the title-deeds to the estate. Now it happened that part of the lands were copyhold, and a surrender was made by the father to William Roupell as a young life for certain purposes of enfranchisement, and to effect these objects the old man was induced to give William access to the strong box, from which not only the copyhold, but also the freshhold title-deeds were, of course, at once abstracted by the latter. But even this vast scheme of fraud was not enough to satisfy William Roupell. He thought that the apparent value of the estate might easily be raised to £18,000, and to that end he took from his father's strong-box the counterparts of the leases of these estates, copied them, changing the rentals from £250 to £360, and from £78 to £170 per annum, and adding 21 years to the term of the genuine leases, and having got copies of these draughts engrossed at the law stationer's, and forged the necessary signatures, he was ready armed for all possible eventualities. In the result, however, he did not effect a legal charge on this estate till the year 1857, and then to the present defendants. It should also be mentioned that he destroyed his father's genuine will and the codicil on the night of his departure from England; that a draught of the codicil, added only thirteen days before R. P. Roupell's death, was in the hands of the proctors and is now in existence, but that, strangely enough, the draught of the will made in 1850 cannot be found. It is supposed to have been destroyed at the time of the removal of Messrs. Ring, the proctors, who made it, from Doctors' Commons, and consequently there seems no probability of any future production of such a draught for the purpose of setting up the provisions of that will. This extraordinary trial, then, to eject the mortgagees from the Great Warley estate by the heir-at-law of R. P. Roupell commenced last Friday, and has occupied the court ever since. It is quite impossible to convey any idea of the evidence adduced, of the tenacity of the contending counsel to every advantage to be seized for their own or obstacle to be put in the way of the opposite party, of the severity of the cross examination of the relations and connections of the forger, the struggle to compel and evade the calling of inconvenient witnesses such as Whitaker, or the intense dramatic effect produced by the appearance and examination of the convicted forger brought up from gaol by *habeas corpus* for the trial. Seven witnesses were called to prove the marriage of R. P. Roupell and Sarah Crane, and the birth of the plaintiff in wedlock. Then William Roupell gave a full detail of his crimes and adventures. Two men, Truman and Dove, deposed to attesting the deed of gift of the 9th of January, 1856, which bore the signature of R. P. Roupell, and both swore that the old man was not present at the time, and that they supposed they were attesting the signature of William Roupell, and they even seemed to imagine that the forgery was committed under their eyes. Then ensued an examination to prove the forgery of the name of Muggeridge to the attestation of the will, and to show that on the 2nd of September, 1856, Muggeridge did not visit old Roupell. Then a number of witnesses were examined as to the forged signatures; the first of whom to the amazement of the plaintiff's counsel, positively swore that the signature to the will was genuine. Two banker's clerks, a lawyer's clerk, a bank manager, two tenants, three lithographers, famous also as "experts

and facsimilists," however, annulled the boldness of that witness by their unanimity in asserting that all the signatures in question were forgeries. The case for the plaintiffs occupied four entire days. The line of argument adopted by the counsel for the defendants is, that the counterpart leases are admitted forgeries, that the will of 1856 may or may not be a forgery, but that the deed of gift of January 1856 is genuine, and bears the genuine signature of R. P. Roupell. The witnesses for the defence vie in number with those for the plaintiffs, and the collection of signatures for comparison is hourly swelled by additions. The case is not yet concluded.

Two gentlemen have been assaulted in a railway carriage by a maniac, and by their united efforts barely prevented murder. They had to travel for a considerable distance, contending for their lives; there being no means of communicating with the guard before the train stopped. These things are managed better on the other side of the Atlantic, and it would be well for us to adopt a system of communication between the passengers and the guard.

## EUROPE.

THE reply of Prince Gortschakoff to the English despatch has been published. It is dated the 1st of July—Old Style—and is a very long and elaborate state paper, requiring, for its complete analysis, more space than we have at our disposal. Prince Gortschakoff has no particular objection to offer to the six points; the greater part of the measures suggested in them "have already been either decreed or prepared upon the initiative of our august master;" but the Prince does not share Lord Russell's hope that these measures would lead to the complete and permanent pacification of the country. Reorganization of the kingdom must be preceded by the re-establishment of order. Could they be put at once into execution they would not pacify the country. The insurgents, he points out, do not demand an amnesty or autonomy; even the absolute independence of the kingdom is only a means to their final object—dominion over provinces where the immense majority are Russian by race or religion—a Poland extended to the two seas, and claiming the provinces belonging to other Powers. A conference to deliberate upon the measures to be taken for the better rule of Poland would, he says, be a direct interference of foreign Powers in the details of administration calculated to deprive the Government of its prestige and authority, by further increasing the pretensions and illusions of the Polish agitators. Russia, however, has no objection to discuss these details with Austria and Prussia as she did in 1815. The amnesty is not to be thought of. "Desirable as it may be speedily to place a term to the effusion of blood, this object can only be obtained by the insurgents throwing down their arms and surrendering themselves to the clemency of the Emperor. Every other arrangement would be incompatible with the dignity of our august master, and with the sentiments of the Russian nation." Prince Gortschakoff rebukes Earl Russell for his belief in the stories invented by the Poles of Russian cruelty, and his ignorance of the character of the revolution, and charges the Great Powers with prolonging it by allowing the instigators and guides of the movement to cherish hopes of their active intervention. The despatch is substantively a declaration that Russia will make no concession to the Poles. She will subdue them, and then the Emperor will put into execution the liberal measures he has already resolved upon; but he will not treat with the Poles, and he is resolved at all risks to reject foreign interference.

The reply to the French despatch agrees in substance with that addressed to England. It makes the French Government directly responsible for the continuance of the insurrection. Prince Gortschakoff says:—"One of the principal focuses of the agitation which exists is Paris itself; the Polish emigrants have organised a vast conspiracy, destined to mislead public opinion in France by a system of misrepresentation and calumny; they keep alive disorder in the kingdom of Poland by assisting it with material, by the terror of a secret committee, and above all, by propagating the conviction that active foreign intervention will take place in favour of the most senseless aspirations of the insurrection;" and he has "pleasure in believing that the French Government will not permit its name to be abused for the advantage of the revolution in Poland and in Europe."

The situation is thus rendered extremely difficult and dangerous. The Great Powers will have either to content themselves with answering the despatch, and then leaving the Poles to settle as best they can with Russia, or they must make up their minds for war. We may still hope that this latter course will not be taken. The English Government is at least convinced that war for Poland would lead to no good results. Still the danger is great. Although the answer to France is conciliatory



enough in tone, the reproaches addressed to the Government for the liberality, nay favour, it has shown the insurgents cannot fail to cause some irritation, and the Emperor may find the evils of submission to this language too great, and for all the certain danger, let the popular passion have its way.

The telegraph still reports skirmishes. Be the reports true or false, their importance is the same. As long as the hope of intervention can be indulged in, the insurrection in some shape will be kept up: as soon as that hope ceases to be possible, it will die out.

The ecclesiastic whom the banishment of Archbishop Felinski left the administrator of Warsaw ordered that all the churches should be put in mourning. The order was generally executed, and in the following night some thirty priests were arrested.

The revolutionary Government has decreed the suppression of the clandestine journal which disregarded its warnings. It has established an official organ, called *The Independence*. The Russian Government has ordered a new levy of troops. Great preparations are still being made for war. The Diet of Finland, which has not met for many years, is convoked for the 15th of September.

A party of Poles and Englishmen, which attempted to penetrate into Russia, from the Danubian principalities, has come to grief. Pursued by the Moldo-Wallachian troops they refused to lay down their arms. A combat ensued, which lasted five hours, ending in the retreat of the Poles; between 50 and 60 being killed and wounded on each side. The Poles were pursued and reached upon the Pruth, made no resistance, and laid down their arms.

Langiewicz has presented a petition to the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, for its intervention with the Government to allow him to retire to Switzerland.

The Austrian police having discovered a clandestine cartridge manufactory, of which a Frenchman was the manager, at Cracow, arrested five persons. As the materials and the prisoners were being removed, the crowd hissed the military escort, and flung stones, upon which the soldiers fired, and wounded several persons seriously.

The budget for 1864 has been laid before the lower house of the Austrian Reichsrath. It embraces a period of fourteen months, from November 1, 1863, to December 31, 1864, the Government having resolved that in future the financial year shall be coterminous with the solar year. The ordinary expenditure is estimated at 512 millions of florins—the Austrian florin is two shillings—the extraordinary at 102 millions, of which 52 millions are for the redemption of the debt. The revenue is estimated at 564 millions, including 43 millions of extraordinary receipts, leaving a deficit of 49 millions, 16 millions of which are to be covered by new taxes, and the balance by "credit operations." The war budget is 106 millions, a reduction of 6 millions upon the current year. This statement is another satisfactory sign of the progress Austria is making. For several years her budgets showed a deficit of at least ten millions sterling; that now estimated is little more than three, a result not unsatisfactory, when it is remembered that five millions are applied to the repayment of debt, and that the alteration in the financial year entails some heavy charges upon this particular budget.

No doubt is now entertained of the substantial accuracy of the published version of the correspondence between the Crown Prince of Prussia and his father. The official newspapers are unable to deny its genuineness; some of them practically admit its genuineness by denouncing with the utmost bitterness those who published it.

The treaty between Belgium and Holland, by which the latter Power consented to the perpetual renunciation of the Scheldt dues for a sum of 17,141,640 florins, or, at the exchange agreed upon, of 36,278,566 francs—about £1,450,000 sterling—was signed on the 12th of May. The treaty by which the maritime Powers have undertaken to contribute in certain proportions to this capital, was signed at Brussels on the 10th. Belgium undertakes as her contribution somewhat more than the third part; she pays 13,328,000 francs, and 22,950,000 francs are apportioned amongst the maritime Powers. England and the United States head the list, paying 8,782,320 and 2,779,200 francs; Brazil and Ecuador are at the bottom, with 1,680 and 1,440 francs respectively. Inasmuch as these payments are not made to relieve the commerce of the respective countries of any burden, for Belgium, in the interest of the commerce of the Scheldt, has always paid the dues, the Belgian Government could not well avoid making some concessions itself. The tonnage dues are to be entirely abolished, and the pilotage dues are

to be reduced. These concessions are not confined to the Scheldt, but extend over the whole Belgian coast; and finally, the taxes levied by the local authorities of Antwerp are to be simplified and reduced. The treaty comes into operation on the 1st of August.

It will be seen that the English Government has undertaken to pay more than £350,000. This will be a very large slice out of Mr. Gladstone's surplus, and we may doubt whether the English taxpayers will approve the romantic liberality of Earl Russell in undertaking so large an expenditure to get rid of a tax which did not fall, and which Belgium in her own interest could never have allowed to fall, upon English commerce.

The arrest of brigands on board the French packet-ship, the *Aunis*, in the harbour of Genoa, to which we briefly referred last week, has created a great deal of excitement in Italy. Although the Italian Government was clearly in the wrong, the general feeling of the country was decidedly against giving up of the captives, and the French Government has been vehemently abused by the Italian press for demanding their surrender. The *Aunis*, a packet-boat, belonging to the *Messageries Impériales*, was on her way from Naples to Marseilles; she had touched, as usual, at Civita Vecchia, and had there received, with other passengers, the five brigands duly furnished with passports of the Roman Government, visé by the Embassies of France and Spain, for Marseilles and Barcelona, their ultimate destination. Upon her arrival in the harbour of Genoa, the police agents presented themselves, and demanded the surrender of the five persons—a demand which, after some objection and under protest, was complied with. As the proceeding of the Italian authorities was not only a breach of international law, but a direct and offensive violation of special conventions subsisting between France and Italy, the French Government, however willing it may be to assist the Italian Government to repress the brigandage, could not do otherwise than demand the restitution of these five men; and the Italians have betrayed a childish irritability in treating the demand as an unfriendly act, and heaping invectives upon the Emperor, and even the Empress. The Italian Government, of course, had no option but to surrender the prisoners and apologise for the outrage offered the French flag. And in that way the affair has been settled. It will now, it is said, do what it should have done at first, demand the extradition of the brigand chiefs as ordinary criminals under its extradition treaties with France.

The Chamber of Deputies has passed the income tax bill by 130 to 70 votes.

The elections to the Hanoverian second chamber which have just terminated, have resulted in the complete triumph of the Liberals. The reactionary party, which had so long governed, and only recently succumbed to a more liberal, although essentially moderate Ministry, has but five representatives in place of the fifty whom it numbered in the previous chamber.

The Schleswig Estates have met only to adjourn. The German members contested the validity of an election by which their majority had been diminished. The Royal Commissioner refused to allow a vote upon the point, and the Germans withdrew from the Assembly, leaving it, for want of the requisite quorum, incompetent for business.

#### MEXICO.

General Forey announces, in his despatch to the Minister of War, that the army was received by the population of the city of Mexico with an enthusiasm which partook of delirium. The soldiers of France were literally crushed beneath crowns and bouquets. "The population of Mexico," he adds, "is greedy for order, justice, and true liberty. In my answer to its representatives, I have promised them *tout cela* in the name of the Emperor."

Juarez has retired to San Luis Potosi, and the French advance is said to be following him. Several provinces are said to have pronounced in favour of French intervention.

#### PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JULY 16.—HOUSE OF LORDS.  
The Irish Fisheries Bill was read a second time.

THURSDAY, JULY 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.  
In reply to Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Layard said that no further information had been received in the case of the Margaret and Jessie.

On the order for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald called attention to the recent rupture of diplomatic relations with Brazil. He said that the honour and reputation of England had been compromised, and the political and commercial interests of both countries seriously affected, by the course which her Majesty's Government had thought fit to pursue. He censured the Government for not having recourse to the arbitration in the first instance, and for the violent manner in which reprisals had been made, calcu-

lated to insult as grossly as possible a respectable and friendly Power. He proceeded to criticise in detail the assessment of damages by the Queen's Advocate, and animadverted on the conduct of the Government in seizing Brazilian vessels, inflicting great injury on commerce, and irritating a friendly people without knowing whether they were asking too much or too little. They had put in a claim for £3,360, as a rough estimate for the cargo of the Prince of Wales; but the manifest of that vessel showed that of her cargo not more than £800 worth was of such a nature that it could possibly come ashore. Again, £840 was demanded for "possible murders," a most extraordinary item in itself, and which might be for murders that had never occurred. This requisition was so ridiculous that, whilst it did no credit to the Government, it reflected disgrace and dishonour upon the British nation. He should like to know then what Ministers were doing in the extraordinary position in which they found themselves, and whether they were prepared to follow the course they had pursued in the case of Paraguay, and restore friendly relations with Brazil by expressing their regret. As it was clear we were in the wrong, he thought it would be more honourable to this country if, putting aside all sentiments of false pride, we took the initiative towards a reconciliation, and not leave the matter to be settled by the interposition of the King of Portugal or any other Power. In conclusion the hon. gentleman moved for a copy of the manifest of the Prince of Wales.—Mr. Layard said he did not clearly understand the object of Mr. Fitzgerald in bringing forward again a subject that had been already so much ventilated in that House and in another place. According to Mr. Fitzgerald, this country had been dishonoured and disgraced by the course taken by her Majesty's Government; according to him, if a British ship was wrecked on the coast of a country, its cargo plundered, its crew murdered, the authorities on the spot conniving at these acts, and the Government of the country refusing redress, her Majesty's Government were to remain idle and indifferent. If the object of Mr. Fitzgerald was to embarrass her Majesty's Government in dealing with the South American States, he had succeeded, for he (Mr. Layard) had already seen the consequences of these accusations against the Government in the altered feeling of the South American States. Mr. Layard went over the leading incidents of the dispute between the two countries, contending that Mr. Fitzgerald had not correctly represented the conduct of Mr. Christie in relation to the reprisals, an act which was executed, he said, in the least offensive manner possible. Mr. Fitzgerald had professed a desire for the re-establishment of amicable relations with Brazil. The mediation offered by the King of Portugal for this object had been accepted by her Majesty's Government, and if anything could prevent the amicable adjustment of the differences, and which he most earnestly desired, it would be the course pursued by Mr. Fitzgerald.—Sir H. Cairns said, although the conduct of the Brazilian Government in the matter of the wreck of the Prince of Wales laid a strong ground for remonstrance on the part of our Government, it had been conducted in a temper on the part of our representative which must have excited a feeling of alienation in the Brazilian Government, his correspondence being in its tone contemptuous and rude. He looked with shame and regret at the mode in which our negotiations with Brazil had been conducted, which would not, he said, have been adopted towards a strong Power. He declared that, although he held the Brazilian Government in the matter of the wreck to have been in the first instance in the wrong, he still regarded with sorrow the tone of our proceeding, and the ridiculous and absurd demand for compensation.—The Solicitor-General defended the conduct of the Government, and Mr. Monckton Milnes endeavoured to vindicate the character of Mr. Christie. After some further debate the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Lawson moved a resolution condemning the system under which public-houses were at present licensed.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the resolution. He remarked that the present system was assailed by two classes of theorists—those who desired to throw the trade open, and those who wished to prohibit it entirely. These parties agreed in attacking the present system, but in nothing further. After some discussion the motion was negatived—Ayes 21, Noes 87. The House soon afterwards adjourned.

FRIDAY, JULY 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

No business of interest was discussed.

FRIDAY, JULY 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A variety of desultory discussions took place on the order for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Hennessy raising one on competitive examination for junior appointments in the Civil Service, and Mr. Bass another on the street nuisances, vulgarly called street music—neither of which led to any result, or elicited any remarks worth recording.—Lord R. Cecil inquired whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to propose the grant of any compensation to Captain Blakeley for the loss occasioned to him by the detention, without cause, of the vessel Gibraltar, on suspicion of being in the service of the Confederate States; and whether the Government would lay upon the table the depositions or informations upon which they had acted in that case. The noble lord said that he had been informed by Captain Blakeley that the losses he had incurred by the erroneous action of Ministers in this matter amounted to between £20,000 and £30,000; and he complained that he was an especial object of aversion on the part of Mr. Adams, in whose hands Her Majesty's Government were mere tools.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that he had no official knowledge of the case, and it would be absurd in a Finance Minister to propose the grant of compensation to a person from whom he had heard nothing, on whose behalf no application had been made to him, and who he had no idea had suffered wrong. He had nothing to do with the papers, but he imagined it was not usual to produce them. In the name of the Government he entirely repudiated the charges insinuated against them by the noble lord.

Mr. G. Duff drew attention to the case of Matamoras and the other Spaniards lately sentenced to banishment on account of their religious opinions.—Sir G. Bowyer deprecated the discussion of the question as calculated to irritate the feelings of the Spanish people against this country, and said that Matamoras and his companions were paid agents of the Protestant propaganda at Malta, whilst Matamoras himself had formerly been a political conspirator, and obliged to fly from his country in consequence of the transactions in which he had been engaged. The hon. baronet then adverted to a statement made by Lord Palmerston some months ago, to the effect that a Father Curci had preached a sermon before the ex-King of Naples and his Court in the Church of Santo Spirito at Rome, in the course of which the lecturer addressed reproaches to his audience for encouraging the practice of brigandage in Neapolitan territory. In reply to this statement the hon. baronet read a communication signed by several



ecclesiastics and members of the aristocracy of Southern Italy, denying that Father Curci had preached a sermon on the occasion containing any political allusions whatever.—Lord Palmerston said that great allowance must be made for the Spaniards in cases of the sort referred to by Mr. Grant Duff, on account of their limited intercourse with the rest of Europe. The Spanish Government were most anxious that the laws of Spain should be administered with all the lenity and indulgence that the prerogative of the Crown would admit of; but in Spain, as in other countries, public opinion had some force, and the Government could not go in opposition to it. In the present case, however, Queen Isabella had, in consequence of the representations made to her, both by Governments and private individuals from almost all parts of Europe, exercised her prerogative of pardon and remitted the sentence on those persons, upon condition that they should remove to some other country, as no doubt they would be most happy to do. At present the Spanish law on this subject was adverse to treaties; for by treaty English subjects were entitled to hold private worship in their own houses, but this was interdicted by the laws of the country. The question of reconciling the laws with treaties was, however, still pending. With regard to the sermon of Father Curci at Rome he had received a letter from Italy, the writer of which he was not prepared to name, which stated that the sermon of Father Curci drew a distinction between the true and the false emigration, fulminated against the second, and accused the first of pride and of little faith in God, from whom alone could come the restoration of the Bourbonic dynasty. The preacher also spoke of their braggart impotency, and the emigration were, in consequence of what he said, greatly moved and highly indignant. The father, it was true, did not reproach them with sending brigands into Neapolitan territory; but it was quite clear, if this statement were correct, that the sermon had a very strong political bearing, and reproached the emigration with the course they were pursuing. He believed the French garrison at Rome were now engaged in putting a stop to the proceedings of the loyal subjects of the ex-King of Naples, and that the Bourbonic rendezvous established at Marseilles would shortly be broken up.

Several other subjects having been disposed of, the House adjourned at a quarter to two.

#### MONDAY, JULY 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Lyveden, Earl Granville stated that the Governor did not consider the defences of Canada in a satisfactory state. The Canadian Parliament and Administration had failed to provide effectually for the defence of the colony. The people had been more active. Twenty-five thousand volunteers had been enrolled, and as many more refused through a short-sighted economy.

#### MONDAY, JULY 20.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Forster asked a question concerning the alleged "indiscriminate flogging" of the negro "rioters" at St. Vincent; who, our readers will remember, proposed to massacre the white men, and divide the women and other spoil among themselves.—Mr. Porteus explained that three of Mr. Forster's estimable protégés had been flogged by martial law, and others sentenced to punishment, of which flogging formed a part. The Colonial Secretary had entered into communications with a view to the mitigation of these sentences.

The orders of the day being postponed at Lord Palmerston's instance, Mr. Horsman moved that in the opinion of this House the arrangements made with regard to Poland by the treaty of Vienna have failed to secure the good government of Poland or the peace of Europe; and any further attempt to replace Poland under the conditions of that treaty must cause calamities to Poland and embarrassment and danger to Europe. He showed that the subjection of Poland to Russia in 1815 had been forced upon England; that it had never been compensated by the promised concessions to the Poles; that the scheme of a Polish Constitution under the Czar had proved unworkable; that since 1831 the Czar had claimed to rule absolutely by right of conquest; and that at that period Lord Palmerston, after protesting and remonstrating in vain, withdrew from diplomatic action avowedly because he would not go to war. Diplomatic action had now been resumed, and in a tone which, as he argued, implied a threat of war. After reading the despatches on the subject the restoration of Poland must now be regarded as the adopted policy of the Cabinet. The only question was could it be peaceably accomplished. The answer to that depended entirely upon Austria, who had the peaceful solution of the difficulty in her sole keeping. If Austria were alive to her own interests she would make restitution of Galicia. Prussia must then relinquish Posen; and thus the kingdom of Poland would be established without a blow. If Austria refused, and England faltered beside her, what would France do? No one could say; but let it be remembered that the Polish question was one that united all parties in that country, and already it was rumoured that the Emperor of the French had sounded the Italian Government, and been offered an army of 60,000 men. Would not Hungary and Galicia send a similar response? Was our future policy, then, to be left to chance? He looked to the noble lord at the head of the Government to save us from the consequences of such a state of things, for he was convinced that the restoration of an independent Poland was about to become the great political event of our day. This speech was listened to with great attention, but without much cheering, by a rather thin House, which did not fill even when Mr. Gladstone rose to reply.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, on behalf of the Government, that, with one exception, he had no reason to complain of the spirit in which Mr. Horsman had discussed this question. There were parts of his speech, however, which did not cohere with others. The present position of the Emperor of Russia, he observed, had some claim upon our consideration, recollecting the nature of the inheritance to which he had succeeded, the great things he had achieved, and the success which had attended his wise efforts. He then proceeded to discuss the policy which it behoved the Government to pursue upon this question, and the argument of Mr. Horsman, which amounted to this,—that their choice was between war and doing nothing. After disposing of the former alternative, he demurred to the proposition that the Government should have remained idle, which, he said, would have been highly inexpedient, considering the state of feeling, not only in this country, but on the Continent, and especially in France. He remarked upon the inference drawn by Mr. Horsman from a particular despatch of Lord Russell, as indicating a change in the policy of the Government, and as containing a menace of war; and he contended that such a conclusion could not be maintained. Mr. Horsman had argued that the Poles had been encouraged by hopes of aid from without, and that the British Government had kindled the flame; but he had adduced no proof of this allegation. As to the position in

which matters now stood, Mr. Horsman had not sought for any declaration from the Government, and the present was not the moment when a development of our future policy would be expedient. As to the motion, which called for a solemn condemnation of the Treaty of Vienna—a motion which fell short of the opinions and language of the mover—he urged various reasons why it was not desirable that it should be adopted by the House.—Mr. Hennessy, advertising to the interest taken in this question by the people of England, showed, from the petitions presented to the House, what they wanted. They declared that Russia had forfeited, by her gross and barbarous outrages upon the people of Poland, all right to the kingdom; that her conduct tended to disturb the peace of Europe, and that Poland was entitled to independence. The House was justified, therefore, in asking what were the intentions of the Government. He defended Austria, whose position, he observed, was a difficult one. There existed in Austria a strong feeling in favour of the Poles, even in the army. He believed that the Emperor of Austria himself was in favour of Poland; in fact, the whole of Europe participated in that feeling, and the Emperor of the French would gain an immense moral advantage by establishing the independence of Poland. He denied the assertion of Prince Gortschakoff that the Polish movement originated in foreign influence, and he showed the provocations which had driven the landholders and moderate party to join the insurrection, which was aided and fostered, according to Russian witnesses, by the whole population. Poland had a national Government, which preserved order, made laws, and levied taxes. He denied in like manner the denial of Prince Gortschakoff of the barbarities charged against the Russian troops. On the one hand, therefore, was found a national Government in Poland, supported by the whole population; on the other was found the Russian Government, openly ignoring legality.—Mr. Kinglake thought the time was most inapt for the adoption of the proposed resolution.

Lord Palmerston said it appeared to him that the speech of Mr. Horsman was not consistent with itself or with his motion. He had told the House that there was no alternative between our remaining passive or insisting upon the establishment of Poland in its ancient state. If all the Powers of Europe were prepared to go to war to force Russia to relinquish her possession, this might be done; but it was clear that it could not be accomplished by persuasion. The only ground that could justify our remonstrance with Russia was the Treaty of Vienna; if that was abandoned, we should deliver the Poles, bound hand and foot, to Russia. He hoped, therefore, the House would not agree to the motion, or would press the Government to declare the course they should pursue. It would be their duty to communicate with the Governments of Austria and France.

The motion was withdrawn; and the remaining business having been disposed of, the House adjourned at half-past two.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 21.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

A great many bills were disposed of, but no discussion of general interest occurred.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 21.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In reply to Lord J. Manners, Lord Palmerston stated that the Ionians were still under the diplomatic protection of Great Britain, and that the Porte was not entitled to be consulted in reference to the cession of the Seven Islands.

In reply to Mr. S. Fitzgerald, Lord Palmerston stated that this Government had more than once remonstrated with the Government of the United States on its practice of taking bonds from exporters that their goods should not find their way into the hands of Confederate citizens, which was a violation of treaty engagements; and he hoped that the practice would be abandoned.

Mr. Berkeley demanded compensation for Mr. Bewicke, who had been convicted of felony, and whose property had been sold below its value. Having convicted the witnesses of perjury, he had received a pardon, and the price of his property. He now claimed the difference between that price and the value of the property. The Government resisted the claim, and on a division Mr. Berkeley was defeated by 22 to 20.

Mr. B. Cochrane drew attention to the present state of our relations with Japan, and, observing that the session ought not to terminate until some declaration had been made on the subject by her Majesty's Government, with the view of eliciting such a declaration, moved for the production of papers.—Mr. Liddell seconded the motion, and attributed the difficulties we had encountered in Japan to the Elgin treaty, which was a revolution in itself, and had been obtained from the Japanese by fear.—Mr. Layard defended the policy of the Government in concluding that treaty, insisting upon the fulfilment of its conditions, and protecting the lives and property of British subjects in Japan. He lamented the necessity we were under of making demands which might possibly lead to hostilities; but we were placed in that position against our own desires, and in what we were now doing we were only performing an absolute duty. The Tycoon had, no doubt, authority to enter into treaties with foreigners, and he had admitted the Elgin treaty to be legal and valid. It was unfortunately too true that the conduct of many British merchants in Japan had been discreditable and unworthy of their name and character as British merchants. He hoped, however, that hereafter there would be a better class of traders there, and that the country would be relieved from the presence of such disreputable persons. So far as the outrages committed upon foreigners were concerned, they had not been confined to English subjects. Every consideration had been shown by her Majesty's Government towards the Japanese, and when a mission came here from the Tycoon to ask some concessions respecting the opening of the treaty ports the request was at once acceded to. The attack upon and murder of Mr. Richardson and his companions on the high road by the followers of the Prince of Satsuma was altogether unprovoked; the demands which had been made on the Tycoon for reparation were not unreasonable, and he believed there would be no difficulty in making the Prince of Satsuma responsible, though whether the task of doing so would devolve upon the Tycoon or upon the English Government he was not then prepared to say. The motion was then withdrawn.

The remaining business was disposed of, and the House adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Several bills passed; but no discussion of any interest took place.

The *Raleigh Register* says, the wheat harvest is in active progress, and that "such a wheat crop as will be garnered this season has not been seen in the last twenty years."

#### THE "RICHMOND ENQUIRER."

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—The papers in the Federal interest have for some time past habitually represented the *Richmond Enquirer* as the "personal organ" of President Davis, for the purpose of making the latter responsible for certain violent expressions and extreme views that have appeared in the columns of the *Enquirer*. With characteristic audacity they have ventured upon this deception, although the very articles they quote were assaults upon the Administration, and the most careless reader must perceive the absurdity of the Confederate President abusing himself and his ministers. But as impudent assertion is apt to impose upon many persons who do not take the trouble to inquire for themselves, and as the *Enquirer* formerly had the credit—whether rightly or no, I cannot say—of expressing the policy of Mr. Davis's Administration, it may be proper to state briefly the facts. Some months since the *Enquirer* underwent a radical change in all except its name; its staff and a portion of the goodwill, including the public advertising, were transferred to a new paper, the *Sentinel*; and the editorship of the *Enquirer* went into the hands of John Mitchell, of Irish rebellion notoriety. Since that period the *Enquirer* has distinguished itself by repeated violent onslaughts on the Government, and more especially its foreign policy, of which it is an avowed enemy. So far, then, from the sentiments which the Anglo-American press quotes with so much gusto, being the sentiments of the President of the Confederate States, they are those of a political opponent, a foreigner by birth and, comparatively speaking, a new convert to Southern views of Southern institutions. The impudence of partisan malignity has seldom gone further than in this bald-faced attempt at making the one responsible for the philippics of the other.

Yours, &c.,

A CONFEDERATE.

#### THE FORLORN HOPE A FAILURE.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, JUNE 24.

My last letter conveyed to your readers the information that General Banks—after his failure to take Port Hudson, March 14; his second repulse, May 27; and his last disastrous defeat, June 14, had issued an order for a volunteer column to make a grand "final" assault which was to result in the first success of the campaign of 1863, for the freedom of the Mississippi.

The column was raised. Since Sunday last—the day announced for the final assault—the public has impatiently waited for the accomplishment by a column of 1,000 men, with a support of two divisions, of a work which the whole Nineteenth Army Corps has not succeeded in effecting. The officers, who possessed more military ability (if not so much obstinacy and perseverance) than General Banks, failed to see the feasibility of attempting to carry a position where there had already been so many failures. The men, weakened and disheartened, were not over anxious to precipitate themselves into the jaws of death. To be sure, the volunteer column was raised, but that "final assault" has not yet been made, unless the attack of June 14 is so known in the history of this war. It has not even been ordered. The accounts from the field record no fighting this week, excepting some desultory skirmishing, which was in the rear, and not in front of Banks's army. Thus the forlorn hope is only an utterly forlorn failure.

Moreover, yesterday, Banks sent out a foraging train of waggons comprising from sixty to seventy teams, and within a short distance of the Federal lines the whole train—men, mules, and waggons—fell into the hands of the Confederates.

These things, in a military view, are not regarded as successes. It is not surprising that General Banks should at last be convinced that Port Hudson is impregnable—that unless he is at once and largely reinforced—his position is far less safe than Gardner's—that there are but few more negroes to offer upon this particular altar—that his white regiments are weakened, dissatisfied, and to some extent demoralised by recent and frequent defeats—to sum up in one simple whole—that he can not take Port Hudson.

Certainly, the belief which a month since obtained so extensively in the army and in this city, that Port Hudson was weak, starving, and nearly, if not wholly evacuated, has given place to a widely different opinion. The almost universal opinion now is that Banks will raise the siege within a week, and give up all attempts to reduce a position which, so far, has only resulted in an enormous reduction of the Nineteenth army corps.

It is an undoubted failure. Banks can call in a few regiments—a very few—which are not now before Port



Hudson; but he would leave equally important places, this city for example, exposed; and a moving of pieces does not always indicate an immediate "check" to your opponent.

Nothing of all this is permitted to be published in this city, but the "official" organ gives, with much flourish, the following account of a skirmish, which my last letter indicated was likely to occur speedily, on the line of the Opelousas railroad. It occurred on Sunday night, and the official organ says that its information is from official sources:—

General Emery, not knowing the precise point the enemy were going to select for the attack, found it necessary to divide its forces. A portion, under Colonel Stickney, less than a thousand strong, was halted at Lafourche Crossing, as that appeared to be the point upon which the forces of Colonel Major, the rebel commander, were to be thrown. The rebel force consisted of three regiments of cavalry and one of infantry. The enemy charged our troops, and actually got their hands upon our guns, but were gallantly repulsed, leaving fifty-three dead upon the field, and sixteen prisoners in our hands. Among his slain was Lieut.-Colonel Walker, of the 2nd Texas infantry, whom they were allowed to take off and bury, under a flag of truce. Our forces are uniting to give pursuit. Our own loss was eight killed and sixteen wounded. The enemy's wounded were carried off.

This is the account published last evening, yet the whole happened within fifty miles of this city, last Sunday. The official organ fails to state that a regiment brought by steamer from Pensacola and arriving here on Monday, was sent at once to Lafourche, where its services are so much needed in front of Port Hudson; and it is silent as to the condition of the two Federal regiments, the Federal battery, and the half regiment of sick soldiers who are at Brashear, cut off from all hope of present succour, and liable to capture any hour, if they are not prisoners already. I shall have more to say than has yet been "officially" communicated about these things in my next letter.

Admiral Farragut has arrived here from Port Hudson, and has transferred his flag to the Tennessee.

Mobile papers to the 16th inst. have been received in this city. The little news they contained not "contraband" was given in the city papers. Among the forbidden paragraphs are those stating the efforts made by the people of Mobile, Charleston, and other places, for the relief of the refugees from New Orleans. The mayor (R. H. Slough) of Mobile has appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. Wm. L. Smith, D. W. Goodman, John Reid, C. L. Baron, and J. M. Muldon; and there is a Louisiana Relief Committee, of which Hon. Charles J. Villere is president, and Messrs. J. D. B. De Bow, A. J. Guirot, Moses Greenwood, Thomas Murray, Dr. J. Bensadon, Dr. E. D. Fenner, Colonel J. C. Davis, and Captain Eugene Lanoue are members. Mr. Wm. M. Semple is secretary, and there are sub-committees on subsistence and transportation, on accommodations and on relief. They have been friends, indeed, to the poor among the exiles from New Orleans. The break in the Mobile and Great Northern railway has been repaired, travel resumed, and an increase in supplies from the country has decidedly improved the markets. The elections occur in August, and Hon. James S. Dickinson, of Clarke county, is announced as a candidate to represent Mobile district in the next Congress. The news of the capture of the tug Boston and subsequent burning of the barks Lennox and Texana has reached Mobile (carried by the Boston itself), and the editors are duly delighted. The theatre is doing well; and concerts and other amusements are advertised to take place nightly. The city is comparatively free from sickness, and only eighty deaths were reported for the week.

Last Sunday the steamer Planter, running out of Mobile with six hundred bales of cotton, and the steamer Neptune, from Havana, bound in with a miscellaneous cargo, were both captured by the United States sloop-of-war Lackawana. The Crescent, from Pensacola, brought the news to Farragut on Monday.

The Secretary of the Confederate States' Treasury, C. G. Memminger, publishes the following notice as to funding treasury notes:—

Treasury Department, C. S. A.,  
Richmond, June 1st, 1863.

All holders of Treasury Notes, issued prior to 6th of April, 1863, are notified that until the 1st of August ensuing inclusive they can be funded in Seven per cent. Bonds; after that date the notes bearing date prior to 1st of December, 1862, can no longer be funded. Those which bear date between the 1st of December, 1862, and 6th of April, 1863, can be funded in Seven per cents. at any time on or before the 1st of August, 1863, after which date they are fundable only in Four per cents.

Notes bearing date on or after 6th of April, 1863, are fundable in Six per cent. Bonds, if presented within one year from the first day of the month printed across their face—after the year they are fundable only in Four per cents.

(Signed) C. G. MEMMINGER, Secretary of Treasury.

In New Orleans we are having warm, June-like weather; but the city, as yet, is comparatively healthy. The deaths for the week are reported to be 165; in the

previous week there were 190 deaths, fifty-one of which were negroes—an enormous proportion. But negroes, who live happily as slaves in the field, die like dogs when they are packed in the close and sweltering cotton presses by their so-called "deliverers."

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 21.

You may remember that in April last some shipowners of Havre obtained a decree from the French Law Courts, embargoing the funds of the Confederate Government, then in the hands of Messrs. Erlanger, the negotiators of the loan. Their claim was for the value of a ship, the *Lemuel Dyer*, loaded with cotton, which was destroyed in April, 1862, in the river near New Orleans, by order of a Confederate officer. Having in vain sought the aid of the Foreign Minister here to recover compensation, they brought this action to arrest the funds produced by the loan, and obtained a decree to this effect. The case came on for hearing on appeal last week, when the sequestration was removed, and the plaintiffs in the case were non-suited. Their names are Dupasseur, Lecoq Brothers, and Co. This law proceeding has passed unremarked, although sufficiently against all public policy to ensure its rejection by the Court of Appeal, even though French interests were here, apparently at least, opposed to those of foreigners. Not so the Schröder case, of which the *Times* gave an account in its city article. The *Nation* expresses itself as follows:—"It seems that the States, once United, set up the pretension to extend the law of suspicion beyond its ordinary limits. Up to the present time the extralegal eccentricities of the Federal agents were confined to the high seas, and were performed with some sort of military solemnity. Now, Mr. Lincoln and his servants are trying their hands on *terra firma*, and spread consternation in the most peaceable of all spheres, the commercial world." After relating the well-known facts of the case he comes to the fate of Mr. Smith, the unhappy holder of the excommunicated bonds. "Strong in the vigorous protection of Lord Palmerston, as every good Englishman must be, Mr. Smith ventured to pass through New York, on his way to Havannah. This act of courage was destined to cost him dear. At the Custom-house his trunks were opened and properly ransacked. The bills were discovered, and on them the ill-omened signature Schröder and Co. It produced its usual effect. The bills were seized, and Mr. Smith was treated no better than the bills. In the end a fair division of the booty was made; the bills were locked up, and Mr. Smith set free. The English Consul at New York complained to Lord Lyons, and there the affair rests. It is not, however, improbable that this little affair may have grave consequences, for England is an ugly customer when her commercial interests are at stake. It is bad enough to arrest an Englishman, but to touch an English bill of Exchange is absolutely unpardonable." For the sake of British commerce, we will hope that the French estimate of the value of English protection is not exaggerated.

The last news from the seat of war, on the whole so unfavourable to the cause of the South, has met with two different appreciations, in addition to the natural doubt which experience of the fallacy of exclusively Northern news dictates. Some regard with dismay the prospect of another year of war with the consequent injury to the commercial interests of France, which are even more dependent upon their American customers than those of England. Others argue that the campaign in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which they regard as closed, has only added a fresh incentive to European mediation in some shape. According to this view the non-success of either army on the enemy's soil is a proof that the quarrel can only be settled by diplomacy, and is beyond the arbitrament of the sword. Both agree in lauding the Emperor's policy of mediation, which both think the only means of saving the interests they see at stake those of Europe and of humanity. These opinions are very generally expressed, but, strange to say, the press is silent on events which must exercise so serious an influence on the world at large. Another subject is paramount to this.

The question of Poland has again assumed, in public opinion, not the first place which it has always held, but so threatening an aspect that the Bourse, which has shown itself hitherto so incredulous, not only gives way, but does so with all the symptoms of a panic. If the Emperor resist: the present clamour for war he will show himself the greatest ruler, in the true sense of the word, that France has ever had. His position is a most difficult one, and it is not rendered, perhaps, more pleasant by the reflection that he owes it to the Italian war, which has already caused him so many disappointments. He then acted against the feeling of Europe; and public feeling, when it opposes movements, is generally correct. If he be now quiescent he will again have

public feeling against him, and it may not be the less strong that it is formed on very debatable grounds. Its unanimity, which cannot be denied, only makes it more questionable. When we see the ringleaders of revolution, the partisans of Legitimacy, the foremost men of Protestantism, and the heads of the Catholic Church, all alike urging on to war, we may well ask what can be their common object? The first and last we can understand; the intermediate links in this strange galvanic chain which is to resuscitate a nation condemned a hundred years ago, both by the votes of its own magnates and representatives, and by the common voice of Europe, are unintelligible. In judging thus, we have before us the votes of the Diets, and the letters of the Papal nuncio of the Kings of England and France, and of the great lord of the Revolution, Voltaire. The first saw in the partition the finger of God, the last welcomed it as a stroke of genius. The considerations which the sentence of the past, or the advocates of the present might give rise to, are ignored by the French public. On this occasion the press is the faithful representative of opinion. When I wrote my last, the *Constitutionnel* was preparing an article in favour of intervention in Poland, which the cautious time-serving of the paper rendered doubly impressive. Since then every newspaper, including even the *France* (the *Nord* is a Russian organ, and cannot be counted among French papers), has had article after article, to urge that the rejection of the armistice should be made a *casus belli*. It is the certainty of the refusal of Russia on this head which, after these articles, has caused the panic on the Bourse. General Mouravieff's atrocities furnish columns in every paper, spiced in the Government press by references to General Butler at New Orleans. But all are silent on the provocations offered by the Poles, to which reference has been made in public, only in the House of Commons. On a less sad subject than the perpetration of cruelty, by whomsoever committed, it would be amusing to see how the Radical press in Paris has systematically ignored the well-proved atrocities of the Federal commanders in the South, and how greedily it accepts and indorses every accusation against the Russian Government. Russia has been the steady, the unreasoning, or ill-reasoning supporter of the Northern States in the present war. She may now contemplate the attitude towards herself of the allies she found in the French press on that question. Had she joined France nine months ago in the peaceful intervention proposed at that time, she might not now have been threatened with an iron-clad intervention on her own coasts. Disorder begets disorder, even at the opposite extremity of the globe. Blind to this, it has been her policy for a hundred years to pander to revolution abroad, never suspecting that it could find a footing in holy Russia. She now is assailed within her own doors, and Governments and Liberals are alike ready to attack her.

The *Patrie* of Saturday published a strongly-worded petition to the Emperor in favour of Poland, which is being signed in the Paris workshops. No such petition could be carried round, or printed by any newspaper, without the consent of the Government. This morning's *Siccle*, in its zeal for the cause, under cover of which everything seems to pass current, proposes a radical revolution in France—nothing less than an appeal to universal suffrage on the question of war for Poland. To punish the barbarity of Russia, it is ready to make a step backwards towards barbarism, and abolish the representative principle, which is the greatest conquest of modern civilization. In such a cause no sacrifice can be too great. "A sole thought engrosses France, that of saving Poland. It is no longer a question of the respect of treaties, or establishing the six points; it is the saving a people from death, and checkmating the Machievellian plans for its destruction." "Interpreters of public opinion, the newspapers devote themselves almost exclusively to Poland, and hardly occupy a few lines with the expedition to Mexico."

The *Constitutionnel* has an article to explain the delay of the publication of the Russian answer in the *Moniteur*, which is most impatiently looked for. "We may remark that in a weighty affair treated in common, the answer to each of the parties interested is, in some sort, the property of all, and cannot be made public till all have come to some agreement." "Moreover, how important soever the Russian answer may be, what is still more important is the determination of the three Powers to unite in examining and deciding upon it. It is the firm intention of the Cabinets of Vienna, London, and Paris to come to an understanding so as to find means to resolve in a satisfactory manner, and definitively, the question which preoccupies at this moment Europe and the world. As to this understanding of the Cabinets, we have said, and we repeat, that it is certain—of this there cannot be the smallest doubt."

The Russian note is said to fill seventeen pages of despatch paper. Its length alone would seem to prove



that it cannot be of a satisfactory nature. The hopes of a peaceful solution are, on this side, mainly built on Earl Russell's declaration in the House of Lords. The speech which was expected from Lord Palmerston last night will confirm or destroy this impression, but such is the slowness of the Paris papers, that not one of them has a telegram this morning even to say whether the debate took place.

The London papers will have given an account of the extraordinary honours with which the remains of the late Duke of Hamilton were received at Cherbourg. What is more touching is the conduct of the Empress, who, on the first news of the accident, hastened to Paris to see him, and when she learned the danger he was in, established herself by his sick-bed, and, on the arrival of the Duchess and her children, herself communicated to them the sad intelligence.

The *France* of this evening announces that the delay in the publication of the Russian answer to France, is to enable the three notes to the great Powers to be published simultaneously. It will probably, therefore, appear on Thursday. There is only a fall of 5 cents (1-20th per cent.) on the 3 per cents. to-day, but the Russian despatch to England had not then been received, or had time to influence the Bourse.

(From another Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 22.

THE *Times* was not distributed last night, probably to prevent the Russian answer to England being known to the public before that to France, which appears in today's *Moniteur*. It is published without a word of comment or notice, even in the bulletin, which gives the *résumé* of the news. It cannot seem more satisfactory than the answer to England to those who urge a reconstruction of Poland. It is much to be feared that we are again drifting into a war, as in 1854, and very much in the same way. The Emperor will not act without England, but he may draw England into the necessity for action before she knows where she is. There is more than the warlike tone of the French papers to justify this suspicion. Active preparations for a campaign are already in progress, and the secrecy with which they are pursued, only renders them more menacing. A part of the garrison of Paris has already received its campaign outfit, a circumstance more significant than decrees of the Minister of War regarding supernumerary horses, or the employment of soldiers in getting in the harvest, decrees generally published at this season, and which can be at any time revoked. The review at Cherbourg of the ironclad ships, so often announced and contradicted, is not to take place, but a certain number of these vessels will be assembled there in a short time, for experimental manœuvres. A war for Poland will be very popular with the masses, and those who watch the workings of the Government think that it is resolved on as a counterpoise to the failure, for such it is considered, in the elections. I shall be sorry to see the most sagacious sovereign in Europe taking the worst leaf out of the political rules of the old American Union, and I am, therefore, unwilling to believe the report. The impression of its truth, however, has greatly gained ground in the last few days.

The evening papers are unanimous in condemning the answers of Russia. The *Paris* states that in a few days the three Powers will communicate to Prince Gortschakoff their opinion on the reception he has given to their advice. "No new proposals will be made, the three Courts contenting themselves with reducing to their proper value the arguments put forward by the Russian chancery, and appealing to the sentiments of a conciliation which the Government of Alexander II. professes. It is believed that this step of the three Powers will form a decisive phase in the negotiations,"—in other words, will be followed by war. The Bourse views the matter in this light. There is a fresh fall of 60 cents, the price of French 3 per cents. being now 67½.

#### CASUALTIES IN THE THIRD ALABAMA REGIMENT AT CHANCELLORSVILLE.

This regiment, Captain M. F. Bonham commanding, went into action 410 strong, captured three batteries and two stand of colours.

Company A—(Mobile Cadets)—Captain Witherspoon. May 2nd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. S. B. Woodcock, Lieut. Dan Wheeler, Corporal R. W. Mathews; Privates James Turner (?), J. I. McGee, John McLaulin, William Neville, J. A. Roberts, T. J. Smith, J. P. Walker, William Waters. May 3rd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeants Oscar Jones, James Hudson (mortally), Privates J. M. Chapman (mortally), C. Carter, J. N. Watkins. Missing: Privates Joseph Mickle and W. G. Toomer.

Company B—(Gulf City Guards)—Lieut. H. C. Johnston commanding. May 2.—Killed: None. Wounded: Corporal H. K. Hawthorne (mortally), Privates J. H. Turner, G. H. Rea, Willis Morrill, S. T. Wilkins, P. Weaver. May 3rd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. H. C. Johnston (mortally), Privates J. McLauton (mortally), W. F. Weaver, A. K. Alvares.

Company C—(Tuskegee Light Infantry)—Lieut. W. T.

Bilbao commanding. May 2nd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. John Howard (mortally), Sergeant Walter Ransome; Privates C. R. Fighnor (leg amputated), T. B. Jones, J. S. Pace, G. W. Segrist. May 3rd.—Killed: Private W. B. Holt. Wounded: Sergeant Charles Gachet, Privates J. N. Dawkins (mortally), Hope Hodnett, W. M. Penn. Missing: Privates J. H. Smith, J. W. Taylor.

Company D—(Southern Rifles)—Lieutenant E. Troup Randle, commanding. May 2nd.—Killed: Private John Hagney. Wounded: Lieutenant E. T. Randle, arm amputated, Privates A. M. Lamim, M. S. Cargill, W. C. Beverly, D. D. Taylor. May 3rd.—Lieutenant Johnston, commanding. Killed: None. Wounded: Privates C. J. Smith, J. T. Clark, hand amputated, Sergeant John Davis, severely; Privates A. J. Clark, severely, W. O. Farior, T. A. Henderson, W. A. McNair, S. A. Stinson, T. M. Thompson, W. C. Raleigh. Missing: Private J. T. Bagby.

Company E—(Washington Light Infantry)—Capt. Chester. May 2nd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Corp. W. Hemster; Privates W. C. East, N. Russell. May 3rd.—Killed: Corporal J. Watts. Wounded: Sergeants G. E. Steen, severely, J. J. Crawley, Private J. M. Perry. Missing: Privates J. Corwell, Sydney Bancroft.

Company F—(Metropolitan Guards)—Captain Phelan, May 2nd.—Killed: Private James M. Bobbett. Wounded: Captain Watkins Phelan, Lieutenant W. B. Jones, Sergeant Thomas Caney, Corporal M. W. Gue, Privates Wm. Collins, D. Rarold, J. S. Parr. May 3rd.—Lieutenant W. A. McBryde, commanding. Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant W. A. Taylor; Privates R. C. Billenger, Patrick Diggins, Samuel S. Harvey, C. V. Sayre. Missing: Private F. G. Hay.

Company G—(Lomax Sharpshooters)—Lieut. W. H. May, commanding. May 2nd.—Killed: Private Jonathan Kinney. Wounded: Privates G. W. Beers, C. M. Sturges, A. B. Walker. Missing: Private W. J. Deas. May 2nd.—Killed: Private N. Brown. Wounded: Lieut. J. J. Cook, mortally; Colour Sergeant H. A. Hardy, Corporal J. Stewart; Privates W. W. Crimm, John de Bordenablan, Daniel Johnson, W. Little, P. F. Reid, James Ruff, dangerously, E. W. Williamson, J. N. Woods, dangerously, G. B. Hill, J. L. Miller.

Company H—(Lowndes Beauregards)—Captain Robinson, commanding. May 2nd.—Killed: Private W. J. Agerton. Wounded: Lieut. W. R. Hall, arm amputated; Privates C. F. Black, W. H. Childers, Lee Davidson, C. Miller. May 3rd.—Killed: Private J. M. Fleming. Wounded: Captain C. Robinson, slightly, Sergeant W. J. Dunklin, Corporal N. A. Graham, Privates H. P. Coffey, H. W. Hardy, J. M. Howard, W. A. Nunneale, dangerously, P. J. Kant, C. L. Stone, W. L. Wilson. Missing: Privates G. L. Hadley, W. H. Dunklin.

Company I—(Wetumpka Light Guards)—Lieut. B. F. K. Melton, commanding. May 2.—Killed: Privates I. C. Anderson, M. W. Rogers, A. A. Wall. Wounded: Privates P. J. Hagerly, mortally, S. M. Jeter, J. D. Jeffries, J. B. Sandlin, Richard Speaks, J. Thompson. May 3.—Killed: Corporal H. C. Brown. Wounded: Corporal J. E. McCane; Privates J. L. Dixon, J. T. Mossingale, C. A. Ready, N. F. Sheppard, Richard Wright. Missing: Private O. Heard.

Company K—(Mobile Rifles)—Lieutenant W. H. Gardner, commanding. May 2nd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. W. H. Gardner, slightly, Lieutenant George H. Dunlop, slightly, Privates Michael Brown, arm amputated, and J. J. Yates. May 3rd. Killed: Private W. T. Atkins. Wounded: Lieutenant Thomas Lesene, severely, Corporal W. H. Powers, mortally, Privates W. E. Blocker, M. E. Crenshaw, James Ramacie, D. J. Perkins, A. S. Thompson. Missing: Privates John Kidd and Daniel Getty.

Company L—(Dixie Eagles)—Lieutenant Rutherford, commanding. May 2nd. Killed: Private John Bexley. Wounded: Privates S. A. Cooper, dangerously, S. J. Latimer, leg amputated, J. W. MacLeod, J. A. Malloy, J. Slaughter, J. B. (Tillery), Sergeant N. O. Glover, very severely. May 3rd.—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant B. Ely, severely, Corporal R. W. Ivy; Privates M. N. Ely, L. J. Ellison, H. Harrison, S. C. Knowles, J. B. O'Ferrill, W. Rotten. Missing: Privates W. Bush, W. C. Capps, D. W. Gore, B. B. Milton. Killed 14; wounded 135; missing 13. Total 170.

#### THE RECORD OF INFAMY.

A correspondent of the *New York News* furnishes the following brief record of the vandalism of the Northern troops, sent South to "fight for the Union":—

April 25.—Colonel Straight's raid through Alabama, &c., destroying iron works, factories, &c., to the amount of \$500,000.

April 25.—Village of Webber's Falls, Cherokee Nation, burned by Colonel Phillips.

April and May.—Colonel Grierson, of the Illinois Cavalry, ravages the southern part of Mississippi, destroying and carrying off an immense amount of private property.

May 12.—Raid of Colonel Davis, at Tickfaw, Louisiana capture of bacon, lumber, cotton, and sugar, destruction of tanneries, car shops, factories, &c.

May.—Cavalry raid from Corinth, Mississippi, under command of Colonel Corwyn (or Corwyn) destroys several millions worth of private property, including seven cotton factories, steam flouring mills, dwelling houses, crops, &c., and brings in some hundreds of slaves.

May.—Lieut. John G. Walker, United States' Navy, with gunboat De Kalb, and others, destroys saw mills, corn, &c., on the Yazoo River, burns steamers, flat-boats, dug-outs, &c.

May.—Admiral Porter utterly destroys Grand Gulf.

May 13.—Colonel Hatch makes a raid from Corinth, Mississippi, seizing 600 horses and much plunder.

May 14 and 15.—An expedition under Lieut. Babcock, destroys and carries off immense quantities of grain and stock belonging to farmers near West Point, Virginia.

May.—Colonel Clayton, of Kansas, destroys 200,000 bushels of corn, with buildings, grist mills, &c., near Cotton Plant, Arkansas.

May 14 to 20.—General Stoneman's cavalry expedition destroys more than \$2,000,000 of private property in Virginia, and carries off 650 horses and 200 farmers' waggons and carts.

May 18.—General Grant burns the city of Jackson, capital of Mississippi, driving out the inhabitants to the woods. Loss estimated at \$5,000,000. Also burns Edward's Station, Rankin, Brandon, and other neighbouring villages.

May 20.—Village of Greenville, Mississippi, burned by naval forces.

May 22.—Colonel Glendenning, with 8th Illinois Cavalry harasses King George County, Virginia, and carries off 1,500 negroes, 800 horses, and enormous quantities of other plunder.

May 23.—General Ellet, with the iron-clad ram fleet, lays in ashes the village of Austin, Mississippi.

May 25.—Village of Trenton, Jones County, North Carolina, destroyed by the Federal troops by fire.

May 26.—General Blair, by General Grant's order, devastates the country for fifty miles between the Yazoo and Big Black Rivers, driving off the white inhabitants and burning grist mills, cotton gins, granaries, and growing crops.

June 1.—Village of Tappahannock, Virginia, shelled, and 200,000 bushels of grain burned.

June 1.—Colonel Kilpatrick makes a raid from Yorktown, Virginia, captures immense numbers of farmers' mules, carriages, &c., and brings in 300 horses and 1,000 negroes.

June 2.—Expedition of Colonel Montgomery's negro forces up the Coomabee river, South Carolina; 1,000 negroes carried off, and \$1,000,000 of property devastated.

June.—General Banks allows the indiscriminate plunder of the houses of planters in the vicinity of Port Hudson, Louisiana.

June 4.—Village of Bluffton, South Carolina, burned by Lieut. Commander Bacon, United States' Navy, and over 100 women and children killed by shells.

June 5.—Raid in King William County, Virginia; Colonel Tavis burns mills, founderies, lumber, &c., to the value of \$120,000, carries off 150 horses, &c.

June 6.—Major Stratton, 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry, plunders the village of Gatesville, North Carolina, of goods and movables.

June 7.—Jefferson Davis's and Joseph Davis's plantations on the Mississippi, plundered and laid waste.

June 9.—Monticello, a village in Tennessee, destroyed by Captain Carter.

June.—Lenoir's Station, Tennessee, burned by Captain Carter.

June 10.—Rear Admiral Lee, U. S. N., shells the private residences on James River, Virginia.

June 11.—City of Darien, Georgia, reduced to ashes, and negroes carried off by Colonel Higginson's regiment, the whites being driven to the woods. Only three buildings were left standing.

June 13.—Village of Eunice, Mississippi, destroyed by the United States gunboat Marmora.

June 15.—Village of Gaines' Landing, Arkansas, destroyed by gunboat Marmora; the women and children allowed two hours to get out of range.

June.—Village of Richmond, Louisiana, burned to the ground; women and children captured and taken prisoners to Milliken's Bend, by General Ellet and Colonel Mower.

Hitherto, both in numbers and courage, the Irish have been our principal antagonists. We have had to fight men of all nations, colours and tongues, mongrels and mercenaries of every land, banded together and hounded on by every variety of motive and feeling—and all of them stimulated by the assurance of easy triumph and abundant booty. The experience of two years seems to have cured the crazy Irish. The alleged failure of the Germans, too, to fight at Chancellorsville gives reason to believe that they have had enough of "crushing the rebellion." We have a right to infer the same of the Poles, Italians, French, Scotch and English more thinly scattered through their ranks. If it were possible for all these Dalgetty allies to withdraw and leave the native Yankee to fight alone the war that he alone produced, the armies of the South would have about the same difficulties to encounter that wolves have among sheep. Could Southern manhood be once fairly matched against Yankee imposture, sham and counterfeit, the world would get some new ideas about the two races, which are only legitimate parties to this quarrel. But this can never be, for when their cut-throat allies from other lands fail them, and their reliance on the negro break down, they will seek a shelter for their cowardice in peace.—*Richmond Whig*.

THE NAME OF THE GREAT BATTLE.—We stated briefly a few days ago some moral and fanciful reasons why the great battle in which Jackson fell should be called the Battle of the Wilderness. The matter of fact, however, is stronger than anything else in behalf of the name. The great battle was really fought in the Wilderness—a country of gravelly clay soil, and a black-jack growth, presenting in many places an almost impenetrable thicket. There were occasionally small openings of cleared and cultivated fields, in which the enemy had his works for defence. The position was one of great strength, and was very probably alluded to by Hooker a short time since as one he knew of, from which the whole Confederate army could not dislodge him. If he thought he knew such an one he would certainly go to it, and no doubt did, in preference to all others accessible to him. It was indeed a strong one. Yet Jackson's impetuous charge in the very jaws of death, as it were, could not be resisted by the Yankees, and they were driven from it. The name "Wilderness" will perpetuate the nature of the position thus heroically stormed and carried—it will commemorate the last great fight of that Hero of many bloody fields whose last achievement was his greatest.

On the other hand, "Chancellorsville" is the name of a place with only one dwelling house situated several miles from the great fight of the two days' combat; and unsuggestive as it is at best, it could not therefore be applied with the topographical truthfulness to designate the bloody struggle with the ruthless invader.

THE two great guns of the Keokuk (11-inch Dahlgrens) have been removed from their salt water bed, and are safely landed in Charleston. They were fished up and removed under the superintendence of Mr. Adolphus Lacoste, of Charleston, styled by the *Courier* "our young hard-working fellow citizen." A subscription has been opened in Charleston for a testimonial to him.—*Mobile Register and Advertiser*.

IT may correct a misapprehension to state that General W. H. F. Lee is the son, and General Fitzhugh Lee the nephew of General R. E. Lee.—*Richmond Sentinel*.

Martial law has been declared in Louisville. All citizens have been ordered to enrol themselves or to go North.

EMIGRATION.—Since 1814, down to Midsummer, 1863, no less than 5,383,812 emigrants have left the United Kingdom to seek their fortunes in other lands. 1,234,506 went to our North American colonies, 805,128 to Australia and New Zealand, 3,238,579 to the United States; 105,599 to other parts. In the great emigration time, the eight years 1847-1854, there were no less than 2,444,802 emigrants, an average of more than 300,000 a year, and in the year 1852 they averaged more than 1,000 a day.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOLTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MÜLLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Rev. C. C. Domville .. .. .	£1 0
Sir Arthur H. Elton, Bart. .. .	3 3
Mrs. Blake Dartfield .. .. .	5 0
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Rev. J. Wallen Moore .. .. .	2 2
E. Akroyd, Esq. .. .. .	5 0

Pennsylvania and Mississippi.

In the absence of any news from Confederate sources, it must be no slight consolation to those who sympathize with the South in her gallant struggle for national rights, that in almost every engagement throughout the war the Federals have claimed a decisive victory. The accounts hitherto received of the battles of Gettysburg are an exact counterpart of the earliest information received of the action of Antietam Creek. Again the "rebel" army is beaten, demoralized, and routed; its hope of escape gone; the victorious Federals pressing in upon its line of retreat; the bridges across the Potomac destroyed; and the end of the "rebellion" at hand. Again there are enormous captures of prisoners, colours, and supplies; and the usual embellishments with which the Washington Administration adorns the reports of its generals. The advantage gained by the exaggeration is temporary, but it is an advantage. Northern recruits come more readily into the field. The draft is less odious; the end of the war seems nearer. First impressions are the strongest, and by the time the North obtains a glimmering of the truth, the conviction that a substantial victory has been gained has taken a deep and abiding hold upon the minds of the Northern mob. McClellan's report of the battle of Antietam Creek will one day be an historical document. Future generations will appeal to it as the indisputable record of a great national triumph. Few Northerners will take the trouble to prove that for a day or two after this tremendous fight the Confederate army held its lines unmolested, completed at its leisure its plans for transporting its sick and wounded across the Potomac, and finally retired, at its own time, into Virginia, without an effort being made to stop its retreat or even harass its rear. Fewer still will care to relate how this demoralized army within a week fell upon a division of the Federal army which had ventured across the Potomac, and all but annihilated it; and how for months the Federal army of 120,000 was held in check, afraid to advance and risk a general engagement, by a force alleged to be incapable of another fight. When the mist has cleared away from the

field of battle at Gettysburg, there will be, we are convinced, the same insignificance of results, and it will be proved once more, notwithstanding the eagerness of the Federals to discount a triumph, that they have barely escaped a great disaster.

The battle of Gettysburg has been compared to that of Antietam Creek. It was fought on Northern soil by an inferior Confederate force; but there the parallel ceases. The Federals in this instance had the choice of ground, and they selected it well; the Confederates were the assailants. The object of General Lee was, doubtless, to strike a blow at the Federal army before it was dangerously strengthened by the militia reserves from New York and Pennsylvania. General Meade's rapid march from Frederickstown was as obviously designed to reach the invading army before its commander had time to concentrate his forces, scattered about the Cumberland Valley. It had become known, towards the close of the month of June, to General Lee that the enemy was advancing in numbers, and he at once called in his flying columns from York, Carlisle, and the Susquehanna; started off long trains of supplies and stores, the produce of his raid, for Virginia, and took measures to secure his line of retreat by his bridges across the Potomac. This done, he faced south-east from Chambersburg, and pushed on rapidly to meet the enemy. He had not long to wait. The advance of General Meade's army had, on the 1st of July, reached Gettysburg, and a mile or two to the west of this small town on the road to Chambersburg, the first engagement took place. Two Federal corps took part in the action. According to Northern accounts, they encountered Generals Hill and Ewell. General Reynolds, the Federal commander, thinking he had but a small force to contend with, appears to have advanced with some impetuosity, and to have gained some trifling advantage at first. He was, however, speedily out-flanked by General Ewell, and after a smart engagement his corps was driven back with heavy loss in officers and men, leaving in the hands of the Confederates some 3,000 or 4,000 prisoners, Generals Reynolds and Paul being amongst the killed. The Confederates followed them up through the streets of Gettysburg, and pressed them until they reached the main army, which by this time had taken up its position on the hills east of Gettysburg, commanding the Emmetsburg, Taneytown, and Baltimore roads. There the Confederates fell back, and both armies prepared for the decisive action of the morrow. Of the forces engaged we cannot speak with any certainty. Lee's army consisted of three corps d'armée—Hill's, Longstreet's, and Ewell's,—with a powerful artillery, and a great force of cavalry. But if we allow for detachments, stragglers, guards of the line of retreat, etc., they cannot at the outside have mustered 70,000 strong. To these were opposed the 1st and 11th Corps under Generals Newton and Howard; the 2nd Corps, General Hancock; 3rd Corps, General Sickles; the 5th Corps, General Sykes, 6th Corps, General Sedgwick; the 12th Corps, General Stoneman; altogether seven strong corps d'armée, in addition to the militia from Pennsylvania and New York, militia which arrived on the 3rd, and saved the Federal army from defeat. The numbers of a Federal corps have varied so constantly during the war, that it is impossible to compute them with any degree of accuracy, but taking them at little less than 20,000 men each, cavalry and artillery included, we have a total force of 120,000, which is probably not an exaggerated estimate of the numbers which the Federal general brought into the field during the three days' engagements.

The battle of the 2nd inst. took place east of Gettysburg. The town itself stands in a valley, a semicircle of hills sloping down towards it, north, west and south; whilst due east two ranges of hills form with Cemetery hill just outside the town, a sort of horseshoe. West of Gettysburg the crests of the hills were planted with Confederate artillery, and from their slopes and from the town of Gettysburg, the Confederate columns poured forward to the attack. East of Gettysburg the Federals lined every ridge along the horseshoe with swarms of infantry, redoubts, and batteries. General Meade's position

was admirably chosen for defence. The different corps were drawn up in line of battle at all the most available points. Two or three corps in reserve were at hand to sustain any portion of the line that was shaken, and between the two flanks in the broad plateau were posted the ammunition waggons, supplies, and ambulances. The great advantage, however, was that when any portion of the line was much pressed, it would be promptly reinforced from another, and that the great extension of line which has so frequently ruined the Federal armies was avoided. The first assault took place about 5 p.m., on the left flank of the Federals; it was only partially successful. It penetrated the Federal lines, captured several redoubts, and for a time threatened a disastrous defeat; but the disposition of the Federal troops enabled General Meade to bring up his reserves quickly. They were thrown in large masses upon the Confederates, and the latter were compelled to give way. After sunset another attack was made upon the right flank of the Federals, with a smaller force. This, too, was unsuccessful. Both armies then prepared for the third day's struggle. The position was now altered. The Confederates had gained on the left, and held some of the ground occupied by the Federals in the morning; but the Federals' centre and right held their own. At sunrise the battle began again. This time the right flank was selected for attack, and again the Confederate infantry, in spite of the fresh manoeuvres and obstructions raised during the night, carried all before them, gained the crests of the hills, and drove the enemy before them on to the plateau. But by this time reinforcements had come up. Fresh troops were brought against them exhausted by their two days' struggle, and after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle they were forced back again. The battle lapsed into an artillery duel, and then again the assault was renewed on the centre and the left, but more feebly. Again, the Confederates were compelled to give way, and at 5 p.m. the fighting ceased. The Federal position was too strong, and Lee had to select a point where he could give battle under more favourable conditions. It is significant of the crippled state of the enemy, that all the night of the 3rd they were making additional preparations for defence, and that only by noon of the 4th did they observe that Lee's army was retiring. All the reports of immense captures of prisoners and stores, of demoralization and rout, are mere inventions. Lee retired leisurely, his rear guard ready for battle, and on the only two occasions when his cavalry came into collision with the enemy, drove them back with heavy loss. How utterly unfounded are the statements of the Northern press is proved by the fact that on the 10th Lee's whole force was offering battle in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Maryland; that he had transported all his wounded across the Potomac, paroled his prisoners, received fresh supplies of ammunition, if not reinforcements, and was quietly awaiting the Federal attack. We must wait for Southern news before we can judge of the results of Lee's campaign. He has been fighting for a great stake, and he has not yet lost. At one time, even according to Northern reports, the prize was in his grasp, and but for the rapidity with which reinforcements were pushed forward to Meade, Lee might by this time have dictated peace to President Lincoln on Northern soil. No doubt his losses have been severe, but those of the Federals have been far heavier. The lists of killed and wounded that have already appeared in Northern papers tell a fearful tale; and the long inactivity of Meade's army is another proof of the tremendous sacrifices by which Baltimore and Washington have been preserved. The next mail will probably bring us the news of another great battle. And we have no fear of the result. Lee carried off all his artillery. His army is in a magnificent position. He has to deal with a force numerically superior, but composed in large part of raw levies, ill-fitted to attack the veterans whom Hill and Longstreet and Ewell have so often led to victory. The issue of that contest is in the hands of the God of Battles. We await it, if not with the presumptuous vaunting of the North, at least with a well-



justified confidence in the skill and devotion of the Confederate Generals and their men.

The saddest news which has reached us since the fall of New Orleans is the account of the surrender of Vicksburg. The very day on which the capitulation took place renders the blow heavier. But it is a satisfaction to know that everything that brave men could do and suffer, has been done and borne by the garrison under Pemberton, and that at the last they succumbed to the pangs of hunger and prostration, not to Federal arms. The loss of Vicksburg in itself is not irreparable. The powerful artillery may be replaced, the prisoners may be exchanged; but the serious evil is that it sets Grant's army free for further operations in the southwest. We yet hope that this misfortune may be counterbalanced by a great victory in another quarter. But if not, we have the satisfaction of knowing that the South is prepared to accept the reverses, as it has known how to support worthily the triumphs, of this tremendous struggle; and that, as in days when its prospects seemed brightest it never indulged in the vain-glorious boastings or wretched blasphemies that fall from the lips of a Lincoln or a Seward, so now, in its hour of trial, it will not give way to the abject fears and miserable helplessness which have disgraced the Northern mob.

### Consistency at the Foreign-office.

LORD RUSSELL'S administration of the Foreign-office presents a series of contrasts more violent than are generally to be found in the policies of contending parties. Now he is more bellicose than Mr. Roebuck; anon he outdoes Mr. Bright himself in abject devotion to the cause of peace at any price. In one quarter of the globe he is the zealous, vigilant, exacting guardian of British interests and British honour. In another he receives a diplomatic slap in the face with more than the meekness of a Quaker, or eats his leek with the exemplary submission of Ancient Pistol. Here he is the champion of constitutional government; there, of despotic aggression. Now he fosters rebellion; now he encourages the excesses of tyranny. In Brazil he took up with passionate eagerness the cause of a shipowner whose vessel had been wrecked on an inhospitable coast, and her cargo plundered after the Cornish fashion. The said shipowner was as unworthy a specimen of the British merchant as we could desire to see. He was ready to bring charges and withdraw them; to compromise an accusation of murder,—to do anything agreeable to the Minister if the Minister would get him a reimbursement which he ought to have secured from an insurance office. Lord Russell took up the case; directed the Minister at Rio to reiterate the charge of murder; impeached the honesty of Brazilian magistrates and the good faith of the Brazilian Government, all on the authority of the shipowner aforesaid, of a Consul who was fast lapsing into insanity, and of an Envoy whose infirmity of temper almost amounts to mental aberration. The Brazilian Government did its best. It had an inquest held on all the bodies that could be found; at which inquest the British Consul was requested to be present; and the verdict was one which negated the idea of murder in the most conclusive manner. It hunted down the wreckers so diligently that some fled the country and others were brought to justice. But Lord Russell was not satisfied; he required the Brazilian Government to pay the value of ship and cargo, and an indemnity for the murders which had not been committed; and he actually caused war to be made upon Brazil—for reprisals in the territorial waters of an independent Power constitute war—in order to extort the satisfaction he demanded. Some time afterwards a British ship was—not wrecked by the winds and waves, but—fired by an American cruiser in Spanish waters. There had been an attempt at murder, and an actual destruction of property. But Lord Russell asked for no indemnity. Again, repeatedly have British ships been chased and fired upon in British waters; but Lord Russell has always considered the bare denial of the Federal officer, charged with the offence, as

satisfactory proof of his innocence. British ships have been seized on lawful voyages and carried into American ports; and Lord Russell, so utterly contemptuous of the courts of Brazil that their decision, after solemn trial, does not weigh with him a jot, informs remonstrants that they must rest satisfied with the sentence of Prize Courts constituted *ad hoc* by Abraham Lincoln.

Three British officers in plain clothes went ashore at Rio, and went into the country to dine. On their return they were taken up on a charge of being drunk and disorderly, and assaulting the police. As soon as their character of British officers was ascertained, they were set at liberty. But Lord Russell demanded the punishment of all the officials concerned in their arrest; enforced attention to his demand by reprisals; and finally submitted the question to King Leopold, who emphatically decided against his preposterous claim. Numerous British subjects, and at least one British officer, have been arrested in the United States on no charge whatever. They have been detained in prison for months; they have been threatened with death; they have been released only on terms insulting alike to themselves and to their Sovereign—terms which the Federal Government had not the shadow of a right to exact. And Lord Russell has never once demanded the punishment of the offenders, or the least satisfaction for the sufferers. There would seem to be only one assignable motive for his conduct, and that is one which it is not agreeable to impute to a British Minister. Brazil is a respectable monarchy, with an honourable sovereign, and an honest Government. The United States are an anarchical republic, with a buffoon for President and political swindlers for a Cabinet. Brazil is a friendly Power; the United States are eminently the reverse. It cannot then be the different character of the two Powers which has led Lord Russell so passionately to resent imaginary affronts from the one, and so patiently to endure every form of insult and outrage put upon him by the other. Brazil cannot help herself; while the United States have an army and a navy of respectable dimensions: are we really to believe that Lord Russell has dared, in the face of England and of Europe, to insult the weak, and submit to insult from the strong? Is a mean and bullying cowardice really the ruling principle of his foreign policy?

But even this wretched explanation will not avail us when we come to consider another of the strange contradictions which characterise his whole conduct. The Confederate States of America stand in a very peculiar relation to the diplomatic world. According to the assertion of the Federal Government, the war now raging in America is simply a domestic rebellion, of which foreign Powers have no right to take any cognizance whatever. But at the same time the Federal Government has found it necessary or convenient to admit the existence of "rebellious States," one of which, on the plea of rebellion, it has thought proper to dismember—and five of these States have been formally and severally recognised by the European Powers as sovereign and independent. Also, the Federal commanders are forced to deal with the "rebellion," both by sea and land, as with a belligerent Power. By the admission, therefore, of its enemy, the Confederacy has a real existence as a political unity, and as a belligerent nation. By the universal admission of foreign Powers it is not an ordinary "province," or collection of provinces, in a state of revolt. In the first place, the States of which it was composed have for eighty years enjoyed internal sovereignty, and independence in every sense except a diplomatic one; they are, therefore, in a much more favourable position, as claimants for European consideration, than any previous "insurgent" Power. Secondly, they enjoy a *de facto* Government, ruling with undisputed authority over five-sixths of the territory to which it lays claim; a Government as constitutional, as regularly organized, as truly national as that of England. Thirdly, they have a regular army, as strong in numbers, discipline, bravery, and organization as almost any in the world. Fourthly, they have for two years sustained their independence in a series of desperate struggles, growing stronger by

each success. Fifthly, few pretend to doubt the final achievement of their perfect independence. And finally, the case is one in which a settlement is easy, simple, and intelligible. All that is asked by one party is independence; and that is precisely all that the other party refuses: and it is only by the concession of independence that any rational statesman expects the war to end.

But in this case Lord Russell refuses to act. He grants that the interests of England are deeply involved; that the war is ruinous to her trade, dangerous to her peace, menacing to her shipping interests. He grants every reason we have urged to show that the case of the Confederate States is not one of simple and ordinary rebellion. But when France urges him to join her in mediation, interposition, advice, recognition, anything that will close the fratricidal strife, he shrinks back. He will not even recommend an armistice; he will not even offer a friendly remonstrance; so bent is he upon preserving inviolate the principle of what he calls non-intervention, and avoiding any act which may hurt the pride of the Northern States.

A struggle, similar in some respects, is raging in Europe. The Poles have no sort of diplomatic status; they are simply subjects in revolt against their king—a king enthroned by European consent, as well as the sword of his ancestors. They have been serfs of Russia for eighty years. They have no Government. They have no army—only a multitude of independent guerilla bands, under chiefs who own no common allegiance. They cannot sustain their independence; they have not yet established in any corner of the country a Polish authority. Every one admits the certainty that Russia can crush them; that they are only sustained by the hope of French assistance. Finally, a settlement by foreign mediation seems simply impossible. We cannot, without a violation of common decency, ask independence for Poland; we could not win it for her except by a terrible war, which would convulse Europe from end to end: even then we probably should fail. And nothing less than independence will avail the Poles. They ask for nothing less; knowing that everything else was given them by Alexander I., and that they could not keep the gift nor he endure the use they made of it. A diplomatic intervention can produce nothing but confusion and disappointment—misery for Poland, and peril and disgust for her patrons.

But this is the case in which Lord Russell interposes with all his might. He will not go to war; though if he perseveres with his present policy it is not impossible that war may seek him out, and surround him at unawares. But he will do everything short of war. He will advise, remonstrate, lecture, almost threaten. He asks of the Czar more than the insurgents could hope to extort if they were masters of Warsaw and of half Poland. And above all, he demands of the Czar an armistice with rebels; a truce with guerillas, who can neither make a truce nor keep it; a military negotiation with a force which has no General, and a cause which has no Government. He demands all this on behalf of insurgents who are repudiated by one-half of the people of Poland, and feebly supported by the other half; he manifests all this zeal in a case in which he does not pretend that any English interest is concerned. Of a surety, the policy of the Foreign-office under its present chief is one of those things "which no fellow can be expected to understand."

We know that Lord Russell may plead, as obliging him to say something on behalf of the Polish insurgents, the alleged atrocities of the Russians, and the Treaty of Vienna. Well! have there been no atrocities perpetrated in the Southern States? Have no Confederate soldiers been shot in cold blood by order of Northern commanders? Have no defenceless citizens been slaughtered deliberately on their own thresholds, in presence of their families, by Federal troops? Have there been no outrages on women and young girls? Have no plantations been laid waste, no open towns fired, no homesteads burnt? Has not the track of the invaders been everywhere marked by blazing homes, plundered farms, theft, arson, and murder? And in America all these outrages are on one side,



while in Poland the insurgents are at least as savage as the Cossacks. It is the North only that boasts a Milroy, a Pope, a McNeil, a Turchin, and a Butler. The last name alone would be warranty for European intervention. And for treaties—let us ask Lord Russell what the Treaty of Vienna is worth, now that a Bonaparte is once more on the throne of France, now that the Pope has lost the Legations, Austria Milan, and Piedmont Savoy? If the treaty did not bind him to interfere in these cases, how can it bind him to interfere in Poland? Besides, treaties bind Governments not merely to speak, but to act. If we have really promised anything to Poland, we are bound to keep our promise not by remonstrances only, but if need be by war; and when Lord Russell declares that he does not mean war, he repudiates entirely the dogma of treaty-obligation. And finally, let us remind him of another treaty, by which England recognised the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia as sovereign and independent States; and still the more recent treaty which so recognised Texas. Those States have never resigned their sovereign character; and if Lord Russell really thinks so much of the letter of treaties, he is bound by these. But the truth is, that treaties and principles, obligations of faith and rules of public law, have value for him only when they coincide with the dictates of his own caprice; and that, while the present Administration remains in power, we must look for no other rule of conduct in the foreign policy of England than may be supplied, in each isolated case, by the personal idiosyncrasy or individual predilections of John Earl Russell. We wish that in that idiosyncrasy there had ever been discerned a spark of manly or generous spirit; that among those predilections there were discoverable a love of honour and consistency, in place of that taste for clumsy intrigue and perverse ingenuity which has brought so much trouble on the Foreign Secretary, so much embarrassment on the Ministry, and so much disgrace and obloquy on England.

### The Prospect.

THE war in America has been, from the first, a series of startling surprises and sudden changes of scene, but in no former instance has the natural sequence of events appeared so violently interrupted as in the unexpected episode which commences on the blood-stained fields of Gettysburg. That an unknown division general, capriciously raised from obscurity to the command of a dispirited and repeatedly defeated army, should within a few days afterwards check the victorious advance of an enemy led by the greatest military genius the war has produced, was a contingency so improbable that the boldest romancer would scarcely have ventured to weave it into the plot of a fiction. The event has taken all the world by surprise, but doubtless none more than the miserable faction at Washington, whose lease of misused power has thus unfortunately been renewed. The same character of surprise attaches to the news from the Mississippi. A month, even a fortnight earlier, the fall of Vicksburg was anticipated; it is announced only when the conviction had gained ground that this stronghold was impregnable to the Federal forces. Events so completely at variance with settled expectations are apt to be judged by an erroneous estimate. We are prone, under such circumstances, to account as positive losses the hoped-for advantages which we fail to gain. In the successful defence of Vicksburg and the onward march of Lee's army, Europe and the South saw a promise of speedy peace. The disappointment is necessarily great, but it leaves the solid foundations of Confederate independence unshaken. These foundations lie deep in the unalterable determination of a unanimous people, resolved to defend their homes and liberties at every sacrifice of blood and treasure. Though we may think the booty gathered in Pennsylvania dearly purchased, the strength of the Confederacy for resistance on its own soil is not less now than it was, when to the astonishment of its most sanguine

friends, it boldly attempted to conquer peace on the soil of the enemy. The loss of Vicksburg is a serious blow, but in a war for the subjugation of half a continent, the occupation of no point, or even series of points, however important, can be decisive of the contest. When New Orleans fell, the navigation of the Mississippi was thought to be open to Federal commerce. Port Hudson had then never even been heard of; Vicksburg was a second-rate, open town, which no one expected to see converted into a fortress. The invader has spent a twelvemonth of unremitting and herculean efforts to remove the obstacles which during that time were improvised in his path, and is no nearer his object than when those obstacles not yet existed. Along 1,500 miles of river bank, there must be many other points where the same obstinate resistance can be renewed over and over again *ad infinitum*, so long as the Confederates have guns to train, and stout arms to direct them. The experience of two years has shown that the possessions of the invader are always confined to the limits of his camp. He may overrun and devastate, but cannot hold and retain; and the enemy who has fallen back before him rises again in his rear. If the worst happened to the Confederates, the North, though its military power were thrice as great, could not maintain six millions of people and eight hundred thousand square miles of territory under military subjection.

We are not disposed to underrate the importance of the reverse that has befallen the South. On the contrary, we appreciate the full magnitude of the fact, that while the fate of battles or of fortified places cannot affect the ultimate issue, yet every fair hope of peace is blasted. The recent events are a melancholy confirmation of the views which have been consistently expressed in these columns. We have always held that so long as Europe tacitly encouraged the North to persevere, it would not, and could not, spontaneously acknowledge its own failure. The peace party, besides labouring under the disadvantage of having to contend against those who control the machinery of Government, would expose themselves to the charge of having less faith in the national destinies than the most unfriendly neutrals. While the ravages of the war were spent upon the enemy's country, the immense sums necessary to conduct it being disbursed at home would for a long time present the semblance of an equivalent, albeit a fictitious one, for the genuine profits of peace, and the dangers and burdens of the future would be forgotten, amid the unreal prosperity of the present. The process of exhaustion would therefore be slow, and the pressure of necessity distant. These facts are now demonstrated beyond dispute. It is clear that the North will not be forced to make peace by lack of money, or rather domestic credit. It is equally clear that the lack of men will not, for some time to come, operate as a cause, for the teeming human hives of Europe are still open to the recruiting officer, and the exaggerated joy over unlooked-for successes will go far towards making even conscription more popular at home. There was, indeed, for a brief season, a hope that the tide of prosperous fortune might carry the Confederates into the heart of the North, there to extort that peace which was not to be expected from any return to reason. No one doubted the use which the South would make of its victory. Unlike the North, it had no mad visions of conquest. It disdained even the gratification of mere revenge, as is shown by the admirable discipline of the Confederate troops, contrasting so forcibly with the conduct of the Federal soldiery under similar circumstances. When the success of Lee's invasion seemed most secured, when the metropolitan cities of the North seemed within his grasp, the Confederate Government proffered peace, and had Lee been in possession of half the Northern States, the terms of that peace would still have been the same. "Abandon your vain attempts upon our homes and liberties," the South has always said, "yours are in no danger from us." This hope has now vanished, and there is nothing before us save the gloomy vista of an interminable war, laying waste one of the most productive regions of the globe, paralysing the commerce of the world, and

drowning the civilization of a continent in an ocean of human blood.

When Europe sickens of this horrid spectacle, it will end. But it is idle to repeat this to those who are wedded to the cruel and heartless policy of Earl Russell's "masterly inactivity." It is idle to tell them that the passive attitude of England is not neutrality; that this attitude is, in fact, the strongest motive power in the war; that by refusing to consider the Confederacy as an independent State, she invites, and in a measure justifies the North in assailing that independence. It is idle to prove that the withdrawal of sovereign States from a voluntary federation cannot be a rebellion of subjects against their lawful sovereign; that a Union based upon mutual consent cannot, when once broken, be restored by force; that the people of the Confederate States fight for rights which are deemed inherent in every other people, even the most degraded; that they have shown the moral qualities and the physical energies which prove them worthy of the enjoyment of their rights, in a pre-eminent degree; that the crime of attempting to subjugate a free people, worthy of their freedom, is not less monstrous because committed by a republic in the name of constitution and liberty, than if it were committed by a crowned monarch in the name of Divine Right. The partisans of "masterly inactivity" are as deaf to reason as they are blind to facts. When victory crowns the Southern arms, they say, "Let the South alone; she does not need even the moral aid of our recognition; our interference will only do harm." Or else the generous instincts of the British nation are appealed to, that it would be unfair and cowardly to add to the deep distress of the North. On the other hand, when, as at present, the North is in a glow of triumph, when it is in a position to make peace without disgrace or humiliation, the friends of peace are met with the plea that the moment is now inopportune, that the North is now too much elated to listen to sober counsels. At this very moment there are hundreds of thousands at the North who await with anxiety those words of peace which England has heretofore persuaded herself and others it would not be "a friendly act" to speak. It is this feeling of utter weariness of the war that such men as the two Seymours represent, and it is an encouraging sign that on the day of greatest exultation, on the 4th of July, these men had the courage and patriotic virtue to speak words of peace. Despite the blasphemous self-gratulation of members of the Washington Cabinet, the confidence of the masses in their ability to conduct the war to a successful issue is too much shaken to be easily restored. Confronted now with a firm protest against the further prosecution of the war from the principal Powers of Europe, we believe that the Northern people would yield to the dictates of their own sobered judgment and the lessons of experience.

But as we are not sanguine enough to hope that those who have lost so many opportunities will seize this, we are prepared for the worst consequences of the events of June—an indefinite prolongation of the struggle. The people of the South are prepared for this; indeed, it is doubtful whether they ever shared the buoyant expectations entertained here of Lee's movements. They are confident, however, in the knowledge that a great and brave people, thoroughly in earnest, with arms in their hands, cannot be subjugated, no matter what the odds are against them. Their sufferings will be protracted, but they cannot be intensified, for they have long since known the worst that can befall them. Above all, they have learned at an early stage of the struggle to rely upon themselves and the protection of the Almighty, which has never at any critical moment forsaken them.

### The Northern Threat of War with England.

IN the Litany of the Church of England we are taught to pray, "In all time of our wealth, Good Lord, deliver us," and assuredly the supplication is



seasonable. Prosperity, not less than adversity, is an ordeal that tests our endurance and virtue. Of this a forcible illustration is furnished in the conduct of the Federal Government on the receipt of the news of the late successes in Pennsylvania and at Vicksburg. Since the surrender of New Orleans, in May, 1862, the almost uninterrupted good fortune of the Confederate arms has been marvellous. At length, when it seemed that another victory would be the prelude of peace, it has pleased God in His inscrutable wisdom to check the triumphant progress of the South. Vicksburg has fallen after a protracted defence, but not until it has taught the South how many similar positions on the banks of the Mississippi may be fortified and held, so as to prevent that river passing under the control of the enemy, and dividing the Confederacy. General Lee, after a series of bloody battles, in which he at least inflicted as much loss as he sustained, has retreated southward unmolested, carrying with him all his military stores and an enormous booty. These are the triumphs that induced the Chief Magistrate of the United States to utter the most vulgar blatant speech ever reported, in which he said the Confederates turned tail and ran. A Billingsgate rough would have been more truthful, and have displayed better taste. General Halleck tries to steal whatever laurels Grant has gained, by dubbing himself the conqueror of Vicksburg. Mr. Seward, with hideous blasphemy, compares his own sentiments with those of our Saviour on the eve of the Crucifixion! It needed a gleam of sunshine to reveal the utter depths of scandalous contempt in which the Lincoln Cabinet revels.

There is not a whisper of seizing upon success as an opportunity for putting an end to the war. For this, we can scarcely blame the North. It appears that as soon as General Lee was in Northern territory, and the hearts of the Lincolnites were evidently failing them, the Confederate Government hastened to propose terms of adjustment. This proceeding was natural as well as commendable, for the South is fighting to be let alone, and only looks to victory as a means of securing her independence. The Federals, on the contrary, are fighting for empire and for vengeance, and ever so slight a triumph encourages them to persevere in the unholy contest. Peace will bring the South all she seeks; peace will be to the North the confession of failure. But, besides rejecting the overtures of the South, the North, intoxicated with an unexpected and, as we believe, momentary and unsubstantial triumph, loudly threatens Europe with war. This is not in one sense mere braggadocio, for a foreign war is the inevitable sequence of the subjugation of the Confederate States.

The *New York Herald*, of the 7th July, in three several editorials printed on the same page, reviles England and France, and declares that the suppression of the "rebellion" will be promptly followed by war against those countries. The following passages are extracted from these articles:—

"Finally, in anticipation of peace between our loyal and rebellious States, under the common banner of the Union, the question recurs, what shall we then do with our immense warlike establishment of full a million of veteran soldiers, and a navy of five hundred fighting ships? We answer, that this army and navy can be profitably employed in the good work of removing Louis Napoleon's imperial establishment from Mexico, and in a settlement with England for her perfidious conduct towards the country since the outbreak of this rebellion, and for thirty years before it. With the overthrow of the spurious despotism of Jefferson Davis, the Monroe doctrine of European non-intervention in the affairs of this continent will loom up in the foreground, and it will become the mission and the duty of the United States to make it the law of North America, excepting the possessions of Russia."

"In six months at the furthest, this unhappy rebellion will be brought to a close. We shall then have an account to settle with the Governments that have either outraged us by a recognition of what they call 'the belligerent rights' of the rebels, or by the active sympathy and aid which they have afforded them. Let France and England beware how they swell up this catalogue of wrongs. By the time specified we shall have unemployed a veteran army of close upon a million of the finest troops in the world, with whom we shall be in a position not only to drive the French out of Mexico and to annex Canada, but, by the aid of our powerful navy, even to return the compliment of intervention in European affairs."

"From the commencement of his career up to the present time, Louis Napoleon's actions have been of that nature that

naught save success relieved them of the stigma which should have been attached to them. Of all his undertakings none have been more barefaced than this seizure of the Mexican republic. But his triumph shall be short-lived in this instance. The people of this country are, thank Heaven, almost at the termination of the awful crisis which has deluged the land with blood, and will soon be enabled, in all the integrity of union and power, to stay the progress of foreign usurpation on this continent. Our first step shall be to free Mexico from the French. That this is no vain boast Napoleon shall ere long find out to his cost. The Powers of Europe will find that the Monroe doctrine, which they have lately so derided, is a far more respectable idea than they supposed, and that, when backed by some thirty odd millions of sturdy Americans, the whole affair is of vast importance. Intrusion on this continent is a step which no sane European Government would ever dare attempt. Adventurers will find out to their cost that in this case precaution is the better part of valour. The Yankees are not to be counted out on this side of the Atlantic."

Unless this war policy were popular it would not be so emphatically proclaimed in the most widely-circulated and influential journal in the North; and such a policy is popular, not so much from enmity to England and France, as from the deep-rooted and reasonable conviction that if the Union can be restored by force, it can only be cemented and kept together by a foreign war.

The *Edinburgh*, in an able article which we have elsewhere noticed, observes—and no one can dispute the fact—that Federal Governments are formed for the purpose of resisting foreign aggression:—"The Achaean League was the result of the pressure of the Macedonian Kings on Greece. The Swiss Cantons united against their feudal neighbours, and against the power of Burgundy. *Their Union would have perished long ago, were it not that they were hooped together by the interests and mutual jealousies of European nations.* The United Provinces became a Power for the purpose of resisting Spain and the House of Austria. The United States were driven to form their federal tie for the purpose of securing their freedom against George III. Moreover, as foreign aggression and foreign wars have created all federal Governments, so the fear of foreign aggression and foreign wars is, we fear, essential to their long-continued existence in their original shape." The *Reviewer* then takes America as an illustration, and it is impossible to deny that a failing sense of union has often been revived by "declining against the perfidy and insolence of England." The conclusion is inevitable,—that if foreign war had been impossible the discordant elements of the Union would not have been so long held together, that for the purpose of reunion, a foreign war is indispensable, and that the threats of the *New York Herald* are only idle on the supposition that the South will not be conquered.

We know the people of the South will endure unto the end; and that their just cause will triumph, though it may be through further and dreadful tribulation. We have, therefore, no fear of a war with the United States; yet it is well that it should be understood, that the South is not only fighting for her independence, but indirectly for the welfare and peace of Europe, and especially of England. The establishment of a second federation in America constitutes a balance that would render a foreign war destructive to, instead of conservative of, the respective Unions. This, then, is the position of England. The independence of the South secures to us our cotton trade, is a guarantee of our peaceful possession of Canada, and makes the chances of war with the United States remote. Could the Confederate States be forced back into the Union, what are our prospects? The whole of the Southern population could not be slaughtered, and we cannot suppose that those which remain would feel any compunction in warring against a country that coolly witnessed their subjugation. Even if the South had the will, she could not stem the torrent. Besides, all sections of the restored Union would then feel a foreign war necessary for the internal peace of the country, for large armies cannot immediately be disbanded, nor kept unemployed without the greatest danger. And war with the reconstructed Union would involve what war with the present United States cannot—the starvation of Lancashire and the ruin of our cotton trade. We repeat that the threats of the *New York Herald* are

only idle, because, happily for England and for Europe, there is no prospect of the gallant South being subjugated.

#### VICTOR HUGO.\*

THIS work is ascribed to Madame Hugo,—on what authority we do not know. To our ideas it seems to bear the sign-manual of her husband in every page. It has all the vivacity and all the vanity, the delightful unrestraint and the intolerable egotism, the brilliancy and the levity, the absence alike of dulness and of good sense, of reticence and of gratitude, which might be expected from the Coryphæus of the modern school of French literature. At all events, if the work be not written by M. Hugo, it has received from him, in the fullest sense, a plenary inspiration; it is full of stories which only he could have told, and which have no interest for any one but himself; of anecdotes and sayings which would not be worth recording even of a Byron or a Shelley, or any other of the very few extraordinary beings every trait and title of whose character is of interest to the world; and it seems pervaded by the idea that nothing which concerns the author of "*Les Misérables*" can be uninteresting to any educated man. And yet there are certain peculiarities which seem to indicate the hand of a woman, or a man possessed by a feminine love of insignificant details and a feminine inability to appreciate the idea of proportion. We have in these two volumes more than 700 pages, half of which are occupied with irrelevant matter. We have the history of Victor's papa and mamma—the former a brave, skilful, and estimable soldier; the latter a clever woman, a bad wife, but a devoted mother—which occupy half the first volume, and leave us with a strong impression that M. Hugo père was a far truer gentleman and far nobler man than M. Hugofils. We have a mass of M. Victor's childish poetry—*les bêtises que je faisais avant ma naissance*, as he himself called them—and a series of anecdotes concerning his school-boy pranks and studies, of no value to any one but himself, his wife, and his publishers, which fill up the remainder. The second volume contains the history of his first literary successes, and leaves him at the door of the Academy. Altogether, the performance is strongly suggestive of bookmaking, and by no means worthy of a literary man whose pretensions are of more than ordinary exaltation, and who looks on himself, in his capacity of poet and novelist, as a creature very much above the level of average mankind, and almost on a footing of equality with heroes and with prophets. It is only fair to add that it is readable throughout—excepting always the childish effusions of the poet, which, like all childish performances, however promising of better things when the performer shall reach maturity, are in any other aspect simply an impertinence when forced on the attention of grown men and women. A child who should write at thirteen as Victor Hugo wrote at that age would, no doubt, interest us all. If we had no interest in its welfare, we might admire and caress the prodigy; if we had, we should tremble for its future, and study to counteract the effect of the spoiling and praise to be expected from indifferent strangers. But when an old gentleman of sixty comes to us with a bundle of copy-books in his hand, and says—"Gentlemen, see; these are the verses which I wrote in my innocent boyhood, when George the Third was King," we are bored and disgusted. He is no longer a child, but an old man, who ought to have put away childish things, and burned his childish copy-books. *Et nos ergo*—all of us have done things when we were young which attracted the admiration of our nurses, and for which our mothers—if they were so foolish—claimed the wonder of strangers. And it is by no means those who in after-life rise to the highest eminence whose childish achievements are most wonderful. Byron, at eighteen, wrote miserable twaddle; Victor Hugo, at fifteen, obtained an honourable mention from the French Academy. Felicia Hemans was an authoress at fourteen; there have been writers whose reputations are tenfold greater, who never appeared in print till they were forty. In the name of common sense, therefore, and for the preservation of boyhood from the canker of inordinate vanity, we protest against this practice of publishing, when a man has won fame by the achievement of his manhood, "the follies which he committed before he was born."

Its irrelevancy apart, the history of Victor Hugo's father is about the most interesting part of the book. He was, in early youth, an officer in the Guard of Louis XVI. He chose to serve the Republic, and was employed in hunting down the Royalists of La Vendée, in which service he showed an unusual and somewhat perilous tenderness of conscience, having a great objection to murdering unarmed men, women, and children in cold

\* Victor Hugo: a Life related by One who has witnessed it; including a Drama in three Acts, entitled *Inez de Castro*, and other unpublished Works. In two volumes. Authorized Translation. London W. H. Allen and Co. 1863.



blood. This seems, with him, to have been a matter of professional feeling, rather than of etiquette. He laid a notable scheme, just after the battle of Vittoria, for the assassination of Wellington; but he objected to hanging brigands in Naples, and positively refused to shoot captive guerillas in Spain. General Hugo as a friend of Moreau's incurred the displeasure of Napoleon, which was ill-atoned by the cordial friendship and constant support of Joseph Bonaparte, by whom he was appointed to high military rank in Naples, and to the Government of Madrid when Joseph was king of Spain. He was a wanderer on the face of the earth, beyond the usual wont of soldiers, and two of the chief episodes of Victor's childhood consisted in journeys made from Paris, the one to Avellino, the other to Madrid, to join the father of the family. Driven from Spain with his patron, General Hugo, as Governor of Thionville, bore his part in the resistance offered to the invaders in 1813-4, and again during the Hundred Days; and by the tenacity of his defence, seems to have excited the ill-will of the Bourbons. Madame Hugo, however, a Royalist by family, who had in the palmy days of the Empire shared her husband's good fortune, deserted him in his downfall, and brought her sons up as Royalists in Paris, seldom seeing their father, and never liable to his influence. She was a woman of masculine character, and of no common intellectual powers: and exercised, until her death, a stricter control over her adolescent sons than fathers can generally maintain. Not long after her decease, her son Victor married, on a pension of 1,000fr. (£40) a-year from the king and his chances as a writer, which were already good. He had made his mark at an early age by his academic distinction; he had won the notice of many of the first men of the day, and the personal friendship of Chateaubriand; and at twenty his way to fame and fortune was already open. Shortly after his marriage, he received from the Minister of the Interior another pension of 2,000fr. (£80), and with an income of £120 a-year considered himself already rich. His works, also, were beginning to sell. "Hans d'Islande" was written not many months after his marriage, and brought him in £40. Some friends proposed to him a tour in Switzerland. He demurred to the expense, and it was suggested that this should be defrayed by a publisher. So it was arranged. Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Nodier, and Taylor, with the wives of some of the party, started on a journey which was to furnish material for a joint-stock book, for which they received part payment beforehand at a very liberal rate. But, except Victor Hugo's, no portion of the book was ever written, the publisher failing before its completion.

Here we may make a remark, suggested by the fact that the translator has rendered in this place *éditeur*—publisher—by "editor." There seems to be in his mind a strange want of knowledge of some common French idioms. For instance, *par contumace* is translated "for contumacy;" and he apparently imagines that a Frenchman who does not appear to answer when called upon at the bar of a Court of Justice is condemned and sentenced for his "contumacy"—i.e., for contempt of court. Now the fact is, as the French phrase implies, that he is sentenced not *for*, but *by* or *in* his "contempt." Not appearing, he is tried in his absence, and condemned, if need be, while "contumacious." Mistakes in so simple a matter as this, without a word to show that the translator knows the nature of a condemnation "*par contumace*," suggest distrust of his general competency, which is not dispelled by the style in which he has rendered certain of M. Hugo's poems, of which the original is given side by side with the translation.

M. Hugo made his fortune as a writer for the theatre. His first and second plays produced—*Amy Robsart* and *Marion de Lorme*—were interdicted by the censorship. His third, *Hernani*, was the object of a desperate theatrical battle; the pit being filled with friends who came, gratuitously, to applaud and support it, and the boxes with the partisans of the old school, who came to hoot and sneer at it. It was profitable to the management, inasmuch as every place was filled, and to the author, who received £250 for the copyright; but the actors complained grievously of the annoyance imposed upon them, in having to act in the midst of a constant uproar. For ten years—from 1830 to 1839—the author's time was occupied chiefly with theatrical labours; writing plays, defending them in the greenroom, carrying them safely through managerial intrigues and theatrical storms, and fighting their battles with the censorship. At last his reputation had reached so high a point that he received £10,000 for the complete copyright of his works for eleven years—a large sum for France in 1839.

In the meantime he had published two of his greatest prose works—"Notre Dame de Paris," and "Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné." The first was written under great difficulties. He had promised it, and disappointed the purchaser; he was pressed for it, and undertook to

write against time; he lost his memoranda, and was forced to lock himself up at last, in a suit of knitted wool, in which he could not appear out of doors, and spend months of close confinement at his desk in order to finish it in time. This is, perhaps, the greatest of his works, except "Les Misérables." But "Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné," more than anything which he has ever written, betrays the author's peculiar character—his rarest talent, and his most marked deficiencies. It was the product of a sense of loathing and disgust induced by witnessing some capital executions, and was conceived as a vehement protest against capital punishment. It is in reality nothing of the kind; it is simply a record of the agonies of a condemned criminal, written with unrivalled power of imagination and expression. It is sure to haunt the dreams and torment for many days the waking reveries of an impressible reader; it is a work of wonderful genius, a masterpiece of moral terror and spiritual horror; but it has not the slightest bearing upon the question in hand. No one doubts that it is a very horrible thing to die in the full possession of youthful vitality and manly vigour, unprepared for death by that sinking of the physical energy which overpowers the fear of death, that is the strongest instinct of animal nature; no one doubts that of all forms of untimely death the most fearful is that of the criminal who, after long and dreadful expectation, amid the terrors of a guilty conscience, pays on the scaffold the penalty affixed by all law, human and divine, to the crime of murder. But this does not prove that the murderer ought not to be hanged; on the contrary, it goes far to prove that hanging is the proper penalty of murder. A wise statesman, a skilful and rational orator, may find in Victor Hugo's protests against the penalty of death, the strongest arguments in its favour. The object of legal punishment is to terrify; to deter men from committing crime; and that punishment is the best which is most terrible—provided always it be not so terrible that society shrinks from inflicting it, or holds it disproportionate to the guilt of the sufferer. But M. Hugo is no logician; he never follows out his argument to its consequences, and seems to think eloquent declamation and poetic pathos the best and most effective form of reasoning. A man who denounces the execution of a murderer as a murder, must have forgotten to ask himself what is the trade of a soldier,—a man who thinks that the law has no right to take life may well be asked what right men can have to take life on the field of battle. A writer who can seriously plead the sufferings of a convict's family as a reason why he should not be hanged, ought, if capable of logical reasoning, to contend that for the same reason he ought not to be punished at all, and to dispense with law and government altogether. But men of M. Hugo's stamp have nothing to do with logic, and ought to have nothing to do with practical politics. As poets, as novelists, we admire them heartily; as politicians or practical thinkers we are forced to rank them among the dullest and least competent of mankind. No one who reads the pages filled with Victor Hugo's diatribes against the scaffold can wonder why he failed so utterly as a politician. He wants practical common sense; and even in France this quality cannot be dispensed with in the real business of life.

The record of his political life is wisely reserved for a future work, whereof we may have more to say. In the meantime, if we cannot say that this literary biography inspires us with a high esteem for the character of the man, we can say that it is readable in itself, and not an unworthy monument to a writer who is not undeserving of the admiration of his contemporaries, and the remembrance of posterity.

#### THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.\*

THE most dangerous dogma of modern times, and that which, unconsciously to the majority of those who accept it, underlies nearly every social, political, and religious heresy which mars our civilization, is the dogma of the equality of man. Our daily experience belies it, our instinctive convictions repudiate it, our constant practice ignores it; and yet we continue to assert it, and in its various forms build upon it elaborate structures of theory. The feeblest intellect recognises a difference between self and fellow-man, between one nation and another; a careless glance suffices to convince even the vulgar of the broad distinctions between the white man and the negro, or between them and the Chinaman or the Hindoo. Yet by some strange perversion of ideas, the popular mind has come to associate the study of human races with infidelity or, at least, scepticism. Every one admits the truth of the familiar line into which Pope condensed the advice of philosophers and sages. Under every aspect except one, man has been studied assiduously, and not unsuccessfully. As an individual, in his

material relations to the material world, science knows him with an accuracy which leaves comparatively little that is attainable to desire. Even in that most difficult and dangerous path, the metaphysical study of man, there are not lacking brave and earnest labourers who are willing to hew the massive quarries of thought. But so soon as science attempts to consider man as a gregarious being, classed by the Creator into certain great and distinct groups, she is stopped at the threshold of the investigation by suspicions of the lawfulness of her proceedings. To a certain extent, the students of the science of races have doubtless themselves to blame for this prejudice against them. They have, in many instances, unnecessarily brought themselves into at least apparent contradiction to Holy Writ by inquiries into the origin of man. We say unnecessarily, because even if it were permitted for human shortsightedness to fathom the mysteries of the creation, it could have no practical bearing on the legitimate subjects of inquiry, whether all mankind was descended from a single pair, or whether there had been—to borrow M. Agassiz's phrase—several distinct centres of creation. Whether the Great Architect primarily ordained the existing differences between distinct varieties of man, or whether He subsequently effected the same object by such means as He saw proper, science has to deal only with the facts as she finds them, and her duty is confined to the solution of two problems:—first, what are those differences, physical, moral, and intellectual; and secondly, are there any ascertainable means by which they can be modified or removed? If science does not transgress these bounds, it is difficult to see how she can step upon forbidden or even dangerous ground.

The second of these questions must always remain an open one, since science is compelled to prove a negative. All that can be said with any degree of absolute certainty is, that since the beginning of profane history no race of men is known to have changed its physical characteristics from any other cause than admixture; but that the moral and intellectual characteristics of all races are susceptible of development, the degree and nature of which are as yet a matter of doubt. The first question, that is, what the differences actually are, is, although not easy, certainly less difficult, because the answer depends on positive facts which research is daily increasing in number. There are those who profess apprehensions in the interests of religion, as to what the answer may be. Let them not be disquieted. The plan of salvation, as it comprises all colours, comprises also all grades of intellect. As we do not measure a man's claims to Divine mercy by the weight or texture of his brains, so neither need we those of races; and there is no reason why we may not admit the same relative difference to exist among races, that we know and feel to exist among men of the same race. To say that this or that race is distinguished by some peculiar aptitude or inaptitude, cannot be more unjust or improper than to say that one man is superior in some respects while another is deficient. The shortest road to infidelity in morals, politics, and religion, is taken by him who sets out with the idea that all men are born equal in all respects, and that the apparent differences of later life are the results of external circumstances and accident.

If, then, science shall inform us that certain races of men are distinguishable by certain moral and intellectual, as well as physical attributes, it will only have done, in a wider field and with greater accuracy, what is habitually done in assigning to different nations of the same race certain peculiarities, terming one slow, another vivacious—one prone to abstract speculations, another to practical conclusions. It will have afforded no pretext for treating any race with injustice or contempt; but it will have enabled us to facilitate and further the progress of each in the career for which the Creator of all designed it. It will have shed a light over much that is now dark and mysterious in the history of the past, and in the history we ourselves are writing by our acts in our day. Fanaticism is always the child of ignorance or imperfect knowledge; or it is, at best, the contortion of a part of the truth from its true proportion to the whole truth. Individual man is but an insignificant atom in the society of which he forms a part; it was appointed that his onward march should be not singly, but in troops; and the more we know of the mutual relations of the different societies, each of which has its appointed task, the more benevolent, because the more enlightened, our judgment will become.

We have been led into these reflections by the appearance of a new quarterly publication, the *Anthropological Review*, intended as the organ of an association of scientific men, who propose to themselves the range of studies we have briefly sketched out above. The Anthropological Society is, we believe, a secession, or perhaps, more properly speaking, an offspring of the Ethnological Society. At all events, it comprises many of the distinguished names of the latter, and although the youngest

\* "The Anthropological Review and Journal of the Anthropological Society of London." No. I. May, 1863, Trubner and Co., London.



of our learned societies, the vigour and vitality it has already shown, and the rapidity with which it has recruited its numbers, give promise of a brilliant career of usefulness. It is proposed to make this quarterly publication a repository of all valuable information and speculation bearing upon the science of races, and the number now before the public is evidence that this will be done in a catholic spirit, without favour or prejudice for or against any preconceived theory. The general reader, who is not deterred by the somewhat repulsive title, will find much to interest him. Indeed, the subjects selected might always be termed popular ones. There are several papers, from different points of view, upon the discovery of the supposed human bones in the tool-bearing drift of Moulin-Quignon, at Abbeville, in France, which has attracted so unusual a share of public attention. There is, also, a very fair summary of the "Evidence of the Antiquity of Man;" and an interesting article on "Wild Man and Beast Children," the stories of which the author places, we think justly, among popular superstitions; a discriminating comparison between "Ethnology and Phenology;" a lively and amusing account of "A Day among the Fans," by Captain Burton, her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po; besides a number of other original articles, reviews, and translations. The objects of the Society, the scope of its researches, and its plan of operation, are fully explained in an "Introductory Address" by Dr. James Hunt, the President, with which the present number opens. As the *Review* is open to all painstaking inquirers, and advocates no exclusive set of scientific tenets, each reader will find much to object to and criticise; but we venture to say that he will find nothing that is not at least suggestive, and much that cannot be otherwise than instructive.

#### THE EDINBURGH AND QUARTERLY FOR JULY.

THE *Edinburgh*, in a brief notice of Sir G. C. Lewis's last work, "A Dialogue on the Best Form of Government," introduces some observations on Secession, which are worthy of attention from their intrinsic merit, but especially because they are the means of placing on record the true opinions of the late lamented statesman on the American contest. It will be seen that he was not the pro-Federal fanatic that the Anglo-Federal press would have us believe.

The *Edinburgh* defines accurately and boldly the essential difference between rebellion from a State authority and secession from a Federation. We are reminded that Federal Governments are formed for the purpose of resisting foreign aggression or external violence, and that the sole remedy for Federal discontent is foreign war. Whenever in the United States there has been weakness or discord at home, the statesmen of the Union "have always restored the tone of the Constitution, by the stimulating action of a foreign quarrel, actual or impending," and it may be added that until the establishment of the Southern Confederacy, England was the only convenient enemy. Whatever dispute there may be as to the technical character of Secession, it palpably differs in its moral aspect from rebellion against a national Government:—

Each State is an organized community, with its own laws, its own administration, and its own courts. If the Federal capital, the President, Congress, and the Federal army, were to be swallowed up by an earthquake, each State of the Union might transact its own business and carry on its own industry just as if nothing had happened. Secession, whether it be technically "rebellion" or not, implies in itself none of those internal dangers and risks which necessarily attend on rebellion in a centralized State. It does not involve anarchy, because each State possesses in itself all the machinery of government, which has in fact regulated the daily life of its citizens while it remained a member of the Federation. The safeguards of life and property will, so far as internal danger is concerned, be neither less nor more after secession than they were before it. We do not say that these considerations as to the real origin and principle of federal government, and the consequences of "rebellion," justify the secession of the South; they may do so, or they may not, but they appear to us to account for many phenomena, and morally they place the separation of a State from a federation in a very different light from the insurrection of a province against a national Government.

After an exceedingly able and lucid discussion of the abstract right of Secession, the *Edinburgh* adverts to the Confederate States by quoting from the private correspondence of Sir George C. Lewis. The following is an extract from a letter written by him in July, 1856:—

Dana's lecture on Sumner is very interesting. It illustrates the relations of the South and North, and their feelings to one another. People here speak of the outrage on Sumner as a proof of the brutal manners of the Americans, and their low morality. To me it seems the first blow in a civil war. It betokens the advent of a state of things in which political differences cannot be settled by argument, and can only be settled by force. If half England was in favour of a measure which involved the confiscation of the property of the other half, my belief is that an English Brooks would be equally applauded. If Peel had proposed a law which, instead of reducing rents had annihilated them, instead of being attacked by a man of words such as Disraeli, he would probably have been attacked

with physical arguments by some man of blows. I see no solution of the political differences of the United States, but the separation of the Slave and Free States into distinct political communities. If I was a citizen of a Northern State I should wish it. I should equally wish it if I was a citizen of a Southern State. In the Northern States the English race would remain unimpaired; but I cannot help suspecting that it degenerates under a warmer sun, and that a community formed of Anglo-Saxon masters within the tropics and of negro slaves would degenerate. I see no reason why the pure English breed should not be kept up in the Northern Provinces and the Northern States. It may also be kept up in Australia, which has a climate suited to our race, and has fortunately been kept untainted by the curse of coloured slavery.

In November of the same year he wrote:—

The United States seem to me to have come nearer to a separation of North and South than they ever were before. I take for granted that Buchanan will win. The Southern States are thoroughly in earnest. They are fighting for their property. The Northern States have only a principle at stake; they will be less united and less eager. At the same time it is not at all clear that they can continue to form one State, or rather one political body; and they may reach a point when, like a married couple who cannot agree, they may part by common consent. Each may find his account in a separation.

In our first quotation he exhibits in its true light the so-called outrage upon Sumner, and concedes that if the violence of Mr. Brooks was impolitic, it was at all events so far justifiable, that an English gentleman would have been applauded for acting in a similar manner under a like provocation. Even in 1856 Sir George thought that separation was good for the North and for the South, and every year must have strengthened that conviction. Like the rest of Europe he had been deceived by the Abolitionists, but before he died he must have learnt that the English race remained unimpaired in the Southern States, and though his views upon the institution of Slavery were unchanged, he could not fail to perceive, that so far from it demoralising the white race, Edmund Burke was right in saying that it ennobled the slave-owners; and if he had visited the Southern States, all the mists of prejudice evolved by the pertinaacious and unscrupulous lying of New England would have been cleared away, and whilst he might still have deprecated slavery, he would honestly have confessed that its effects in the Southern States of America have been not to degenerate the white people, but to change the savage negro and heathen into the docile labourer and Christian. The opinions of Sir George Lewis were not modified, but rather intensified, by the realization of that contingency which he had the political sagacity to foresee. On May 18, 1861, he wrote as follows:—

The Northern States have drifted or rather plunged into war without having any intelligible aim or policy. The South fight for independence, but what do the North fight for, except to gratify passions and pride? — in his curious letter talks of averting anarchy, but if the North had remained quiet they had nothing to fear from anarchy.

What can we have more emphatic than this? Lord Russell, who is the warmest friend the Federal Government has amongst professing neutrals, has publicly declared that the struggle on the other side the Atlantic is, on the part of the North for supremacy, and on the part of the South for independence. Mr. Gladstone has quoted and endorsed this opinion. And now we find that Sir George Lewis, claimed by the Anglo-Federal faction as an authority and a supporter, testified, not in casual conversation, but by correspondence, that the South is fighting for independence and the North to gratify passions and pride. This must be bitter enough for those who have cited Sir George Lewis as their advocate; but worse for them remains to be told. The late Secretary at War was persuaded that a reconstruction of the Union was impossible. In the early part of 1861, Sir George Lewis wrote:—

The refusal of Tennessee and Arkansas to join the new confederacy may give some hopes of a compromise, but I cannot see how it can be expected that men who have committed themselves so far as the leaders of the Secession movement can be expected to come back, except upon such terms as they themselves would dictate. They would not only lose their present position, but they would scarcely be safe from proscription, if they acquiesced in the re-establishment of the old Union, and thus to a certain extent put themselves in the power of a republican Executive.

We have quoted at length the correspondence of Sir G. C. Lewis upon the American question as given in the *Edinburgh*, and our readers will not think we give it undue prominence, since it shows that the one eminent statesman, quoted by the Anglo-Federal faction as an authority, was so far a Southern sympathizer, that he thought the cause of the South just, the disruption inevitable, and a re-union by force impossible.

The first article in the *Edinburgh* is a scathing review of Mr. Mark Napier's memoir and defence of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Mr. Napier proceeds upon a plan once in vogue at the Old Bailey. He discovers here and there a flaw in the indictment, and then jumps to the conclusion that his client ought to be acquitted. Now it is possible, and even probable, that Dundee was not so utterly depraved, so satanically cruel, as the victims of his oppression have represented him; and on the other hand, we concede that the Cove-

nanters were a troublesome sect to deal with, that they provoked Government interference, and by their conduct justified some measure of severity. What then? We cannot conclude that Dundee was a pattern of Christian virtue, or that the Covenanters were only fit to be hunted like wild beasts. Cruel persecution developed their fanaticism, and is a disgrace not only to the name of Dundee, but to the Government, of which he was the ready and well-paid tool.

The other articles, though severally excellent, do not call for any lengthened comment. The essay on "Druids and Bards" displays considerable research, but the conclusion arrived at, that the Druids exercised very little influence upon their own and succeeding generations—that they are, in fact, almost as mythical as King Arthur's knights of the round table—will be very displeasing to those who take Stonehenge as a text for a very pretty romance, upon the manners and customs of the ancient Britons. However, no amount of scepticism will make us regard all our Druidical traditions as mere fables; and when, at the season of Christmas, our houses are decorated with the holly and the mistletoe, we shall recall to mind and believe in the forest ceremonials of the priesthood of the ancient Britons. A review of "Louis Blanc's History of the French Revolution," whilst crediting the author for his conscientious research, and the fairness with which he states and deals with adverse facts, points out several errors into which he has been led by his prejudices. An article on the well-worn but not exhausted subject of the navies of France and England; a clever paper on "The Scots in France and the French in Scotland;" as well as contributions on the "Sources of the Nile," on "Architecture," and on "Lyell's Antiquity of Man," make up an instructive and altogether excellent number.

The *Quarterly* opens with the discussion of a subject that just now engages the serious attention of European statesmen, and in which the peace of Europe is very much involved, that is, "The Resources and Future of Austria." So far as the resources of Austria are concerned, they justify the most sanguine expectations. In 1862, it was estimated that the population of the Empire was 35,795,000, and the number of inhabitants per square mile was 130, whilst in France it was 165, and in Great Britain and Ireland, 220. The natural wealth of the country is very great, and she only requires peace at home to ensure a rapid development of her commerce. Although the Empire consists of an agglomeration of diverse nationalities, they are bound together by geographical affinity, and two-thirds of her inhabitants are of one faith—the Roman Catholic. Much, nay all, depends upon Austria granting her subjects a full and fair representation, and treating them politically as a kind of Imperial federation. This seems to be her present policy, which if persevered in will ensure the future welfare of Austria.

A paper entitled "Natural History of the Bible" is happily free from the odium theologicum. "Our Colonial System" is a very temperate refutation of the ridiculous theories of Mr. Goldwin Smith, who is weak enough to believe that our colonies do not pay, and counsels us to get rid of them. The *Quarterly* points out their true commercial and other value, and our bounden duty to retain them until they have grown into prosperous nations, and demand the severance of the political tie. The *Quarterly* also deals with another set of visionaries, who have crept into notoriety by means of what we can only designate the imposture of modern spiritualism. Whether Mr. Home is self-deceived we are not called upon to determine, but that he is the agent in deceiving those who place faith in the spiritual manifestations that are exhibited at his *séances* we do not hesitate to declare. Even if spirits could be recalled to earth, they surely would not be under the control of every mountebank who learns the art of spirittrapping, nor would they employ themselves in performing tricks too ridiculous to amuse babies. The *Quarterly* very well observes:—

If the spirits of the departed can interfere in earthly things, on such occasions and in such modes as these, assuredly there is no occasion, however trivial, and no mode, however ludicrous, in which they may not be supposed capable of interfering. If the laws of material nature can be tampered with in the manner here described, assuredly we have no security for their permanence in any of the ordinary affairs of life. No chemist performing a delicate experiment can be sure that some tricky spirit may not alter the proportions of his ingredients and vitiate the entire result. No cook, preparing some *chef-d'œuvre* of his art, is safe from the danger of unseen hands substituting salt for sugar, or assafetida for spice. No plain man can buy groceries by weight without the danger of some roguish defunct tradesman aiding the frauds of his successor by "gravitating" the figs and raisins or "levitating" the weights. All this, no doubt, seems very absurd; but we submit that it is not a whit too absurd to be true, if Mr. Home's spiritual manifestations are to be taken as samples of the truth.

Two very charming contributions are "Sacred Trees and Flowers," and "Rome as it Is." The first contains a great deal of curious and suggestive lore, and the latter ought to be read by all those who are about to visit the



Eternal city, or who, not having the opportunity of so doing, desire to know something of Rome as it is. Besides the articles we have named, there is a learned and lengthy dissertation on Glacial Theories, and a review of the life and letters of Washington Irving, so far as they have yet been published.

CHARLES SUMNER.  
(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

DUBLIN, 17th July.

SIR,—My attention having been drawn to certain panegyrics passed in England on Mr. Charles Sumner, the senator from Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, I cannot allow the praise bestowed on him to pass unchallenged, for it is undeserved.

His Grace the Duke of Argyle has constituted himself the chief eulogist of the Massachusetts Senator in this country, pronouncing him "a consistent and accomplished statesman, and a truthful christian gentleman." How worthy of this public praise Charles Sumner is the following record will show.

On the 4th July, 1845, Mr. Sumner delivered an oration in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and the subject of his discourse was "peace." The address was published in America, and republished in Liverpool by the Peace Society, and copious extracts from it appeared in *Chambers's Journal*, 28th March, 1846.

On that anniversary of American independence Mr. Sumner commenced his oration by saying,—“He did not propose to pass judgment on the wars in which his country had been already engaged. On each occasion the people acted in accordance with the notions in which they had been educated; but now they are able to recognise the supremacy of the moral faculties, and to despise an appeal to brute force for the settlement of their quarrels.” “In our age,” he proceeds, “there can be no peace that is not honourable; there can be no war that is not dishonourable. The true honour of a nation is to be found only in deeds of justice, and in the happiness of its people, all of which are inconsistent with war.” The orator continues,—“With regard to the character of war, it is clearly an attempt on the part of two nations to overpower each other by force. Reason and the divine part of our nature, in which alone we differ from the beasts, in which alone we approach the Divinity, in which alone are the elements of justice, the professed object of war, are dethroned. It is, in short, a temporary adoption by men of the character of wild beasts, emulating their ferocity, rejoicing like them in blood, and seeking, as with a lion's paw, to hold an asserted right.”

The orator then considered the consequences of a resort to this brute force in the pursuit of justice:—“Relations of friendship and commerce were severed, each citizen or subject of the belligerents had impressed on him the character of enemy; the white doves of commerce were driven from the sea, and, instead of bearing the olive branches of peace, became the ministers of destruction. Look,” said the orator, “at the scenes of horror caused by war; read the histories that tell of Tarragona, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Badajos, Genoa, and Marenco, of murdered and outraged women, slaughtered children, ruined cities, devastated countries, and bankrupt nations.”

The orator then referred to “the selfish and exaggerated love of country which was the basis of all war.” “Among us Americans the sentiment has been active,” while it has derived new force from the point with which it has been expressed. An officer of our navy, one of the so-called heroes nurtured by war, whose name has been praised in churches, has gone beyond all Greek, all Roman example. ‘Our country, right or wrong!’ was his exclamation; ‘Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country!’ are words which have been echoed by innumerable multitudes, sentiments dethroning God, and enthroning the devil, whose flagitious character should be rebuked by every honest heart. He,” the orator, “did not inculcate an indifference to country; but God had not placed us on earth alone; there are others, equally with us, children of His protecting care.”

“Viewing then,” said he, “the different people on the globe as all deriving their blood from a common source, and separated only by the accident of mountains, rivers, and seas, into those distinctions around which cluster the associations of country, we must regard all the children of the earth as members of the great human family. Discord in this family is treason to God; while all war is nothing else than civil war. It will be in vain that we restrain this odious term, importing so much of horror to the petty dissensions of a single State. The muse of history, in the faithful record of the future transactions of nations, inspired by a new and loftier justice, and touched to finer sensibilities, shall extend to the general sorrows of universal man the sympathy which has been profusely shed for the selfish sorrow of country, and shall pronounce all war to be

civil war, and the partakers in it as traitors to God and enemies to man.”

After numerous arguments proving the unchristian character of war, with the crimes attendant on and the burdens entailed by it, the orator gives his exposition of the remedy for this “universal disease.”

“In nearly every instance war fails to secure the rights for which arms were taken up. Each party, as the war proceeds, becomes tired of the contest; and the affair generally ends by leaving the matter in dispute, where it stood at the outset. It being impossible to obtain justice by war, what is the alternative? The various modes which have been proposed for the termination of disputes between nations are negotiation, arbitration, mediation, and a congress of nations; all of them practicable, and calculated to secure peaceful justice. Let it not be said, then, that war is a necessity; and may our country aim at the true glory of taking the lead in the recognition of these, as the only proper modes of determining justice between nations.”

Sir, these were the sentiments inculcated, the lessons taught the people of Massachusetts, by Charles Sumner, on an anniversary of their independence, in Faneuil Hall, Boston. Look at him and hear him to-day.

Charles Sumner, the friend of Generals Butler, Turchin, and McNeil, hounding on mercenaries to kill, burn, and devastate, urging the extermination of those who were once his countrymen, exciting in the Southern States a servile war for the destruction of women and children, voting thousands of millions for a civil and a servile war; voting away the liberties of his country, shackling its press, and trampling its constitution under his feet, threatening war if any mediation was attempted by a foreign country, and establishing on the ruins of his once free country a hideous despotism.

This is the “consistent and accomplished statesman, the truthful Christian gentleman,” whom the Duke of Argyle is proud to call his friend. It is a clear case of colour blindness; his Grace can only see black; could he free his mind from the prejudice which oppresses it, and study the true character of the American negrophilists, he would soon behold a nation of “whited sepulchres,” and the chief one would be Charles Sumner, whom he would see standing in the “cradle of American liberty,” with the following legend in scarlet letters on his breast:—“I emulated the ferocity of a wild beast; I rejoiced in blood; I sought as with a lion's paw to hold an asserted right; I was a false teacher; I dethroned the Deity and enthroned the devil in my heart; I was a traitor to God and man; from the words of my mouth am I judged.”

W. G. O.

#### FEDERAL EXACTIONS IN NORFOLK.

The following military order from the petty despot who now lords it over Norfolk and Portsmouth, will show what is passing in that quarter:—

Head-quarters, Military Governor,  
Norfolk, Virginia, May 5.

Whereas, a certain sum of money derived from the sale of goods seized by the military authorities *in transitu* for insurrectionary districts was appropriated for the use of the poor of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and to that end placed in the hands of a duly constituted committee for distribution in the way of food purchased—

And whereas, the Portsmouth Committee have reported that five out of six of the persons in destitute circumstances are the wives and children of men who have been seduced into taking up arms against their Government without shadow of cause, except the influence of those who remain at home, and coolly and deliberately see the offspring of their deluded victims starving without an effort to aid them:—Therefore, it is ordered, that M. W. Armstead, Joseph Lurke, Henry Buff, William Morris, Holt Wilson, William H. Wilson, Samuel Watts, David Bain, George M. Bain, sen., John H. Cocke, Arthur Emmerson, Bernard O'Neill, John Nash, Charles Grice, A. B. Smith, Nestor Forbes, W. A. Hodges, David Griffith, George W. Maupin, W. J. Mercer, Charles Graham, Girard Henderson, Willoughby G. Butler, Robert E. Porter, Miles Minter, Henry V. Neimeyer, John Burke, Robert Dixon, B. Dyson, Fisher Matthews, Jacob Myers, Zachariah Owens, Thomas Hobday, Joseph A. Bilisoly, John T. West, and William Ives, of the city of Portsmouth, being individuals possessed of property and resources, who have not manifested their loyalty to the United States, be, and hereby are constituted a committee whose duty it shall be to see that every one of such destitute persons in that city shall be provided with food, fuel, and clothing, the means for which will be furnished by contributions from disloyal citizens who are responsible for this deplorable condition of things.

If said means are not supplied voluntarily, these families will be billeted upon those who are able to take care of them until such time as their natural protectors, confessing the error of their conduct, shall be allowed by the Government to return to their homes.

ROBERT L. VIELE,

Brig.-Gen. and Military Governor.

#### AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 22.

The buoyant tone which pervaded every department of the Stock Exchange for the last two or three weeks, has entirely given way under the influence of the less satisfactory state of political affairs abroad, more particularly as regards the threatening aspect of the Polish question, and the course likely to be pursued by the Emperor of the French in face of the high tone assumed by the Russian Government in the Ministerial

despatches just forwarded in answer to the joint representation of England, France, and Austria. So far as this country is concerned, the statements recently made in Parliament would tend to quiet any apprehensions that might have been entertained; but there is far less security felt as regards the Emperor Napoleon, and in commercial circles the belief is largely entertained that he contemplates war, in the event of his propositions being rejected by Russia. This was alone sufficient to cause a retrograde movement in monetary affairs, and the perturbed feeling has been greatly increased by the adverse accounts lately received from America; but although there is a general belief that these accounts are considerably exaggerated, still, till they are either confirmed or partially contradicted, the effect upon the market must be unfavourable. During the whole of this week Consols have been declining, and there are indications of a further adverse movement, and as long as the present uncertainty prevails, no material improvement can be expected. There has been no change whatever in the state of the discount market. The applications, both at the Bank and amongst the brokers, for accommodation are very moderate; but the latter do not appear at all inclined to force business, and although they have plenty of capital at command, they refuse to part with it even for first-class short-dated paper under  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{8}$  per cent.; or  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. below the Bank minimum. The Joint-stock banks are in the same position as the brokers, but they will not dispose of their ample resources under  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Under present circumstances there does not appear any prospect of money being cheaper, particularly as the demands are not so much for legitimate commercial purposes, as to meet engagements created by the numerous joint-stock undertakings recently brought forward.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

This afternoon £4,000 in gold was sent into the Bank of England, being the only transaction of this description during the week, and there have not been any withdrawals. The great paucity of these operations lately is creating some surprise, and it is not anticipated that there will at present be any great increase in this department. The only arrivals of gold this week have been from America, amounting to £53,130. The gold ships known to be on their way from the Australian colonies will bring £508,500, but none of this is likely to be in at present. The bar silver brought by the last West India packet has been sold at 5s. 1d. per oz., being precisely the same rate as that disposed of previously, but there have been some sales at 5s. 1½d. and 5s. 1¼d., in order to supply a limited demand for India and China.

##### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The general tone of the political advices from the Continent, particularly with reference to the affairs of Poland and Russia, and the course likely to be adopted in the emergency by France, has had a very depressing influence on the English funds, and prices have been steadily retrograding; but although there has not been any further decline to-day, there has not been any improvement; the last quotation for consols this evening was 92½ to ¼ for both money and account, which is a decline during the week of about ½ per cent. Exchequer bills have varied but fractionally, the present price being par to 3s. prem. The foreign stock market has been affected by the same causes and to a proportionate extent as the market for English securities, and the dealings have been restricted. Turkish descriptions have shown great heaviness, and Greek continues to be prejudicially affected by the late military *émoué* at Athens; there is evidently a want of confidence amongst dealers as regards these securities, and the consequence has been forced sales, with still lower prices. Spanish have also changed hands at reduced values, but Mexican although depressed, have not fallen to so great an extent.

##### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The cotton loan of the Confederate States has been subjected to very great fluctuations within the last few days, the advices with regard to the progress of the war being, for the moment, construed unfavourably. On Thursday last, although the accounts then to hand were not satisfactory, business was very dull, and the quotation ranged from ½ dis. to ¾ prem. On the following day there was also some depression, but without any alteration in price. On Saturday the loan was affected by the general depression in the other markets, and there was a decline to ½ dis. to par, but the final quotation was about ½ dis. sellers. On Monday a great change took place; on first reading the despatches then received, a degree of panic appeared to have seized the operators, and a fall to 5 dis. at once took place. After some little reflection, however, it was seen that the accounts proceeded entirely from Northern sources, and being regarded with some mistrust, a reaction quickly set in, and the price was called 4 dis. Subsequently purchasers came in, and a further improvement to 3 to 2½ dis. was the result, and before the close of the market much greater confidence was exhibited, a belief in some quarters being entertained that the advices would be found to have been greatly exaggerated, and which induced the dealers to take back stock. Yesterday business was again restricted, and the closing price was 4 to 3½ dis., and to-day there has been no further variation.

##### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The general tenor of the latest advices from New York has caused a considerable business to be transacted in most descriptions of American securities, and in the majority of instances a large rise has taken place. To-day, however, there has been rather less doing, the dealers seeming disposed to await further news. United States, redeemable in 1874, have been dealt in at 64½ to 65. Atlantic and Great Western, New York Section, at 72 to 72½; do. Pennsylvania do., 70½ to 71; Erie Shaws \$100, all paid, 64 to 64½; do. 7 per cent. preference do., 67 to 68½; do. 4th mortgage, 1833, 72. And New York Centrals, \$100 shares, 76 to 77. The rise in the foregoing has varied from 3½ to 5 per cent. The following have also been dealt in at nearly the same prices as last week. Virginia State 4s. 6d., 44½ to 45. Illinois Central, 1875, 4s. 6d., 74½; do. \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 26½ to 28 dis. ex. c. Michigan, South and North Indiana (sinking fund) 1855, 70. Pennsylvania Central bonds, 2nd mortgage, 86½ to 86½; do. \$50 shares, 40; and Michigan Central (sinking fund) 1st mortgage, 78.

##### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The business transacted in English Railway Shares has been only to a moderate extent, but in sympathy with the other departments of the Stock Exchange, prices have been gradually declining, particularly in the heavier descriptions, from about ½ to ¾ per cent. each day. A rather better feeling, however, was apparent early to-day, and although there was no great improvement in the amount of business transacted, prices, in some instances, slightly advanced, but declined again before the close of the market. In colonial shares there has been rather more doing, particularly for the Indian railways, and prices have shown less fluctuation. Foreign descriptions have also been in fair request, with quotations, on the whole, moderately supported.



## BANK MEETINGS.

At a meeting of the proprietors of the London Joint Stock Bank, a very satisfactory report was read, and a dividend of 12s. 6d. per share, being at the rate of £12 10s. per cent. per annum, with the addition of a bonus of 7s. per share, was declared. The net profits of the half-year were £53,689 18s. 7d., and the guarantee fund now stands at £264,505 12s. 4d.—At the Bank of London half-yearly meeting the report and statement of accounts presented were of a most encouraging character. The total profits of the half-year reached £53,867 1s. 6d., out of which a dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum was declared, and £18,000 carried to the reserve fund, which now stands at £100,000. The balance of £606 remaining was carried to the current half-year's account.—At the ordinary general meeting of the shareholders of the Alliance Bank of London and Liverpool the balance sheet presented showed the net profits for the half-year to have been £10,344 18s. 7d., out of which a dividend of 10s. per share was declared; £2000 was placed to the reserve fund; £1250 applied in part liquidation of the preliminary expenses, and £243 carried to the profit and loss account. A resolution was passed authorizing an increase of capital from £2,000,000 to £3,000,000 by the issue of 10,000 new shares, of £100 each.—The half-yearly meeting of the Bank of New Zealand was held on the 30th of April, at Auckland, when it was shown that the net profits amounted to £35,910, out of which a dividend of 10 per cent. was declared, and £24,000 was added to the reserve fund.—The half-yearly meeting of the Bank of New South Wales was held on the 29th of April, at Sydney, when a dividend was declared at the rate of 15 per cent. per annum, and a bonus of 2½ per cent. on the paid up capital, making together 20 per cent. per annum. The net profits for the half-year were £78,128, to which was added a balance of £3,253 brought from the previous half-year. After payment of the dividend there remained £3,128 to be carried to the current account.—At the half-yearly meeting of the City Bank, the usual dividend, at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, was declared, and in addition a bonus of 20s. per share, being equal to 10 per cent. for the year, out of net profits, amounting to £30,350. The sum of £10,000 was appropriated to the reserve fund, which now stands at £80,000, and £350 was carried forward to the current half-year's account. The directors of the National Bank had declared a dividend on the paid-up capital at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, and an extraordinary dividend of 16s. per share, making together £2 per share free of income tax for the half-year.—The half-yearly meeting of the National Discount Company was held this afternoon, when a dividend at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum, free of income tax, was declared. The gross profit for the half-year was £56,356, and after providing for the necessary disbursements, there was left £29,457 at the disposal of the directors. The dividend would absorb £16,000, leaving a balance of £13,457 to be carried to the reserve fund, which will then amount to £28,180.

## PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

Joint stock undertakings continue from day to day to be brought before the public. Five have been announced during the present week, for which an aggregate capital of £1,010,000 is required: with the exception, however, of the Marine Investment Company, which asks for £500,000, and the Oriental Hotels Company, which wants £250,000, the capitals sought are not large; they comprise the Whittington Freehold Colliery Company, the Blaencennant Silver Lead Mining Company, and Storm's Breach-loading Small Arms Company.

## THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The Canada's advices have somewhat changed the aspect of our American trade since this day week. With the retreat of the Confederates in Pennsylvania the chances of peace have, it is considered, again become remote, and the extension of demand which, in some departments, was at least commencing,

has now entirely disappeared. As America is one of our best customers for iron, the market for this article has been affected most, and the value of Scotch pig has declined 1s. 6d. to 2s. per ton. Bars and rails, although not notably altered, would be difficult to sell, except at easier rates; spelter has risen to £18 5s. per ton on the spot, in consequence of several purchases, partly speculative, and based upon an impression that future supplies will fall short of requirements. In gums, dyes, and chemicals suitable for the American markets, the dealings are quite of retail extent, and prices almost nominal. Some small lots of Kowrie gum have sold at 34s. Arabics, whilst dull of sale, are generally held for full terms. Shellac has slightly improved; fine orange being now worth £9 to £9 2s. 6d. and fine seconds £8 15s. per cwt. Argols of all kinds are freely offered upon late terms. Tartar is still depressed. Soda crystals are quoted £4 15s. to £4 17s. 6d., which is rather under recent prices. In the value of export spices no material change has occurred, but the tendency is, for most descriptions, in favour of buyers. A public sale has established £6 2s. 6d. to £6 5s. as the price of camphor, but the market looks unsettled. In American produce business has been restricted. Petroleum is offered upon reduced terms, as the retirement of the invading army from Pennsylvania will release supplies. Crude has fallen £2 per tun; there being sellers at £18. Refined is 2d. per gallon cheaper; 2s. 3d. was the last price paid on the spot, and 2s. 4d. for autumn delivery. American turpentine is steadily held for 98s. to 100s., in the expectation of further orders for the United States; whilst French has been depressed to 75s. by speculative sales. To-day, however, the market for the latter has recovered 1s. per cwt. Resin is extremely firm: common American, 26s. 6d. to 27s.; French, 23s. 6d. to 24s. per cwt. American provisions continue to move off steadily: butter at 68s. to 74s.; cheese at 46s. to 58s.; and bacon at 26s. to 44s. per cwt., according to quality. No quotable change has occurred in North American tallow, but the value may be favourably influenced by the increased firmness which holders of Russian are showing in consequence of political complications. American wheat and flour have remained stationary in value with a quiet demand. Oatmeal also sells slowly, without change in price. To-day the tone of the market was, if anything, firmer. The cotton trade has been rather more active, with quotations a point stronger in consequence of the last New York advices. In the tobacco market there is no new feature, and quotations are unchanged.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 22.

The past week has been fraught with events of great interest to all interested in the cotton market. On Thursday the first news of the desperate battles in Pennsylvania came to hand, but the accounts were too confused to throw much light on the position of affairs. Enough, however, was known to show that the victorious progress of Lee was stopped, and our market assumed, in consequence, a better tone, for the suspicion was removed that the war would be brought to a sudden close by the collapse of the North. American cotton, which had been much depressed, attracted most attention, and prices gradually hardened to the end of last week.

On Monday the commercial community was staggered by the advices brought by the Canada. The whole aspect of American affairs was changed. Vicksburg had surrendered, and the army of Lee was apparently seeking to retire into Virginia. Since the war commenced no such sudden change of fortune has occurred. The fall of Vicksburg was wholly unexpected; and the conduct of the Federal troops at Gettysburg almost equally so.

The first impression produced by the news was that all chance of a speedy settlement of the question was done away

with, but the effect of this view on our market was partially counterbalanced by the notion that the fall of Vicksburg would liberate some quantity of cotton. For some time it was quite uncertain how the market would move, but the sanguine view predominated, and an active demand sprang up, especially for American cotton. The business of the day reached 8,000 bales at ½d. to ¾d. advance in American cotton, and ¼d. to ½d. in Surats. The sales on Tuesday and Wednesday were 6,000 bales each day, and prices still continue to stiffen. The advance on American is now ¾d. to 1d. per lb. from the low sales of last week, and on Surats, ½d. to ¾d. In Surats to arrive a considerable business has been done, and Fair Dhollera May sailing, which was selling last week at 17d., is now readily saleable at 17½d. June sailing is worth 17½d.

No one conversant with American affairs can deny that the present aspect of matters in that country is most unfavourable to peace. All hope of the North giving up the war in disgust has now vanished. The fall of Vicksburg must soon be followed by that of Port Hudson, and then the Federals will have complete control of the Mississippi river—the grand object of Western policy. This great success will serve to unite and encourage the North, and give strength to Lincoln's Government; and there seems very little hope now of any change in Northern policy during the remainder of his term of office. We believe that the hopes of obtaining a supply of cotton from the Mississippi valley consequent upon the fall of Vicksburg will prove visionary. The Confederates will take good care that all the cotton liable to seizure by the Federals be either destroyed or removed into the interior. Besides, it must be remembered that the cotton stored on the plantations is half rotten in many cases, and cannot be transported till it has got fresh bagging and ropes put on, while the tributaries of the Mississippi will not be navigable for some months. And, therefore, even if seizures of cotton were made to some extent, very little of it would be available till next winter.

It may be added in conclusion that doubts are still expressed in some quarters of the accuracy of the report of the fall of Vicksburg, this appears, however, to be a case in which "the wish is father to the thought."

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, 21st July.

The dullness which pervaded our market last week, has been dissipated to some little extent, by later and better advices from the India markets, and by the tenor of the news from America.

The intelligence brought by the Canada, of Lee having been defeated, as well as Vicksburg having fallen, imparted a great amount of firmness to both spinners and manufacturers, who in most instances attempted to obtain higher prices, in which they have only succeeded for small parcels, to supply immediate requirements. Offers are being made by merchants for goods at prices of a week ago, but these are not accepted to holders, and the actual business transacted does not amount to much hitherto.

To-day the demand has been sluggish at an advance upon yarns of about ¼d. per lb. Cloth has been very quiet, and very little has changed hands.

There is a disposition to await further news from America before operating to any extent.

## Among the Contents of THE INDEX of July 16, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.  
ENGLAND AND SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP.  
THE BATTLES IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
THE DISCHARGED ORDER.  
BRITISH INTERESTS IN SECESSION.  
THE VETERAN OF SOCIETY.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND AND NEW ORLEANS.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE WINCHESTER CAPTURE.

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Per oz.	Per oz.
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23 ditto.....4 1 5	12 ditto.....2 2 5½
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21 carats.....3 14 4	10 ditto.....1 15 4½
20 ditto.....3 10 9½	9 ditto.....1 11 10
19 ditto.....3 7 3	8 ditto.....1 8 3½
18 ditto.....3 3 8½	7 ditto.....1 4 9
17 ditto.....3 0 2	6 ditto.....1 1 2½
16 ditto.....2 16 7½	5 ditto.....0 17 8
15 ditto.....2 13 1	4 ditto.....0 14 2
14 ditto.....2 9 6½	3 ditto.....0 10 7½
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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III—No. 66.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 30, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
PARIS TOPICS.

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE LATE FEDERAL SUCCESSES.

THE LOSSES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE FRUITS OF MASTERLY INACTIVITY.

THE NEW YORK RIOTS.

THE SESSION.

MR. CORDEN ON THE ALABAMA.

NEW ORLEANS CORRESPONDENCE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

GENERAL LEE has recrossed the Potomac, and another exciting act in the great drama is concluded. Putting aside the surmises of the Federals and those of Europe, founded on Northern reports, as to the intentions of the Confederate commander, and looking only to the conduct and the results of the expedition, the inevitable verdict given on such data must be to pronounce it substantially a success. Hitherto at all events in the history of war, to invade an enemy's country, to fight a series of battles, and to return home unmolested and laden with an imperial booty, has been regarded as a genuine triumph. If General Lee was bent upon taking Philadelphia or Washington, unquestionably he failed in his main object, and it remains an inscrutable mystery why he devoted so much energy and time to collecting stores, if his plan was to capture either of those cities. On the contrary, if his purpose was a gigantic forage, then—although the Northern Government may be properly jubilant that he did not bring upon them all the disasters they dreaded, and although Europe may be justly and bitterly disappointed that he did not gain a victory which would probably have proved the Waterloo of the war,—it is absurd to say that the second invasion of the North was a failure. A glance at the three weeks' campaign in Pennsylvania, even if it does not solve the problem of General Lee's plan, will disclose the true value of Northern boastings. Unfortunately, only a few of the main incidents, and scarcely any of the circumstances connected with it, are, in the absence of Southern accounts, known in this country. It is, for example, doubtful what Confederate force invaded the North, and there is at present no means of ascertaining what portion of that army took part in the battle of Gettysburg. Sufficient, however, has transpired to enable an unbiassed person to form a lucid and satisfactory judgment.

On the 21st June General Lee issued an order to his army which, if carefully studied, throws much light on subsequent events. In the preamble of this document we read:—"While in the enemy's country, the following regulations for securing supplies will be strictly observed, and any violation of them promptly and rigorously punished." Then follow six ordinances for the protection of private property from pillage; for the levying of contributions by the chiefs of the Commissary, Quartermaster, Ordnance, and Medical departments; for payment of the goods taken, or for giving receipts to those who decline payment; and for the seizure of property necessary for the use of the army, if the owner thereof should attempt to remove or conceal it, but even in such cases, "the kind, quantity, and market price of the property so seized, and the name of the owner" were to be forthwith reported. This order, which was extensively published in Maryland and Pennsylvania, does not contain a syllable about conquest; not a word to foster or excite the martial ardour of the troops, but rather at the outset implies a brief occupation of the enemy's territory, and is altogether

the most curious address ever written by a commander about to essay the capture of an hostile Capitol. If the motive of the Northward advance was to gather supplies, then it was manifestly a sagacious and, as we shall immediately observe, an eminently well-timed and effective instrument.

The contradictory telegrams transmitted to Europe; the agitation of the Washington Government, which induced it to change its general in the face of the foe, and the large area that was panic-stricken; portray very graphically the operations of the invader. So far from concentrating his strength to take one of the cities supposed to be in danger, General Lee spread out his army like a fan, and simultaneously Hooker was anxiously protecting Washington, Baltimore was rejoicing in the prospect of deliverance, and the people of Philadelphia who have got rich honestly or otherwise, were sending their valuables to New York. The most inconsistent rumours were rife as to which of the capitals would be visited by the Southern army, but all agreed that a swoop was intended to be made upon one of the three. Was this a correct assumption? What would have been the result of a complete victory at Gettysburg it would be ridiculous to discuss; but the question is, did General Lee, previous to that battle, aim at taking one of the three capitals? We learn from Northern as well as Southern sources, that from the time he set foot on Northern territory, until he met the enemy—about a week—he had gleaned a stupendous amount of stores—enough, indeed, to relieve the Confederacy for months to come of the burden of maintaining his army. The theory of an intended swoop on Washington, or Philadelphia, or on Baltimore, is utterly incompatible with this undisputed fact of the collection of supplies.

Of the battles of Gettysburg we yet know nothing, except as to the consequences. On the 1st and 2nd of July, the Confederates had the advantage, and if General Lee's force had been as large as Northern panic-mongers represented it, and if it had been nearly all available for these engagements, the South would have gained a decided victory. On the third day, the Federals claim a triumph. A Southern narrative might tell a different tale; but subsequent events prove that it was, at least, for the Federals, a drawn battle, from which their enemy reaped an important advantage. Lee retreated leisurely—if an army laden with spoils, and retiring unmolested can be said to be retreating—and finally took up a position where he could superintend and protect the transportation of his booty into Virginia. After an interval, General Meade followed, and on the 10th of the month again confronted his enemy. It is not surprising the North should have deemed a battle imminent. General Lee thought so, for on the 11th he issued an address to his troops, and told them, "Once more you are called upon to meet the enemy from whom you have won, on so many fields, a name that will never die." And if Meade had had a chance of success, the situation of the Southern commander would have been highly critical. The greater part of his immense booty was still north of the Potomac, and a defeat with that river in his rear, would have been an almost irreparable disaster. But General Meade was too prudent to jeopardise his newly won laurels on a forlorn hope. On the 13th, when the last supply trains were crossing the river, it was thought in Washington and New York that a battle was progressing; but again the Northern prophets were wrong, and the Confederate General did not elect to fight on the field chosen by the foe. General Lee speedily followed his supply trains. On the afternoon of the 14th, General Meade informed General Halleck that he had captured 1,500 infantry, and that "the enemy are all across the Potomac." The *World* says: "The entire rebel army have succeeded in crossing into Virginia, much to the surprise of every one in and out of the army." No doubt the surprise was great, for even on the 14th, the

*Tribune* exulted over the rise of the Potomac, and observed: "We interpret the protracted delay of General Meade to mean that he is sure the rebels are within his grasp." The Northern exultation was unwarranted.

Very little has been said about the return of General Dix to Fortress Monroe. It will be remembered that whilst that General was in Virginia there were shoals of confident predictions that he would take Richmond in its undefended state. Dix found that the Confederate Capital was far from being undefended, and he fell back from necessity—not from choice. Despite the reticence of the Federal press, we happen to know that a large number of wounded from Dix's army has arrived at the North. As a reward for distinguished services General Dix has superseded General Wool in New York.

After a siege of forty-eight days Vicksburg surrendered. Though it will, doubtless, cause painful regrets in the South, it will not be a surprise there as it is here. For a fortnight before the event, the tone of the Southern press betrayed deep anxiety; and this was much increased by the silence of the Government. General Grant had so completely cut off communication that until the surrender, the news of the Northern invasion had not reached Vicksburg. The immediate cause of the capitulation was the exhaustion of ammunition, the want of food, and the uselessness of subjecting the citizens and soldiers, under such circumstances, to a threatened bombardment on the 4th of July. So, on the 3rd, General Pemberton proposed terms. Grant demanded an unconditional surrender, but ultimately agreed to conditions that do not detract from the completeness of his victory, while they show him to be possessed of what the Anglo-Federal faction is totally devoid of—the instincts of a gentleman. All things being arranged, Grant appointed the 4th July to take possession of the city, and when he did so he saw abundant evidence of that endurance which is the sure bulwark of a nation's freedom. The accounts that have been published forcibly recall to mind Mr. Motley's narrative of the sieges sustained by the Netherlands when they were defending their liberties against the tyrant of Spain. The houses were thoroughly riddled with shot and shell. During the whole of the siege the citizens never slept in their houses, but men, women, and children were huddled in caves dug in the bluff. The nominal price of provisions was 10 per lb. for flour; bacon 5 per lb.; and mule flesh 4 per lb.; but before the termination of the siege neither flour nor bacon could be procured, and mule flesh only in limited quantity. The *Vicksburg Citizen*—a small sheet printed on the blank side of wall paper—informed those who were fortunate enough to have corn, that they could grind it free of charge at the residence of Mr. Shannon; and a citizen, Mr. J. Kiser, gave a portion of his corn to families who were starving. The *offer* of the commissariat was eagerly devoured by the famished citizens. Nearly six thousand persons were in hospital, without proper food and without medicines. The streets were paraded by little children terrified by the scene of death and destruction, and crying for bread. Yet there was nothing like despondency. Of the spirit that animated the garrison we may form an opinion from the subjoined account, taken from the *Vicksburg Citizen*:—

Resolved, That we, the "Soldiers' Christian Association," of the Fifty-second Georgia Regiment, set apart all or a portion of the hour between sundown and dark, of each day, to supplicate Almighty God, that He will pardon our sins, receive us graciously, and deliver us from the hands of our cruel enemies, and that we solicit all Christians and soldiers throughout this beleaguered army to unite with us in prayer at that hour.

GEORGE T. QUILLIAN, President.  
W. A. PARKS, Secretary.

To the last the citizens and garrison were opposed to surrender. But General Pemberton could do nothing by holding out any longer. By capitulating, the garrison



is paroled, and as the balance of exchange of prisoners is in favour of the South, they will be available for active service.

The number of the garrison which surrendered is variously estimated at from 12,000 to 20,000. The North has had to pay a heavy price for victory. From first to last Grant has lost about 45,000 men. Altogether the siege of Vicksburg will be a conspicuous event in the great war of Independence.

As might have been anticipated, the fall of Vicksburg caused that of Port Hudson, which stronghold surrendered on the 8th or 9th inst. It is reported that there was a scarcity of provisions, but nothing like famine. According to Northern accounts, the garrison numbered 7,000, and the Federal booty consisted of 35 field-pieces, 25 siege guns, and 10,000 stand of small arms. Thus the garrisons of Vicksburg and Port Hudson were, together, not more than 20,000 or 25,000 men, and the combined forces of Grant and Banks, after their heavy losses, are more than 100,000 strong. It is not to be denied that the fall of these places is a matter of regret to the Confederacy, but it will not result in giving the Federals the free navigation of the Mississippi. Our New Orleans correspondent, writing on the 4th July, observes,—"Port Hudson may fall, Vicksburg may be reduced, but the river is not safely navigable so long as there is an opportunity to plant a battery on either shore between St. Louis and New Orleans. There is but one thing can open the Mississippi—and that is Peace."

Gold is falling, and for the first time since the commencement of the war the Federal Government is able to report and authenticate a series of successes. Yet New York is not in holiday mood. Hitherto she has escaped the horrors of the foreign war which she so largely supports; but she has had a taste of the miseries entailed by civil warfare. If the war against the South is to be carried on, the Washington Government must have more men to supply the continued and heavy drain caused by battle, disease, capture, and desertion. The most favourable moment, the moment of victory was seized for the enforcement of the draft, and the people were assured that the fight was over, that they were only conscripted for effect. This skilful management was of no avail. The draft has been resisted in various places, including Boston; and in New York there has been rioting on an insurrectionary scale.

The drafting began in New York on Saturday, the 11th. On Sunday the names of the conscripted were published; and on Monday the rioters set to work. It is impossible to give a summary of the proceedings. The *New York World* devotes nearly two pages of small print to an account of the riots on the 13th and 14th. The drafting office was gutted and burnt; the flames spread to the adjoining houses, and the whole block on the Third Avenue was destroyed, as the firemen refused to play on the fire. The telegraph wires were cut, and the mob then came into collision with the police and soldiers, several of whom were killed. During the 13th many buildings were destroyed, including the Armoury in Twenty-first Street, the Coloured Orphan Asylum, and the negro houses. The Provost Guard was assaulted and brutally ill-used. The *Tribune* office was attacked. Every negro in the streets was assaulted, and fifty killed in the course of the day. "One negro was hung, and a fire lighted under his body, burning it to a cinder." Alas for the poor negro in the North! At night the sky was illumined with the glare of incendiary fires.

The next day the riot continued, and was not confined to one part of the city. The stores were closed, and the public conveyances ceased running. A number of houses were burnt. Colonel O'Brien was hung to a lamp-post. There were many encounters between the rioters and the military, and several lives were lost on either side. The New York papers give no estimates of the casualties, but they must have been heavy. Governor Seymour declared the city and county of New York in a state of insurrection, and endeavoured to appease the people by a promise of procuring the postponement of the draft. The Common Council passed an order appropriating \$2,500,000 to the payment of the \$300 each for those who were not able to pay for their own exemption. Every effort was made to organize a defence for the city. Still the riots continued during the day and night, and spread to Brooklyn and Staten Island.

On the 15th, the disturbances were not over, and great excitement was caused by the announcement that some troops were expected.

The following notice was placarded about the city:—

New York, July 18, 1863.

A meeting is requested by a number of returned volunteers, and all volunteers wishing to participate in resisting the invasion of Massachusetts troops in our city and the outrages that have been committed on our wives and families. All wishing to participate will meet at 1 o'clock P.M., cor 16 street, and 1st avenue.

At the request of a committee of returned volunteers.

In the evening, although there had been fighting all day, and much loss of life and destruction of property, it was announced in time for the European mail, that "the city is generally much quieter to-day, though the riot is not yet entirely quelled."

Later news per *Hibernia* tells us, however, that the rioting continued with great fury on the 16th. On the evening of that day an obstinate battle took place between the rioters and the military, in which eleven of the former and fifteen of the latter were killed. About the same time the Armory in Cooper-street was attacked, and the mob was fired upon by a 6-pounder, loaded with canister. On the evening of the 17th, the depot and water station on Staten Island were destroyed, the negro shanties burnt, and 100 negroes killed. Just before the mail left, the evening of the 17th—when the rioting continued—it was officially announced that the Government will sustain the draft with military force. It remains to be seen whether this will awe or enrage the populace. Being at a safe distance from the insurrection, Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet are not afraid to act boldly.

General Wool, who has now been succeeded by General Dix, made a call by a proclamation, in which he says, "The veterans who have recently returned from the field of battle have again an opportunity of serving not only their country, but the great emporium of New York." The veterans evidently think they have done enough for their country in the way of fighting, and decline the invitation. The veterans from the field have done much to disgust the public with the war, and to foment the opposition to the draft.

Archbishop Hughes has addressed a concourse of people. He referred to the rioting in mild terms, but abused England with all the venom of his nature. However, if it pleases His Grace, we have no objection, as it certainly does not hurt us.

Rioting and resistance to the draft is not confined to New York. At Hartford, at Newark, at Boston, as well as in the north-west, the draft has been forcibly resisted. A correspondent of the *New York World* writing from Rye on the 14th, says:—

The news of the riot in New York reached here yesterday P.M., and created intense excitement. The labouring classes, of whom there is a large number, were fairly mad with delight over the intelligence, and openly declared that any provost marshal or other person showing himself there for the purpose of drafting, would be quartered without mercy. Firearms were brought out and fired off during the evening, to show that the labouring classes were fully prepared for the emergency. These men are mostly Irish, and their hatred of the war and those conducting it is beyond expression. When the enrolling officer came around to enroll the names, his mission was almost a failure, as it was found impossible to get the men to furnish their names, or, in fact, to speak at all except in the way of threat. An attempt was made last week to fill out a company to go out for the defence of Maryland against Lee, but it had to be abandoned, as threats were made to blow out the brains of the officers if they dared carry off a man.

Perhaps by this time Mr. Seward has learnt the difference between a foreign war and a partial insurrection.

In the midst of the rioting, the papers are at open war with each other. The *World*, not by any means the most violent of the journals, referring to an article in the *Evening Post*, says the conductors of that paper "make a statement which, were it made of one man by another by word of mouth in private life, would simply be driven down the maker's throat." Since then we hear, per city of Washington, that "the Republic and Democratic factions are becoming more vituperative in their mutual abuse. This course is inflaming the public mind, and adding to the danger."

Charleston is again to be assailed. General Gilmer has captured Morris Island, except the strongest part, which includes Fort Wagner and the Cumming's Point battery. Five ironclads and fifteen gunboats are reported off Fort Sumter; and ten gunboats, one forty gun frigate, and the Ironsides were reported to be passing the bar on the 12th. The preparations are formidable, but so are the defences; and we can see no reason to fear that Charleston will fall into the hands of her bitter enemy.

General Morgan has taken Jackson, in Ohio, and advanced to within thirty-five miles of Cincinnati. He is reported to be hemmed in by the Federals, but he has a genius for cutting his way through an enemy's lines, which will, we trust, be effective in the present instance.

In our New Orleans correspondence will be found an interesting account of the movements in the Gulf, and of the capture of Brashear City. "The *Louisville Democrat* says the last official advices state that Generals Taylor, Morton, and Green surprised the Union fortifications at Brashear City on the 27th of June, and captured 1,800 prisoners, including thirty-three officers, also \$3,000,000 worth of the commissary and \$1,500,000 worth of quartermasters' stores, \$250,000 of ordnance, and \$100,000

of medical stores; also twenty-three garrison and regimental flags, 10,000 tents, 2,000 horses and mules, 7,000 negroes, 7,000 stand small arms, sixteen siege guns, and a position as important as Port Hudson or Vicksburg. Other important movements by General Taylor are progressing." The New York press is so much occupied with their own successes that they forget to chronicle those of the Confederates.

The *Richmond Examiner* denies that Vice-President Stephens went on a mission to the North. Another version of the affair is that he went to propose that the war should be conducted on civilized principles, so as to prevent the necessity of Southern retaliation. If so, we can well understand that the Lincoln Cabinet would not listen to the overtures of Mr. Stephens.

Amongst the stores captured at Winchester was a supply of medicines sufficient to last the army of General Lee for six months.

General Pope is again making himself notorious, and Butler must look to his laurels. Governor Ramsay, in his department, has organised a volunteer corps to serve against the Indians. In the order directing the organization occurs the following:—

A compensation of twenty-five dollars will also be given to anybody for each scalp of a male Sioux, delivered at this (the adjutant-general's) office.

On the 7th of July the Sheriff of McLeod county received twenty-five dollars for the scalp of a Sioux warrior, killed on the 4th of July, near the town of Hutchinson. The Indian shot was one of a party of fourteen, and when killed was engaged in picking berries. The winner of the first bounty, Harper by name, though pursued by the remaining Indians, made his escape, obtained the aid of his neighbours, returned, and then secured the indisputable evidence of State indebtedness. The *Chicago Times* publishes a despatch from St. Paul, Minnesota, which thus refers to the affair:—

An order from the adjutant-general's office is issued, calling for scouts to volunteer for sixty days, in squads of not less than five to scour the big woods and kill Indians wherever they can find them, without regard to red tape or tactics. The order says: "A compensation of twenty-five dollars will be given to any person for each scalp of a male Sioux delivered to this office." The scalp mentioned in yesterday's despatch was delivered according to order, and the twenty-five dollars paid over. Some squeamish stomachs seem disposed to revolt at this savage mode of warfare being adopted by a Christian people, but are restrained from uttering any complaints for fear of being charged as Sioux sympathizers. Whatever is wrong about it, they conclude to indorse, till the war is over, for fear of embarrassing the Administration or discouraging enlistments.

The *New York World* condemns these proceedings, and says:—

If, after a savage butchery by the Indians, the people should rise in their wrath and kill all the supposed culprits without the usual legal formulas, there would be some excuse for the injured Minnesotans; but the above order is a very different affair. The atrocities complained of occurred months since, and the savages considered the most guilty have suffered the extreme penalty of the law. To further punish the Indians a military expedition has been fitted out, and they will in time be conquered by legitimate means. But, pending these military movements, here is an order issued under the sanction of the authorities which would put the King of Dahomey to shame. It is unpeppably disgraceful to General Pope, and will fill to the brim the measure of contempt felt for him all over the country. Our Government is disgraced before Christendom for every hour this Sioux is kept in its service.

The Anglo-Federals will be disgusted with the *World* for finding fault with the conduct of General Pope, the protégé of New England.

The *Richmond Sentinel* says:—"The military spirit seems to have infused itself through all classes of the community, and young and old have shouldered their muskets and await the summons to the field. In accordance with the official order promulgated on Saturday, the various places of business were closed at three o'clock yesterday afternoon, and the "second class" wended their way to their several places of rendezvous, there to be instructed in the art of war. The alacrity with which the citizens have responded to the call of the authorities is worthy of all praise."

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of July 7, gives an account of the riots in that city, brought about by the antipathy to the negroes. The negroes were rescued from the mob after being dreadfully beaten and lodged in the gaol for safety. Some did not escape, with life. An attack was made on the negroes who were on the vessels lying at the wharf. A coloured man, named Williams, on the Mary Stuart, almost frantic with terror, endeavoured to escape by sliding down one of the fenders to the water, intending to swim across the creek. But his pursuers were too quick for him, and as the poor, doomed creature was clinging to the fender, pleading piteously for mercy, they kicked and beat him about the head and face, compelling him to loose his hold, and he sank and was drowned,



Another man was driven off the propeller *Tonawanda* into the creek, and is supposed to have been drowned. Two negroes were concealed by the engineer of the *Mary Stuart* under the boiler, and after the boat left the dock were taken ashore near the light-house by the officers, and safely lodged in the station-house. The place of their confinement was so contracted and close that when released they were well nigh suffocated.

The *New York World* thus comments on Mr. Lincoln's body guard:—"It is lamentably true that the President has fallen into the habit of riding about Washington under an armed escort of cavalry. His carriage is constantly preceded and followed by a force of horsemen large enough to attract attention even in a military European capital, and much larger than the average body-guard of a commanding general actually in the field. Of course the object of this escort is not pomp, but personal safety."

In the course of his 4th July speech, Mr. Seward said:—

For myself, this is my resolution. If the people of the United States have virtue enough to save the Union, I shall have their virtue. If they have not, then it shall be my reward that my virtue excelled that of my countrymen. If I fall here let no kinsman or friend remove my dust to a more hospitable grave. Let it be buried under the pavements of the avenue, and let the chariot wheels of those who have destroyed the liberties of my country rattle over my bones until a more heroic and worthy generation shall recall that country to life, liberty, and independence. This shall be my only reward, living or dying, for whatever I may be able to do for the deliverance of my country from danger, so, on the other hand, that country may visit me with whatever censure or reproach for shortcomings that may seem to it just, but the world shall never hear a word of complaint issue from my lips. This is my resolution.

If this outburst of maudlin oratory means anything, it is that Mr. Seward thinks the proper reward of his patriotism is to bury him like a dog. We dare say the majority of his countrymen will agree with him in the estimate of his deserts.

#### ENGLAND.

A meeting has been held at St. James's Hall pursuant to advertisement, to support the cause of Poland. The chair was taken by Sir John V. Shelley, M.P.; and Lord Raynham, M.P., was present. Some few noblemen and gentlemen preferred to send letters of apology for their absence. The chairman's speech unhesitatingly proposed an immediate war with Russia, ridiculed the feeble efforts of diplomacy displayed by the Government, and expressed a conviction that the majority of Englishmen would eagerly support Lord Palmerston in the adoption of ulterior measures. War was admitted to be a calamity, but dishonour was proclaimed a greater, and our Ministers were urged to resent the insults offered, to overlook the miseries of war, and to maintain the position of England as a first-rate Power. The whole address, the more salient and extravagant parts of which were received with loud applause, bore a singular resemblance to the articles which have appeared in the *Siccle* and the *Opinion Nationale*. The most important resolution declared that the Poles were entitled to the warm and active affection and support of every free people, while the atrocious conduct of Russia was an insult to Christendom, and an outrage on humanity. This terrific manifesto was proposed by a Mr. Beales, and seconded by a very respectable shoemaker, and was, of course, adopted. A deputation was also appointed to wait on Earl Russell, and urge upon him the duty of armed intervention. A few French mechanics were introduced by the chairman as a French deputation. These individuals bowed their respects to the meeting with national politeness, but being dumb as death they seemed to throw little light either on the general question or on the place from which they came, or the persons whom they were supposed to represent.

The deputation to Earl Russell met, however, with an unexpected and insurmountable obstacle in the refusal of the noble lord to receive them, and the refusal was rendered the more bitter by the fact that no reason was vouchsafed for the denial.

Of the aggregate population of the twenty-one Unions chiefly affected by the cotton famine, and numbering 2,060,000 persons, the number in receipt of relief in the second week of July was 156,300, and the net increase in the pauperism in the 32 weeks ending in the third week of July was 125,270 persons. At the present time, the amount of pauperism is more than double the usual amount in times of prosperity. The Mansion House Committee still has £74,174 in hand, and last week made grants amounting in all to £1,590.

Messrs. Peter Goudet and Co., the makers of the plates for the frigate *La Gloire*, are now delivering 200 tons of armour-plates of 4½ and 5½ inches at from £45 to £59 a

ton at Portsmouth Dockyard. Those plates displayed in the trials of defensive armour a marvellous degree of resisting power to the sixty-eight lbs. solid shot at close ranges. They present a rough and unfinished exterior, contrasting remarkably with the polished surfaces supplied by English makers. The process of trimming the plates seems to result in weakening them, but the Admiralty, for inscrutable reasons, buy rough work of the French, and polished shields of the English manufacturers.

The Marquis of Normandy died on Tuesday last, at the age of sixty-six years. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and entered the House of Commons in 1818 as an advanced Whig. He succeeded to the peerage in 1831 as Earl of Mulgrave, and successively filled the offices of Governor of Jamaica, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was Secretary to the Colonies in 1839 under Lord Melbourne, and afterwards went to the Home-office. In 1846 he went as Ambassador to Paris, and there remained till 1852. In 1854 he was appointed to the Legation at Florence, and supported the Austrian influence in Italy. He was recalled by the Earl of Malmesbury, and since that time has been chiefly conspicuous for his unvaried efforts in favour of the expelled dynasties of Italy. For this at least disinterested course of conduct he has been most violently assailed both in Parliament and the press. He was advanced to the Marquisate in 1846, and made a Knight of the Garter a few years since. He was a man chiefly remarkable for his social qualities, and owed much of his success to the amiability of his disposition and the charm of his character.

Mr. Monckton Milnes has been raised to the Peerage, with the title of Baron Houghton, and has issued his farewell address to his constituents of Pontefract, which Borough he represented in the House of Commons for twenty-five years. He is a man of wealth, of some literary reputation, and possessed of considerable knowledge on political and social questions. He has given an independent support to Lord Palmerston's policy.

The hero of the German Legion, General Sir Hugh Halkett, C.B., G.C.H., has died, at the age of eighty years. His first commission, in the Dutch Brigade, bore date April 18, 1794. He served in India and, in 1803, entered the King's German Legion. In 1805 he served in Hanover, and next in the Baltic expedition, and afterwards was present at Corunna. He also took part in the wretched affair of Walcheren. Subsequently he went to Spain, and was with Alten's Germans at Albuera, and remained with the Duke to the close of the campaign in 1812. In May, 1813, he joined the force under Walmoden, and distinguished himself in the fight at Gohode, at the head of the First Hanoverian Brigade, and afterwards in conjunction with the Swedes under Bernadotte. He commanded the same brigade at Waterloo, and with his own hand captured Cambronne at the head of the Old Guard on the extreme left of the French position; after the war he entered the Hanoverian Service, and was made General in command of that army. He retired from the service a few years since, but continued to live in Hanover.

Another hero, General Lord Downes, G.C.B., has also died. He served as aide-de-camp to Sir John Cradock in Portugal, and was assistant military secretary to the Duke in the Peninsular War, at which time he was known as Sir Ulysses Burgh. He was present at Talavera, Busaco, Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse, and in many minor engagements, and also at the sieges of Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, and San Sebastian, and was twice wounded. He succeeded to the peerage in 1826, and was seventy-five years of age at the time of his death. He was Colonel of the 29th Regiment.

A somewhat extraordinary appeal to public generosity has appeared in the *Times*, on behalf of Lieutenant James M. Goodill, formerly of the 31st Regiment, and now in somewhat straitened circumstances, with a wife to share his scanty pension. It seems that this gallant officer, now seventy-six years of age, volunteered in 1809, and joined the army in Spain under the Duke of Wellington. He was in the forlorn hope at the assault of Badajoz, where, being one of the first up the ladders he was thrust down by a bayonet wound. In the course of the campaign he won nine claps to his medal. After the war he accepted a situation in the Irish Revenue Police, and at the end of twenty-two years' service there, he was reduced to his small pension, and his earnings as a contributor to agricultural journals.

Evidently we are beginning to discover that the best portion of our population is not embraced within the criminal class. Extraordinary disclosures have been made by the report of the Lords' Committee on prison

discipline, and these disclosures are accompanied with wholesome recommendations. It is found, in the first place, that the great object of the authorities of each gaol in England has been to set up a system as widely different as possible from that pursued in any other gaol. Here the old tread-wheel and oakum-picking exist as at the commencement of the century; elsewhere industrial occupations, whatever they may be, prevail; in another prison "self-instruction" is used as the great instrument of discipline, labour being considered, we suppose, an operation tending to lower the tastes of the convict mind. We hear of prisons where ten hours a night is thought a reasonable quantity of sleep, and where even a popular novel may be discovered in a cell. The same absurdities exist in the matter of diet, for the quantities of food vary in the ratio of three to one. The humanitarians, with the help of the novelists, have done us grievous wrong; we are no longer willing to be told by Mr. Perry and the official inspectors, that moral reformation is everything, and that punishment is a mistake. The committee recommend uniformity, which, at least, on the principle of fair-play is desirable, and wish to develop the penal element of prison discipline. The separate system is to be largely practised, and hard labour is to precede industrial employment in the career of each prisoner. Corporal punishment is evidently looking up after its heavy fall; and great value is attributed to it by the Committee as a method of disciplinary correction. Our appreciation of these salutary changes is quickened by the fact that, to the knowledge of the police, there are 4,379 discharged convicts residing in England; and many more unknown to the police. In fact, no less than 11,000 convicts have been discharged within the last six years.

A short time since the House of Commons in their zeal for Reform bethought themselves that the kitchen and refreshment rooms attached to the House were unequal to the situation, and were a fit subject for the inquiring labours of a select committee. The report of this body has now appeared, and the particulars thereof are somewhat curious. The first impression that strikes the reader is the great advance in luxurious exigencies made by the Reformed Parliament. Previously to 1832 cold meat and salad, with the alternative of hot steaks and chops, cooked in the room, were considered sufficient; but we are naively told by the report that the then contractor derived his chief profits from the sale of wines and spirits; and, indeed, considering that the number of members dining there seldom exceeded twelve, the privilege of supplying the viands without the liquor would not have been very desirable. In 1848 a standing committee was first appointed, and with this committee came in also soup and fish; but inasmuch as the members of that body were impartially chosen from the two sides of the House, it is difficult to define the exact tendency of the change. The reforms now proposed in view of the very general complaints are that the wines and spirits be provided by wine-merchants approved by the committee; that the tariff for cold meat be 2s. 6d., and for hot meat 3s. each; and that persons expecting to be supplied with such accessories as fish and entrées are to give half-an-hour's notice, and pay according to a printed list of prices. Peace or war or any other momentous question may depend on the temper of the House at any particular moment; the temper is regulated in a large degree by the digestive organs; it is consequently of great importance that the state of those organs in the members of the House should be by the proper regulation of the culinary department rendered as perfect as possible.

On Saturday evening last the Ministers partook of their annual whitebait dinner at Greenwich, the accustomed prelude to and unerring sign of the close of the Parliamentary session. The principal portion of the company, including Lord Palmerston, travelled by water from Westminster Bridge in a gaily decorated steamboat. Covers were laid for thirty. Sir G. Grey, the Duke of Newcastle, and Earl de Grey and Ripon were unable to attend. Parliament was prorogued on Tuesday.

The Crystal Palace at Sydenham presented a most animated scene on Saturday and Monday last. The attractions consisted of an immense fancy bazaar, presided over by the most celebrated actresses of the metropolis, with the addition of a Richardsonian theatre, a mock menagerie, Aunt Sally's, under the care of renowned comedians; scientific lectures, by the masters of farce; and a thousand other oddities. Enormous crowds were present. The object of the bazaar and exhibition was to raise a sum of money in aid of the Dramatic College, a valuable institution, the scheme of which was originated a few years since for the reception



and care of decayed theatrical artists, and the maintenance and education of the orphans of actors.

The great American steam fire-engine "Manhattan," having been patched up after the break-down at the Crystal Palace, was again tried last Saturday at the London Docks, in the presence of the "American Delegation," Van Tine, Jones, Evans, and Collins, and of several distinguished persons, officials of insurance companies, and others. She succeeded in throwing the water horizontally, through an inch and a-quarter nozzle, to a distance of 189 feet. However, the mighty engine of the New York Fire Brigade quickly sprang a leak in her boiler, and, as at the Crystal Palace, could only work sufficiently to prove her own rotten condition,—a result, in all probability, of a successful Yankee contract.

The total sum of money expended on the maintenance of the British Museum and the purchases for the collections contained in it, from the time of its foundation, in 1753 to last March, is £3,339,177. In the year 1805 the number of visitors to the Museum was 11,989, in last year they had increased to 895,077.

The Pneumatic Despatch Company, in view of the success already realized, are contemplating a large extension of operations. At present the tube in work is in length 600 yards, and connects the Euston station with the district office in Eversholt-street. The company commenced to transmit the mails in February last. Thirty trains run on every day, and no impediment has yet occurred; the time occupied in traversing the distance is seventy seconds, while the daily cost of working has averaged £1 4s. 5d. It is now intended to form a tube two inches and a-half in length, and fifty-four inches in diameter, from the Euston station to the General Post-office, at a cost of £65,000.

An inquest was held, last week, on the body of a woman calling herself the "Female Blondin," who was killed by falling from a rope at Aston Hall, near Birmingham, in the presence of 14,000 spectators. The unfortunate creature was the wife of a man named Powell, and had been accustomed to perform on the tight-rope from the age of three years. The immediate cause of the accident was the snapping of the rope, which was thoroughly rotten. It is scarcely credible that the poor woman was eight months advanced in pregnancy and had six children living. The husband gave evidence that the net value of the payment which he received for the performance was about £8 or £9. The rope was suspended at the height of thirty feet from the ground. Taken altogether, the affair was as degrading to all parties concerned as can well be conceived. The death of the woman did not in any way check the festivities of the "Foresters," and the rest of the programme was carried out, the people not abating their fun and frolic in the least degree. A few weeks ago a person was killed in the same way at Cremorne Gardens, and unless the Legislature or public feeling intervenes, we shall soon gain little by comparison with the ancient spectators at the Roman amphitheatres. We elsewhere publish a letter, written by command of the Queen, in which such exhibitions are emphatically condemned.

Last year, with all the pomp of his august office, aided by the assumed character of an ardent law reformer, the Lord Chancellor carried a Bill for the Registration of Landed Estates, and for the granting Certificates of Title. Up to the present time there have been thirty-four applications to the office of the Land Registry, and the value of the estates registered amounts to half a million sterling, while only three certificates have been granted. The fees hitherto received amount to only £70. The office is conducted by a registrar, assistant registrar, and two clerks, whose collective salaries amount to £4,650 a-year. No doubt these four officials are comfortably provided for, and are not overworked; but beyond this rather common-place result, it is hard to see the benefit arising from this great reform of our real-property law.

The House of Lords, assembled as a Committee for Privileges, has heard a portion of a petition, by which Viscount Ockham claims the honour and dignity of Lord Wentworth. The Barony was created by writ of summons in the 21st year of Henry VIII., in which year the King created four peerages by special writs of summons. The Barony fell into abeyance on the death, without issue, of Thomas, who succeeded Edward Viscount Wentworth, the latter of whom died in October, 1774, between Judith Noel, the only surviving sister of Thomas and his nephew the Hon. Nathaniel Curzon. Judith Noel died on the 22nd of January, 1822, leaving her daughter Anne Isabella Noel her sole heir, and on the death of the Hon. Nathaniel Curzon, without issue in November, 1856, the abeyance of the peerage was determined, the dignity vesting in Anne Isabella Noel,

who in January, 1815, had married George Gordon, the sixth Lord Byron. Of that marriage the sole issue was Augusta Ada Byron, who was born on the 10th of December, 1815. She married, in July, 1855, William the eighth Lord King, now Earl of Lovelace, and had by him Hon. Byron Noel King Viscount Ockham, who died in September, 1862, and also Ralph Gordon Noel King, the present petitioner.

The learned Blackstone, at page 295 of his "Commentaries," speaking of treasure-trove, says that it is "where any money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion is found hidden in the earth, in which case the treasure belongs to the king." The punishment of persons concealing treasure-trove from the king was formerly death, it is now fine and imprisonment. To this punishment two men are now liable, having been convicted a few days ago, of concealing the finding of ancient gold treasure of the value of £500. The articles found were Celtic ornaments and portions of armour worn by the early Britons, such as golden circlets for the waist, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and armour-plates. These were dug up in a field about six miles from Battle, in Sussex, by a labourer, who sold them as old brass at 6d. a pound to two men, one of whom had been in California, and thought to profit by his experience. The purchasers took the ornaments to a refiner's in Cheapside, where they were melted down, and the lump bought for £529. Various technical objections were taken in the course of the trial, and consequently sentence was deferred, the parties being bound over to appear. The prisoners were doubtless ignorant of the law of treasure-trove, but their vandalism in melting down such valuable relics, and the fraud which they practised on the finder, make them fully deserving of any penalty that may be inflicted on them.

The trial of one of the series of the Roupell forgery cases, of the history and details of which a complete account appeared in our columns last week, was brought to a conclusion on Saturday, July 25, after a hearing of eight days' duration. It will be remembered that the action was one of ejectment, in which Richard Roupell, the heir-at-law of R. P. Roupell, sought to eject from an estate, called the Great Warley Estate, certain mortgagees who claimed, under a mortgage made by William Roupell; the title of the latter to the estate being derived from a deed of gift, said to have been executed by R. P. Roupell, in favour of the same William Roupell, his illegitimate son. It will also be borne in mind that a will had been proved by William Roupell, as the will of R. P. Roupell, bearing date September 2, 1856, by which this property with all the real and personal estate of the testator had been devised to his widow, Sarah Roupell. The heir-at-law having proved his title, and having brought evidence of the forgery of the will of September 2nd, 1856, it was for the mortgagees to prove the validity of the deed of gift, dated January 9, 1856, by which R. P. Roupell purported to give the estate in question to William Roupell. Just as the heir-at-law had called many witnesses to upset the will and deed, and to condemn the signatures as forgeries, so also the mortgagees brought a vast mass of evidence to prove the contrary proposition. However, it was clear that all parties were tolerably well agreed that the will, as well as certain leases which incidentally intervened in the case, were forgeries, and the real issue was as to the deed of gift. After the conflict of evidence on the part of witnesses who swore to or against the signatures as "experts," or as persons familiar with the writing of R. P. Roupell, the jury were in effect compelled to fall back on the amount of evidence to be attached to the statements of William Roupell, who, as will be remembered, had, on the strength of his title by this and the like deeds of gift from his father, raised enormous sums of money, spent those sums with reckless profusion, and after absconding from England, and resigning a seat in Parliament had returned to confess all his forgeries, and on his own confession had been sentenced to penal servitude for life. Of course there were circumstances in the case which might aid the jury in coming to a conclusion, but their chief reliance was on the evidence of a man who had confessed to perjury and numberless forgeries. In this difficulty the jury found the will to be a forgery by William Roupell, as was to be expected, but as to the deed of gift they failed to arrive at a verdict. Some thought it a forgery, others thought it the deed of the old man, R. P. Roupell, but even these believed the signature to have been obtained by fraud. It was quite in vain that the jury more than once consulted together, in vain that the judge explained that the heir-at-law having made out his title the onus of proving the deed lay with the mortgagees, and if they failed in their proof the verdict must be for the heir-at-law, for the foreman loudly asserted that if they were locked up till Doomsday they should never agree. Eventually the jury were discharged, and some thousands

of pounds having been spent on the trial without result, it only remains to await the issue of the next trial of the series. The convict William Roupell was in court throughout the proceedings.

The subscriptions to the Jackson Statue Fund, which are acknowledged through our columns, are larger for this, than for any preceding week, amounting to upwards of £300. This is especially gratifying at the moment when the cloud which overhangs the Confederate arms makes the loss of the heroic "Stonewall" doubly regretted. The Committee are sanguine of raising within a week or two more, an amount which will warrant them in giving the order for the statue to the distinguished artist to whom the execution of the design is to be intrusted.

Intelligence has reached this country from Africa of the failure of the Universities' Mission. In another part of our impression we quote an article on this affair from the *Times*. In connection with this subject, the success of the African mission in the Confederate States is worthy of attention. In a note appended to the "Address of the Southern Clergy to Christians throughout the World" we are informed, that "The number of coloured communicants is about five hundred thousand. Assuming the coloured population to be four millions, there would be, upon the same method of computation, one-fourth of the adult population in communion with the Church of Christ. Thus has God blessed us in gathering into His Church from the children of Africa more than twice as many as are reported from all the converts in the Protestant Missions throughout the heathen world."

### EUROPE.

THE despatch which Prince Gortschakoff addressed to Vienna is fully as clever and irritating as those sent to London and Paris. The Russian statesman identifies the interests of Austria in the pacification of Poland with those of Russia, and assumes that in proposing a conference Count Rechberg knew that it was impossible, and pronounced in advance his approval of the inevitable refusal. The substance of the answer is the same, its peculiarities consist in this cordial recognition of the right of Austria to interfere, not as a great Power, but as specially interested, by her possession of Galicia, in the peace of Poland and the insinuation that the Austrian minister thoroughly approved of the rejection of the principal demand made by himself and his allies. The sarcasm, or the attempt to separate Austria from France and England, created much resentment at Vienna, which found its expression with an undiplomatic celerity. Almost immediately upon the receipt of the Russian despatch, Count Rechberg addressed a note to the Austrian minister in London, declaring that some passages of Prince Gortschakoff's despatches tended to throw a false light on the intentions of Austria, to place her in a position which she cannot accept; denying most emphatically that Austria approved the refusal of a conference—a proposition which might very properly have been accepted by Russia—categorically rejecting every insinuation of a similarity between Galicia and the kingdom of Poland, and most important statement of all, declaring that the concert between the three Cabinets of Vienna, London, and Paris constitutes a connection between them from which Austria cannot now disengage herself in order to negotiate separately with Russia.

Earl Russell laid a copy of this despatch upon the table of the House of Lords the very day it was communicated to him by Count Apponyi, together with a despatch from Lord Napier, describing a conversation which he and the French Ambassador had with Prince Gortschakoff after the answers had been placed in their hands. Lord Napier had foreseen that the armistice would be rejected. He had apprehended that the conferences would be declined, but he had not expected that the intervention of France and England would be set aside by the proposal to discuss the question with Austria and Prussia alone, an overture which the French minister thought would be regarded by his Government "not only as unsatisfactory, but as almost insulting, and as tending to an immediate and positive rupture." The object of the two Ministers was to obtain from Prince Gortschakoff some explanation of his views which might set his intentions in a more favourable light, and mitigate the first impression which the perusal of his despatches would create. Although the two diplomatists took care to let the Russian Minister know that his answer would be considered unsatisfactory and offensive, they could obtain no modification of his views. They sought to induce him to allow that the results of the restricted conference should be embodied in a general convention, to which all the Powers signatories of the treaties of 1815 should be parties. He refused, however, that concession, repeatedly asserting that he would accede to



nothing which would give the Western Powers any right whatever of interfering in the internal affairs of the Russian empire, in which he seemed to include the kingdom of Poland." All that he would allow was, that "England and France should be enabled by an official communication of the acts resulting from the deliberation of the restricted conference, which would contain the practical adaptation of the six points, to appreciate the conformity of those acts with the spirit and text of the treaty of Vienna." With what end has Earl Russell published this despatch? To force France, by this record of the language of her Minister, to the adoption of some violent course? To prove to the world the stubborn determination of Russia to allow no interference between her and the Poles? We must confess that the publication seems to us in the highest degree indiscreet. It can serve no good purpose; it can only provoke irritation and recrimination, which may force on the war which, a few days since, Earl Russell went out of his way to characterise as the greatest calamity that could befall Europe.

The public anxiety has, during the last few days, been extreme, and the general apprehension has been strikingly marked by that barometer of political hopes and fears the money market. The most contradictory rumours have been circulating. At one time it was announced that the Russian Ambassadors at all three courts had been ordered to prepare for their departure, and the most exaggerated stories about the military preparations of France have found greedy believers. It seems to have been forgotten that the alliance between the three Powers is a guarantee that war cannot take place for some months, and that this respite is in some sense a guarantee against war at all. It might be easy for the French Government to declare war in the name of "humanity" if it were acting by itself, but it cannot for all its assumed readiness to anticipate the wishes of the nation, break loose from England and Austria, who will certainly not go to war if at all without much clearer grounds for it than they now have, and without making a further appeal to St. Petersburg. It is said that Prince Gortschakoff has been deceived by the report of the Russian Minister at Vienna, M. de Balabine, as to the views of the Austrian Government, and that the recall of that Minister—one of the events which has been made much use of by the alarmists—is attributable to the despatch of Count Rechberg to London, the communication of which by the telegraph at St. Petersburg, caused a most disagreeable surprise.

The Poles who surrendered to the Moldo-Wallachian troops have been treated with great kindness. The expedition started from Tultscha, in Bulgaria, where it had been allowed to assemble by the Turkish Government, which seems, so far from throwing difficulties in its way, to have lent it every assistance. Indeed, the attitude of the Porte would give Russia a good excuse for war, if Russia were in a position to make it. The Sultan seems to hope that war will give him a chance of re-establishing his sovereignty over the dependencies which now are pretty well released from his rule. He is getting ready for war, which may, however, come upon him from quite the other side of his empire. The notorious Namyk Pasha, governor of Bagdad, has violently seized a salt work on the Turco-Persian frontier, the possession of which, although contested by Turkey, had long been in the hands of the Shah. The Persian Ambassador is said to have categorically demanded either the dismissal of Namyk Pasha and the surrender of the *saline* within four days, or his passports. We do not guarantee the truth of the story, but it is not at all improbable.

The *Morning Post* publishes what it calls a despatch from the Polish National Government to Prince Ladislaus Czartoryski, who would seem to be its Ambassador Extraordinary to all the Courts of Europe. This strange document, which is dated, "Foreign Office, Warsaw," and has no signature, a seal being employed in its place, declares that the National Government is disposed to accept a suspension of hostilities upon condition that it shall embrace all the Polish provinces in which the insurrection has broken out, the Russians to retain possession of certain nominated localities in order to prevent conflicts with the population; all persons under arrest on political grounds to be at once liberated, and all exiles to return; a permanent international commission being established for the purpose of seeing the armistice rigorously put in execution. The National Government threatens, it is said, if England and France do not actively intervene to publish a sort of "blue book," which will show that if the outbreak was not actually produced by promises and exhortations from Paris and London, it was certainly hastened and has been kept alive by them.

This invisible Government has its Chancellor of the

Exchequer, as well as its Foreign Minister. This functionary has published the accounts of his stewardship, for the six months. Ordinary revenues reached fourteen millions silver roubles; the extraordinary twenty-three millions. It is not explained in which category the proceeds of the robberies which the National Government has organised with so much success are entered. The army has cost eighteen millions; the civil service 1,280,000, whilst the central committee has expended upon itself only 100,000 roubles. This account shows a large surplus, but a forced loan is nevertheless ordered, and the commissaries of the Government have begun to levy its taxes in Galicia, the possession of which they pretend to leave to Austria, but which they doubtless find a much more convenient field of operations than Congress Poland.

It is said that the non-success of the efforts of the Russian police to discover the members of the secret Government arises from the fact that, the work of the Government is carried on, and its members are concealed in the convents both of monks and nuns. This suggestion is probably enough correct. It continues its dastardly system of assassination. A certain Colonel Leichte, commander of the fortress of Warsaw in the late reign, and now a member of the Commission of Inquiry, has been stabbed by its order, and it not only avows, it boasts, of the foul deed.

Wysocki, who commanded the unsuccessful expedition into Volhynia, has, it is said, been arrested at Lemberg. Several agents of the National Government have also been arrested, with large sums of money upon their persons, and a large store of arms has been seized. The wonder is that Wysocki was not arrested before. He has been in Galicia since the discomfiture of Langiewicz, and the Austrian Government must have been very careless of its obligations to Russia, or very ill-served by its agents, to allow him to use its territory as a basis for expeditions into the Russian provinces for so long a time.

The committee to which the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath referred the petition of Langiewicz has made a report, earnestly recommending the Government to take the petition into consideration.

In reply to an interpellation, Count Rechberg stated that the satisfaction given by the Archduke Constantine for the violation of Austrian territory by Russian troops was considered sufficient. The Minister of Police said that the troops fired upon the people in the streets of Cracow because they were insulted; and that in sending into the interior the insurgents arrested upon entering Austrian territory, the Government only fulfilled its international obligations.

The King of Prussia has arrived at Gastein. He travels as Count Von Zollern, exciting very little notice, the curiosity of the public being all turned to Herr Von Bismarck, who, together with General Von Roon, the Minister of War, are with the King at Gastein. It is rumoured that Herr Von Bismarck is afraid to leave the King, lest other and better influences should be brought to bear upon his Majesty. Meanwhile press processes seem to monopolize the attention of the Prussian courts, and warnings are scattered about in profusion. The Prussian press will soon have to close its columns to all home intelligence. And now, of all seasons, the Russian and Prussian Governments are seeking to bind the two countries closer together by a commercial treaty.

The Italian Minister has presented to the Chambers the papers relating to the affair of the Aunis. The five prisoners were conveyed to Mont Cenis, and there delivered to the French gendarmes, by whom they were conducted to Chambery, where, safely lodged in prison, they await the decision of the French Government upon the formal demand of the Italian Government for their extradition.

The German members of the Schleswig Estates not only withdrew from the Assembly in consequence of the refusal of the Royal Commissioner to allow them to annul an unfavourable election, they resigned their seats. New elections have, consequently, been ordered for 24 out of the 43 seats in the Assembly. The same men will probably be returned, and the same farce gone through when they meet.

The King of Sweden, accompanied by his brothers, the Princes Oscar and August, have paid the King of Denmark a visit. The meeting of the two kings has, of course, given rise to fresh stories of an alliance, defensive and offensive, between the two kingdoms. It may not be long before both States need all the means they can muster. The young King of Greece has been confirmed.—Why, when he is to embrace the Greek religion—does not seem at all clear.

At the latest advices Athens was quiet. The same cannot be said for the rest of the country. The brigade of artillery which commenced the disturbance, and left with the troops faithful to the Government, when, in virtue of the compromise arrived at by the National Assembly, all troops were ordered from the capital, has taken possession of the citadel of Nauplia.

## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Malmesbury called attention to the accidents resulting from feats on the tight-rope; a practice which, he thought, should be put down by legislation.—Lord Granville preferred to trust to the action of public opinion.—Lord Shaftesbury strongly condemned these spectacles; and the subject dropped.

The Irish Fisheries Bill was read a third time, after some discussion.

Several other bills having been disposed of, their Lordships adjourned.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At the morning sitting, on the order for the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, by which the supplies for the year are formally assigned, Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald called attention to the existing relations between Denmark and Germany, and the threat of a Federal execution in Holstein.—Lord Palmerston said that the Germanic Confederation had no right over Schleswig, but they had a right to interfere in Holstein, if anything contrary to Federal law were done. At the same time he hoped there would be no Federal execution, as that might lead to a general war. Everything would be done to persuade the disputants to keep their quarrel within the limits of diplomatic intercourse; and he hoped that war would be avoided.

Mr. Cobden called attention to a memorial from certain shipowners of Liverpool, complaining of the inadequacy of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and pointing out that, if this country were engaged in war with a foreign power which had no navy, our commerce might still be plundered by ships built in neutral ports. He condemned the conduct of the Government in allowing the escape of the Florida and the Alabama. The Federal Government was taking steps to ascertain the value of every ship and cargo destroyed by those vessels, with a view to demand damages from us; and that demand would probably be made, when it would leave us no choice but between humiliation and war. At present iron-clad vessels were actually building in this country for the Confederate States; and if they got to sea, the probable consequence would be a rupture with the North. We had treated the United States ill in this matter; whereas they had always strictly observed their neutral obligations. He did not believe that there would ever be two nations established within the late boundaries of the United States; and he hoped that England would remain "silent and sorrowful" till the end of the present contest.—Mr. Laird vindicated his own conduct as the builder of the Alabama, and complained of Mr. Cobden's efforts to fetter legitimate British industry. He reminded the House that during the Crimean War the America was built in a port of the United States for Russia; that she left that port with an American captain and crew; that she was protected, on leaving Brazil, by a United States' man of war, from French and British cruisers; and that it was stated by her captain that she was only the precursor of a fleet which would have sailed, had the war continued.

Lord J. Manners inquired if Turkey had made any demand to be admitted to the proposed conference on the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, which would be one of the most impolitic, uncalculated, and prejudicial acts ever committed.

Mr. C. Bentinck said he should like to know whether the opinion of the conference would be taken before the Ionian Parliament assembled.

Lord Palmerston, in replying to the observations of Mr. Cobden, said he looked upon the two hostile parties in America as belligerents, and therefore entitled to all the rights and privileges of belligerents; whereas the hon. member regarded them, not as two belligerents, but as a legitimate Government, and a rebel movement against its authority. According to the doctrine of the United States' Government itself, a neutral power might supply a belligerent with ships, arms, ammunition, or anything else, although they might be important ingredients in naval and military operations. Neither the American Government nor the hon. member was entitled to say that Ministers had omitted to do anything that by law they could do in the matter. With reference to the question of Lord J. Manners, as the Sultan had not been an acceding party to the establishment of the British protectorate of the Ionian Islands, he would not be invited to send a representative to the conference. A treaty would be signed by the Great Powers before the meeting of the Ionian States.

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

At the evening sitting Mr. C. Fortescue (Colonial Under Secretary), in reply to Mr. W. E. Forster, said that Sir G. Grey, the governor of New Zealand, apprehending the renewal of war and a formidable attack by the natives on the English settlements, had applied for an increase of the military force in that colony by the addition of one European regiment and three regiments of Sikh troops, and her Majesty's Government had decided that the request ought to be complied with.

The House having gone into committee on East India Revenue Accounts, Sir C. Wood made his annual statement of India finance, and in doing so expressed the gratification he felt at the accounts for the year 1861-62 exhibiting a great increase in the prosperity of our Indian empire, the revenue and expenditure having been brought as nearly as possible to balance each other. The actual revenue for 1862-63 amounting to £45,105,000 as against the Budget estimate of £42,971,000, thus showing an excess of £2,134,000 over the estimate. Of this increase, £1,550,000 was upon opium, £280,000 on salt, and £300,000 on land sayer abkarry. On the other hand, the expenditure in India had exceeded the estimate by £440,000; but in England it was £395,000 less. The general result was, that the total revenue, being £45,105,000, and the expenditure £43,823,000, there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure of £1,280,000, and he was happy to add that from accounts lately received, there was reason to believe that the result of the current year's operations would exceed the most sanguine hopes. The right hon. gentleman also entered into minute and elaborate details relating to the construction of railways and other public works, the Indian debt, the army, the state of industry and employment, and the general condition of the country. In alluding to the military expenditure, he mentioned the important fact



that since the year 1858-59, it had been reduced from £25,500,000 to £14,500,000, at which sum it now stood. In conclusion, he submitted a series of resolutions declaring the revenue and expenditure for the year ending April, 1862, of the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Presidencies, and the Punjab and North-Western Provinces respectively, and the interest on the registered debt of India. After a brief discussion the resolutions were agreed to; and some further business having been disposed of the House adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 24.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Clanricarde, in moving for any reports received from our diplomatic or consular agents on the Continent of atrocities committed or threatened by Russians or Poles since the 1st of May, inquired whether her Majesty's Government had reason to hope that the civil war now raging in Poland would henceforth be conducted according to the usages of civilized warfare. Having expatiated on the various atrocities committed by General Mouravieff, he insisted that it was the duty of England, France, and Austria to urge that the war be carried on in a civilized manner, or to say that in that war they would take a part.—Lord Russell thought it was not advisable to produce the papers, as both those from St. Petersburg and those from Warsaw, being probably founded on *ex parte* statements, might mislead Parliament and also preclude our diplomatic agents in those parts from obtaining information hereafter. He entered on the general question of Poland, and explained certain misapprehensions which had arisen from a previous speech of his on the same subject in regard to the non-interference of England in Poland. The present state of the negotiation was that Austria had refused to accede to the Russian proposal of a conference between herself, Prussia, and Russia, and had signified her adherence to the policy adopted by France and England.—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe eulogized Austria for the liberal course on which she had entered. The reply of Russia, although remarkable as a composition, was utterly destitute of everything that could afford a hope of a satisfactory settlement.—Lord Ellenborough considered the answer of Prince Gortschakoff put an end to all hope from diplomacy, but it had this value—that we now knew where we were, and that diplomacy was henceforth valueless. He asked for no papers to confirm the atrocities, as the proclamations of General Mouravieff were in themselves atrocities hitherto unknown in Europe. The prosperity of Posen and Galicia showed that the present outbreak in Russian Poland was due to bad government, and to the brutal contempt of those whom Russia considered as her subjects—a contempt which revolted human nature. The bad government of Poland was costly in blood and treasure to Russia, and disastrous to her power. As to the revolutionary tendencies complained of by Russia, the Emperor was himself the first revolutionist of Europe in setting the serfs against their masters. Having condemned in eloquent terms the treatment of women by General Mouravieff, he entreated her Majesty's Government to consider well what their next step should be, but warned them that if it were a diplomatic one it would certainly fail.—Lord Malmesbury hoped their lordships would not allow their reason to be conquered by their feelings. In entering into this Polish question we had allowed our feelings to overpower our judgment, had interfered in an improper manner, and our interference had already led us to the verge of a war, which would be neither to the interest nor advantage of this country. A war would end by conferring on France a material advantage, as recent wars had done before.—Lord Granville denied that her Majesty's Government had departed from the principle of non-intervention, and asserted that in conjunction with Austria and France, we had only employed our moral influence to ameliorate the condition of the Poles.—Lord Clanricarde, after a few remarks in reply, withdrew his motion. Their lordships adjourned at a quarter to 8 o'clock.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At the morning sitting a good deal of formal business was disposed of.

In the evening Mr. Dodson called attention to the petition from members of the University of Oxford, for the abolition of the requirement of subscription to formularies of faith, as a qualification for the M.A. degree. He observed that, although the petition emanated from a minority, it was signed by some of the most distinguished members of the University, and if its prayer were granted it could work no possible evil, nor impair the connection between the University and the Church of England or the religious character of her education. He earnestly recommended those who took any interest in the prosperity of the University seriously to consider the subject.—Mr. Henley, after some remarks upon the history of the petition, and upon the new theological school, professed his inability to discover what good could result from bringing the subject of the petition forward, and entered his protest against it.—Lord R. Cecil remarked that Masters of Arts constituted the governing body to decide what should be the religious education of the University.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed that most of the remarks in the debate had taken a wider range than the speech of Mr. Dodson. The question of tests in the University was connected with the usual training of the young. The parents of England would not be satisfied to intrust their children to the University without some definite religious sanction.

A long and miscellaneous conversation followed on all sorts of topics; after which the House adjourned.

Both Houses sat for a short time on Saturday, being the last Saturday during the session; but no business of interest came under discussion. The Ministers went down to Greenwich in the evening for their annual whitebait dinner, the date fixed for which marks the approaching close of the session.

#### MONDAY, JULY 27.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe directed attention to the proposed guarantee of the Ionian Islands when transferred to Greece, as appearing from the first article of the fourth protocol of the conference held at the Foreign-office relating to Greek affairs, and recently presented to the House by command of her Majesty. The noble lord expressed a strong opinion that the Government and the protecting Powers had acted unwisely in ceding the islands to Greece, and observed that the principle of guarantee had been extended too far of late years by this country.—Earl Russell said that the transfer of the Ionian Islands to Greece met the general approval of the people of this country, and that there was no opposition to the measure on the part of either Austria or Turkey. If the course pursued by Government had not met the approval of the noble viscount or of noble lords on the opposite side of the House, the subject ought to have been mooted at an earlier period of the session, when the sense of the House might have

been taken upon it.—The Earl of Derby agreed with Lord Stratford that the proposed guarantee might lead to very inconvenient results. The cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece was one of the most gratuitous weakenings of this country for the purpose of strengthening the power of other states he ever remembered. He admired the courage of the young prince who had accepted the crown of Greece, but he believed that he had an extremely arduous task before him in attempting to establish a constitutional monarchy and in reconciling the discordant elements into which that country was at present split up. After a few words from Earl Russell the subject dropped.

Some business was disposed of, and the House adjourned.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 28.—HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Commons having been summoned to the bar, the royal assent was given by commission to several bills. The Lord Chancellor, as the head of the commission appointed for the purpose, then read the Queen's speech, of which the following are the most important passages:

"Her Majesty has seen with deep regret the present condition of Poland. Her Majesty has been engaged, in concert with the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Austria, in negotiations, the object of which has been to obtain the fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815, in behalf of the Poles. Her Majesty trusts that those stipulations will be carried into execution, and that thus a conflict distressing to humanity and dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe may be brought to a close.

"The civil war between the Northern and Southern States of the North American Union still unfortunately continues, and is necessarily attended with much evil, not only to the contending parties, but also to nations which have taken no part in the contest. Her Majesty, however, has seen no reason to depart from that strict neutrality which her Majesty has observed from the beginning of the contest.

"The Greek nation having chosen Prince William of Denmark for their King, her Majesty is taking steps with a view to the union of the Ionian Islands to the kingdom of Greece. For this purpose her Majesty is in communication with the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of 1815 by which those islands were placed under the protection of the British Crown; and the wishes of the Ionians on the subject of such union will be duly ascertained.

"Several barbarous outrages committed in Japan upon British subjects have rendered it necessary for her Majesty to demand reparation; and her Majesty hopes that her demands will be conceded by the Japanese Government without its being necessary to resort to coercive measures to enforce them.

"The Emperor of Brazil has thought fit to break off his diplomatic relations with her Majesty, in consequence of her Majesty not having complied with demands which she did not deem it possible to accede to. Her Majesty has no wish that this estrangement should continue, and would be glad to see her relations with Brazil re-established.

"The distress which the civil war in North America has inflicted upon a portion of her Majesty's subjects in the manufacturing districts, and towards the relief of which such generous and munificent contributions have been made, has in some degree diminished, and her Majesty has given her cordial assent to measures calculated to have a beneficial influence upon that unfortunate state of things."

Parliament was then prorogued until the 14th of October.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 28.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Some desultory conversation took place while the House awaited the summons from the Lords. After the Speaker's return he read the Royal Speech, and then took leave of the members as usual.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 28.

The last despatches from America are, for your readers—for Europe, if it knew it—the most interesting topics of the day, although far from occupying the place they should fill in the Paris press. Still they have attracted attention, and I shall proceed to give you some of the more remarkable passages of the comments they have elicited. The same mail brought news of reported Confederate reverses and of the riots in New York. The last only are noticed at any length by the press. The ultra-liberal papers have in general mentioned them, along with the other news in their summary; but that of the *Moniteur* gives them the first place and reproduces the sense of the despatches with greater proximity than usual. It was Sunday when the news arrived, a day which even by the press is so far kept holy, that the writers generally go off early to amuse themselves for the afternoon. The *France*, alone, commented in a serious manner on the news:—

It is not without profound emotion that Europe in the midst of its own anxieties will learn the events which have stained New York with blood, and fix upon the revolution, of which America has been for two years the theatre, its true meaning.

In its very commencement the civil war, among this people of workers and freemen, has come up to all that history tells of our darkest days; America of 1863 has nothing to envy or reproach France of '93.

These events cannot surprise us. It is not the first time that we have called attention to the revolutionary,—that is, the illogical, unreasonable, and violent character of the American movement. We long ago predicted these evil days, which strikingly recall the revolts of the Faubourg St. Antoine, the burning of the exercise offices, and the murders of Flesselles, Poulon, and Berthier.

But how criminal soever the French Revolution may have been in its excesses, we should feel that we insulted it if we compared it to a movement whose secret cause is interest, and which is inspired by none of those noble and patriotic sentiments which honoured our fathers.

Now it is that the wrong-headedness and rudeness of the Yankee mind gives itself full play. What urges the Northern populations is neither enthusiasm nor patriotism. Far from dying for their fatherland, they seek to shirk the duties their Government imposes on them: they will none of the Conscription, which would expose them to combat the South, and the liberty they demand is certainly not that of going to be shot down by Confederate bullets.

It seems to us impossible that in present circumstances Mr. Lincoln should remain at the head of affairs for the term prescribed by the Constitution. We see to what extremities the violent policy of his Cabinet has reduced America. The Government of the North, instead of appeasing passions, has sought only to inflame them. It has taken those passions as its supports; it has called in the aid of Revolution, and thought itself strong, because it was violent.

But the events of to-day change its position entirely. Mr. Lincoln must feel this, and must perceive that his departure from the White-house is the only means of producing a change in a situation which must bring upon all America disasters and calamities threatening to the greatness and even to the existence of the New World.

So wrote the *France*, so thought all Paris, on the receipt of the last news. Its next number contained a short article in very different terms, though still pointing to the same evil. It alleges that Mr. Lincoln is the candidate for the next term of the presidency who will be put forward by the Abolition party, and that this intrigue was the cause of General Meade's appointment to the chief command. This must be a mistake, because it cannot be that the American law, however strictly interpreted, can exclude an American citizen born of American parents, wherever his birth may have taken place. The article goes on to say that the real opponent of Mr. Lincoln in his pretensions to re-election will not be a soldier, but a man of his own making—Mr. Valandigham.

The *Patrie* has a most interesting letter from its old correspondent in New York, who is now in Paris, of which I send you a long extract. After calling attention to his long residence in this capacity in the United States, and to the general correctness of his past appreciation of the events which have marked the struggle, he goes on to say:—

When Mr. Seward, in a grandiloquent circular, invited the working classes of Europe to the mock Republic of America, the *Patrie*, which knew what his offers were worth, did not, like some other journals, blow the trumpet for the scheme. Some of our contemporaries hailed the measure "as the most important ever taken by a Government in the application of the principle of the universal fraternity of nations." They prudently concealed from the emigrants that on their arrival in this land of promise they would find a harder than European despotism, no work or nominal wages. That want would force them to enlist to obtain bread for their families, and that when once enlisted they would not receive the promised pay, or if they got a part of it, it would be in paper, on which as much as 70 per cent. has been lost.

That is what the emigrants found. Misery and oppression have driven them and other foreigners, long settled in America, to a revolt, which, we are told, was directed exclusively against the free blacks.

No doubt, hatred of the blacks, who are considered one of the causes of this war, so ruinous above all to the poor—the anger of the white workmen at seeing the negroes underbid them in the labour market, may have had something to do with the riots, but these were only secondary causes.

In towns of the west, in Detroit, in New York itself, there have been attacks on the negroes before this. The whites were unmolested, and the riots quickly appeased when the murder of a few negroes had satisfied popular fury.

In the same way there have been conscription riots, but the burning of the Provost's office, the hanging a recruiting officer, were sufficient to restore order.

Is it thus that things have gone this time in New York? If not, why not?

Because the conscription was, indeed, the pretext for a riot, but directed not against the blacks. It is the first essay of the Social Revolution which menaces the North.

Whoever has lived any time in New York will find the confirmation of this in the last despatches. The focus of the insurrection is the upper part of the city, where the palaces of Fifth Avenue and the abodes of the plutocracy of New York are situated. The space occupied by these is bounded on either side by immense avenues running along either shore of Manhattan Island, the site of the great foundries and workshops, and the dwellings of the working population. It is needless to add, that especially since the war this part of the town is also the abode of misery.

Of the population of these avenues, not more than about one-twentieth is American. The rest are Irish, Germans, with a few French. There are at least 300,000 souls in this quarter, all united by the same interest, and well aware that they are the prey of Yankee speculators, whose flaunting luxury seems to insult the wretchedness of their dwellings, which are hardly better than the cellars of Manchester and Liverpool.

If the conscription is so unpopular, it is not as a conscription, but as an emblem of the oppression of the poor by the rich. Exemption can be purchased for \$300, a sum equal to about 300 francs in France. Every Yankee can raise this sum, but not so the petty retail dealers, for the greatest part Irish and Germans. The rich can exempt themselves for a trifle, and the poor are taken to fill the ranks.

The refusal of the firemen to muster is a fresh proof of this, for they are exempt from the conscription, but they belong to the class on which it falls so heavily. In this opposition to the conscription and the negroes, a more subsidiary manifestation, they have taken part with the social revolution.

The offices of the *Tribune* were attacked, not certainly because negroes were employed in them, for no Yankee journal would thus disgrace itself, but because it has been the advocate of military despotism, the upholder of the commercial and financial oligarchy.

If it be true that the riots have reached Staten Island, where there are neither negroes nor recruiting officers, the mob could have no other object of attack than the country houses of the wealthy New Yorkers with which it is covered.

All these things are proofs that this revolt of three days' duration was aimed neither at the negroes nor the conscription. It is the sad beginning of a revolution produced by the oppression of the working classes, and which sooner or later will burst forth.

It is not now for the first time that the revolutionary nature of the American struggle has been denounced,



but the last events prove it so distinctly, that all the non-revolutionary press has joined in recognising their tendency. One has ceased to speculate on the results of events in America, for they seem to follow no rule of Old World experience, and whatever effect they might in ordinary times have had on the French Government, things nearer home absorb its attention.

No one here doubts that war for Poland is decided on. Everything is ready for its declaration in a fortnight, and by the middle of August, unless some sudden change occurs, you may calculate on a war in which, at least, France and Austria will be engaged with Russia. As popular as this war is with the masses, so unpopular is it with the wealthier classes; but this will not prevent it. Neither will the lateness of the season; for the French and Austrian troops will march together, and a combined force may be in the heart of Poland before the 1st of September. It is understood that the French army will disembark at Trieste, whence the railway will transport it and its allies to Cracow, whence the expedition for the new partition, or the reunion to Galicia of the other parts of Poland, will proceed to the scene of action. This plan of campaign avoids the dangers of the autumnal Baltic, at the same time that it explains the alacrity with which Austria rejected the Russian proposals.

The only French newspaper which still opposes the projected war is the *Presse*; all the others have joined the war cry. Even assassination, when committed by Poles, finds apologists in the more respectable organs of French publicity. The *Patrie* excuses the murder of Colonel Leichte in the following way:—"We learn also that the National Government gives an answer to the arbitrary sentences pronounced by Generals Berg, Monravie, and others, by condemnations pronounced in secrecy, and at once executed. It is thus that one of the heroes of the Russian *regimen* at Warsaw, condemned in the course of the 21st, was stabbed the same evening by an unknown hand. No doubt such executions are repugnant to those who order them. However merited, such punishments *might* be reproved by public opinion, but Russian violence has filled the hearts of Poles with despair, and the blood nobly shed by the insurgents on the field of battle during the last six months may redeem such acts of vengeance performed in the dark, and which strike only the most cruel of the tyrants of Poland." While I state my conviction that war is determined upon, and that even the results have been discounted, as they say here on the Bourse, I must add that the *Siecle* has been visited with a second warning for an article proposing to put war for Poland to the popular vote; and a funeral service for the "victims of July," which was to have furnished occasion for a Polish manifestation, has been forbidden. On the other hand, for there is always a lining to the cloak, in the *canzetta* for the 15th of August some allusion to Poland has been permitted to the poet laureate of the year.

In this all-absorbing topic of Poland everything else is neglected. The captured flags from Mexico have been presented to the Emperor by the gallant and *gallant* Marquis de Galiffet, but they have excited no enthusiasm in Paris. Even the notice of the vote for its future government, which Marshal Forey is said to have authorised throughout the territory which has submitted to France, has not stimulated public curiosity.

The Empress's sudden visit to Vichy passed in *fiets* such as the family mourning allowed, and she is again at St. Cloud, where the Emperor is expected in ten days.

Poor Emma Livry, the purest of *danseuses*, has died of the terrible accident which she met with eight months ago, when her dress caught fire at a general rehearsal of the "*Muette de Portice*." As an artist she was admirable, and the eight months of terrible suffering which she bore with the most edifying resignation, added to her faultless life, perhaps entitle us to hail in her the first saint that the opera has contributed to the choir of Heaven. She was only eighteen.

#### THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE RECENT FEDERAL SUCCESSES.

(From the *Times*, July 27.)

The state of affairs in America as represented in the intelligence we publish this morning, is full of such confusion and complexity that it is almost impossible to estimate its real character. On each side there is an unaccountable mixture of strength and weakness, success and failure, confidence and despair. With that strange concurrence which is so often observed in history, important events crowd together at once, and from nearly every side of the vast Confederate territory we have news of important operations by land or sea. In Maryland, on the Peninsula, at Charleston, at Port Hudson, at Vicksburg, and in Tennessee large and powerful armies are actively engaged, and the Confederacy is being pierced at half-a-dozen points at once by attacks each of which requires an army for adequate resistance.

In such a position it is not surprising that there is hardly one point at which the South has been able to concentrate a sufficient force to overpower its assailants. It can no longer be doubted now that Vicksburg has fallen, and it is clear that its capture was due to a want of Confederate troops to reinforce sufficiently the army of General Johnston. As was to be expected, its fall has been followed by that of Port Hudson. We do not know yet whether the fall of the latter place was caused directly by the result of the capture of Vicksburg; but it is obvious that the same reasons which made the defence of the one impossible would necessitate sooner or later the surrender of the other. The simple truth is that the Confederates were outnumbered, and had not the vast reserves of the North to reinforce their gallant but hard-pressed garrisons. It is impossible to speculate with

any great probability on the policy or necessity of the Confederate Government, and it cannot be known how far General Lee's recent invasion may have been absolutely necessary to recruit the supplies of the Southern army; but it is difficult to avoid a suspicion that if he could have persisted in a purely defensive policy the Confederate outposts might not have been found so denuded of troops in their hour of need. The news from Charleston seems to point out a similar danger. We hear of a fresh attack by the Federals; and this time, instead of trying to force a passage with their ships, they have landed troops on Morris Island, on the south side of the entrance to the harbour, and seem pushing forward towards the city by land in the rear of the batteries. In the absence of fuller news we cannot interpret with any confidence their progress in this operation; but if there was any truth in the rumour which stated that General Lee had been reinforced by a large part of General Beauregard's army it is difficult not to connect the two facts.

Whether, however, such a reinforcement was seriously contemplated or effected, it has been probably felt that it would be impossible, while so many points were threatened, to support General Lee with a force sufficient to enable him to convert his rapid invasion of Pennsylvania into a permanent and successful occupation. His retreat may be due rather to the Confederate necessities elsewhere than to the consequences of his repulse at Gettysburg. The Northern press has ceased to claim those terrible three days' fighting as anything but a drawn battle, and it is obvious from the extreme ease with which Lee has effected his retreat, that he was far too strong for Meade's army to be able to meet him except in a defensive position. On the 13th of July all his wounded, trains, and supplies had been quietly passed over the Potomac at Williamsport, under cover of his army, and we hear to-day that on the 14th the whole army itself crossed the river, so unmolested by General Meade that only one brigade, two guns, two caissons, and a number of small arms remain in the hands of the Federals. It is difficult to see that such a result can be very satisfactory to the Northern press or the Washington Government. Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, it is true, are "safe;" but a large army has succeeded in maintaining itself on their soil for three weeks; has collected stores and provisions to its heart's content from one of the wealthiest States in the Union; has surrounded the capital, and cut all the lines of railway that connect it with the Northern States but one; has been able all through the invasion to take its own course; has only been prevented by three days' bloody fighting from important military successes; and has at last safely retreated with all its booty. General Lee, besides, has at least succeeded in compelling the Federal army to retire to its own soil. Instead of being the army of invasion of Virginia, it has become only the army of defence for Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Still, it must be acknowledged that on the whole it is seldom we have received intelligence so gloomy for the Confederate cause. Though the North places an extravagant value on the reduction of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, yet it is evident from the letters of our correspondent at Richmond that the fall of their two strongholds on the Mississippi will be a heavy blow to the Confederates. The navigation of the river, indeed, for any purpose of commerce is impossible so long as a gun can be planted on any cliff or bluff of its eastern or western banks, but the Federal gunboats are likely to command the river between New Orleans and Memphis, and they ought to be able to prevent the construction of any other such formidable strongholds. General Banks, too, will be relieved from any fear for New Orleans, and the greater part of General Grant's large army will be available for service elsewhere. Vicksburg and Port Hudson have hitherto absorbed the services of some 100,000 of the best soldiers in the Northern army, and though it will be absolutely necessary for General Grant to leave a strong garrison in each, lest his work should be undone, it is clear that a considerable force will be at his disposal for fresh operations. It is said that a Federal force has occupied Jackson, and the important line of railway which runs parallel to the Mississippi from Memphis to New Orleans is therefore more or less in Federal hands. There is nothing improbable in the reports that General Johnston has been already attacked and defeated with considerable loss, though it is said to require confirmation; and General Bragg's rapid retreat from Tennessee to Atlanta, in Georgia, may be connected with the same calamity. This last movement, indeed, if it is not intended to draw General Rosecrans too far forward a position, is almost more ominous than the others. Atlanta is at the centre of the Western Confederate States. It is nearer to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic than to the Ohio and the Mississippi, and if the Federal army follows General Bragg it will be encamped in the very heart of the Confederate territory.

But at this very time, when the hosts of Mr. Lincoln have achieved something of the success which the mere force of overpowering numbers must ultimately command, when the Northern press is most triumphant, and the Washington politicians most elated, the people are expressing their disgust at the war in a way which, if persisted in, must be fatal to its further prosecution on the same scale. The riots in New York, of which we received hasty intelligence last mail, are evidently little less than an insurrection. A mob of many thousand men, armed with muskets, bludgeons, pikes, brickbats, and railroad iron, who are "in possession of the city," are not to be considered a mere band of rioters. Nothing but the most indignant discontent with the proceedings of the Government could have roused such a storm of resistance. Even the obstinacy of Mr. Lincoln seems to have felt the necessity for giving way, and it is said he has telegraphed to New York to suspend the draft. If that be true, it will be hopeless to enforce it, for such an example is infectious, and other cities in the North are not likely to submit to a conscription which they have only to resist forcibly to escape. It would have been strange indeed if the American people had submitted to a measure which is a distinctive mark of the most despotic Governments of the Continent. But if Mr. Lincoln can only recruit his armies by conscription, and the conscription fails, his Government will have collapsed at the very crisis of its policy. The hopelessness of the enterprise is never more evident than at a time when it seems most promising. The war fails to unite the jarring factions of the bewildered people, and they seem roused at the last extremity only to the determination that it promises no results worth the price they are asked to pay. Indeed, in spite of all the Confederate misfortunes, there is one item in to-day's intelligence which alone shows what an endless and hopeless task the North have before them. Although General Bragg is retreating before General Rosecrans far into Georgia, yet the country behind the Federal General is so far from being conquered, that two or three hundred miles in his rear a Confederate General is invading Ohio and threatening Cincinnati and Indianapolis. If the Federal Cabinet cannot protect their own country, what chance can they see of raising a sufficient force to hold the South by military occupation?

(From the *Morning Herald*, July 27.)

General Lee has withdrawn from Maryland, and the second invasion of Northern territory is at an end. It has not been more successful than the first. We have yet to learn the truth about the battle of Gettysburg. It is certain that the fight on the second day was far more favourable to the Confederates than the Northern reports describe it, and that the Federals lost guns, considerable numbers in killed and wounded, and several of their positions; and although on the third day Lee's army was unable to crush the enemy, it cannot be said to have suffered a defeat. At the worst it retired after an indecisive action. It is easy to judge by results, and they are, after all, the only sure tests of a campaign. But, speaking after the event, we must confess that Lee's movement was from the first, in our opinion, attended with risks by no means commensurate with the good he was likely to effect, and that when once upon the enemy's territory he failed to evince that superiority in strategy which has hitherto been the strong arm of the South. Meade was allowed time to concentrate his forces without interruption, whilst the Confederate army was scattered over the Cumberland Valley. As it was, the militia reserves from Pennsylvania and New York, which arrived on the third day of the battle, saved the North a great disaster. What would have been the effect if Lee had pushed forward his troops to Fredericktown and fought two days earlier? At least he would have had a smaller force to encounter, and he could hardly have had a stronger position to attack. No doubt Lee was justified in his confidence in the prowess of his troops. But there are things which flesh and blood cannot accomplish. According to the Federal accounts the Southern soldiers charged up the slopes of Gettysburg in heavy columns, torn with grape, and canister, and deadly shell, as the Russians did at Inkermann. Is it a wonder that when their thinned ranks reached the crests they were unable to withstand the onset? Lee relied too much on the superiority of his soldiers, and underrated his opponents. Many a commander has made the same mistake and paid a heavier penalty. The Confederates, of course, had a great object in invading Northern territory. One victory would probably have given them peace, and certainly have secured their recognition. A permanent occupation of portions of Maryland and Pennsylvania would have balanced the loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and would have materially contributed toicken the North of its lust of conquest. Meade's army destroyed, there was no hope of raising another. All these considerations justified Lee's bold movement. It is a misfortune to the North, to the South, and to humanity, that it has not been more successful. His retreat across the Potomac is well advised. Nothing could have been gained by an indecisive victory over Meade's army at Hagerstown. Everything would have been lost by a reverse. Richmond itself, Lee's army destroyed, would have been open to the invader. As it is, if Meade has the daring to follow him up, he can fight when he will and where he will, in a friendly country; and on the soil of Virginia the Confederate army will always give a good account of the enemy.

The earliest consequence of the Confederate invasion has been the new conscription and the reign of terror in New York. General Lee, in his retreat, could not have anticipated such results. When he withdrew his army from the sickening spectacle of the last battle field, his congratulations could have gone no further than that a terrible lesson of Confederate power had been taught the enemy. There he must have stopped. Familiar as he is with the mixed races to which he is opposed, the tame submission of New York to every new stretch of power could have held out no hope to him that there the semblance of order was about to snap asunder. Had he known that within a few days he would have a powerful ally in New York, there is no saying what he might have accomplished. For without the passive acquiescence of New York the Federal Government, and East, and West, and North are nothing. When its citizens are outraged and its negroes murdered—when the lamp-post is resorted to for speedy execution, and a life and death struggle is waged between power and the masses of the people—it is time for the Federal Administration to ponder well "the situation." New York is worse than Paris when in the hands of the mob, as the excesses of 1837 prove, and the exciting causes were then less powerful than those now operating. For some weeks past the condition of New York has been represented as most alarming, although no mention of the fact has appeared in the letters of newspaper correspondents. Not only have the whole population carried concealed weapons, but robberies and brutal outrages and murders have taken place in Broadway and the other more public thoroughfares. This general arming originated in the wantonness and brutality of the discharged soldiers, who gradually increased in number and daring. These ruffians began by waylaying people at night, in much the same manner as the London burglars last winter; but the knife was freely used when resistance or alarm was attempted. Attacks were even made in the daytime, so that it became unsafe for any one to be about unless well provided for defence. Latterly the prospect of the conscription has added to the uneasiness of all classes, and armed such as were previously unarmed. Collisions, consequently, whether between individuals or mobs, and the police or military, are desperate and deadly. In fact, in the present armed state of the inhabitants of New York, collisions assume the character of regular street fighting. That, under such circumstances, business should be suspended is not remarkable. Nor would it be remarkable if the suspension of business at the great commercial centre of the Northern States, and the example of armed resistance to the Federal Government in such a place, were to occasion counter-revolution. At all events, the produce trade from Chicago and the Western States will inevitably be checked, and the idleness that must follow will, of course, enable the malcontents of the many large and not well-affected lake and interior towns to consider the relation in which they stand to the Federal Government. In a word the situation in the Northern States is at the moment very grave. And apart from the collision between the authorities and the people, the resistance to the draft is a serious blow to the Administration. The example of New York is likely to be followed every by great city of the North, and whence, then, will Mr. Seward obtain his recruits? The new conscription was in itself a confession of the inadequacy of the forces now in the field for the object the Administration has in view. The war in America, what with the want of knowledge in officers, the deficient organization, the climate of the South, and the exposures of the campaign, is using up the Northern army at an unprecedented rate. The two years' men have served their term; the nine months' men are not to be tempted back into the ranks. There is no resource but the draft; if that fails the North, the war must speedily end. In the meantime the North is enjoying in its own cities the horrors it has ruthlessly inflicted on the cities and homesteads of the South, and the South has a set-off for the disasters it has encountered on the Mississippi.



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Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1863.

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The Losses on the Mississippi.

It is not surprising that the recent reverses of the Confederates should have excited something like consternation amongst many of their warmest friends in this country, or that those journals which write in the interest of the Lincoln Government should, on receipt of the news of the fall of Vicksburg, have announced for the hundredth time that the end of the rebellion was near. Since the fall of Fort Donnellson, the armies of the Southern Confederacy have been so uniformly successful, that to speculate on disaster seemed almost the negation of Southern superiority; whilst, with the North, the tide of ill-success has been so constant and even that a victory comes upon them as a surprise, and is hailed with the extravagant elation incidental to unexpected good luck. Neither side, perhaps, has, as yet, realized the true character of the struggle in which it is engaged, or compared the varied phases of the conflict with the vicissitudes which have invariably attended every great war between two powerful and determined peoples. It would be an unprecedented fact, that an isolated population striving for its freedom against an invading power with more than double its numerical strength, with the arsenals and workshops of the world open to it, with gunboats that command every navigable river, and fleets that block up every outlet, should yet not experience

the checks which never fail to attend upon the most successfully conducted operations between equal powers. The South has done wonders in its two years' struggle. It has built up a military history second to none by the gallantry of its soldiers and the skill of its leaders. And it has met hitherto with unparalleled successes, considering the resources of its adversary. But it must take its turn of trial, of disappointment, and of disaster. The question is one of endurance. Both sides are evidently at their best, and the process of exhaustion is telling its tale North and South. Here it is shown by contracted lines of defence, abandonment of strong positions and desperate ventures; there by street massacres, and angry risings of excited multitudes, pillage and incendiarism, and civil war in its direst forms. At Vicksburg a brave garrison surrenders; but at New York a terrible mob resists the conscription and defies the Federal authority. The loss of Vicksburg is a calamity to the South, but it is nothing in comparison with the commencement of that strife between Republican and Democrat, which has so long been predicted, and which has now drawn blood in the streets of the Empire City. The exhaustion is as apparent, we repeat, in the enforced conscription in the cities of the North, and the merciless slaughter of boys and women, as in the temporary reverses that have befallen the South, and the power which shows the greatest endurance must ultimately win. The issue is not doubtful. The South is battling for freedom, the North for conquest. A whole nation fights cheerfully on the one side. On the other side men cannot be found to fight except under coercion. The war may last months, and even years. There may be more reverses to chronicle before the Southern star is again in the ascendant. But the end will be the triumph of Southern nationality. In the war of Independence, the colonists were defeated in battle after battle, their towns were captured, their territory traversed by victorious armies. But they persevered, and they won. For the time came when the mother-country could no longer support the expense of those great offensive expeditions, and the losses consequent on operations conducted in a sparsely populated, hostile country. The recollection of that struggle, its trials, its reverses, and its final triumph, may strengthen the heart and nerve the arm of the Southern people now.

The loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson is undoubtedly a severe blow, but to speak of "the backbone of the rebellion" being broken by their capture is simply an absurdity. These two fortresses, be it remembered, did not exist a year and a-half ago; and although of great strategical importance to the Confederates, are of no such value to the Federals. They served a two-fold purpose. They impeded the navigation of the Mississippi; and they occupied the attention of an enormous Federal army. What has been done at Port Hudson may be done at a dozen different points along the Mississippi between Baton Rouge and Memphis; and it is idle to speak of the freedom of that river for the transport of the products of the West so long as for some 400 miles along the river's bank guerillas can train a gun. Both Port Hudson and Vicksburg must now be strongly garrisoned to guard against the possibility of recapture, and their continued occupation will weaken the Federal army available for active operations by some 15,000 men. It is not indeed the actual loss of those strong positions so much as the fact that the armies of Grant and Banks are set free for further service, which constitutes the chief danger. But even this has been overrated. The two armies united cannot, when they have garrisoned Vicksburg and Port Hudson, muster 80,000 men. They have to account for Johnston in Mississippi, with an army of 40,000 or 50,000; and in the West they have the soldiers of Magruder, and Kirby Smith, and Taylor, and others to deal with. They may occupy and ravage the State of Mississippi, and some portions of Alabama, as they have devastated the Teche and Attakapas districts in Western Louisiana. But they can do little more; sooner or later their army will be called away, and the Confederates will reoccupy the country. In fact, the position of

Grant's forces is by no means the formidable one it has been represented. His men, greatly enfeebled by exposure and unacclimatised, are quite unfit to undertake a new campaign in the terrible summer heat of Mississippi and Alabama. The waters are low and still falling, so that if his army moves it can no longer depend for supplies on the transport hitherto furnished by gunboats. There is no probability of high waters this year, as the fall of snow was remarkably light in the regions whence the Mississippi draws its stream. Yet the whole chance of Grant's success depends on his taking the field at once. If he delays he gives time to the South to construct new defences, to organise fresh forces, to recover from its wounds. There is the nucleus of a fine army in the paroled prisoners of Vicksburg and Port Hudson; and in a few weeks these veterans may be again in the Confederate ranks, so largely is the balance of prisoners in favour of the Southern army. Reinforced by these troops, and acting on the defensive, General Johnstone will be an awkward enemy to encounter; and we are very much inclined to think that the limit of Federal success has been reached in the South-West. Possibly, the attempt may be made to reoccupy Western Louisiana, and it may be successful. But even for this operation the time is short, and when accomplished it will not have advanced the objects of the Federal Government a step.

The retreat of Bragg's army into Georgia, so far from being a disaster, we regard as a clever strategic move. Of course it would have been a great thing to have defeated Rosecranz. But failing this, it can hardly be said that Bragg's army has not done its work. It has kept at bay a very powerful force some six months, and it has now moved into a country where supplies are abundant, leaving to the enemy a district that has been thoroughly drained of its resources. If Rosecranz pushes forward he abandons his water communication; he must take with him an enormous train, and leave his rear open to Forest's guerilla cavalry. Bragg has repeated Beauregard's masterly retreat from Corinth, and Lee's retirement from Manassas. Rosecranz is not very likely to follow him. The retrograde movement of General Lee is a disappointment only to those who founded extravagant expectations upon his advance. We learn from the New York press that he retired in perfect order, with his sick and wounded and his enormous booty sent before him. We know, too, that he inflicted such a terrible blow on Meade's army as frightened General Dix away from the Yorktown Peninsula and President Lincoln into a new conscription. The riots in New York are the first fruits of Lee's invasion of the North. We have yet to see the last. Lee, by the latest advices, was at Front Royal, and the Federals were in no hurry to go near him. If he can draw General Meade across the river he may possibly yet strike a crushing blow at the army of the Potomac. He may make for Richmond, rest his tired army, and await the Federal attack on his old battleground. But Lee has by this time an army of veterans, an army fit to go anywhere and do anything; and so long as that army is in the field we need have no apprehension about the safety of the capital of the Confederacy. We recollect how the fall of Fort Donnellson was avenged, and we have no fear that the South will not prove herself equal and superior to the present emergency.

The Fruits of Masterly Inactivity.

Those who have so sedulously striven to quiet the conscience of this nation, and to persuade it that England violated no moral obligation as a great Power by tacitly encouraging an attempt to subjugate a people of English race and speech, are now congratulating themselves on their foresight, and taking credit for the prudence of their advice. Events, they allege, have fully justified the policy of Great Britain, not only in refusing to recognise the Confederate States, but in dissuading others from so doing. We fail to perceive any good reasons for these congratulations. If, owing to this policy, the



most fertile portion of the American continent were about to be converted into a new Poland, those who shaped it might well repent in sackcloth and ashes the monstrous blunder for which history would hold them responsible. Fortunately for the best interests of civilization, such a consummation is, humanly speaking, impossible. The Confederates have still great armies in the field; they have not even yet exhausted the military strength of their population, for the conscription, confined to the ages between 18 and 35, leaves them beyond this maximum an available able-bodied force of not less than 100,000 men; they are, if not abundantly, at least sufficiently supplied with the materials of war, for they have, what they had not when the struggle commenced, foundries, and powder-mills, and gun-factories. They have, above all, a resolute and unanimous people, while their enemy is fast becoming the prey of internal commotions and domestic broils. But even if the last army of the Confederates were defeated and their last stronghold captured, they could not, unless their own hearts failed them, be reduced to obedient submission. To hold a territory so large as theirs, and peopled by such men as are its natural growth, under military rule, is a task which even the North, in the height of the folly of its pride, must at last despair of accomplishing. And as if to make this task still more hopeless, the North has wantonly deprived itself of a means of success which no conqueror ever before despised. Instead of the usual policy of an invader, endeavouring to conciliate and to remove apprehensions, it has robbed, burned, and murdered, wherever its armies have advanced. It has made war, not merely against armed men, but against women and children, the aged and the infirm. It has threatened, what no other conqueror even of an Asiatic country has ever attempted, to subvert at one blow the entire social fabric of the invaded country, and has avowed its policy to be depopulation and colonization. Such an attempt at conquest would have failed against the smallest province of our Indian Empire; it cannot succeed against a people of six millions, occupying a territory equal to all Western Europe, and superior to their invaders in warlike qualities and patriotic virtue.

But though, happily, the great calamity of the subjugation of the South it is not within the power of Northern wickedness and folly to bring upon the world, there are evils, scarcely less in magnitude, which are justly chargeable to the policy of those who now congratulate themselves upon their prudence. The most momentous of these is the indefinite protraction of the war. During its progress there have been many periods when a single word from Europe would have ended it. Without that word the war could not end. So long as no neutral Power told the North that its enterprise was hopeless, it was warranted in not deeming it so. So long as no neutral recognised its independence, the South must expect that an enemy would continue to assail it. The policy of the South was defensive. Again and again did it hurl back the invader. Without a fleet, it retained all its important seaports save one against the fleets of the aggressor. With astonishing energy and resolution it created armies and the means of supplying them. Its internal tranquillity, despite the fearful shocks from without, remained undisturbed. In every respect and judged by the severest tests, it fulfilled all the conditions of a strong and stable Government, invincible in its own defence. Still Europe continued passive, and bade the North persevere. There was, therefore, but one hope left to the South for ending the contest, and that was to force the North to desist by assuming in turn the aggressive. The chances promised well, and at all events the stake was worth the risk. The bold stroke failed; and it is not too much to say that to this failure is traceable the whole series of reverses that have so suddenly changed the aspect of the war. If, as there is good reason to believe, every other point was weakened in order to make the one blow at the heart of the enemy more decisive, we have no difficulty in explaining the misfortunes in the West, and the renewal of the attack on Charleston. It

certainly will not be doubted that the force which Lee carried with him across the Potomac was strong enough to have guarded Richmond, and yet to have saved Vicksburg and Bragg's position in Tennessee. Had the Confederates succeeded, the advocates of "masterly inactivity" might have taken credit to themselves, for the first dawn of peace would ere this have shed a lustre upon the wisdom of their course. But as they would then have shared the credit of success, so must they now bear their share of blame, for it is their policy that has borne its natural fruits.

Great Britain may have cause to regret the counsels which have persuaded her against her better convictions to assume an attitude so unworthy of her position as a great Power in the American quarrel. The ruin of her cotton industry, which will deepen and become more irremediable as the war progresses, will not, perhaps, be the only cause for regret. The loss of prestige is certain to entail more remote, but not less disastrous, consequences. She has not allayed the hatred of the North, but she has deliberately repelled the friendship of the South. In the affairs of the New World, at least, she has therefore permanently shorn herself of her legitimate influence. It will be fortunate if the loss of power to enforce respect shall stop there. No one will attribute motives of magnanimity to conduct so unexpected and inexplicable. It will be easier and more pleasant to those who bear her no love to believe that she lacks the courage or the will to discharge the duties of her proud position. Foreigners will learn to look at her as an admirably balanced commonwealth, indeed, a model of the checks and balances necessary for good government; but a commonwealth which has deliberately exchanged power abroad for ease at home, and which in the all-absorbing passion of growing rich has forgotten the ambition of being great. There are those who, so far from considering this a reproach, would see in it the realization of their most utopian wishes, and who are therefore gratified instead of pained, that Great Britain on the greatest question of the age should not venture to lift her voice above a whisper. But the great mass of the nation will rather think with Lord Russell, who much oftener talks as a wise man than acts as one, when, a few weeks ago, apparently forgetting how glaringly his words were contradicted by his acts, he said—

I have no confidence in the policy of doing nothing, nor can I imagine that a great country like this can separate itself from all the affairs of the world and say, "Let not our voice be heard or our influence prevail. We must look only to ourselves, and take no part in the politics of the world."

### The New York Riots.

If ever there was an exemplification on a large scale that there is retributive justice in the affairs of this world, and that it overtakes nations as surely as it does individuals, we have it in the blood-stained streets and burning dwellings of New York city. In the hour of greatest triumph, when the danger of invasion is almost miraculously averted, when the fearful expenditure of men and money in the twelvemonth's campaign on the Mississippi has repaid the many bitter disappointments and revived the hope so long deferred, when its fortunes looked most prosperous, the North has met the punishment its crimes deserved. It is not difficult in this instance to trace cause and effect. Impelled by lust of dominion and of gain to attempt the liberties of a brave and generous people which had done or threatened it no harm, the North has lost one by one all the possessions, in the enjoyment of which it vaunted itself superior to the less-favoured nations of the Old World. It has exchanged the licence which it called liberty, for a despotism more vulgar and brutal than has been known since the worst days of the Roman Empire. The people which boasted that it recognised no coercive power except that of an enlightened public opinion, has learned to delight in passports, spies, military arrests, provost-marshal's, and state prisons. Unburdened with the loads which other States inherit from their past,

it has recklessly tied a mill-stone around its neck in the shape of a debt so enormous, that it is alike ruinous to pay or to repudiate. There remained, however, another draught in the bitter cup which this misguided people applied to its own lips. Hitherto, though their liberties and property were at the mercy of the self-imposed tyrants, the sacrifice of life had not been forcibly exacted. Foreign hirelings and the refuse of the large cities, whose loss on the battle-field was a gain, manured with their bodies the distant battle-fields; the native youth of the country might be enticed, or cajoled, or bribed into the service, but they could not be torn by violence from home and family. The time has now come when the demon of war demands this last sacrifice, when the farmer is to leave his plough, the artisan his workshop, every household to give up a son, or a brother, or a husband, to swell the frightful list of the victims of this national madness. It is not surprising that at this demand the public patience should give way, and that the pent-up exasperation should at last vent itself in a frantic struggle of resistance. The recent successes of the North have hastened the long-foreseen crisis, for in profiting by these successes the rulers of the North saw their only chance of executing a measure to abandon which was to abandon the war.

The first attempt was the signal of delivering up the chief city of the North to a lawless mob, and to make it the scene of horrors which have not been paralleled since the darkest periods of the first French Revolution. To retreat and to persevere is now equally dangerous. To retreat would be to forego all the expected fruits of the successes on the Mississippi; to persevere is to inaugurate a civil war at home. New York does not so far differ in the character of its population or the nature of its interests from other cities in the Union, as to make it probable that her example will not be contagious. Riots such as those which she has commenced, are the symptoms of a disease that pervades every part of the body politic, and which, repressed in one locality, is sure to break out more virulently in another. Nor are the rural populations likely to remain free from the infection. It is notorious that in many of the Western States secret associations have long been in process of formation to resist the draft, and frequent riots and murders have for some time given warning of the deadly fire that was smouldering there. None but the most bigoted partisans of the North can have failed to observe that since the beginning of the war, it is that section of the late Union, and not the South, which has been rapidly undergoing the various stages of a revolution. One of these stages has just been reached, and experience teaches us that it is not the last. Who, that has seen the "model Republic" within three short years reach the point when the services of a regular army are required to enforce a conscription, can say with what speed the remaining stages will be travelled through?

There are many lessons to be learned from the impending struggle between anarchy and military despotism, in which a once prosperous country is by its own fault convulsed, but the most instructive to the European observer is that which betrays the *animus* of the Northern mind to the negro. In every outburst of popular anger, the malignity and cruelty of a Northern mob are invariably wreaked upon the heads of that unfortunate race. Not all the fictions of Abolitionists charge the South with so many fiendish atrocities perpetrated on the black man as the North has been guilty of within the last three years. The New York riot in this respect differs only in proportions from the innumerable smaller ones which preluded it in every part of the so-called free States. It is only yesterday that we heard of a negro torn from a gaol in a small country town and hanged by an infuriated mob, and similar atrocities are reported by almost every steamer. The wholesale massacre of these defenceless people by the Federal soldiery in Norfolk and in Alexandria are still fresh in our recollection. The more systematic, but scarcely less revolting, butchery before the works of Port Hudson is not forgotten. And now we hear of negroes hunted down like wild



beasts, beaten to death, drowned, burnt, in the streets of New York. And yet there are those in this country who believe that the North makes war for love of the negro. Imagine the South subjugated, and its lands parcelled out among those who commit such crimes at home and without provocation, what would be the fate of the slaves in such a change of masters? Imagine an emancipation which would hand over the whole negro population of America to the tender mercies of such men as compose the New York mobs.

It is a fact which every English philanthropist should well ponder, that the only authenticated instances of barbarous outrage on the negro have been committed by Northern men, on Northern soil, or where Northern armies held possession. The Southern people had been described as monsters of brutality, wickedness, and lawlessness. The war has proved them humane, patient, brave, God-fearing, and law-abiding. The most bitter enemy of the South and its institutions cannot deny that this much-slandered people have exhibited these qualities in a degree seldom, if ever, excelled; that their armies, whether on their own or an enemy's soil, have been models of discipline; and that their conduct in the field and in the council has been marked by wisdom, moderation, and self-control. Is not such a people better to be trusted with the education of four millions of an inferior race, than one which has never learned to govern itself nor to govern others, and which has never shown itself temperate in the use of power, whether in prosperity or adversity? Is it not fair to assume that a community such as the Southern people have proved themselves, contains within itself the moral salt which will keep it free from universal corruption; that, if crimes such as have been charged to them are incident to their social system, they will find within themselves the virtue and the courage to apply the remedy? In other words, that a people so nobly endowed as the Southerners are admitted to be, may be safely left to the solution of a social problem which they must necessarily understand better than others less immediately concerned, and which they have the greatest interest as men and as Christians to solve justly. May we not read in the flames of the burning negro dwellings in New York, that the interests of the black man are safer in the hands of his present master than in those of his professed liberator?

### Mr. Cobden on the Alabama.

No one who has watched with the least attention the course of the two men, even during the last two years, can have failed to recognise the infinite superiority of Mr. Cobden to his brother-in-arms of Birmingham. Both of them are pursuing, with indefatigable vigour and indomitable perseverance, a policy which is utterly opposed to the interests of their country, and utterly hateful to the feelings of ninety-nine in a hundred of their countrymen. Both of them are men in whom certain limited and narrow views of public morality and national interest have assumed the fixity and exclusiveness of monomania; both of them are fanatics for peace; both of them devotees of "economy;" both of them idolaters of Democracy; both of them, consequently, champions of the cause of the United States. On any question, but especially on any question touching our American policy, the two would probably give identical votes, and form identical judgments. And yet, even on this subject, though they may decide alike, no close observer can fail to see that they think and speak very differently. Mr. Bright judges men and things in America merely from a personal point of view; all that belong to his side he loves,—all that are on the other side he hates, with cordial, thorough-going, indiscriminate vehemence. He does not reason, but rails; he does not discuss, but merely denounces. Mr. Cobden, on the other hand, with as strong a bias, evidently makes some effort to think as an Englishman and to argue as a statesman. If his judgment has been formed by prejudice, he supports it by reasoning; if his appeals are neither just nor wise, yet they are addressed to the intelligence and the

conscience, not to the passions, and especially to the baser passions, of his audience. If Mr. Bright had enjoyed a good education, and been born a country gentleman, he would have turned out a Ferrand, and railed at manufacturers as he now rails at aristocrats; if born to wealth and brought up at Oxford, Mr. Cobden would have emulated the fame of Peel or Gladstone. The one is a mere brawler, with the temper of a fiend and the conscience of a bravo; the other has in him the making of a statesman and a gentleman, sadly marred by the corrupting association with half-educated and vulgar admirers, and by his unhappy intimacy with a man like Bright; but still, whenever we have heard him speak,—

"Marred as he was, he seemed the goodliest man" that ever spoke from the Radical benches, and addressed the House of Commons in the language of cotton. Closely as they are united by personal and political attachment, between these two men there is a gulf fixed, moral and intellectual, wider than that which separates any two representative men of opposing parties. And the different estimate formed of the two by their adversaries is very marked. Tory orators and Tory journals endeavour to answer Cobden; they are content to denounce his friend. The House of Commons listens to Bright, laughs at him, sometimes cheers him; but it hears Cobden with attention, and weighs his words with the respect which is due to a man who rarely speaks at random.

We shall follow the same course, and address ourselves to answer his last and feeblest speech as if it displayed no unworthy feeling and no un-English predilections. We cannot but express our regret, to begin with, that Mr. Cobden should have quoted a letter of Mr. Gideon Welles to Mr. Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, as if it were entitled to respect, and should have tried to force the House to listen to a contradiction, on such authority, of a statement made by a gentleman of Mr. Laird's standing and character. It was quite right to publish the letter, and let it go for what it was worth; but it was not well that Mr. Cobden should give his endorsement to the valueless word of a Federal Minister. Unhappily, that position, so far from being a guarantee of truth and honour, has become, since Mr. Lincoln's election, a sure badge of unscrupulous and impudent falsehood. The blasphemous Seward, the swindler Cameron, the mendacious Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary-at-War, from whose office no true report has yet emanated, are worthy colleagues of Mr. Gideon Welles; and as for his correspondent, all the world knows Charles Sumner for a coward, and those who know the history of the event that made him notorious know him also for a liar. This letter does not in the least affect the confidence of any reasonable man in the truth of Mr. Laird's statement; that he was asked to build men-of-war for the Federal Government; a statement which he has shown himself ready to prove. But the attempt to place such a letter from such men in opposition to the word of an English gentleman is damaging to the reputation of Mr. Cobden.

Mr. Cobden's complaints against the Government are founded on a memorial from certain shipowners of Liverpool, expressing great alarm in regard to the consequences of the precedents afforded by the Alabama and her consorts, in case of any future war in which England may be a belligerent, and some country with ample shipbuilding power a neutral. If we are not mistaken, some at least of these gentlemen belong to that party which has diligently exerted itself to put an end to maritime war altogether, by abolishing commercial blockades, and exempting private property not being contraband of war from seizure even under an enemy's flag. They are at least consistent in their endeavours to mitigate the dangers which, since the Treaty of Paris, fall with peculiar and exclusive severity upon their own particular branch of commerce. But they have forgotten to ask themselves whether anything that we might do now to oblige the American Government would be reciprocated if, at some future time, a lucrative trade might offer itself to American citizens in

building vessels of war for our enemies. And this omission destroys the whole value of their particular argument.

It does not, however, affect the argument of Mr. Cobden. For whatever America is likely to do, it is our duty to do right; to fulfil every obligation imposed upon us by the law and the comity of nations. And Mr. Cobden's charge is, that our Government has neglected its duty. This accusation divides itself into two branches. First, the Government is charged with neglecting to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act; secondly, it is charged with refusing to amend that act, where experience has proved it to be insufficient.

The first charge is false in fact. The Government has tried to enforce the law, and has done so in ways not very consistent with ordinary English policy. It has encouraged espionage, if it have not actually set spies upon the building-yards of English shipwrights. It has placed the services of officials of the Customs department virtually, if not formally, at the disposal of Mr. Adams, to prevent the clearance of vessels which the Federal envoy pointed out as suspicious. It has in one such case done grievous wrong, inflicted great injury, and refused all reparation. It has acted with great abuse of its powers for oppression in the case of the *Alexandra*. That vessel was seized on suspicion, detained for a long time on suspicion, before a word was hinted as to the charges against her; prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer Chamber on the evidence of a gang of scoundrels not one of whom could be believed on his oath by a British jury; and after her acquittal there, still detained in custody to await the result of a frivolous and vexatious appeal, which cannot be tried for months. Of course, the expense to the owners is ruinous; and they cannot recover costs of suit against the Crown. In fact, the Government have determined to do for Mr. Adams, by the power of the purse, what they cannot do by law, and, in the interest and service of the North, to oppress English shipowners by an unscrupulous use of the legal privileges of the Crown and the bottomless purse of the nation. So completely unfounded is Mr. Cobden's first charge against them, that they have actually exceeded the law which he accuses them of neglecting to enforce.

Again, Mr. Cobden misunderstands altogether the intents and character of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Its framers never intended to draw the preposterous distinction between ships and arms of which he has, to our great surprise, shown himself capable. They did not mean to interfere with *trade*, whether in vessels or in anything else that is contraband of war. They left that trade to be carried on as before, at the risk of those engaging in it; they left it to the belligerents to enforce the rules of war, as it is left to country gentlemen to enforce the laws against poaching. Their object simply was to protect the neutrality of Great Britain from infraction, by her own subjects or by others: to put a stop to private war; and to ensure that no expeditions should sail from our shores to disturb the peace of a Power with which our Sovereign was on friendly terms. Accordingly, the clauses relating to ships forbid their being fitted out, armed, or equipped; but leave our shipwrights free to build and sell them to belligerents, who may afterwards arm and equip them where they like, so it be not in British ports. Therefore, with regard to the *Alexandra*, the Alabama, and all such vessels, the only question is whether they were fitted out—for we all know that they were not armed—in Liverpool. The Chief Baron thought they were not "fitted out" within the meaning of the Act; and the jury, in the case of the *Alexandra*, agreed with him. If so, the Act has not been violated.

The second question remains—Is the Act, if enforced, a sufficient fulfilment of our obligations under international law? The Americans have nothing to do with this or any other act; no claims under it upon our Government. But Act or no Act, they may claim from us a strict fulfilment of our international duties as neutrals. They, and Mr. Cobden on their behalf, declare that these duties have not been fulfilled in the case of the Alabama.



Happily, they have furnished us themselves with two conclusive answers. First, a vessel was built in an American port, equipped and armed there, manned by an American crew, taken to Buenos Ayres, transferred to the local Government, and employed, with the same captain and crew, in war with Spain: Held, by the Supreme Court, that there had been no violation of international law. Again, during the Russian war, when, as Mr. Cobden affirms, America observed strict neutrality and strictly enforced a Foreign Enlistment Act exactly like our own, a ship was built in an American port for Russia, taken out to Russia *via* Brazil, by an American crew, and protected from capture by an American man-of-war. Here, it seems to us, was a clear violation of law, inasmuch as the vessel was contraband, and the American flag could not lawfully protect her from search and capture. But this precedent clearly estops all complaints in the case of the Alabama; and the former decision as clearly shows that, in her case, no violation of international law was committed. True, that she never entered a Confederate port. But that is not our fault. We did not and could not have had legal knowledge that she would not do so; and we had no means of compelling her to make the attempt.

It seems, then, that both Mr. Cobden's charges against the Government, in regard to the Foreign Enlistment Act, are unfounded. The law has not only been enforced, but strained; and it is not only sufficient, if enforced, to meet all claims that can be fairly made upon a neutral Power, but it goes far beyond anything which, according to the decision of the highest American authority, is required of a neutral Power by the law of nations.

### The Session.

THE close of the Session brings an unusual sense of relief to everyone who takes any concern in the doings of Parliament, even down to the readers of the debates. Political cynics are apt to consider the House of Commons a nuisance, if they seldom venture to express that Diogenean opinion; to reporters it is a weariness of the flesh; to members in the first half of the session, a pleasant club, and in the latter half a prison, where sentences of hard labour are carried out in earnest; to the political portion of the public its debates are a laborious task, to the non-political mind they are a tiresome subject, occupying space in the newspapers which might be given, according to the taste of the reader, to literature, police reports, two-headed calves, or the Divorce Court. But we never remember a session in which, by universal consent of every one, from Lord Palmerston, who has frequently absented himself, down to the youngest reporter or the most patient reader of the *Morning Star*, Parliament has been so unanimously voted a dreary bore. It has talked as much as usual, to less purpose; it has promised more things than usual, and has disappointed every one. Motions have been withdrawn, debates have ended in smoke, threatened crises have suddenly faded away; and Parliament goes about its business with a conviction that six hundred gentlemen have wasted in town six months of uncommonly fine weather, without the remotest benefit either to their own reputation or to the condition of their country. Even Ministers, who generally look back with peculiar satisfaction on a quiet session as one in which they have had everything their own way, must have enjoyed less than usual their dinner on Saturday last, off endless courses of indefinite fish and whitebait grown to the size of smelts. For they have not done themselves any credit this year. They have been able to remain in office, without being seriously menaced by any attack from without. But they have sustained one or two unpleasant rebuffs, and have undergone several debates not the less damaging that they did not end with a hostile division. Mr. Gladstone has to forget, if he can, the failure of his scheme for the taxation of charity. Lord Russell has had to swallow so much rebuke, exposure, and ridicule in both Houses as might well spoil his appetite for Greenwich fare. Mr. Layard cannot forget that the last great discussion of the session left

unsettled a question of personal honour and veracity between himself and the Emperor of the French. Lord Palmerston has been shown, more plainly than is pleasant, that he holds office not by the loyalty of his followers, but by the confidence personally reposed in him by the country gentlemen opposite, and the rare forbearance of their chief in the Upper House. As for poor Sir George Grey, he is used to all sorts of mortifications, and endures reproof and scandal with an insensibility that nothing can penetrate. And his colleagues may, perhaps, take comfort when they reflect on the dangers which, at the close of the last session, were generally predicted from that which has now closed, and rejoice that the ices of March are past with safety if not with honour. For in August, 1862, most men believed that this year must witness the fall of Lord Palmerston's Government. It had not a majority in the House of Commons, and it had quarrelled irreconcilably alike with the Radical economists and with the Irish Catholics. It was at issue with public feeling in its American policy. Its Foreign Secretary was certain to make some half-dozen serious blunders before the recess was over; and if it should escape all other dangers, the budget could hardly fail to afford an occasion for its overthrow. All these prophecies have been falsified; and the Administration has clearly a right to congratulate itself that its existence has been prolonged for a year on which it had no reason to count.

The Opposition has been unusually quiescent. No single party conflict has occurred; for on the only matter which seemed to promise a fair opening for one, Mr. Gladstone gave way; sacrificing his own crotchet to the manifest wish of the independent members of his own party, and to the necessities of his colleagues. Ministers have been scolded, but never censured. Lord Russell's insolence to Denmark was certainly regarded with extreme disfavour by two-thirds of both Houses: but no one thought it of such importance that an attempt to oust the Government might safely be founded upon it. The capture of Brazilian ships in the territorial waters of the Empire, in order to avenge the quarrel "of a mad Consul and three tipsy seamen," disgusted almost every man of sense and honour in England. Nine in ten of the Liberals themselves would in private have expressed their shame and indignation at this scandalous proceeding in unmeasured terms. But though Lord Malmesbury in one House, and Mr. Fitzgerald in the other, took up the matter warmly, and though Lord Russell's bullying violence, and Mr. Christie's bearish and quarrelsome temper were reprobated as they deserved, a vote of censure seemed too strong a measure for the mood of Parliament, and the culprits went unscathed. The treatment of Greece by our Foreign-office has condemned that unhappy country to several months of anarchy, and now threatens to involve her in civil war; but no one cares to bring the matter to an issue in Parliament, and force Lord Russell to give place to a wiser or more honest man. The surrender of the Ionian Islands threatens us with the loss of our position in the Mediterranean, and the interception of our overland route to India. It inflicts a grievous injury on the Porte; it reverses our ancient policy in the Levant; it is the greatest cession of power, prestige, and influence we have ever made: and yet it has passed without censure and almost without notice, while no one supposes that a hundred members of Parliament approve of it. The quiescence of the Conservatives may be the result of a profound scheme of Parliamentary laches; it may be merely the consequence of the personal popularity of Lord Palmerston; or it may arise solely from the personal reluctance of Lord Derby to undertake once more the disagreeable labour of governing without a great Parliamentary majority. But whatever its origin, it seems to us to involve a very serious dereliction of duty. It devolves upon the Administration an amount of power which no Ministry ought to possess; least of all a Ministry notoriously too weak to be held seriously responsible. The balance of constitutional forces is alarmingly disturbed, and the

theory of Executive accountability becomes a farce, when face to face with a Government which scarcely pretends to govern we have an Opposition which altogether forgets to oppose.

In nothing is the danger of such a position better seen than in the American policy we are now pursuing; a policy which is simply the only possible compromise between two conflicting opinions within the Ministerial party—that is, to do nothing and to endure everything. The country suffers; the people grow dissatisfied; Parliament is disgusted—but no change can be made. Change from within would break up the Cabinet; and no change can be enforced from without, save by the chiefs of a party able and willing, if need be, to take office on principles and to carry out views of its own. It is the knowledge that the Opposition is just as devoid of an American policy as the Administration, that makes all debates on that subject end in so lame and impotent a conclusion.

All these debates, however, prove the truth of that which we have so often stated, that the sympathy of the House of Commons is heartily with the Confederate cause. No one can sit through one of them, and fail to perceive that the advocates of the Federal cause are speaking to an audience which has no sympathy with their clients—to an assembly which thinks nothing of the Union, of the Emancipation ukase, of Northern pretensions to the championship of freedom and nationality, and very much of Wilkes and the Peterhoff, of Butler and of New Orleans. No one can be present when any friend of the South is speaking, and not see that the feelings of his audience go along with him; that secession, rebellion, slavery are to them mere words of abuse; that their hearts are with the heroism of Stonewall Jackson, the generalship of Lee, the statesmanlike courage and wisdom of President Davis, and the magnificent resistance of six millions of English-speaking and English-born people to the armies of a barbarous and mongrel rabble. Every phrase that tells heavily against the North is rapturously cheered; every argument that seeks to establish the goodness of the Federal cause is heard with cold indifference if weak, with obstinate incredulity if plausible. These debates have elicited some of the best speeches of the session, especially from those members of each party who, from their party position, are not fettered by actual or prospective responsibility. Mr. Cobden has laboured hard to prove the case of Mr. Adams against the Government for the escape of the Alabama. Mr. Bright has cursed the slaveholding aristocracy with all the exuberant venom of a nature whose ruling passion is hatred, and whose every impulse is one of malignant bitterness; Mr. Forster has pleaded the cause of anti-slavery fanaticism with a calmness and dignity which prove him a fanatic to the core, with none of those lurking doubts which betray themselves in the violent passions and furious outbursts of such unhappy monomaniacs as Coningham and Peter Taylor. Mr. Roebuck has exposed with withering sarcasm the thorough baseness, cowardice, meanness, and savagery of Northern nature; Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Gregory have both spoken with sober good sense and the power of irresistible facts; Lord Robert Cecil, the ablest man in the House who has not yet filled a Cabinet office and may yet expect to do so, has demonstrated his capacity, alike as a statesman and a debater, for the future leadership of his party. The discussion has ended in nothing, because, whatever may have been the temper of individuals, neither party has as a party had courage to inaugurate a policy in accordance with its own convictions and sympathies. But good has been done, and truth has been elicited. The discussions provoked by the frequent captures of British ships under circumstances of aggravated illegality have only drawn from Lord Russell advice to our traders to trust to the equity of American Prize Courts, or vindications of the propriety of the conduct of Admiral Wilkes and Secretary Welles. But answers of this kind only gain time; and enough has been shown of the disposition of Parliament to warn Lord Russell that his patience under American insults is felt as an insult from him to the represent-



atives of the British nation. The discussion of the case of the Alabama has served to elucidate the meaning of the Foreign Enlistment Act; to show that it was meant not to fetter trade, but to hinder private war; to prove that there was no clear legal ground for the seizure either of the Alabama or of the Alexandra, and that in interfering with the building of ships for the Confederacy Ministers are guilty of an unworthy compliance with the unreasonable demands of the Federal Government. The excellent speeches of Mr. Laird have shown beyond dispute, first that the Federal Government has tried to do the very thing it accuses the Confederates of doing—to get ships built in England; and second, that during the Russian war a ship was built for Russia in an American dockyard, and actually protected by American men-of-war during a part of her outward voyage. Though Lord Russell refused to state that neutral ships might lawfully carry munitions of war to neutral ports, and that the ultimate destination of such cargoes in no way concerned the belligerent, others made the statement for him, and it went forth uncontradicted as a warning to the lawless commanders of Federal cruisers. The debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion proved a great deal, though it accomplished nothing. It made known to the world the willingness of France and the right of England to recognise the Confederacy—would that it had not also made known that the chief, if not the sole reason, which restrains our Government from exercising that right is the fear of war. Something has been gained by all this; and if our inaction tempt to insult, yet the tone of Parliamentary discussion may warn even Americans that they have trespassed already too far on the patient forbearance of England.

It is not quite satisfactory to think that the close of the session leaves the Ministry absolute masters of the situation for six months to come, while European affairs are in their present critical position. Lord Russell is hardly the man to whom we would willingly intrust the question of a continued peace, or an all-devouring war, among the Great Powers; and that is the question of the present hour. But the voice of Parliament and of the press has been so nearly unanimous against a Polish war, that we can hardly think that even the present Ministry will neglect the warning. If they do, there is little chance that for them the next session will be as peaceable and safe as this has been.

#### THE CAMPAIGN ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI. (From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, JULY 4.

The arrival of three steamboats from up river last evening, at 6 o'clock, brought the following intelligence.

Night before last the steamboats Zephyr and Iberville left our Levee with horses, provisions, and a few passengers to go to Springfield Landing. At two o'clock yesterday morning, as they were steaming by the Trinchard plantation, six or seven miles below Donaldsonville, on the left bank of the river, three guns fired on the boats, the very first shot passing through the steam drum of the Iberville and disabling her. She drifted on to the bank, where she was exposed to the fire, not only of the battery, but of the sharpshooters on shore. She lay there as a target, while in rapid succession a shell was put through her pilot house, two shots through her stern, one below water in her hull, and one man (only) on board was wounded. The Zephyr received a shot or two, which passed through her upper works and wounded two men. The Sally Robinson and gunboat No. 2 were in close proximity—the Robinson, on her way down from Springfield Landing, and the gunboat policing in that vicinity. No. 2 shelled the shore, while the Robinson took the Iberville in tow. The latter pumped all the way down to keep afloat, and is now at the Levee in a sinking condition. The Zephyr also thought that the passage from Donaldsonville to New Orleans might be safer than from that point to Springfield Landing, and she returned with the rest to the city last evening.

On the way down, an officer on the Sally Robinson shot and killed a drunken soldier who was insolent and threatened the officer with a knife.

Early on Thursday morning the Tennessee cavalry made a raid into Springfield Landing, which is really Banks's base and his place for stores. It is not four miles from his headquarters. One of the Confederate

prisoners who was taken during the short skirmish which followed the raid, says that the intention was to destroy the steamboats lying at the bank. As it was, I learn, both from Federal and other authority, the Confederates succeeded in destroying a large amount of military stores, and in running off a few of the collected "contrabands."

The official organ this morning publishes not a word of this information, though it was known all over the city last night. It *does* publish, however, the following stringent order, which shows how thoroughly the invasion panic-scare has taken hold of the officials. It would seem that they fear internal troubles, as well as an attack from outside:—

Head-quarters, Defences of New Orleans,  
New Orleans, July 3, 1863.

General Orders, No. 18.

Hereafter no public assemblages, except for public worship, under a regular commissioned priest, will be allowed in this city for any purpose or under any pretence whatever, by white or black, without the written consent of the Commander of the Defences of New Orleans; and no more than three persons will be allowed to assemble or congregate together upon the streets of the city. Whenever more than that number are found together by the patrol, they shall be ordered to disperse, and, failing to do so, the offenders shall be placed in arrest.

All bar-rooms, coffee-houses, stores, and shops of every description, will be closed at 9 o'clock P.M.

All club-rooms and gambling-houses are hereby closed until further orders.

No citizens or other persons, except the police and officers in the United States' service, or soldiers on duty or with passes, are to be allowed in the streets after 9 o'clock P.M.

By command of Brig.-Gen. EMORY.

W. D. Smith, Lieut.-Col., A.A.A.G.

General Emory, commanding the defences of New Orleans, also publishes this morning an order with regard to organizing the brigade for the defence of the city; and General Shepley, who is to command the brigade, publishes an order, in which he "appeals to the Union citizens of New Orleans to rally in defence of their homes, their beloved city, and of that sacred flag and glorious Union to which they have voluntarily vowed their fidelity and allegiance."

At this hour we are waiting to hear from the first gun which is to open the last assault upon Port Hudson. The reduction of that place is one of the preliminary essentials to open the Mississippi—and yet, after the most strenuous efforts since the 14th of March to effect that opening, the recent burning of the boats at Donaldsonville, and the more recent firing upon Federal steamboats near the same point, to say nothing of the capture of the Boston, almost in sight of the fleet, and under the very nose of the ports below the city—all these things show that the Mississippi is not yet safely "open" from the Passes to Port Hudson.

Port Hudson may fall, Vicksburg may be reduced, but the river is not safely navigable so long as there is an opportunity to plant a battery on either shore between St. Louis and New Orleans.

There is but one thing that can open the Mississippi, and that is PEACE.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, JULY 3.

Whenever a boat comes down the river from Port Hudson, the Levee—generally so dull and deserted, now-a-days—shows some little signs of life. There is a crowd of expectants almost every evening waiting for the boat. Some are drawn thitherwards by sympathy, many more by curiosity, and a few go to the Levee hoping to hear the latest news from trustworthy, because from unofficial sources. The boats bring always the same sort of passengers—wounded soldiers, and sometimes a few picket-caught prisoners. These last, if there is an opportunity to exchange a word with them, always give a widely different, and far more truthful story, in respect to the situation, than the one current at headquarters, and industriously circulated by Federal officials. Little, next to no reliance whatever is to be placed upon the statements with regard to military movements in this Department, published officially in the Federal official organ. Small and temporary successes are magnified into important victories, while defeats and disasters are not chronicled at all. Thus, the other day, news reached the city of the capture of Brashear by the Confederates; the local journals received a Provost-Marshal's order, notifying them by order of the commanding-general "to make no allusion for the present to military movements in this Department." Nothing has been printed here—not even a line respecting this important capture.

Nevertheless, four days after the issue of the order "to make no allusions to military movements," the official organ published a flaming account of a small Federal success at Donaldsonville. The account stated that "last Sunday morning the enemy attacked Donaldsonville at 1.30, and fought till daylight"—that "they met with a bloody repulse, losing 120 prisoners"—the Federals "lost six killed and fourteen wounded; among the latter two commissioned officers." The following day the official organ thought it was "probable" that "the enemy's entire loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about six hundred." In the first account it was stated that one or more gunboats participated in the fight. It was not till this evening that the official organ (Banks's paper) discovered and published the fact that the gunboats Princess Royal, the Kinneo, and the Winona were in the action.

Now, the facts are as follows:—There was (and is) a

considerable Confederate force in the rear of Donaldsonville, and Sunday morning an advance detachment was sent in to surprise and seize the position. Fortunately for the Federals, who were in small force, there were gunboats in the river to shell the "rebels," otherwise every Federal there who was not killed would have been taken prisoner. The gunboats gained the day; they shelled out the Confederates, who had carried and occupied the fort, and landed a force which, in conjunction with the volunteers, succeeded in capturing about 100 Confederate prisoners, who were brought to the city. And yet Banks's paper, which presumed it was probable that the "rebel loss" amounted to 100 or 200 more men than were engaged on that side in the fight, was utterly oblivious till the public had forgotten all about this really small affair, that three gunboats carried the day. Nor, so far as its columns indicate, does the official organ know to-day that Banks was terribly repulsed at Port Hudson, May 27 and June 14; and that June 23, Brashear City, with hundreds of prisoners and an enormously valuable amount of military stores, was captured by a body of 600 Confederates.

Since sending my letter by the last steamer, I have seen one of the forty who escaped from Brashear by gunboat on the morning of the surprise and capture. He gives me some interesting particulars in addition to the account already sent. When the battery at Berwick Bay opened fire at daylight, many of the soldiers and people ran down to the shore to see what was going on. They knew the Confederates had no transportation to cross the bay at that point, and the attack, which had been expected for twelve days, was looked for in the direction of Lafourche. Shortly after the battery fire began, the Confederates dashed into the city from the woods above. They were resisted by a company of negroes and the small guard of the Provost-Marshal. A few shots were exchanged, and a Federal lieutenant and sergeant were wounded. This was all the fighting. The Federals, excepting the forty who escaped on the gunboat, surrendered as prisoners.

Besides the capture of six or seven hundred convalescents, several companies (belonging to different regiments) on duty, and 2,000 negroes who had run away, or were stolen from the country round about—the amount of property "confiscated" by the Confederates was sufficient to compensate them for nearly all the property destroyed and stolen by the Federal army in its advance to Alexandria. A train of more than thirty cars (with two locomotives) had been on the track near the depot for a day or two, waiting an opportunity to run to New Orleans. They were loaded with flour, bacon, whisky, ammunition, shot, shells, Enfield rifles, "niggers' traps," and the negroes were to be sent on that train. In the magazine, besides a large quantity of filled and unfilled shells, were nearly sixty thousand rounds of ball cartridges, and in a building near by were tents to cover 20,000 men, thousands of knapsacks, and other valuable military stores. Seven or eight first-class blockade runners could not have brought the munitions of war thus confiscated by the Confederates. They have had abundant time to remove the property, unmolested and undisturbed.

"Rebel invasion" scares are chronic all over the country now. The Federals here have had their panic, and they are by no means free from fear to-day. It is noticeable that the late steamers for the North have taken several prominent Federal officials, who thought the place was becoming too warm for them. Almost all the United States' property has been brought over from the Algiers' side and stored in this city. And as a means of defence, General Emory has authorized the organization of a brigade for home defence, and Brigadier-General Shepley, Acting-Military Governor, has been placed in command. The order for this brigade was not printed, but circulated in copy among the supposed-to-be faithful. The result, thus far, has been the enlistment of a few Custom-House clerks and policemen, and a considerable quantity of negroes, who are now camped in Congo Square, looking for their new army clothes, and feeding on Government "grub." The idea of actual invasion so long as the gunboats are in the river is manifestly absurd.

It is not unlikely that if Banks continues to persist in laying siege to Port Hudson, the Confederates may threaten the city as a feint to draw back the Federal forces. With their present small force the Confederates can do better in the country than in New Orleans; and the occupation of the city without possession of the river and the forts below would be impracticable.

After innumerable statements that Port Hudson was to fall in two, three, or four days, according to different telegrams sent down since mid-June, we have the assurance to-day that the "last assault" will be made to-morrow. It is understood that if unsuccessful, the siege will be raised.

I send you Governor Moore's message; it is printed in the *Louisiana Democrat*, published in Alexandria, the city so lately "captured" by Banks. The *Democrat* notifies its subscribers, by the bye, that it can receive no new subscriptions, as its list (5,000) is all that it can do press-work for. The *Jackson Mississippi* of late dates has reached this city, but contains no news of importance. During the Federal raid in that place the Northern vandals destroyed the type, presses, and everything in the office. The paper now appears in new and beautiful imported type, and is another exposition of the beauties of what the Federals flatter themselves is the "blockade" of Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile.

And now, pending the next "last assault" upon Port Hudson—which may be a success, though more likely to be another ruinous repulse—let me note the actual situation of the Federals in the Gulf Department to-day. Banks is nominally the Commanding-General of Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, and, for ought I know, his commission may give him military jurisdiction over the whole of China. He actually holds the first, second, third, and fourth districts, composing the city of New Orleans, Algiers opposite, Baton Rouge, the ground his army corps camps upon in the vicinity of Port Hudson



and one or two points on the Mississippi by means of the gun-boats, which police the river between the Passes and Springfield Landing.

All the territory of Texas, all of Alabama, and this state, excepting the few points specified, are in the hands of the Confederates. This includes not only the entire Teche, Opelousas, and Attakapas country so recently "conquered" by Banks, but also the entire Lafourche occupied by Butler and turned over to Banks (simply because it could not be stolen and carried to the North). Moreover the restoration of this territory to its owners necessitates the return of a vast amount of cotton and other property, which Banks "confiscated," but could not carry away.

We have a right to review a campaign which, under the present commanding-general, covers a period of nearly seven months,—and Banks's failure, thus far, is due to the following causes:—

1. His utter want of military capacity. No one can doubt that Banks possesses many excellent personal qualities. His honesty is in striking contrast with the rapacity of his predecessor, and he has done all that "orders" can do to repress the thieving proclivities of his subordinates and followers. He is something of a politician, and has been Speaker of the United States' House of Representatives. But to successfully conduct an extensive campaign, and one of conquest and subjugation—to reduce a place like Port Hudson, a man needs a certain amount of military talent and military education.

2. The want of reinforcements. That is a matter between him and his Government.

3. His dependance upon a *corps d'Afrique* of 18,000 negroes to carry out his plans. The corps never can be raised, and of the nucleus (nearly three regiments) more than half of them were cut to pieces in the assaults of May 27 and June 14. It was, indeed, short-sighted or misplaced confidence, if the commanding General supposed that the summary slaughter of these poor deluded negroes would be a stimulus to further enlistments from that race.

4. His first congratulatory order, after the small successes attending his raid across the Teche, felicitates his corps upon the fact that "in three months" they have become soldiers. He thus ignores the two and three years' men—the veterans left to him by Butler—and confines his congratulations to the new nine months' men he brought here with him. By that one order he lost the affection of half his army corps.

5. His favoritism in placing regiments in line of battle. This is a very serious charge, and I do not make it. But an unofficial list of the killed and wounded in the assault of May 27, published in a New York journal, shows a frightful disproportion between the large numbers in the New York regiments, and the almost none at all in Massachusetts and other New England regiments.

6. In his official report of that day's fight, he devotes whole paragraphs to fulsome eulogies of the "bravery" of his blacks, and almost entirely ignores the losses among his own officers.

7. And the last that need be noticed now—the condition of his army corps, disheartened, defeated, demoralized, and, in no small degree, disaffected.

All these errors—excepting, of course, his want of military capacity, and his want of reinforcements—are so clearly his own fault, and arise so entirely from the non-exercise of ordinary foresight and sagacity, that one may well wonder how Banks was ever considered a "politician." He actually closed his eyes to everything but his own political future, and without a particle of prestige attaching to former successes, he entered upon this campaign as if he had but to wave his hand to open the Mississippi.

There is, moreover, an undisguised want of cordiality between the naval and military arms of the Federal force. You scarcely ever see the officers of the two services together. This extends throughout the country. The United States navy, which boasts of its Farraguts, Porters, Footes, Duponts, and a host of distinguished names, naturally despises the new-made political and stock-jobbing officers who fairly flood the Federal ranks. The youngest midshipman knows that while a man may step from a shoe-shop, oyster saloon, or lawyer's office, and command a regiment or brigade of volunteers, the commandant of the smallest gunboat must needs have a knowledge of his profession; and the American sailors have a contempt for an army largely composed of the dregs of a foreign population—or, as it is frequently phrased—"made up of Dutchmen and niggers." In this department the hostility of the navy to the army dates back to the time when Farragut, after passing through the *feu d'enfer* of the forts, came up and compelled the surrender of New Orleans; and Butler placidly sailing up the Mississippi a week afterwards, landed and coolly claimed the victory.

And next, it is due to Banks' failure to co-operate with Farragut when his fleet was subjected to the terrible fire of the Port Hudson batteries, March 14, 15. It is the universal belief in the navy, that had Banks then assisted, instead of contenting himself with the flattering thought that he was "creating a diversion," Port Hudson might have been taken. As it was not we can afford to let the navy indulge in the delightful delusion. It is due, too, to a general ignoring of the fleet's services—even in so small a matter as the Donaldsonville affair of Sunday last. The gunboats there alone prevented the small Federal force on land from being summarily "gobbled." They alone held Brashear City, so long as it was held at all; and when they were withdrawn the city was speedily captured by the Confederates. They alone keep the river open for the return of the remains of Banks' army from Port Hudson, and enable that army to be supplied with stores and provisions from this city. And the gunboats alone, by lying in position to shell this city, prevent General Magruder and staff from dining in the St. Charles Hotel this evening.

It is not surprising that "rebels" even should have some respect for this arm of the Federal force—though here, as elsewhere, it has achieved almost every Federal success since the inception of the war. It is because, so far, at least, as this department is concerned, as yet no suspicion attaches to any of the naval officers that they are cotton-and-sugar-speculating and spoon-stealing thieves; nor is the service haunted by a horde of needy, greedy Northern adventurers, who look upon the war as a gigantic raid to ruin the planters of the South, for the purpose of enriching the plunderers from the North.

To-morrow brings another anniversary of the American Independence Day. It will be celebrated, even here. It is hardly necessary to say that "all business will be suspended," for the war—so far as general business is concerned—has long ago made every day here a holiday. At the North, the papers tell us, and the published programmes indicate, the day, this year, will be one of more than usual public demonstration. It is strange that the effort of the American colonies to throw off the yoke of Great Britain should be called a Revolution, while a precisely parallel movement by the Southern States is a rebellion. Spread-eagle orators, to-morrow, will fulminate once more the annual anathemas against the enormity of employing mercenary hireling Hessians to crush the liberties of the colonies; but they will be as silent as the graves which cover the half million men North and South, who have fallen in this war, about their own German and Irish regiments, and about the infamy of instigating and enlisting negro slaves to murder their own masters.

#### NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 26.

In my last letter I gave you a brief account from "official" sources of a skirmish at Lafourche Crossing, which Federal accounts magnified into a victory. It is somewhat significant that the day following brought intelligence the authorities do not see fit to give to the public. Yesterday perfectly trustworthy information, widespread throughout the city, induced the Provost-Marshal to issue an order to all the journals to make no allusion at present to military movements in this department.

You have received already, in connection with the Lafourche Crossing skirmish, an account of the critical situation of the Federal forces at Brashear City. The Lafourche "victory" resulted in the Federals burning the bridge over the bayou, and throwing their field guns into the stream. They then retreated to Bute, nearer this city, and pretended to make a stand by throwing up entrenchments. But yesterday and this morning the entire Federal force came back to the city and abandoned the Lafourche. To complete the "want of connection" between this city and Berwick's Bay, after the Federals burned the Lafourche Crossing bridge, the Confederate store up the rails on the road for a mile or more westward, thus rendering the isolation of Brashear City, so far as Federal relief was concerned, complete.

Tuesday evening the United States' transport St. Mary, sent from this city, *via* the Gulf, to bring away the men at Brashear, met in Berwick's Bay, twenty-five miles from the city, the United States' gun-boat Hollyhock. The St. Mary hove-to and received on board the Provost-Marshal and forty soldiers, who had escaped from Brashear. Their story—a most interesting one—is as follows:—

The force in occupation at Brashear—a part of two Federal regiments, one company of battery-men, and several convalescents—heard of the skirmishes of Saturday and Sunday at La Fourche, and naturally looked for an attack upon their own position. But they looked in the wrong direction. They expected to encounter an advance from Lafourche at Bayou Boeuf. Early Tuesday morning, two batteries, placed in position the night before at Berwick city across the Bay, opened upon Brashear city. Captain Noblett commanded a small Federal force in Fort Buchanan—an earthwork on Lake Polouandre, a mile and a half north of the city. His horse came running riderless into town, and very soon after a Confederate force of some six hundred men, a portion of them cavalry, dashed into the Federal camp. The surprise was followed by an immediate surrender of the Federals. The few men who succeeded in boarding the gunboat were all who escaped. The Confederate force that achieved this brilliant success was a part of General Mouton's division. The men crossed Lake Polouandre on rafts and in flat boats, and came down to the city through the woods. The success of the manoeuvre was complete.

As yet the only information we have is from the few men who escaped on the gunboat, and who arrived in this city by the St. Mary yesterday. They do not know who commanded the Confederates; they say they do not know the extent of the captured Federal force. There were two thousand negroes, men, women, and children, in the place. The whole of the superfluous baggage left by Banks when he advanced to Alexandria was captured. Among the items are tents sufficient to cover a small army, officers' private baggage, thousands of knapsacks, a considerable store of arms, some provisions and supplies, besides the four guns in Fort Buchanan, four more at Bayou Boeuf, a 30-pound Parrot in the city, and at least 30,000 rounds of ammunition.

The value of this success, apart from even a temporary occupation of an important position, can hardly be estimated. It almost atones for the ravages committed by the Federal army in its late march through that section of the state in the advance to Alexandria. The captured property will speedily be transported beyond the Teche, and what cannot be readily removed will be destroyed.

Your map will show you the position of Manchac, at the outlet of Lake Maurepas, fifty or more miles north-west from this city. The Jackson railroad from New Orleans crosses the Pass, and the bridge has been burned more than once since the war began. The Federals have recently completed it once

more, and yesterday a train was sent up from Kenner (twelve miles from here) to Manchac, to bring down the workmen and tools used in repairing the bridge. The train, with the only locomotive on the road, was captured by the Confederates. They now command the railway, and if they are not compelled to destroy the bridge to prevent a Federal attack, they have an important position for an advance upon this city.

From Port Hudson, which within a day or two has actually become of secondary interest, we have nothing but a few more sick and wounded men. The foraging train of seventy waggons, whose capture I announced in my last letter, was sent out to collect cotton. That long-looked-for "last" assault has not been made. In the city among the Federals there is a nervous anxiety for the not far-off future. The Provost guard is doubled, and six or more gunboats are in position to shell the city in the event of a "demonstration."

In a recent letter I characterized the late advance through the Teche and Attakapas country as a Federal horse, mule, cattle, and cotton collecting raid. The very first telegram from the field informed the public that the army corps "found an abundance of everything." The entire route of march was a scene of wholesale plunder. We have just received the return journals from the North, containing comments upon the advance. The Abolition *Evening Post* notifies the world that New Orleans is now the place where cotton can be procured in abundance. The New York *Commercial Advertiser* boasts "that the property captured by General Banks in this campaign will amount in value sufficient to almost pay the entire expenses of his command." The *Providence* (R. I.) *Journal*, edited by United States Senator Anthony, copies approvingly a letter from New Orleans, which says that "on the 15th ult. there were five thousand bales of cotton at Opelousas in Federal possession, and that four hundred bales a-day were coming in from the surrounding country." Indeed, the Northern journals generally seem to have considered the collection of cotton as of more importance even than the "conquest" of Louisiana.

Not a word about the devastated plantations, the destroyed property, the desolated homes, the dead, the worse than dead negroes swept away from the fictitious "slave-pens" of Abolition poetry into the actual slaughter pens of Port Hudson. The New York *Express* speaks of the wholesale plunder of planters in this department as follows:—

The Department of the Gulf has been one of the richest—if not the very richest "places" of the war, for that numerous class of patriots whose love of country is but love of plunder and pelf. We had cherished the hope that these things would cease when General Butler was re-called, and when a certain Maine Colonel was court-martialed for offences which, if perpetrated under ordinary circumstances, would have sent the perpetrator to a State Prison or Penitentiary,—but almost every arrival from New Orleans shows how sadly we are disappointed. Now, soldiers are not thieves, though there are a great many thieves among soldiers,—and we fear that officers, even more than the privates, are open to the charge.

The Confederate re-occupation of the plundered territory has, of course, restored much of the cotton, awaiting shipment, to its owners, and what could not be readily removed has been destroyed. In spite of the felicitations of Federal journals, it is scarcely possible that Banks's cotton successes are a sufficient consolation for his recent disasters at Port Hudson, Lafourche, and Brashear city.

The following from the Federal official organ's money article to-day contains a world of information that additional words would only weaken:—

The condition of financial and commercial affairs remains substantially unchanged, and extreme dullness still prevails. *Movements now in progress in this section of the country have checked the late receipts of cotton and sugar.* The total stock of produce from the interior is too limited for operations of any magnitude, and transactions in financial circles are consequently on a very limited scale. The total available stock of sugar in the country is extremely small, and the present prospects for a crop this season are of a most unfavourable character, while the indications are that what little may be produced will be very inferior in quality.

It is curious, too, to read the comments of the Abolition journals upon the negro regiments in Banks's army. The *Providence Journal* says: "The black soldiers in Louisiana are giving incontrovertible proofs of being fit to fight rebels,"—meaning, no doubt, that they are fit for slaughter; but the *Boston Transcript* thinks they "have demonstrated, by a loss of six or seven-ninths of their whole number, that negroes can fight." The New York *Express* tells the actual story thus:—

The more we hear of what the negroes did at the sanguinary assault on the enemy's works at Port Hudson, the plainer it would seem to appear that the poor creatures were terribly slaughtered, and placed in a position where slaughter was almost foreseen to be unavoidable. With General Banks' (white men's) bayonets in their rear, they were marched right up to the muzzles of the rebel guns. The negroes in such a position, could only do one thing, and that was to die—as they did.

There is damning evidence in the Port Hudson correspondence of the Abolition *New York Times*. Speaking of these same negroes, it says:—

These brave people went on, from morning until 3.30. p. m. under the most hideous carnage that men ever had to withstand, and that very few white men would have had nerve enough to encounter, even if ordered to. During this time they rallied, and were ordered to make six distinct charges, losing 37 killed, and had 155 wounded, and 116 missing—the majority, if not all, of these beings, in all probability, now lying dead on the gory field and without the rites of sepulture; for when, by a flag of truce, our forces in other directions were permitted to reclaim their dead, the benefit, through some neglect, was not extended to these black regiments.

Whose fault it is I know not, but it is painful to state that in the midst of all this carnage, when men in every form of horrible mutilation were being sent to the rear—after fighting as very few white men could have fought—not a single ambu-



lance or stretcher was there to gather their torn and lacerated bodies.

Of course not; the "niggers," when they stood between the white regiments and certain death—when they had been bayoneted from the rear into the sure slaughter which awaited them in front, their work was done.

I have a copy of the *Fort Brown Flag* (published at Brownsville, Texas), June 5, brought here by a schooner from the Rio Grande. The weather there was warm and yellow-feverish. Trade was tolerably active, but cotton was dull, touching at one time during the week 20 cents. The United States' sloop-of-war appeared off the bar lately, and remained three or four days. She captured a small schooner during her stay, and paraded the prize through the fleet of vessels (all, of course, engaged in the cotton trade "with Matamoros, Mexico")—and Mexico, you are aware, raises no cotton), as a great thing. General Miramon, ex-President of Mexico, with Generals Cobos and Benivades, were at Brownsville, and had tendered their services to Juarez to assist in expelling the French. Confederate General Bee was about to move his head-quarters to Columbus. The *Flag* thinks "it must have been an urgent necessity that made General Magruder remove not only the troops, but the commanding officer." Of course, the editor of the *Flag* has not yet learned of the operations of Magruder's men in Louisiana. The command of the Texan frontier devolves upon Colonel Duff. Hon. Pendleton Murrah, Colonel J. M. Crockett, and General T. J. Chambers are announced by their friends as candidates for the governorship of Texas. Meanwhile, it is pleasant to reflect that Texas is supposed to be a portion of the Gulf Department commanded by Major-General Banks; and that Brigadier-General Hamilton, who, at last accounts, was "lecturing" in Boston, Massachusetts, is duly appointed by Mr. Lincoln as military governor of Texas. Sancho Panza held a similar commission from Don Quixote. The Federal governorship of Japan has not yet been announced.

The New York papers are likely to mislead some of your readers, in their publication of the following list of passengers by the *Cahawba*, which sailed from this city June 2, and arrived, *via* Fortress Monroe, at New York June 10. She landed these Confederate officers at Fortress Monroe:—

Colonel A. R. Witte, 10th Arkansas; Captain I. Atkinson, G. R. Hart, Captain D. W. Creath, of General Bee's Staff; Captain G. S. Fusilier, Captain Taylor, of ditto; Captain E. Holmes, of Crescent Regiment; Captain Fuller, of Queen of the West; Captain Grieshe, of 4th Texas Cavalry; G. W. Holloway, 11th Louisiana battery; Captain J. H. Long, 4th Texas Cavalry; Captain J. F. McLean, 9th Tennessee; Captain L. W. Matthews, 10th Arkansas; Captain W. H. Prault, 1st Alabama; Captain P. J. Semmes, C. S. Light Battery; Captain E. A. Scott, 9th Louisiana; Captain I. B. Wolfe, 14th Arkansas; Captain J. W. Youngblood, General Gardner's staff; Lieutenant Samuel Alstein, Crescent Regiment; W. H. Andrews, 1st Alabama; B. E. Boyle, 7th Texas Cavalry; A. Burgines, Crescent Regiment; F. W. Brown, Louisiana Battery; E. A. Camanche, C. S. Conford, 4th Louisiana; J. Dubeq, gunboat Diana; D. M. Ewes, ditto; F. Jackson, 8th Louisiana; W. C. Jutter, 4th Louisiana; Charles Greenback, 30th Louisiana; J. Henson, Miles's Legion; D. B. W. Eates, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; H. L. Fash, Beauregard Regiment; Kirkland, 9th Louisiana Battery; C. W. Kelsey, 10th Arkansas; S. D. Melville, 18th Louisiana; W. H. Lilly, 10th Arkansas; E. McGowan, purser, gunboat Diana; J. M. Mobely, 1st Cherokee; A. P. Morse, Ordnance Corps; J. N. Musselman, 4th Louisiana; W. Nelson, Crescent Regiment; D. A. Nation, 15th Arkansas; Z. M. Porter, Arizona Regiment; Charles Russell, 13th Louisiana; W. H. Rodgers, Crescent Regiment; A. Echlich, 4th Texas Cavalry; John Smith, Arizona Regiment; G. N. Stafford, 8th Louisiana; J. Weber, 28th Louisiana; W. Welch, Arizona Battalion; H. W. Wilkinson, Steed's Battalion.

It is presumed that these were the officers who took possession of the steam-boat *Maple Leaf*, which was carrying them from Fortress Monroe to Fort Delaware. They ran her down the coast forty-five miles below Cape Henry Lighthouse, and went on shore in small boats. Twenty-six of the officers remained in the steamboat, and went back in her to Fortress Monroe.

#### AFRICAN MISSIONS.

There are few things in these days that come so much as a matter of course as a letter from the interior of Africa, or some other cooler, but still more inhospitable region, informing us of the extinction of a Mission or the last agonies of a bishopric. In the intelligence of the Livingstone Expedition, given on Thursday from the *South African Advertiser*, relating the extreme sufferings of several Missionaries in the Zambezi region, the melancholy death of one and the utter want of visible results will hardly excite surprise, unless it be in the minds of the most youthful and sanguine supporters of the Mission. It appears that a dreadful famine had prevailed in the whole of that region, inasmuch that it is not only impossible to make journeys, but one of the Missionaries died at his post. They witnessed the deplorable spectacle of a third of the population perishing, villages falling into ruins, poor creatures crawling over the country in quest of food and dying by the roadside, or thrown into the rivers by the equally famished cultivators, whose patches of corn they were pillaging. The Zambezi Mission is interwoven with Dr. Livingstone's explorations, and has its full share of the perils, the delays, and the adventures that we naturally expect in the story of a discoverer. The Rev. Mr. Stewart, arriving in the Zambezi early last year, waited five months in the hope of proceeding with Dr. Livingstone, and then started alone, in a canoe with a native crew, towards Lake Nyassa. Within fifty miles of it he was driven back by the absolute impossibility of procuring food. He returned and went to the station of the Oxford and Cambridge Mission, where he received much kindness and was taking excursions into the surrounding country. In September he ascended the Zambezi a good way, and was again obliged to return for want of food. By another route he finally arrived at Mozambique, and had a most hospitable reception from the Portuguese Governor. Letters from the Station on the river Shire confirm the sad story, and describe the famine as caused by drought, but aggravated by native wars. Mr. H. C. Swinburn died on the morning of last New Year's Day of exhaustion

produced by fever. It was feared that the Mission must be abandoned, and that the Missionaries would have to return to Joanna, to Natal, or to the Cape. As to the general condition of the country to which these Missions are sent, several letters handed to us by Captain Speke, and published side by side with the above extracts from the Cape journals, give sad and ample testimony. The races that occupy that vast interior are just above savages. They are violent, rapacious, thoroughly unsettled, singularly without religion, except here and there the murderous rites of an abominable Fetish, and, what is the worst of all, without the sentiment of honour. They are not to be trusted. They know not the truth in the most primary sense of the word. Life there is cheap, for man is a weed. There is neither a beginning nor an end in such a region, for there is not the moral basis to build upon, nor is there any security that the work will not be suddenly extinguished in blood by some outbreak of barbarism.

Of course, we shall be told that this is what missionaries must expect. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. The first Christians were martyred by wholesale. Some of the Apostles were martyred. If we talk of famine, of perils by land and by water, of imprisonments, and of cruelties, did not St. Paul suffer all? This is the beginning of all Churches. A young gentleman of Oxford or Cambridge has his choice. He may choose—not exactly "the pleasure of sin for a season," but a pleasant living in a good neighbourhood, a pretty parsonage, wife, children, and all the rest of it;—or he may go forth as an Apostle to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and share the labours, the death, and the crown of an Apostle. If we venture to demur, or to ask a question, we shall be set down as worldly wise, "carnally minded," and perhaps atheistical. So we will not obtrude any of our own worldly wisdom into this sacred subject. No City oracle shall be appealed to on this occasion. What we say is what we have received from the Gamaliels at whose feet we sat many years ago. In the good and learned books we used to read, and the lectures we attended, it was said to be testimony to the reasonable and truthful character of the Gospel that it was never preached without due preparation. Everywhere the ground was made ready for it. For its sake, and to prepare the way for it, one family was chosen, a solemn ritual instituted, a Divine polity established, and prophets inspired. To prepare for its reception in the wide world, empire succeeded empire, philosophy gave way to philosophy, paganism sublimated or was debased, everything ripened to receive or fell out of the way; union, dispersion, peace, war were all worked to the same happy result. The Apostles preached first to the orthodox Jew, then to the schismatic Samaritan, then to the high-minded Roman, then to the speculative Greek, then, and then only, and only by the way, to the so-called barbarian living under Greek and Roman influences. Pearls were not cast to swine, nor that which is holy to the dogs. All this we have been told again and again. The very names of the Epistles in the New Testament, besides their contents, testify to the fact that the Gospel was preached everywhere in the first instance to enlightened communities, deeply imbued with philosophy and science, and with a religion that could be appealed to for the basis of actual truth, or Divine instinct, which it contained. Accordingly, while the Apostles met with troubles enough, they were nowhere thrown alone among utter savages. They are nowhere described as rowing up unknown rivers, in quest of unknown lakes, among people with whom they could only communicate by way of interpreters or signs, and whom it was necessary to bribe. They are not shown in alliances with discoverers, exchanging rifles and gunpowder for provisions and escort. There are legends, indeed, of early Missions to India, and even to Britain; but everywhere the Gospel went in the path of Roman legions, of Greek philosophers, of the wandering Phœnician, and the ubiquitous Jew. The plain meaning of all this is that civilization precedes and must precede Christianity.—*Times*, July 27.

#### THE CATASTROPHE AT ASTON.

(From the *Birmingham Gazette*.)

The following are copies of a letter received by Mr. Charles Sturge, Mayor of Birmingham, written by command of the Queen, in reference to the late catastrophe at Aston-park, and of his worship's reply thereto:—

Osborne, July 25, 1863.

Sir,—The Queen has commanded me to express to you the pain with which Her Majesty has read the account of a fatal accident which has occurred during a fête at Aston-park, Birmingham.

Her Majesty cannot refrain from making known through you her personal feelings of horror that one of her subjects—a female—should have been sacrificed to the gratification of the demoralizing taste, unfortunately prevalent, for exhibitions attended with the greatest danger to the performers.

Were any proof wanting that such exhibitions are demoralizing, I am commanded to remark that it would be at once found in the decision arrived at to continue the festivities, the hilarity, and the sports of the occasion after an event so melancholy.

The Queen trusts that you, in common with the rest of the townspeople of Birmingham, will use your influence to prevent in future the degradation to such exhibitions in the Park which was gladly opened by Her Majesty and the beloved Prince Consort, in the hope that it would be made serviceable for the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

C. B. PHIPPS.

The Mayor of Birmingham.

Borough of Birmingham, Mayor's office,  
July 28, 1863.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th inst., written by command of Her Majesty the Queen.

In the first place, I beg you will convey to Her Majesty my humble assurance that there is not in the kingdom an individual who laments more sincerely than myself not only the melancholy accident to which you refer, but the depraved taste for a barbarous species of amusement which unhappily has become popular, not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of Her Majesty's home dominions. It is only a short time since, and during my mayoralty, that it was proposed to exhibit a similar performance within the borough; but, though I was not empowered by law to interfere, I ventured so far to interpose my authority as to prevent it. In this unfortunate instance my name appeared in conjunction with those of the lord-lieutenants and several magistrates and members of Parliament, as patrons

of the fête, which was for a charitable purpose; but I believe not a single gentleman whose name so appeared had any idea that a dangerous exhibition would be attempted. For the future I have every reason to hope that, notwithstanding Aston-park is beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities at Birmingham, their influence and that of their fellow-townsmen will henceforth limit its use exclusively to the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people, so that the gracious intentions of Her Majesty and her revered Consort may not be frustrated, but realized.

In the meantime, I trust that exhibitions of so dangerous and demoralizing a character may be interdicted by Parliamentary enactment.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,  
CHARLES STURGE, Mayor.

Colonel the Hon. Sir Charles B. Phipps, &c.,  
Osborne.

#### AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, July 29.

THERE has been no change in the general aspect of the money and discount markets; a steady business has been transacted without pressure in any of the departments, and at rates of accommodation much the same as last week. We have encountered however, a perfect panic in the foreign stock market, where an excess of speculation, with a desire by weak holders to realise upon inflated prices, has produced a collapse which at one moment threatened to be attended with a great deal of mischief. The worst has, apparently, been passed, and since the rumours of war between France and Russia have subsided, and a large amount of speculation bargains have been closed, we shall, probably, experience a recovery, which will be followed by a healthier state of things, and infinitely less excitement.

Nothing very serious can, it is evident, be the matter, or we should have the rates for money disturbed and agitated; and as this is far from being the case, the present storm will shortly blow over. The favourable state of the weather for the harvest, and the supply of capital afloat, will arrest any stringency for the moment, whatever may be the results of the late increase of engagements towards the end of the year.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

Only two parcels of gold have been sent into the Bank this week, amounting together to £108,000, but there have been no withdrawals. The arrivals of bullion have been large, reaching to £931,584; of this £514,600 is from the West Indies and the Pacific, and £31,024 from Port Philip, the remainder being from America. The price of bar silver is unaltered, but Mexican dollars are rather unsteady those by the last packet were sold at 5s 2½d; but since then the price has risen to 5s. 2½d., except those brought by the present packet there are not many in the market.

##### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The English Stock Market has, under the influence of the other departments of the Stock Exchange, been somewhat excited during the week, and prices have fluctuated to the extent of ½ to 1 per cent. At one period there was considerable depression manifested, but to-day a better feeling has altogether prevailed, and prices have again improved, the closing quotations for Consols being 92½ to 93, for both money and account. Exchequer Bills have remained remarkably steady, not having altered, from par to 3s. prem. Some very great changes have taken place in the Foreign Stock market, particularly in Greek, Spanish, and Mexican, but to-day the political intelligence from the Continent being read more favourably, a much better feeling has prevailed. Greek closed at 31½ to 32; Mexican at 35½ to 36; Spanish Passives at 31½ to 32, and the Certificates at 12 to 1.

##### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The news from America this week by the China confirmed the account of the fall of Vicksburg, and announced also the surrender of Port Hudson. In consequence the Confederate loan has suffered a severe fall.

On Monday, the decline was 5 per cent.; the closing price being 9 to 8 discount. Yesterday morning, panic appeared to seize the holders, and the stock declined nominally to 20 to 17 discount. However, there were few transactions as low as 16; the market speedily rallied to 15 to 13—and closed steady 14 to 12. The cause of this panic is traceable to the circumstance that much stock was in weak hands, lately bought by those who, in confident anticipation of further successes of Lee's army upon their advance into Pennsylvania and Maryland, found themselves disappointed of this, and committed to their engagements for the account day (Friday next) and also to the payment of the next instalment—1st proximo: unable to meet these, sales to a large extent were inevitable. To add to this, there was extreme heaviness in every department of the Stock Exchange, which also had its influence.

To-day the market opened steady—13 to 11 discount, at which places, considerable transactions took place. Subsequently lower prices from Liverpool caused a relapse, and they were again heavy,—the closing price being 15 to 14 discount.

##### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

A very large business has been transacted during the week in American Government Securities, and in the majority of cases at an advance of from 3 to 1 per cent. The chief dealings have been in the Stocks, more particularly connected with the Northern States. Prices, of course, have been influenced by the news from America. Virginia Six per Cent Stock has been dealt in at 43½, 42½, 41½, and 42. Atlantic and Great Western, Pennsylvania Sections, 7½, 72½, and 72. Erie Shares \$100, all paid, 67, 68½, 68, 69½, and 70. Ditto Seven per Cent. Preference ditto, 64½, 65½, 64½, 67, 68½, and 68. Ditto Seven per Cent., second mortgage 1859, 78; Ditto, third ditto 1883, 73 and 74. Ditto, fourth ditto, 72. Illinois Central Six per Cent., 1875, 81½. Ditto, Seven per Cent., 1875, 76, 75, and 76. Ditto, \$100 Shares, 890 paid, 27, 25½, 25, 26, 22½, 23, and 21½, discount ex div. Ditto, \$100 Shares, all paid, 64½, 65, 68½, 68, and 69. New York Central Seven per Cent., 1861, 66. Panama Railroad second mortgage, 1872, 103½, and 104½. Pennsylvania Central Bonds, second mortgage, 86½, and ditto ditto \$50 shares, 40 and 41½.

##### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A very good business has been transacted in English Railway Securities, particularly in those of the leading undertakings. For two or three days prices were generally weak in sympathy with the other markets; but to-day there has been an improvement in nearly all classes, and the market closed



with a tendency to a further advance. Although there has not been quite so much doing in Foreign Railway Shares, prices have been fairly sustained. With regard to shares in British Possessions, the transactions have been to a moderate extent at pretty steady, particularly for Indian and Canadian descriptions.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

Although about the average number of new Joint-stock undertakings have been brought forward during the week, the aggregate required for prosecuting them is comparatively trifling, being only £330,000. Two of them—the Patent File Company, and the Export and Inland Coal Company; each ask for £100,000. The Castle Hotel Company, Richmond, want £60,000; the London Paper Making Company, £50,000; and the Philharmonic Room, Southampton Company, £20,000. It appears from some statistics just compiled, that the number of English joint-stock companies registered since the commencement of the year, has been 296, representing a nominal capital of £62,690,150. The Irish undertakings registered in the same period have been only 9, with a nominal capital of £120,000; and the Scotch 11, with a nominal capital of £668,843. The largest company registered was the General Credit, with a nominal capital of £10,000,000; and the smallest the Aberdeen Public Offices Company, with a nominal capital of only £410. The average capital of each English company is £210,000; that of the Irish, £14,000; and that of the Scotch, £62,000.

#### MORTGAGE LOAN FOR THE SAGUA LA GRANDE (CUBA) RAILWAY.

A prospectus has just been issued for a first Mortgage Loan of £300,000, in bonds of £100 each, for the Sagua La Grande Railway. The bonds are to bear interest at 7 per cent., payable half-yearly in London, and are to be issued in three series; the 1st of £160,000; the 2nd of £70,000; and the 3rd of £70,000. The subscription price will be £97 per bond with interest from the 1st of May last, and the payments are to be made £5 on application, £12 on allotment, £20 on the 1st of September, £15 on the 1st of October, £20 on the 2nd of November, £15 on the 1st of December, and the remaining £10 on the 1st of January, 1864.

#### BANK MEETINGS.

At the meeting of the directors and shareholders in the English, Scottish, and Australian Chartered Bank, a dividend was declared of 6 per cent. per annum. The accounts presented showed a balance of profit amounting to £25,696, out of which £15,000 was devoted to the payment of the dividend, £1000 towards the reduction of Bank premises and furniture accounts, and £9,696 towards increasing the reserve fund, which would then stand at £25,109. It was subsequently resolved to increase the capital of the Bank, for which purpose 5,000 new shares are to be issued at £20 per share.

At the first half-yearly meeting of the Consolidated Bank, formed some time since by a junction of the Bank of Manchester with the London Bank of Heywood, Kennards & Co., the profits for the half-year were shown to be £30,160, out of which a dividend was declared at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, leaving £7,368 to be carried to the current account. The half-yearly meeting of the London and Middlesex Bank, was held this afternoon, when a dividend at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum was declared, leaving £1,082 to be carried over to the next account.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In American produce the fluctuations since this day week have not been important. Holders are firm, the progress of events being regarded as anything but favourable to an early termination of the war. At the same time the high prices asked have the effect of keeping purchasers, almost without exception, upon a very limited scale. Cotton has advanced ¼d. per lb., and the market is still strong, although without any great activity. American wheat and flour in common with

other foreign grain may be quoted firmer in value, owing partly to political complications on the Continent, and partly to the smallness of home supplies. Provisions of most descriptions are dearer. Bacon middles have risen 1s. to 2s. per cwt., some rather extensive purchases having been made for export. A considerable advance in the price of Dutch butters has caused some improvement in all other descriptions, and fair qualities of American have made 70s. In lard there is not much doing; fine is held for full terms, whilst common is dull. Ashes meet a fair inquiry at 29s. 9d. to 30s. in Liverpool, and 32s. is the nominal quotation in London. Hotchkiss oil of peppermint remains quoted 16s., but a sale is reported to have been made at 15s. 9d. North American tallow has realized 43s., a general rise in this market having been induced by the critical position of Russian politics. To-day, however, the tone is not so firm, and 42s. 6d. to 43s. was the closing quotation, which is within 6d. per cwt. of the price of P.Y.C. Petroleum, after dullness throughout the week, at present meets a better inquiry; refined sells more freely at 2s. 3d. on the spot, and 2s. 5d. for winter delivery. At Liverpool a considerable business has been done for exports at 2s. 3d. per gallon. For crude Pennsylvania £18 5s. per tun has been paid. Rosin continues very firm. No change can be quoted in American turpentine, although French offers as low as 75s. per cwt. The tobacco trade continues extremely inactive, with no material change in general quotations. The last transactions in Philadelphia bark were at 7s. 9d. to 8s., and Baltimore at 6s. to 7s. per cwt. in Liverpool. Central American rubber is worth 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. per lb., and a fair inquiry prevails. Sperm oil, owing to the restriction of business in our cotton manufactures, is without improvement, and £80 is the nearest price for either colonial or American fishing. Upon all articles suitable to the requirements of the United States, the latest New York advices have had a prejudicial effect. Scotch pig iron has become extremely difficult to quit, and sales have been forced at 52s. 10½d. per ton, cash. Spelter tin and lead have also shown increased dullness since our last. Some speculative purchases of saltpetre, based on the expectation of at least a precautionary increase of armaments on the continent, caused a sudden advance of £2 per ton, but the market shows symptoms of nearly as sudden a relapse, and this afternoon sales were made at 15s. per ton under the highest point; £38 10s. was the last price paid for arrival, and £37 5s. to £38 on the spot. Camphor is rather well held at 46 6s. per cwt., but purchases are confined to the bare provision for immediate requirements. Quinine and quinine barks have an improved tendency. Gums continue to move off in retail quantities without quotable change in value. Our Spice market keeps very dull, and export kinds of both pepper and nutmegs are purchasable upon easier terms. At our colonial wool sales American buyers are doing very little, but the descriptions in which they were in previous auctions; the principal operators are generally held for full terms.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday Evening, July 29.

OUR last report left the market hardening with a good demand. As the week went on, the buoyancy increased. Much attention was paid to the rapid reduction of stock as exhibited in the returns of Friday, and spinners evidently began to be alarmed at the small figures to which it was dwindling. After deducting the China and Bengal cotton, which do not deserve to be reckoned as serviceable in bearing the brunt of the consumption, only 200,000 bales were left in stock, of which nearly one-half was Egyptian.

On Saturday, accordingly, the market was very strong, with sales of 10,000 bales, chiefly to the trade, and there was many symptoms that a speculative rush was setting in.

On Monday morning, the China's news was before the public, and excited extraordinary interest. The drift of them was again decidedly adverse to the Confederates. Fort Hudson had surrendered. Lee had retired into Virginia. Bragg was obliged to have fallen back into Georgia, and a fresh attack, attended with partial success, was making on Charleston. In addition to these items, the astounding accounts of the murderous riots in New York were also received.

The impression of many persons was, that the market would be damped by these advices, but the headway it had got during the previous week sufficed to start it again and a very strong demand set in, almost amounting to excitement—the run was chiefly in American cotton, which advanced that day nearly ¼d. per lb. All other kinds advanced ¼d. The sales reached 1,000 bales. It appeared, however, that this improvement was in spite, rather than in consequence of the American news.

On Tuesday morning, when peoples' minds had sobered down, the market opened quietly: the Liberator's news rather tended to increase that feeling, for they intimated the possibility of the early fall of Charleston, an event which would have unsettled the markets. The demand, accordingly, fell off, and with sales of 6,000 bales, prices of American were hardly sustained at their extreme point, though other sorts remained quite steady.

To-day the sales are again 6,000, and the feeling continues dull, though no change can be quoted. Middling Americans are worth 22½d.; Fair Dhollerah (which can scarcely be found), 18½d.; and the same class to arrive, May sailing, is worth nominally 18d.

Our market is upheld on the one hand by the great scarcity of supply, present and prospective, and the good Indian news. On the other, it is checked by the uncertain character of American affairs, and a suspicion that some quantity of cotton may, after all, be got at in the South. The least inclination of the balance would move the market either up or down.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, 28th July.

The improvement in Liverpool from day to day during the past week has imparted a better feeling to this market generally, but not to a corresponding extent, as yarns have only advanced from ¼d. to ½d. per lb. on the prices obtainable a week before, whilst the class of cottons from which these yarns are spun has gone up considerably beyond that. Although yarns have improved in value, cloths cannot be said to be quotably higher very little disposition being shown to pay higher rates at present for them, which is puzzling to the manufacturers, who have been buying yarns on speculation, thinking that we were on the eve of rapidly advancing prices.

To-day the Germans have been buying rather more bundled yarns than for some time past, but still their business is quite of a retail character.

India shippers hang back and buy next to nothing in the shape of cloth, but holders are hopeful and look for a good demand setting in for the market very shortly.

#### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of July 23, are—

PENNSYLVANIA AND MISSISSIPPI.  
CONSISTENCY AT THE FOREIGN-OFFICE.  
THE PROSPECT.  
NORTHERN THREAT OF WAR WITH ENGLAND.  
VICTOR HUGO.  
NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.  
THE EDINBURGH AND QUARTERLY.  
CHARLES SUMNER.  
THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE THIRD ALABAMA AT CHANCELLORSVILLE.

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**VALUES OF GOLD.—WATER-STON AND BROGDEN,** for the information of the public and their numerous patrons beg to make the following announcement regarding the VALUE of GOLD, feeling persuaded that the interests of the fair trader and public will be alike protected by the wide circulation of knowledge on the subject. Gold being divided into 24 parts or carats, it follows that gold of

Per oz.	Per oz.
24 carats fine is worth.....£4 4 11	13 carats.....£2 6 0
23 ditto.....£4 1 5	12 ditto.....£2 2 6½
22 ditto (British standard).....£3 17 10½	11 ditto.....£1 18 11
21 carats.....£3 14 4	10 ditto.....£1 11 10
20 ditto.....£3 10 9½	9 ditto.....£1 8 9½
19 ditto.....£3 7 3	8 ditto.....£1 4 9
18 ditto.....£3 3 8½	7 ditto.....£1 1 2½
17 ditto.....£3 0 2	6 ditto.....£0 17 8
16 ditto.....£2 16 7½	5 ditto.....£0 14 2
15 ditto.....£2 13 1	4 ditto.....£0 10 7½
14 ditto.....£2 9 6½	3 ditto.....£0 7 1
	2 ditto.....£0 3 6½

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# GENERAL THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON.

Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence.

It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

The eminent sculptor, J. H. FOLLY, Esq., R.A., has undertaken to execute a marble Statue, heroic size, of the General for £1,000, while £500 may be required for pedestal, inscription, and other extras. Accordingly, for £1,500 a complete Statue of "Stonewall" JACKSON, by one of our most distinguished sculptors, may be prepared for transmission to his native country when the unhappy war shall have ceased. Towards raising this sum, the Subscriptions of our countrymen and countrywomen are earnestly solicited. Central and Local Committees, with auxiliary Ladies' Committees, are being formed to collect the necessary funds.

The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COURTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 67.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 6, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
NEW ORLEANS LETTER.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
WAR WITHOUT END.  
A PARALLEL AND A CONTRAST.  
THE NEW ASPECT OF THE WAR.  
THE RIGHTFULNESS OF SOUTHERN SECESSION.  
THE PEACE PARTY AT THE NORTH.  
FEDERALISM.  
MAGAZINES FOR AUGUST.  
A VOICE FROM A FEDERAL PRISON.  
MR. VALLANDIGHAM'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO.  
GENERAL LEE'S ORDER FOR THE PROTECTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN PENNSYLVANIA.  
THE SOUTHERN CONSCRIPTION.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

In default of reliable military news, we have a series of contradictory rumours. It is reported that Mr. Lincoln is greatly disappointed at the "escape" of General Lee, that Meade has offered to resign his command, and that another invasion of the North is dreaded. The next intelligence is that Lee cannot cross the Potomac; and finally that that commander is in force in the Shenandoah Valley, and at all the fords of the Potomac. The Northern public is now convinced that the Southern army is not fleeing, that Meade is not pursuing, and that Gregg's cavalry has sustained a severe disaster. In short, it is now known that though Lee did not do all the North feared, he is as strong as ever.

On the 25th of July the Washington Government was in receipt of news from Charleston, which it declined to publish. According to unofficial statements the progress of the Federals had been stayed, and they had sustained severe losses. There was also a rumour that the enemy had been driven from Morris Island. We shall not follow the example of the Yankees, and prophesy the issue of the contest, but we know that Charleston is prepared for a desperate resistance, and that if she falls the only booty of the conqueror will be blackened ruins. Everything that has transpired up to this moment shows that the defence has been thoroughly successful.

General Morgan has been several times nearly captured, and his band completely cut up, in Federal despatches. We were officially informed that the gallant General had fled from his command; next that he had tried to cross the Ohio river, and that he had been driven back by a gunboat; and finally it is notified that these reports, both official and unofficial, were wrong. It appears that his losses in Ohio have been exaggerated, that on the 22nd July he captured Colonel Chandler and twenty-five men, and that the next day he crossed the Muskingum River at Eastport and repulsed the Federals, and then went to Washington, Ohio, where he was collecting supplies.

General Johnstone has made a vigorous stand at Jackson, Mississippi. On the 9th July, he issued an address to his troops, which we publish in another part of our impression, and his confidence in the valour of his men was fully justified. On the 12th an attack was made upon his lines. This was defeated with a loss to the enemy of a thousand men, including General Osterhaus; and the banners of the 28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois regiments were captured. On the 14th, there was a truce for the burial of the Federal dead. The skirmishing continued on the 14th and 15th, and on the last-named day the Confederates buried 153 of the enemy. On the 16th, a heavy demonstration was made against the Confederate right and centre, and it was repulsed by Walker's and Loring's divisions. The city has been nearly destroyed by the enemy's shells. On the 16th, according to a Washington despatch, General Johnstone evacuated the place without loss of artillery or prisoners. Defences

were in thorough repair. The casualties of the Confederates are reported to be small. Captain Ferguson, of the South Carolina battery, was mortally wounded on the 15th.

President Davis has issued a proclamation, which we elsewhere publish, in which he orders all white residents in the Confederate States not exempted from military service between the ages of 18 and 45, to be immediately enrolled. Thus, excepting old men and boys, the entire male population of the South will be under arms to repel the invader. The different conduct of the two Governments is worthy of remark. President Davis calls for more men after reverses; whilst President Lincoln calls for more men after a series of successes. The Southerners are ready to enlist when their services are needed; the only chance of getting the Northerners to submit to the conscription is to assure them that there is no chance of their having to meet the enemy.

How the South bears misfortune may be seen from the telegrams that were published yesterday. She has never been elated with victory, and she is not depressed by misfortune. She is only intent upon preparing for the worst. The papers, so far from modifying the bad news, parade it. The *Mobile Register* tells its readers that the movements of Bragg and the fall of Vicksburg will result in 160,000 of the enemy being on the soil of Alabama. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but it is far better to overrate than to underate the adversary. President Davis calls for a levy of white residents between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who are not exempt from military service; even this does not satisfy the press, which clamours for a levy *en masse*. At the capital of Alabama a meeting has been held to organize the whole population for home defence. The stock of the Virginia Navy Company, of which the object is to carry on a guerilla war on the ocean against the commerce of the adversary, has been subscribed. The *Enquirer*, which is not the organ of the Government as some of our contemporaries persist in calling it, demands an immediate enlargement of President Davis's powers to revise the election of officers, and to get rid of the incompetent. The people of Georgia are arming to resist the threatened invasion of Rosecrans; and the citizens of Lynchburg are organizing for defence. All this proves that the only way to conquer the Confederates is to exterminate them, but extermination involves a sacrifice of Northern life that will leave the victor utterly prostrate.

The *Richmond Despatch* of the 17th of July says:—"Lincoln, Seward, Halleck, and the whole Yankee press are hugging themselves in the delusion that they already see the end of the war, and that that end is to us the death of our liberty and the beginning of an interminable servitude. To their taunts and sneers we reply, 'We have not yet begun to fight.' They think they have seen pitched fields, but the hottest of those they have seen are to those which must come but as the freshness of an April morning to the fiery breath of the dog-days. This people has never yet put forth its strength to half its extent. Furious as has been the war in which it has been engaged, mighty as have been its struggles, glorious as have been its victories, unparalleled as has been the result, what we have done is scarcely a type of what we can do."

Despatches from Cincinnati of the 24th report that authentic information from the army of General Rosecrans proves it to be still in the vicinity of Tullahoma and Winchester, with the headquarters of the Commanding General at the latter place, and that all statements of movements upon Chattanooga and Rome, Georgia, previously made, were unfounded.

War with England and France, or at least war with England, is incessantly demanded in the North. The

Government endeavours to make the draft acceptable by pretending that the new levies are to be used against this country. The few who believe in the possibility of the reconstruction of the Union clamour for a foreign war as the only means of effecting that object. The peace party look to it as the sole means of ending the present war. Patriots seize upon it as the only way of preventing the armies of the republic from being turned against social order at home. The popular passions are more and more inflamed, and war with England has become a creed in the North. All parties desire it, and at the first opportunity it will be undertaken with unanimous approval.

The riots in New York are over, but a renewal of them is threatened if the draft is enforced. The news per Jura intimates that the draft will be abandoned in New York, and if in that city it must, of course, be abandoned elsewhere. Governor Seymour fears if it is carried out the female servants will fire their masters' houses. A telegram from Paris says,—"Official reports have been received here from New York which state that the Government appears to definitely renounce the conscription, which had been declared unconstitutional by the sentence of a New York municipal Judge. 'This fact is to be attributed to the progress of pacific ideas in the North.' Large sums are voted by the authorities in New York to enable those who have no means to purchase exemption. But if the rich with their own money, and the poor with other people's money, are to escape the service, we do not see where the required recruits are to come from. In Maryland the draft has been forcibly resisted. The barns of the enrolling officers have been burnt, and their residences attacked. Forcible opposition to the conscription has been made in several towns in Maine. At Kingfield, in that State, the officers conducting the draft were set upon by a mob, their papers seized and destroyed, and themselves driven from the town. In other places the citizens have thrown up earthworks to resist the enforcement of the Act. It has been decided by the Provost-Marshal, General Fry, that no negro can be accepted as a substitute for the draughted white man.

Before the surrender of Fort Hudson General Gardner issued an order, dated July 8th, in which he congratulated the troops on their gallant defence. Every assault had been signally repulsed, and the place was given up under pressure of famine and the approach of overwhelming reinforcements consequent upon the fall of Vicksburg.

The supremacy of the crowd during the late riots in New York has been illustrated in a singular manner. There were two British vessels in the North river, one from Belize, and the other from Jamaica, both being commanded by negro captains, and manned by negro crews. The rioters threatened to burn the ships, and to prove that they were in earnest assaulted some of the crew. The British consul could not protect them; neither the State authorities nor the Federal Government could do so, and at the consul's request her Majesty's ship *Challenger* was sent for by Lord Lyons, and anchored at the mouth of the Hudson. In the meantime the coloured British subjects took refuge on board the French man-of-war, the *Cardenas*, Admiral Reynaud giving them shelter until the arrival of a British ship. Is it not exceedingly droll that we recognise a Government that has no power to protect British subjects from being murdered in the streets of its chief city, and refuse to recognise a Government that is constitutionally dominant and loyally obeyed?

General Burnside murdered two Confederates at Sandusky, Ohio, upon most frivolous and transparent pretences. The Confederate Government demanded justice, and placed two of their prisoners, Captains Sawyer



and Flynn, in close confinement at Richmond, to be executed if the Washington Government refused to make due reparation for the crime committed by their officer. Upon this the Confederate Government is informed that if they take reprisals by executing Captain Sawyer and Flynn, General W. F. Lee and Captain Wiunder, now Federal prisoners, will suffer a like fate. If the Lincolmites are resolved on such a policy, if they claim to murder Confederates with impunity, nothing remains but to hang out the black flag.

It is announced that Mr. Whiting, Solicitor to the Federal War Department, is to come to Europe, "as the accredited agent of the United States to the European courts, and the legal adviser of Messrs. Adams and Dayton." It is stated that he is instructed to remonstrate with the British authorities against the building of iron-clad vessels in British ports, which the Federal Government suspects to be intended for the Confederate service." If this is a correct version of Mr. Whiting's mission, he might as well have remained at home. He may be a useful adviser to Messrs. Adams and Dayton, but so long as the United States has a Minister in the country, the remonstrances of other accredited agents will not be received. Moreover, "British authorities," unlike Federal authorities, do not make the law, but obey it, and no remonstrance will induce them to act in opposition to the decision of our law courts. In any case, "the suspicion of the Federal Government" will not be accepted as evidence.

It is reported that a Federal cavalry expedition from Newbern has destroyed the bridge over the Tar River, and burnt 5,000 bales of cotton. The telegraphic summary of news speaks of an incursion to Wythville, on the East Tennessee Railway, and the destruction of the rail there. It is physically impossible that any Federal force should have got to that point, and the place referred to is more probably Whiteville, on the Wilmington and Weldon Railway, in North Carolina.

Mr. Vallandigham's brother and Dr. Clarke were arrested at Newark, Delaware, on suspicion, but were released on taking the oath of allegiance.

#### ENGLAND.

The report of the committee "on various kinds of improved ordnance" has appeared, and is on the whole a very satisfactory document. It commences with a history of the Armstrong gun, and with an account of the experimental contests between the Whitworth and the Armstrong guns, with respect to which it is remarked that the trials of the former weapon were not of so extended a character as those of the latter, because at that particular time Mr. Whitworth had no guns of his own construction, nor did he propose any system of constructing guns. The definition given of what is called the Armstrong system is a "combination of construction, breach-loading, rifling, and coating the projectiles with soft metal;" and the committee is of opinion that the adoption of the Armstrong gun by the Secretary of State for War in 1858 for special service in the field was fully justified. The gun was first introduced into the navy for boat service in the winter of 1858-9, principally on the advice of Captain Hewlett, R.N., of H.M. ship *Excellent*, and in the autumn of that year the 40-pounder and 110-pounder guns were ordered. The supply of guns and projectiles has been obtained solely from the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich and the Elswick Ordnance Factory, and the total sum expended in their manufacture has amounted to £2,539,547 17s. 8d. The results of this outlay are next touched upon in the report. The 12-pounders, although thought by some to be too complicated for service, are generally approved of, and the Commander-in-Chief and the Adjutant-General of Artillery are loud in the praises of the weapon. With regard to the 110-pounder guns, admitted to be useful as chase guns, the report is condemnatory of the introduction of them as broadside guns, because they are not capable of penetrating iron-plated ships. The old 68-pounder, in fact, still maintains its way, and the First Lord of the Admiralty says that, "we have nothing better now for close quarters than the 68-pounder."

The Regiment of the 1st Middlesex Volunteer Engineers was inspected last Saturday by Colonel M'Murdo, the Inspector-General, in Battersea Park. The operation performed was the construction of a bridge across a piece of water 100 feet wide. The time consumed in making of the bridge was an hour and a quarter, the materials being placed by the water-side before the order was given for commencing the work. The speed and skill displayed were highly commended by the Inspector. The Central London Rifle Rangers have also been inspected by Lieutenant-General Sir J. Yorke Scarlett, K.C.B., and the Queen's Westminster have held their annual fête at the Crystal Palace. After the concert, theatrical performances, and athletic exercises, several

hundred members sat down to the regimental dinner, under the presidency of Earl Grosvenor, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment.

The vacancy in the representation of the borough of Pontefract, caused by the elevation of Mr. Monckton Milnes to the peerage under the title of Lord Houghton, has been already filled. Two candidates were in the field, namely, Sir E. W. Head in the Liberal, and Major Waterhouse in the Conservative interest. However, on the morning of the nomination, Sir E. W. Head issued an address, in which he announced his withdrawal from the contest, and stated that after a five days' canvass in the borough he found the Liberal voices uncertain and their strength divided. Consequently Major Waterhouse was returned without opposition. Another peer has been created in the person of Colonel White, who has represented the counties of Dublin and Longford in several Parliaments, and who will assume the style and title of Baron Annely in the county of Longford in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

On Tuesday last Lord Palmerston laid the foundation stone of a new building intended to be erected as an addition to the Sailors' Home in Well-street, Wapping. The auxiliary building will accommodate 160 seamen; and the estimated cost is about £12,000. The original Home was opened in 1835, since which date 139,180 seamen have availed themselves of the advantages held out by the institution, and these men have deposited no less a sum than £1,110,980, to be invested and expended for their benefit.

The town of Halifax has been at once the scene of unbounded loyalty and profound discontent; of loyalty because of the visit of the Prince of Wales, of discontent because of the absence of the Princess of Wales. Unfortunately, the Princess of Wales, who with all deference to the Prince was to be the grand centre of attraction, has been attacked by indisposition serious enough to prevent her from visiting Halifax and enduring the shouts of thousands, and the fatigue of an elaborate ceremony, but not, we are happy to say, incapacitating her from quietly accomplishing the intended journey to the highlands of Scotland. However, the Prince of Wales having promised to visit the town for the opening of the new Town Hall, did not fail to keep his word, though he was compelled to undergo a journey from Osborne to Halifax, on Monday, to perform the necessary programme in the afternoon, and the morning of Tuesday, and to return to Osborne on the same day. He arrived on the afternoon of Monday, visited the great carpet manufactories of Messrs. Crossley and Son, and dined at the house of the Mayor of the town, Mr. John Crossley, and was serenaded in the evening. On the next day he visited in procession the People's Park; heard the national anthem and the "Hallelujah Chorus" sung by 10,000 voices; and performed the ceremony of opening the new Town Hall, after which he immediately left for London.

During four days of last week the sporting and the fashionable world luxuriated in Goodwood and its famous races. The beautiful seat of the Duke of Richmond cannot boast contests of such importance as those that may be witnessed at Epsom and Doncaster, nor has it a course absolutely equal to Newmarket, but the magnificence of the park and the surrounding scenery render the meeting by far the most enjoyable of all. On the present occasion the races were neither so interesting in prospect nor so exciting in result as in many preceding years. The Goodwood Stakes were carried off by an outsider, called Blackdown, to the great mortification of the owner of Anfield and the thousand supporters who stood by this colt of Mr. Greville's with such unwavering fidelity that nothing more than the odds of seven to four could be obtained against him at starting. The "favourite," however, managed to secure the second place, being defeated by three-quarters of a length. The Findon Stakes were won by Mr. R. Ten Broeck's two-year-old colt Paris; and on the same day Maccaroni, the winner of the Derby, overcame two indifferent opponents called the Gonner and Escape with consummate ease. The Goodwood Cup supplied an ample field for speculation from the competition between the French mare La Touques, who won the French Derby and Oaks, and ran second for the Grand Prix de Paris, and the admirable Buckstone, who defeated Tim Whiffler after one dead heat for the Ascot cup. Both these animals were, however, beaten by Isoline, who ran second this year for the English Oaks, and who started at the odds of seven to one. The race was further remarkable from the presence of a pure Barb, called Mazagan, the property of the Duke of Beaufort. This horse being more than six years of age, carried about four stone less than the four-year-old Buckstone, and in spite of this advantage was left hopelessly in the distance by the English horses. In the Molecomb Stakes Mr. Merry's two-year-old colt Scottish

Chief, a victor at Ascot and Newmarket, and backed heavily already for the Derby of 1864, was defeated easily by the French Fille d'Air, the property of Count de Lagrange.

A series of festivities of a nature and on a scale peculiar to England has been given by the Earl of Stradbroke, at his seat at Henham Hall, in the county of Suffolk. We call attention to these rejoicings as illustrative of the relations existing between English noblemen and their tenants and neighbours, and as slightly corrective of the notions on these subjects existing in certain parts of the Continent and of America. The occasion of the festivities was the birth of an heir of the house, whose appearance will save the estates from passing into the power of a distant relation. On the first of the three days of rejoicing a large number of the nobility and gentry of the county were present to witness the christening, and were, of course, splendidly entertained; on the second day, there was a review of 2,000 Volunteers, representing the various regiments of the county, after which these 2,000 Volunteers, with about 1,000 other guests, chiefly tenants of the estate, were entertained at dinner, and the third day was set apart for the workpeople, the smaller tenantry, and their wives and children. A regular country fair had been established in the Park with the usual accessories of numberless mountebanks, performing monkeys, and the like. Two enormous waggon-loads of toys were distributed among the children, and customary rustic games, music, and dancing everywhere abounded. No less than 8,000 people in all were entertained in the course of the three days.

In the list of successful candidates in the open competition for the Civil Service of India, appears the name of Satyendra Nath Tagore. This gentleman is a native of Calcutta, where his family has long been remarkable for ability. He is twenty years of age, and has been educated at the Presidency College, in the University of Calcutta. He is the first Hindoo who has competed since the establishment of the open examination for the service, and it is expected that his success will encourage other natives of ability to visit England with the same object.

A man of colour, named George Washington, was charged with begging in the streets of London, before one of the Metropolitan magistrates last week. His story was that he had been a slave in the Confederate States, and that his wife and children were now in Texas, that he had served as a drummer in the Confederate army, and at Bull Run, had deserted to the enemy and got to New York. Thence, by the advice of General Morgan, who informed him that "slaves would be sure to find plenty of sympathisers in England," he got a place on board ship and came to this country. Having arrived here and consulted a "costermonger" on the best method of exciting sympathy in the public mind, he hit upon the expedient of parading the streets adorned with a placard and soliciting alms. His astonishment at being arrested for mendicity was very considerable, and on being discharged he expressed his intention of returning at once to New York. It is to be presumed that his notions of the reception which he will probably meet with in that city are derived rather from recollections of General Morgan's advice, than from an intimate acquaintance with the feelings of the New York populace towards the coloured race.

Sir Cresswell Cresswell, whose name has been a household word in England for five years, died last week from internal disease, hastened in its fatal effects by an accident. His life has been one of hard and unwearying toil, recompensed by gradual but corresponding reward. In 1814 he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge, but did not attain honours. In 1819 he was called to the bar, and joined the Northern Circuit in the palmy days of Brougham and Scarlett. He was made King's Counsel in 1834, and was elected for Liverpool, and entered the House of Commons in 1837. Five years later he was raised to the Bench, and as a Judge fully satisfied the expectations formed of him. In the year 1857 the new Divorce and Probate Act was passed; and the Legislature first recognised and put into practice the principle of making divorce possible without the expenditure of a fortune, while at the same time it swept completely away the whole system of proving wills in the prerogative courts of the archbishops, and in episcopal and local courts. In January, 1858, when the new Court came into operation, Sir Cresswell Cresswell was appointed to preside over it. Any one in the least acquainted with the method of English law-making and procedure will readily comprehend that the new Judge had not only to administer a new system of law, but also to manufacture one; this Sir Cresswell Cresswell has done with consummate skill, and by his wisdom and labour he has built up a code, and a practice based on the



soundest principles, and calculated to earn the confidence and veneration of his successors in office. With him it rested whether the new Divorce Court should fulfil the worst forebodings of the opponents of the Act, or become as satisfactory an institution as such a Court can be made; and the praise which is universally awarded to him both by the profession and the public, is an assurance that his industry, discretion, and perfect self-confidence, have saved society from a considerable risk, and enabled the Legislature to arrogate to itself no small amount of social wisdom.

The litigious Mrs. Broun, more familiarly known as Patience Swinfen, has once more proved victorious in a suit. It will be recollected that this person about the year 1854 became, under the will of Mr. Samuel Swinfen, the devisee of the Swinfen Hall Estate, and that the heir-at-law by a bill in Chancery sought to overthrow that will in the following year. An issue as to the validity of the will having been directed by the Court of Chancery to be tried before a jury, Sir Frederick Thesiger, now Lord Chelmsford, was retained as counsel for Patience Swinfen, and in the exercise of his discretion as such compromised the action with the plaintiff. This settlement of the matter was repudiated by Patience Swinfen, who, moreover, brought an action against Sir F. Thesiger for having made the compromise without authority. In that action she was defeated on the ground that counsel have an immunity from action in respect of their conduct in practice at the bar. This settlement of the suit having been set aside, the original action was renewed, and resulted in favour of Patience Swinfen. This victory, which secured to her the possession of a large property, was entirely the work of Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, who from the year 1856 to 1859 acted in all things as her adviser and most ardent friend. In the course of the year 1859, Mr. Kennedy represented to Patience Swinfen that his devotion to her cause and interests had not only distracted his attention from his ordinary business and thereby caused him considerable loss, but that he had received no remuneration for his services from her. In fact he, though a barrister, had acted throughout without the usual intervention of a solicitor, and therefore had received no customary fees. Thereupon his client, having freely admitted that the sum of £20,000 would be no more than a fair remuneration for the services of Mr. Kennedy, executed a deed of gift in his favour of the Swinfen Hall Estate, subject to her life-interest and certain other charges. Shortly afterwards Patience Swinfen became the wife of a Mr. Broun, and a misunderstanding having sprung up and ripened into a deadly quarrel between her and Mr. Kennedy, she sought to repudiate the deed of gift, the validity of which he no less strongly upheld. At length Mr. Kennedy brought an action in the Common Pleas against Mrs. Broun on accounts stated between them, and obtained a verdict for £20,000. This verdict was, however, set aside by the court on the ground that no contract made between a barrister and his client, whether in consideration of future or past services, can be valid at law. Still Mr. Kennedy had the deed of gift of the estate, and that deed was of course valid at law. Mrs. Broun proceeded, therefore, to get the deed set aside in a Court of Equity, on the ground that it was executed under undue influence, while Mr. Kennedy sought to maintain the deed on the ground of meritorious services having been rendered as the consideration for the gift. The suit came before the Master of the Rolls, and his Honour found that the deed was executed while Patience Swinfen was so far under Mr. Kennedy's influence that she had no power to resist the appeal made to her; and as to the question of consideration, he held, following the decision of the Court of Common Pleas, that as counsel should not sue for their fees, so the admission of such being due to them could not be a good foundation for a deed of gift. Mr. Kennedy was, therefore, ordered to give up the deed to be cancelled, and to pay the costs of the suit. It is impossible to conceive a harder case than has befallen Mr. Kennedy. He gave up time, labour, and all the income derived from the exercise of his profession, to secure to Patience Swinfen her property, after her former advisers had failed in the attempt, and he has not only gone unrewarded, but has been mulcted in enormous costs and expenses. He has fallen a victim to his own credulity in the friendship of his client, and to the inexorable rule of his own profession, that a barrister's fees are mere gifts and incapable of conversion into debts; at the same time he must thank himself for much of his misfortune, for he was not and could not be ignorant of a rule so well ascertained.

#### EUROPE.

There is no change in the Polish situation. The allied Governments have not yet determined upon their rejoinder to the despatches of Prince Gortschakoff. The work of the diplomatists is a difficult one. So long as there was only a

question of words, agreement involved no decisive action, union was comparatively easy, but now that a policy must be determined on, which may have serious consequences, the difference of object comes out strongly. Neither England nor Austria wish for war; they would prefer the restoration *par et simple* of Russian rule to a contest in which they believe the Poles would gain considerably, whilst their own interests would suffer greatly. The French Government, on the other hand, although it may not wish for war, yet would prefer running the risk to putting up with the discomfiture implied in leaving Russia to act as she pleases; and thus we have France taking the lead in the negotiations, and using all her efforts to win the assent of England and Austria to a decided, energetic policy. The three Cabinets are in active communication, but it is doubtful whether England and Austria will agree to the French proposal of a collective note. It is more probable that, a general agreement being arrived at as to the substance of the rejoinder, each Power will express its views in its own language as in the recent propositions.

At present, if we may believe official and officious newspapers, the identity of sentiment between the three Courts is complete. We hear too much of this union, "the lady doth protest too much." One cannot suppress the suspicion that these assurances of harmony are devised to mask some disagreement.

The most hopeful sign of the times is a despatch in which Prince Gortschakoff has replied to the recent note of Count Rechberg, and which, following the example of the Austrian Minister, he has published immediately in St. Petersburg. This despatch, in which the Prince complains that the Austrian Minister has entirely misunderstood him, and denies emphatically that he had sought to separate Austria from England and France, or intended to establish an assimilation between Galicia and Poland, is very conciliatory in its tone, and indeed presents a marked contrast to the replies to the notes. Such is the impression at least which the telegraphic summary of its contents leaves. We need not say that the text of a despatch is very often found not to justify the construction which a telegraphic agent has put upon it. It requires considerable skill to give in a few lines a faithful summary of a despatch, and that skill, we have painful evidence every day, very few telegraphic agents possess.

Much excitement has been created in Paris, and, indeed, in the stock markets of Europe generally, by a pamphlet entitled "L'Empereur, La Pologne, et l'Europe," issued from the famous shop which gave to the world the pamphlets which have been tacitly allowed to have been Imperial manifestos. The *quidnuncs* have chosen to consider this pamphlet as an Imperial manifesto—for what reason, save that the Emperor has before spoken by pamphlets, and that this writer adopts a very authoritative tone, we cannot discover. Its object is to declare that "if Russia will persist in the deplorable course she has adopted," the Powers will go to war with her, and in this wise, an Anglo-Franco-Swedish fleet will act in the Baltic, and an Anglo-Franco-Italian fleet in the Black Sea, violating the neutrality of those waters consecrated in 1856. Austria and Prussia will closely watch the western frontier of Russia, and if Prussia will not accept this "natural duty" France will inflict upon her a second Jena, and the Powers will make her a high road to Russia. The Emperor has certainly had no part in this pamphlet, which is differently ascribed, we may assume in both cases falsely, to both M. Mocquard and M. Granier de Cassagnac. He certainly, if he wishes for war, is too wise to irritate Prussia by taunts and threats to reunion; and he as certainly would not thus boldly divulge schemes which would excite the distrust, if not the positive opposition of England and Austria.

According to some reports, there are very great dissensions between the aristocratic and democratic parties, the whites and the reds; dissensions which but for the dread of a common enemy would break out in an intestine struggle. This incurable jealousy and division has always been, and bids fair always to be, the bane of the Polish cause. No valour, no endurance can withstand it.

It is said that an outbreak is preparing in Warsaw. Hardly probable. The Russians have too large a force, and the result of the struggle would inevitably be the dispersal of the National Government, and its deprivation of the facilities it has hitherto enjoyed for the publication and execution of its orders. The amount of the forced loan it has decreed is 21,000,000 Polish florins, or about half a million sterling.

It is now said that the person whom the Austrian authorities arrested as Wysocki is not the Polish leader. If it should be Wysocki he has very good reasons for denying his identity. He took part in the Hungarian revolution, and was condemned, *in contumaciam*, to death

—a sentence which would not, of course, be now executed, but the commutation of which into a term of imprisonment would be disagreeable enough. The Austrian Government is acting with great vigour against the insurrection in Galicia. It may be resolved to use all diplomatic means to obtain for the Poles the franchises to which they are entitled, but it seems to have discovered that the continuance of the agitation in Galicia has some danger, or rather is preparing some trouble for itself, and it has consequently been arresting in a wholesale manner those Galician noblemen against whom any case of participation in the recent expeditions can be established. These measures have given some offence to the population of Lemberg—the peasants go with the Government, and would be delighted to get a hint to murder their lords, but the urban population is everywhere in favour of the insurrection—and they, at least the youths and loose women of the town, have given vent to their feelings by a general attack upon the luckless Jews, in which no lives indeed were lost—thanks to the interference of the military—but the children of Israel suffered very much in person and property.

The Vienna papers published a few days since a letter alleged to have been addressed by General Werder, the Prussian Commander-in-Chief on the whole Polish frontier, to the General of cavalry, Count Waldersee, in which, relying upon some clauses of the famous convention of the 8th February, which he textually sets out, the Commander-in-Chief points to a speedy entrance of the Prussian troops into the kingdom of Poland. The letter, evidently designed to fan the feeling against Prussia, is now declared to be a forgery.

Considerable sensation has been excited by an article in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, commonly called the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the organ of the Junker party and the great champion of Russia, describing Russia as neither a sufficient nor a trustworthy ally for Prussia, and advocating an understanding with England and Austria. Very sensible advice, and coming from such a quarter it will, we may hope, have some good effect. The *Kreuz-Zeitung*, however, thinks that Count Bernstoff, the Prussian Ambassador in London, is not the fit man to accomplish such a purpose. Count Bernstoff may be proud of the censure. It is another convincing proof that, although a member of the illiberal ministry of Von der Heydt, he has always been opposed to the arbitrary system and the violations of the constitution advocated by the Feudal and reactionary party.

The long-expected interview of the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia has taken place. The Emperor arrived at Gastein on Sunday. Politics may have something to do with the interview, but it is just as likely to be one of mere civility. The King of Prussia has been staying in the Austrian Empire some time, and it is only common politeness for the Emperor of Austria to call upon him, and tell him that he is welcome.

The Transylvanian Diet met at Hermanstadt a few days since. The deputies of the Saxon and Rouman nations, as well as the nominees of the Crown from those nationalities took their seats, and received with expressions of the utmost satisfaction the Imperial rescript calling upon them to send deputies to the Reichsrath, and devote themselves to legislation for the benefit of the principality. The Magyars, although present at Hermanstadt, did not take their seats, and after a long consultation they have finally resolved, as the Imperial rescript declared the union established between Transylvania and Hungary in 1848 illegal, not to take their seats, and have announced that determination to the President of the diet, who forthwith ordered new elections for the deputies, and transmitted the announcement of refusal of the members named by him to accept the honour to the Emperor. The rest of the diet representing the large majority of the nation has not allowed this proceeding to disturb it. It has begun the consideration of the reforms which the delegate of the Emperor has submitted to it, and it will doubtless in due time send its contingent to the Reichsrath. The Magyar leaders are playing a losing game both in Transylvania and Hungary. The people will not be long content to refuse the real liberties the Emperor offers, liberties which they never before possessed, for the dream of a sentimental independence, which would be ruinous to them and mischievous to the Empire.

According to one account King George I., of Greece, will leave Copenhagen for his capital immediately after the question of the Ionian Islands has been arranged, that is to say, some time after Christmas. According to another account he starts on the 29th of August. The National Assembly has been preparing for his arrival by rehabilitating—we must use the word—all the persons convicted of political offences in the last reign, amongst others, one Aristides Dosios, a scoundrel who attempted



the assassination of the ex-Queen. Let us hope the young King will appreciate this delicate attention. Disorders continue, and will continue until the Government acts rigorously and sternly, but of that there is little chance, unless King George begins his reign by arresting and executing or deporting all the members of the National Assembly and officers of the army.

The Italian Chambers have passed the tax bills, and have been prorogued. Although they have left a great deal of business unperformed, there is some excuse for them in the terrible heat which prevails at this season in Turin.

### MEXICO.

General Forey is rapidly establishing order in Mexico. He has resigned into the hands of a triumvirate, consisting of Generals Almonte and Solas, and the Archbishop of Mexico, and elected by the supreme junta of Government, named by the general having the executive power and the direction of the affairs of the nation, until the establishment of a definitive power. He has addressed several proclamations to the people, promising them liberty and order, and altogether seems to have been very successful. It need not be feared that the new Government will go very wrong whilst the French commander directs their movements; but it is complained in some quarters that they represent only the Church party.

### THE EAST.

"Nana Sahib has been captured." So runs the telegram. But the telegraph has said the same thing before, and it is best to be incredulous until overwhelming evidence is given of the identity of the prisoner. When that evidence is given, the general cry will be "Thank God!" There is not an Englishman, save, perhaps, Mr. John Bright, who will not delight to hear that this disgusting monster has been executed.

The Imperialists have gained a victory over the Taepings.

A telegram from Shanghai, supplied by Mr. Reuter, states that a fearful earthquake took place at Manila on the 3rd of June, and that 10,000 persons were buried in the ruins of the town. A telegram from Singapore in the French papers, which is much more likely to tell the truth, says that many persons were wounded.

### SOCIETY ISLANDS.

A new species of slave trade has sprung up in the Society Islands, and some other groups of the Polynesian archipelago. Labourers are required for the guano works in the Chinchas Islands, and, as might be expected, cannot very easily be got. In this emergency, some speculative Peruvians have hit upon the idea of seizing the natives of the islands of the Pacific, and selling them to the directors of the guano works. Of course, these slaves are called free labourers, and the Peruvian Government would hold up its hands in disgust at the bare idea of these Indians being taken against their will; but no questions are asked, and the Indians once carried there have no option but to work on as slaves until they die. A great deal of havoc has been made amongst the populations of the Pacific in this way, but at last the French have caught a set of offenders, and severely punished them. The captain and pilot interpreter of the Peruvian brig *Mercedes Abeleira de Ahole* have been convicted in the Society Islands of having carried off, some by fraud, others by force, 152 inhabitants of the Quamoutic Islands, with the intention of carrying them to Peru and selling them to the contractors of the guano works in the Chinchas Islands. The captain has been condemned to five years of forced labour and fines amounting to nearly 19,000 francs, and the pilot interpreter, who seems to have been the principal agent in inveigling the natives on board, to ten years of forced labour, and the court ordered the sale of the ship to pay the fines it imposed.

### THE CAMPAIGN ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, July 11.

We have news, such as it is, both of the fall of Vicksburg and of the surrender of Port Hudson. The first has, doubtless, already reached you from the North, and perhaps intelligence of the second. I have waited as long as possible for the sailing of this morning's steamer, hoping to send you the "official report" of General Banks, but his organ fails to publish it this morning.

We had news here, July 8, of the surrender of Vicksburg. The "official" published it, but people would not believe it, and the money-market was entirely unaffected by the news; the poster placarded about the streets failed to convince, and beyond what is stated to be an official

despatch from General Grant to General Banks, we do not know that Vicksburg has fallen to-day.

We can scarcely be blamed for disbelieving an official organ which stated that Banks was going to Mobile, when every one knew he was about to march in an opposite direction towards Red River. Nor can we be blamed for refusing to credit the United States' Government despatches, when we read such as the following, or indeed any of the almost countless falsehoods officially promulgated, within a twelvemonth, from Washington:—

#### OFFICIAL TELEGRAM.

WASHINGTON, June 24.

Despatches from General Banks have been received by the War Department, to the effect that on the 14th inst., having established his batteries within thirty-five yards of the rebel works at Port Hudson, after a vigorous cannonade, he summoned General Gardner to surrender.

On his refusal, an assault was made, and our forces gained positions within fifty to one hundred yards of the enemy's works, which they held. General Paine was severely wounded. General Banks expressed himself confident of success.

All England knows now how wholly false the above statement is, and there is actually something ridiculous in establishing batteries within "thirty-five yards," and then "gaining" positions within one hundred yards of the enemy's works.

For all this, several persons have been arrested here within a day or two, and have been heavily fined for "seditious language,"—i.e., for saying that they did not believe Grant's despatch.

It is stated that when the gunboat Price brought down Grant's despatch last Wednesday to Port Hudson, the fleet both above and below fired salutes, and the Confederates on the works asked the Federals in the trenches what the demonstrations meant. "The surrender of Vicksburg." This was reported to General Gardner, who is said to have sent a letter to Banks asking a cessation of hostilities till he could ascertain the truth for himself. Banks declined, but sent him a certified copy of Grant's despatch. Whereupon Gardner announced that he was ready to arrange for the terms of surrender, and a conference of three officers from each army was held. It is also stated, but not yet published, that Gardner was in a starving condition, that "the last mule had been eaten," and General Banks immediately sent in 6,000 rations.

The terms of surrender are said to be the following:—  
1. All the public property and munitions of war to be given up, officers and soldiers retaining their private property. 2. Prisoners to be treated according to the usual rules of war. 3. The sick to be cared for by Federal or Confederate officers. 4. The place to be at once evacuated by the Confederates.

None of this, however, is yet published, officially or otherwise. It is understood that the despatches go north this morning. There is a steamer to sail Monday, by which I hope to send you full particulars.

The river, which is officially reported to be quiet, is now open to vessels from here to Baton Rouge without the risk of attack from the "rebel" batteries. There are now three of these batteries—one just below Donaldsonville, one at College Point, and one ten miles nearer and within fifty miles of the city. Every boat up or down has been attacked. Captain Abner Reed, of the gunboat *Monongahela*, was killed by a shot from the Donaldsonville battery last Wednesday; another person on board was killed. The Tennessee was attacked, and lost one man yesterday, and gunboats are engaged now in shelling the batteries, while not a boat goes up or down without a convoy.

The Boston papers received by the latest Northern mail say much about Colonel Thomas E. Chickering, and "the marked successes which have attended his military operations in General Banks's department." In order that your readers may estimate the Boston idea of "military operations," the following is quoted from the *Boston Transcript*:—

From the official report of Colonel C. it appears that during his administration as military Governor of Opelousas, Louisiana, and Commandant of United States' Military Depot, Barre's Landing, 6,000 bales of cotton were collected in the parish of St. Landry and shipped by the Constable and Grand Duke to New Orleans, besides large quantities of sugar, molasses, and other products of the country. Upwards of ten thousand contrabands were sent by Colonel C. from Barre's Landing, by steamer to New Orleans, from there to Government plantations. The mills at Opelousas and vicinity were set to work and kept in use grinding corn, of which thousands of bushels were issued daily to the army and contrabands. . . . The report concludes, by delivering over to the Quartermaster at Brashear, a train of six hundred and thirty waggons, over three thousand mules and horses, an ammunition train of fifty army waggons, and seven thousand three hundred contrabands, having marched from Bain's Landing to Brashear, a distance of one hundred and ten miles in five days, without the loss of a wagon or part of the train. One Lieutenant of the 110th New York was killed in an engagement with the enemy at Franklin, and several officers and men taken prisoners, but the train was safely brought to its destination. Nearly three million dollars will be realized to the Government from this one part of General Banks's march to Alexandria.

A portion of this report is true; but there is a general richness about the quoted article which was no doubt

evident even to the editor of the *Transcript*, when he learned that a very small part of the stolen cotton ever reached New Orleans. That which was stored at Barre's Landing, awaiting transportation, was seized by Magruder's men, and all that was not removed was destroyed. The "upwards of ten thousand contrabands sent by steamer (!) from Barre's to New Orleans" have not yet arrived. Two thousand negroes, hundreds of bales of cotton, droves of cattle, horses, and mules, were sent to Brashear, and, as Boston has recently learned, have all been recovered again by the Confederates, together with "nearly three million dollars" worth of property "realized" from (not to) the United States' Government "from this one part of General Banks's march to Alexandria."

You have already received a statement from Federal sources of the amount of property "confiscated as contraband of war" by the Confederates when they captured Brashear city. I have since learned that there were large quantities of provisions and other goods taken by speculators to Brashear with the intention of opening an extensive and profitable trade in the recovered country which Banks was to restore to the Union. Of course this property of the speculators who accompany all the "military operations" in the South was "gobbled" with the Federal stores. The *Jackson Mississippian* of July 3 publishes the account of the capture of Thibodeauxville and Brashear, and gives the following inventory of the "effects," i.e., the effects of a sudden descent of 600 Confederates upon the city of Brashear before breakfast on a fine summer morning, known in the calendar as June 23:—"1,500 prisoners, 7,000 Enfield rifles, 200,000 rounds of ammunition, 800 sacks of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of flour, 20,000 suits of clothes, 20,000 pairs of boots and shoes, two trains of cars with locomotives, an immense quantity of commissary stores, the whole valued at \$2,500,000." Surely Colonel Chickering must have reckoned at cash value his "military operations," which subsequent events show to have been entirely on "exchange account."

Later than this account we have General Dick Taylor's official despatch in the *Louisiana (Alexandria) Democrat* July 1, which says that "Generals Taylor, Mouton, and Green attacked and surprised the Federal force at Brashear, and captured 1,800 prisoners, including thirty-three commissioned officers, commissary stores to the value of \$3,000,000; quarter-master's stores, \$1,500,000; ordnance stores, \$250,000; medical stores, \$100,000; 23 garrison and regimental flags; 1,000 tents; 2,000 horses and mules; 7,000 negroes; 7,000 stands of arms; 16 siege guns; and a position as important as Port Hudson or Vicksburg."

That General Taylor fully appreciates the importance of the position is evident, since he has issued an order that he means to hold it. He warns those who will not take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy that they cannot remain within his lines. Some of the returned paroled Federal prisoners say that the speculators and traders who expected to make fortunes when Banks opened the country across the Teche to trade, were some of them recognised as New Orleans men, or Louisianians. These were promptly conscripted, and were sent over the Bay to Berwick city. A late telegram to the *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, of July 4, states that "other important movements of General Taylor are progressing."

As for the contrabands, leaving at least two thousand to be recovered by the Confederates at Brashear, hundreds were brought by rail to Algiers, or to this city, to be packed in the cotton presses, or sent to Port Hudson to be slaughtered, or set at work on the defences at Camp Parapet above New Orleans, while a few were sent to what are facetiously called the Government plantations. These poor blacks—those of them who have survived the change of food and mode of living, the mode of dying in the trenches at Port Hudson, the packing and putrefaction of the presses, the outrageous tasks imposed by their new masters, who care no more for a "nigger" than for a dog—never knew what slavery was until they entered upon a life of "liberty." They can be seen any day at Algiers—negro men, women, boys and girls, cutting and "toteing" wood in the swamps, staggering under their loads at mid-day along the dusty sun-parched roads, or at the defences, digging from dawn till dark, and working, not under the "overseer's lash" so pathetically alluded to in "Uncle Tom," but under the bayonets of their new Northern drivers, who have not even the humanity that a property-interest would prompt in the meanest slave-owner ever dreamed of by the most imaginative of the whole Beecher book and money-making tribe.

Among the incidents of the week is the following:—Some forty mounted Texans brought in a lot of the paroled Federal prisoners captured at Brashear, and delivered them to the outposts beyond Algiers, near Butte



Station. This was last Saturday. The same night the Texans attacked the Federal pickets, were surrounded, and were brought as prisoners to this city.

Among the remarkable men developed by the present civil war is Neal Dow, of Portland, Maine, known as the father of the "Maine Law," and first cousin to every fanaticism that ever possessed New England. He came here as a Brigadier-General with Butler, and immediately entered upon a career of unblushing robbery, which promised to surpass in infamy even that of his Massachusetts master. He literally stole everything he could lay hands upon, and transferred an enormous amount of his thievings to his Northern home. He spared no one, robbing alike Unionists and Secessionists. For stealing twelve hogheads of sugar and a silver pitcher from one planter, he was actually convicted as a thief in a Federal court. In a few instances he had been compelled to return stolen property to the owners. His career here was cut short by his transfer to Pensacola, Florida. There he was in command. He sent men to Fort Pickens as prisoners, and robbed them at leisure, stripping their houses of pianos, pictures, plate, even children's clothing, and boxed up the proceeds of his burglaries and sent them to the North. There is scarcely a thief in the Brest or Toulon galleys who would not feel himself disgraced by a depravity so gross, and a propensity for plunder so insatiable that it spared neither friend nor foe. But there is something still more strange. His crimes, his thefts, were as well known to the United States Government at Washington, as huge piles of affidavits, the newspapers, and the published convictions of courts, and the complaints of the sufferers, and his known character could make them. And yet, he retained his command, when the whole people of America knew that he was a common thief.

As a soldier he was much of the same school as that in which Messrs. Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol obtained their commissions. He went to Port Hudson, was literally kicked from one division to another, and finally brought up in the division on the left, without the consent of the general commanding that division. In the assault of May 27 he blundered into a slight wound that lacked not many inches of having been inflicted upon the seat of his saddle rather than himself. Since then he has been recovering in a farm-house near Baton-Rouge, and not long ago a party of Logan's scouts surrounded the house and carried Dow away a prisoner. A despatch to the *Advertiser and Register* (Mobile), July 3, says that he was expected in Jackson, Mississippi, that night. It is not generally thought, even in the Federal army, that he is entitled to a single consideration as a prisoner of war.

A citizen of New Orleans, within a week past, has been released from Fort Pickens. He was told by the Provost-Marshal that "there was nothing against him." For this "nothing" he has lost thirty pounds of flesh and a whole year of life—twelve months in an American bastille. The following gentlemen are now confined as political prisoners in Fort Pickens:—Ex-Mayor Stith, ex-Mayor Monroe, George C. Lawrison, J. B. Lee, Dr. Mackin, Dr. Booth, Daniel Conway, Charles Reed, Mr. Colston, G. M'D. Burke, Victor de Pratt, Eugene de Pratt, Robert Johnson, Oscar Blasco, William Evinton, all of New Orleans, and Mr. Hunter, of Florida. Mr. Rufus L. Bruce has just been released. Last week a flag of truce came to the navy yard at Pensacola, and a formal demand was made for all the prisoners. The Federal commander promised to refer the matter to General Banks.

My next will give you the particulars about Port Hudson; it is impossible to send by to-day's mail. Meanwhile, remember that if Port Hudson and Vicksburg have fallen, peace, and peace alone, can open the Mississippi.

#### MR. VALLANDIGHAM'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO.

NIAGARA FALLS, CANADA WEST, July 15.

Arrested and confined for three weeks in the United States, a prisoner of State; banished thence to the Confederate States, and there held an alien enemy and prisoner of war, though on parole; fairly and honourably dealt with and given leave to depart, an act possible only by running the blockade at the hazard of being fired upon by ships flying the flag of my own country, I found myself first a freeman when on British soil. And to-day, under protection of the British flag, I am here to enjoy and in part to exercise the privileges and rights which usurpers insolently deny me at home. The shallow contrivance of the weak despots at Washington, and their advisers has been defeated. Nay, it has been turned against them; and I, who for two years was maligned as in secret league with the Confederates, having refused when in their midst, under circumstances the most favourable, either to identify myself with their cause or even so much as to remain, preferring rather exile in a foreign land, return now with allegiance to

my own State and Government, unbroken in word, thought, or deed, and with every declaration and pledge to you while at home, and before I was stolen away, made good in spirit and to the very letter. Six weeks ago, when just going into banishment, because an audacious, but most cowardly despotism caused it, I addressed you as a fellow-citizen. To-day and from the very place then selected by me, but after wearisome and most perilous journeyings for more than 4000 miles by land and upon the sea, still in exile, though almost in sight of my native State, I greet you as your representative. Grateful, certainly, I am for the confidence in my integrity and patriotism implied by the unanimous nomination as candidate for Governor of Ohio which you gave me while I was yet in the Confederate States. It was not misplaced; it shall never be abused. But this is the last of all considerations in times like these. I ask no personal sympathy for the personal wrong; no; it is the cause of constitutional liberty and private right cruelly outraged beyond example in a free country, by the President and his servants, which gives public significance to the action of your convention. Yours was, indeed, an act of justice to a citizen who for his devotion to the rights of the States and the liberties of the people had been marked for destruction by the hand of arbitrary power. But it was much more. It was an example of courage worthy of the heroic ages of the world; and it was a spectacle and a rebuke to the usurping tyrants, who, having broken up the Union, would now strike down the Constitution, subvert your present Government, and establish a formal and proclaimed despotism in its stead. You are the restorers and defenders of constitutional liberty, and by that proud title history will salute you. I congratulate you upon your nominations. They whom you have placed upon the ticket with me are gentlemen of character, ability, integrity, and tried fidelity to the Constitution, the Union, and to Liberty. Their moral and political courage—a quality always rare, and now the most valuable of public virtues—is beyond question. Every way all these were nominations fit to be made. And even jealousy, I am sure, will now be hushed, if I especially rejoice with you in the nomination of Mr. Pugh as your candidate for Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Senate. A scholar and a gentleman, a soldier in a foreign war, and always a patriot; eminent as a lawyer, and distinguished as an orator and a statesman, I hail his acceptance as an omen of the return of the better and more virtuous days of the Republic. I endorse your noble platform—elegant in style—admirable in sentiment. You present the true issue, and commit yourself to the great mission just now of the Democratic party—to restore and make sure first the rights and liberties declared yours by your Constitutions. It is vain to invite the States and people of the South to return to a Union without a Constitution, and dishonoured and polluted by repeated and most aggravated exactions of tyrannical power. It is base in yourselves and treasonable to your posterity to surrender these liberties and rights to the creatures whom your own breath created and can destroy. Shall there be free speech, a free press, peaceable assemblages of the people, and a free ballot any longer in Ohio? Shall the people hereafter, as hitherto, have the right to discuss and condemn the principles and policy of the party—the Ministry—men who for the time conduct the Government—to demand of their public servants a reckoning of their stewardship, and to place other men and another party in power at their supreme will and pleasure? Shall order 88 or the Constitution be the supreme law of the land? And shall the citizen any more be arrested by an armed soldiery at midnight, dragged from wife and child and home to a military prison; thence to a mock military trial; thence condemned, and then banished as a felon for the exercise of his rights? This is the issue, and nobly have you met it. It is the very question of free, popular government itself. It is the whole question—upon the one side liberty, on the other despotism. The President, as the recognised head of his party, accepts the issue. Whatever he wills, that is law. Constitutions, State and Federal, are nothing; acts of legislation nothing; the judiciary less than nothing. In time of war there is but one will supreme—his will but one law, military necessity, and he the sole judge. Military orders supersede the Constitution, and military commissions usurp the place of the ordinary courts of justice in the land. Nor are these mere idle claims. For two years and more, by arms, they have been enforced. It was the mission of the weak but presumptuous Burnside—a name infamous for ever in the ears of all lovers of constitutional liberty—to try the experiment in Ohio, aided by a judge whom I name not, because he has brought foul dishonour upon the judiciary of my country. In your hands now, men of Ohio, is the final issue of the experiment. The party of the Administration have accepted it. By pledging support to the President, they have justified his outrages upon liberty and the Constitution; and whoever gives his vote to the candidates of that party commits himself to every act of violence and wrong on the part of the Administration which he upholds; and thus, by the law of retaliation, which is the law of might, would forfeit his own right to liberty, personal and political, whenever other men and another party shall hold the power. Much more do the candidates themselves. Suffer them not, I entreat you, to evade the issue; and by the judgment of the people we will abide. And now, finally, let me ask, what is the pretext for all the monstrous acts and claims of arbitrary power which you have so nobly denounced? "Military necessity." But if, indeed, all these be demanded by military necessity, then, believe me, your liberties are gone, and tyranny is perpetual.

For if this civil war is to terminate only by the subjugation or submission of the South to force and arms, the infant of to-day will not live to see the end of it. No, in another way only can it be brought to a close. Travelling a thousand miles and more, through nearly one-half of the Confederate States, and sojourning for a time at widely different points, I met not one man, woman, or child, who was not resolved to perish rather than yield to the pressure of arms, even in the most desperate extremity. And whatever may and must be the varying fortune of the war, in all which I recognise the hand of Providence pointing visibly to the ultimate issue of this great trial of the States and people of America, they are better prepared now every way to make good their inexorable purpose than at any period since the beginning of the struggle. These may, indeed, be unwelcome truths; but they are addressed only to candid and honest men. Neither, however, let me add, did I meet any one, whatever his opinions or his station, political or private, who did not declare his readiness, when the war shall have ceased, and invading armies been withdrawn, to consider and discuss the question of reunion. And who shall doubt the issue of the argument? I return, therefore, with my opinions and convictions as to war or peace, and my faith as to the final results from sound policy and wise statesmanship, not only unchanged, but confirmed and strengthened. And may the God of heaven and earth so rule the hearts and minds of Americans everywhere, that with a Constitution maintained, a Union restored, and liberty henceforth made secure, a grander and nobler destiny shall yet be ours, than that even which blessed our fathers in the first two ages of the Republic.

#### A VOICE FROM A FEDERAL PRISON.

The following letter has been handed to us for publication:—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, July 18.

DEAR FRIEND,—My silence may cause you anxiety knowing as you do that I have been arrested by the military authorities of this city. You would have heard from me sooner, however, had not my ill-health forbid it. It was my intention when I arrived in this city to have proceeded without delay to "Dixie." Having suffered considerably during my passage across the ocean I had become very much exhausted, and on my arrival here felt quite unable to proceed further south. Thus determined I threw myself on the mercy of my friends. It was soon known, however, that a "rebel" was in town, and the circumstance readily became known to the military authorities, who sent a detachment of soldiers at midnight and caused my arrest. Taken from my sick-couch I was escorted to the military prison, placed in the top or sixth story of an old furniture factory. Two lamps were dimly burning in quite a large room, where some 150 other prisoners were wrapped in sleep. Being very ill I was completely exhausted, having had to walk nearly a mile with the guard. Entering this horrible abode I was first awed at the ghastly sight of human beings stretched promiscuously on a floor lathsome with grease and filth; the odour, too, from the sleeping multitude, together with the stench from adjacent water-closets, made the scene and feelings thus experienced the most horrid that imagination can well picture. To complete the night scene and to consummate the last act in the night tragedy, the guard together with some Federal deserters—these also under arrest—as each poor unfortunate victim of Federal cruelty (myself included) entered this dismal and filthy abode, they were received with an insulting jeer, "Fresh fish." Escorted to my "berth," with the filthy floor for my bed, the same for my pillow, I was invited to "rest." Asking to be excused from participating in this "hospitality," I was allowed the privilege of resting my exhausted person on a broken-down chair with three legs, which was the only piece of furniture in the room. Placing the chair scant against a large support beam, I made it answer the double purpose of supporting my back as well as the hours while watching for the dawn of day. The stench of the room, the filth of the place and prisoners, by no means tended to shorten the hours which counted as weeks to me. At last the dawn appeared. Old Sol, too, soon paid us his morning visit. The sleepers awoke, and to my surprise found very many gentlemen of family and education mingled with the motley crowd. Two gentlemen were also among the unfortunates. One, a Mr. Geo. Richardson, No. 2, Brunswick-terrace, Blackwall, London, was placed there for expressing "a desire to be in Dixie, and sympathizing generally with the rebels." He is also accused of endeavouring to make his way to Dixie through Kentucky. Undoubtedly the young man is Southern in his views—like most Englishmen—touching this war, and thoughtlessly expressed them too freely. This, to my mind, is the only "accusation" that can be established against him. The young man, it seems, has arrived in this country within a few months, and has applied to Lord Lyons for relief. I feel impressed with the belief, however, that the slow process of diplomacy may leave him in that horrible bastille dragging out a miserable existence for months to come. Alas for English greatness! I greatly fear the last rays of England's glory has disappeared beyond the horizon of time; *i. e.*—

"Ireland's pride and England's glory  
Is buried in disgrace by Lord Russell's stony,  
"Non-intervention."

Several of the prisoners had a ball and chain attached to their leg; and one poor fellow, because he refused to perform some menial office, was gagged till the foam came out of his mouth in large quantities, and he finally rolled over, supposed by many to be strangled to death; he afterwards recovered, however, though at the time his life was despaired of. Poor fellow, he excited universal pity—even from the guard—as his mouth was forced open and the gag placed tightly in it. Thought I, are we transfigured into the regions of demons? or are the awful tragedies of "bloody Queen Mary" to be enacted on this once peaceful and happy country? I must conclude my history of "Kemper Barracks"—for that is the name of our prison "home"—fearing the Yankees might confiscate this letter as they did the contents of my pocket, and try their "gag policy" on the writer. Before doing so, however, I must ask your pardon for referring to another revolting sight which a fellow-sufferer reminds me of. It is the vermin. It is truly horrible to see the poor suffering prisoners endeavouring to keep themselves free from those filthy insects. Many of the prisoners are only half clad, and very many of them without any bed-clothing whatever.



For the past week this city—or its frantic inhabitants—have experienced a grand "skare," as the Yankees term it. About a week ago the invincible and omnipresent Major-General John Morgan, of the Confederate States' army, crossed the Ohio river, at a place called Brandenburg, about 200 miles southwest of this city. He had with him about 4,000 men. With this force he passed through the free States of Indiana, and is as I write far away in the eastern part of this State. He came within eight miles of this city, supplied himself with plenty of good horses on the road, fed himself and men well, provided the entire command with abundant clothing, taxed the citizens in his track for a goodly supply of "greenbacks" (which means Federal money), burned bridges, destroyed railways, frightened the country people in his track, and for many miles around, out of their wits, fed his 4,000 horses in the corn-fields of the farmers, and had the whole country in a terrible state of excitement in this region, which at present is only transferred to regions further east. He has had about 40,000 Yankee soldiers after him—this includes some 8,000 cavalry—but up to the present he has successfully evaded them. This is considered here the most daring raid of the war, and has made some of the war Yankees in Indiana and Ohio feel the smart of war at their own firesides. This city was under martial law, and everybody had to "turn out." Poor Burnside—the idiotic commander of this department, who is celebrated for his severity to the "rebel" ladies in this vicinity, and is called by them the "woman-fighter"—cannot, with his 40,000 men, catch the invincible "John," with his 4,000 veterans. It is said by knowing ones, that if Burnside would pay more strict attention to his legitimate business and less to the private correspondence of certain ladies, which he procures by stealing the letters from the post-office, he would be more successful as a General, and vastly more respected as a gentleman. The history of this war, when it is written, will prove that the "women-catchers" and the "women-fighters" have proved themselves incompetent for any other business. Take, for instance, Butler, Hooker, Mitchell, Burnside, Milroy, Hunter, and a host of other more insignificant brutes, whose claims to generalship or Christianity is hardly so just as the baboon who claimed that because he wore a gentleman's hat he must at least be a gentleman.

Vicksburg has fallen, so has Fort Hudson; General Lee is returning to Richmond. This seems hard luck for the South; but the disasters, severe as they are, will only arouse the people of the South to a sense of their danger; it will doubtless prolong the war, and make the struggle more severe for the people of the South, but it cannot change the issue. Fortunate, indeed, will it be for France if that country, *unaided by England*, recognise the South; for be assured the latter country may seek cotton from their boasted East India territory or purchase it from France—this will be the result of a policy inaugurated by "Non-intervention Russell." Poor idiot, he keeps his eyes on the trout while he loses the salmon. He reminds me of the girl, who, about to be married, commenced crying; and when asked the cause of her grief said, "I'm afraid that I shall have a child, and it may some day fall into the fire and burn itself." Poor Russell, he is afraid of "fire." I must close. Please extend to Captain Smith and our friend the Doctor my kindest regards. Let them know that though not quite as I desire, yet I am in a fair way to get out of my present trouble. It has taken me two days to write this letter, and I am only able to write by spells. Being very nervous you will, I trust, excuse its appearance. For the present farewell.

Not forgetful of your kindness whilst in London, I beg you will accept my heartfelt gratitude, and receive this as the only homage I have to offer.

Believe me, your sincere Friend,  
W. H.

#### PRAYERS USED IN THE CONFEDERACY.

The following prayers are in use in the Churches of the Confederate States:

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, look down in mercy, we beseech Thee, upon the Confederate States, who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor, and thrown themselves upon Thy gracious protection, desirous hereafter to be dependant only on Thee. To Thee have they appealed for the righteousness of their cause, to Thee do they now look up for that support which Thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under Thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council and valour in the field, defeat the evil designs of our adversaries, convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause, and if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O let the voice of Thine own unerring justice sounding in their hearts constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle, that victory may rest with our armies, and peace in all our borders. All these we ask for Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour's sake. AMEN.

Almighty God, whose providence watcheth over all things, and in whose hand is the disposal of all events, we look up to Thee for Thy protection and blessing amidst the apparent and great dangers with which we are encompassed. Thou hast in Thy wisdom permitted us to be threatened with the many evils of an unnatural and destructive war.

Save us, we beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies. Watch over our husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons, who, trusting in Thy defence, and in the righteousness of our cause, have gone forth to the service of their country. May their lives be precious in Thy sight, preserve them from all the dangers to which they may be exposed. Enable them successfully to perform their duty to Thee and to their country, and do Thou in Thine infinite wisdom and power so overrule events, and so dispose the hearts of all engaged in this painful struggle, that it may soon end in peace and brotherly love, and lead not only to the safety, honour, and welfare of our Confederate States, but to the good of Thy people and glory of Thy great name. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, the defender of all who put their trust in Thee, look down with compassion, we beseech Thee, on Thy servants, who committed themselves to Thy keeping as in the hands of a faithful Creator; who desire the continuance of our prayers for their safety, and further them with Thy continual help; defend them from all violence, and cover them as with a shield from the fury of our enemies, and grant that they may return to us in safety and pass the remainder of their days in Thy fear, and to Thy Glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

#### ORDER OF GENERAL LEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

General Orders, No. 13.

Head-quarters, Army of Northern Virginia,  
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, June 27.

The Commanding General has observed with marked satisfaction the conduct of the troops on the march, and confidently anticipates results commensurate with the high spirit they have manifested.

No troops could have displayed greater fortitude, or better performed the arduous marches of the past ten days.

Their conduct in other respects has, with few exceptions, been in keeping with their character as soldiers, and entitles them to approbation and praise.

There have, however, been instances of forgetfulness on the part of some that they have in keeping the yet unsullied reputation of this army, and that the duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity are not less obligatory in the country of the enemy than in our own.

The Commanding General considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and, through it, our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the unarmed and the defenceless, and the wanton destruction of private property, that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country.

Such proceedings not only degrade the perpetrators and all connected with them, but are subversive of the discipline and efficiency of the army, and destructive of the ends of our present movement.

It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemies, and offending against Him to whom vengeance be-longeth, without whose favour and support our efforts must all prove in vain.

The Commanding General therefore earnestly exhorts the troops to abstain, with most scrupulous care, from unnecessary or wanton injury to private property, and he enjoins upon all officers to arrest and bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject.

R. E. LEE, General.

#### THE SOUTHERN CONSCRIPTION.

President Davis has issued the following proclamation:—

Whereas, it is provided by an Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to further provide for the Public Defence," approved the 16th day of April, 1862, and by another Act of Congress, approved the 27th of September, 1862, entitled "An Act to amend an Act entitled An Act to provide further for the Public Defence," approved 16th of April, 1862, that the President be authorised to call out and place in the military service of the Confederate States, for three years, unless the war should have been sooner ended, all white men who are residents of the Confederate States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, at the time the call may be made, and who are not at such time legally exempted from military service, or such part thereof as in his judgment may be necessary to the public defence.

And whereas, in my judgment, the necessities of the public defence require that every man capable of bearing arms between the ages aforesaid should now be called out to do his duty in the defence of his country, and in driving back the invaders now within the limits of the Confederacy.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do, by virtue of the powers vested in me as aforesaid, call out and place in the military service of the Confederate States all white men residents of said States between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years not legally exempted from military service; and I do hereby order and direct that all persons subject to this call and not now in the military service do, upon being enrolled, forthwith repair to the conscript camps established in the respective States of which they have been residents, under pain of being held and punished as deserters in the event of their failure to obey this call, as provided in said laws.

And I do further order and direct that the enrolling officers of the several States proceed at once to enrol all persons embraced within the terms of this proclamation, and not heretofore enrolled.

And I do further order that it shall be lawful for any person embraced within this call to volunteer for service before enrolment, and that persons so volunteering be allowed to select the arm of service and the company which they desire to join, provided such company be deficient in the full number of men allowed by law for its organization.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States of America, at the city of Richmond, this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1863.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By the President.—J. P. BENJAMIN,  
Secretary of State.

#### THE RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH.

(From the Richmond Examiner.)

The military resources of the South were never more ample than now; and the present condition of the Confederacy, with reference to material elements of success in the war, is one of varied and lively encouragement.

It is estimated that we have arms enough to put in the hands of a million of men, and our available military strength is rated at but little less than a million and a half. We have now in the Confederate service from 400,000 to 450,000 effective men; and the irregular organizations and State militia would probably add 200,000 more. These figures are authentic; a portion of them are derived from such public data as appear in the debates in Congress; while the estimates of the additional forces that might be called out in circumstances of paramount necessity is probably not out of proportion to the well-ascertained statistics of population.

Other aspects of the picture of our condition are not discouraging. The recent alarm with reference to the resources of subsistence in the Confederacy has, in a great measure, subsided, and given place to better informed and more confident views of the stocks of provisions on hand, and our vast capabilities of production, which are now in exercise. The grain crops in the South were never more promising than at the present season. The crop of wheat likely to be harvested this year will be without a parallel in the South. From all parts of the Confederacy, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and the remotest Western boundary, we have cheering news of the growing grain crops. Contrary to the expectations of some, that the

cotton region would not prove to be adapted to the cultivation of wheat, it has produced this grain with a luxuriance quite equal to that we have seen in the best wheat districts of Virginia. The corn also is said to look healthy and thrifty in all parts of the Confederacy, with the prospect of an overwhelming crop.

Extending our survey of the internal condition of the Confederacy, we have also cause for congratulation in its improved finances; the excellent results of the tax bill; the withdrawal of the currency; the reduction of outlays and the enlarged revenue of the Government. We learn that already, under the operations of the funding system, there have been at least eighty millions withdrawn from circulation and returned to the Treasury. The consequences of this reduction are already felt in the decline of prices, the discouragement of speculation, and the moral as well as the commercial benefits of renewed confidence in the credit of the Government.

These traits in the general condition of the South, which we have hastily reviewed, are full of patriotic encouragement. We commenced this war without manufactures, without access to the markets of the world, and with scarcely more than 100,000 arms. Surely, since we have accomplished so much under the disadvantages of the past, we may look with confidence to a future in which we shall contest the fortunes of the war with armies more numerous than we have yet brought into the field; with well-disciplined industry at home; and with a revenue large enough to pay off our present war debt in five years, and therefore put the credit of our Government beyond all doubt.

#### A SCOUT ROUND CORINTH.

The Atlanta Confederacy publishes the following letter from Captain Ferrell:—

Head-quarters, Ferrell's Battery, near Cherokee,  
Alabama, June 16, 1863.

Messrs. Editors,—I have just returned from a most interesting and successful scout around Corinth. On Wednesday last, the 10th inst, I received orders to move my battery to the front. I immediately moved down to Cherokee, a railroad depot thirty miles east of Corinth, where I found Colonel Roddy with his old regiment, Colonel Patterson's regiment, and Captain Julien's battalion, all in readiness for "something"—I did not know then what. But I was soon made acquainted with the status of affairs and the design. I learned that the enemy, five or six hundred strong, occupied Glendale, a station on the Memphis and Charleston railroad, about six miles east of Corinth, and that their pickets were out as far as Burnsville, another station five miles east of Glendale.

Early the next morning we were on the march in the following order: Lieut.-Colonel Warren, with three companies of Colonel Patterson's regiment; and Captain Julien's battalion to support my battery, was ordered to move down upon Burnsville, drive in the pickets of the enemy, draw out the force at Glendale, and hold them in check at Yellow Creek, eleven miles east of Corinth. Major Newsom, in command of Colonel Roddy's regiment (the gallant Bill Johnson being quite sick), was to get in rear of the enemy, provided we drew them out, while Colonel Patterson, with the balance of his own regiment and three companies of Colonel Roddy's, was to make a circuit round Corinth.

Colonel Warren promptly executed his part of the programme. He drove in their pickets at Burnsville and soon occupied the place, leaving my battery in a strong position at Yellow Creek; but he failed to draw the Yankees out of their fortifications, consequently Major Newsom had to "lie and wait" for something to "turn up," only diverting their attention from the movements of Colonel Patterson, who soon succeeded in reaching the Mobile and Ohio railroad at Cypress Creek, eight miles north of Corinth. He there burned two fine bridges and about two or three hundred yards of fine trestle-work, and tore up the railroad in several places. He also surprised a Federal Colonel in his camp, captured him, one captain, three privates, thirty mules and horses, and one wagon loaded with clothing, hats, etc., for his regiment. Colonel Patterson then returned to Cherokee, having made the circuit of 130 miles in two days and a-half, without losing a man or horse. The whole affair was well planned and most admirably executed, and reflects great credit upon the sagacity and energy of our highly esteemed and much beloved Colonel P. D. Roddy, than whom a braver, better, and more popular officer does not exist. By the way, I hear that he is now a Brigadier. He ought to have been long since. He has done as much for the Confederacy according to the means placed in his hands, as any man in it; and it is certainly gratifying to his friends, especially to the citizens of North Alabama, to find that our rulers are beginning to appreciate his services.

A most important fact I forgot to mention in its proper connection. While north-west of Corinth, Colonel Patterson received about 100 Tennessee recruits, who are now actually in camps. This you may rely on as true. As we were returning, we heard of a company of Yankees scouting on a different road. Captain Dick Johnson (a brother of the Colonel) was ordered in pursuit, and succeeded in capturing four of them. Everything is now quiet. Major Forrest, a brother of the General, is here with us, and intends organizing a regiment for this command. There is no doubt as to his success, as he is universally popular as a gentleman and an officer.

COLEMAN B. FERRELL.

#### GENERAL JOHNSTONE'S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

On the 10th of July, General Johnstone issued to his troops the following order, which was read along the line amid deafening shouts from the soldiery:—

Head-quarters on the field, July 9.

Fellow Soldiers,—An insolent foe, flushed with the hope by his recent success at Vicksburg, confronts you, threatening the people, whose homes and liberty you are here to protect, with plunder and conquest. Their guns may even now be heard as they advance. The enemy it is at once the duty and the mission of you brave men to chastise and expel from the soil of the Mississippi. The commanding general confidently relies on you to sustain his pledge, which he makes in advance, and he will be with you in the good work even unto the end. The vice of "straggling" he begs you to shun and to frown on. If needs be, it will be checked by even the most summary remedies. The telegraph has already announced a glorious victory over the foe, won by your noble comrades of the Virginia army on Federal soil; may he not, with redoubled hopes, count on you, while defending your firesides and household gods, to emulate the proud example of your brothers in the east? The country expects in this the great crisis of its destiny that every man will do his duty.



## LIST OF OFFICERS AT GETTYSBURG.

The *Richmond Enquirer* gives the following partial list of the casualties among officers at the battles of Gettysburg:—

General Kemper, whose gallantry distinguished him on many a hard-fought field, was struck whilst leading his brigade in a charge, after our troops had successfully assaulted the enemy's first line of entrenchments. He was shot in the side groin by a Minie ball, and fell forward from his horse. He was picked up and taken to a house on the battle-field, which was afterwards taken possession of by a squad of Yankees. A party of men belonging to different regiments of his brigade, rallied by a Sergeant of Company D First Virginia regiment, charged these Yankees, drove them from the house and rescued their gallant commander, whom they bore to the rear on a blanket. He was taken to the division hospital, two miles in the rear of the battle-field. At three o'clock on Saturday, the 4th inst., he was still alive, but his physicians regarded his situation as exceedingly critical.

General Armistead was shot while standing on the enemy's intrenchments with his hat hoisted on his sword, cheering his men on in the charge. He fell into the hands of the enemy, and subsequently died of his wounds.

Colonel Williams, who commanded the First Virginia regiment, received the fatal shot very soon after the infantry fighting became general. He fell from his horse and expired almost instantly. The enemy obtained possession of his body.

Major Lattimer, of the artillery, formerly Captain of Courtney's battery, is reported to have lost an arm; Colonel Tazewell Patton, of the Seventh Virginia infantry, was severely wounded and is missing; Colonel Mayo, of the Third Virginia infantry, slightly wounded; Major Orey, of the Eleventh Virginia, wounded in the shoulder by shell.

The First regiment went into the action with six companies, and eighteen commissioned officers, of whom seventeen were killed, wounded or missing.

The following is a partial list of officers killed:—

Col. V. D. Groner, 61st Virginia, (reported), Adjutant Campbell, 48th Mississippi, Col. H. R. Miller, 42nd Mississippi, Col. Smith, 35th North Carolina, Col. Edmunds, 38th Virginia, Capt. W. T. Magruder, General Joe Davis, Adjutant-General, Col. De Sanaire, South Carolina, (reported), Lieut-Col. Moulter, 9th Georgia, Col. Jack Jones, 20th Georgia, (reported), Col. Carrington, 18th Virginia, (reported), Col. Carter, 13th Mississippi, Col. Ellis, Virginia, (reported), Col. J. B. Williams, Virginia, Col. Allen, 28th Virginia, Major Wilson, 28th Virginia.

The following is a partial list of the wounded:—

Col. Thomas, 8th Georgia, Col. Jack Brown, 59th Georgia Major Gee, Georgia, Col. Kennedy, South Carolina, Lieut-Col. Whittle, 38th Virginia, Col. Griffin, 18th Mississippi Col. W. S. Luce, 18th Mississippi, missing, Col. W. T. Holder, 17th Mississippi, Lieut-Col. Fleiser, 17th Mississippi, Lieut-Col. McElroy, 13th Mississippi, Major Bradley, 13th Mississippi, Col. H. Gantt, Virginia, Col. Hanton, Virginia, (reported), Col. Stuart, 56th Virginia, Col. W. T. Patton, Virginia, in enemy's hands, Lieut-Col. Feagan, 15th Alabama, leg amputated, Major Berkeley, Virginia, Major Wilson, 28th Virginia, Adjutant Goodloe, 18th Mississippi, supposed mortally, Col. Lightfoot, 6th Alabama, Major Calver, 6th Alabama, Col. Humphries and Major Blair, 2nd Mississippi, missing, Lieut-Col. Moseley, 42nd Mississippi, Col. Stone, 2nd Mississippi, Col. Conlin, 55th North Carolina.

## THE NEGRO KNOWS HIS FRIENDS.

The New York correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the 21st July, says:—

A little incident in the history of the late cruel onslaught upon the coloured people which has fallen within my personal notice deserves to be recorded. A negro in one of the pleasant suburban suburbs of this city, of which it is not necessary to mention the name, became on the second day of the riots obnoxious to a crowd of Irish and other "rowdies" bent not only on resistance to the draft, but on any mischief that might offer itself to their idle hands. The negro kept an "ice cream saloon" and restaurant, was an excellent cook and waiter, and employed several coloured people in his business, was very useful to the richer inhabitants whenever they had dinner or evening parties which required extra assistance, was a prosperous tradesman, as he deserved to be, and was, moreover, very much respected by all who knew or had occasion to employ him. Envious of his prosperity, and indignant that a "nigger" should be better provided with worldly goods than themselves, a crowd of men and boys of the labouring class, reinforced by a mob of thieves and plunderers, gathered round his house towards midnight, threatening to burn it down and hang the whole of the occupants. The shutters and doors were hastily closed and secured, and it seemed for a few moments as if it would fare ill with the unhappy family, consisting of husband, wife, and two children, besides the black servants and waiters. Fortunately a mechanic of a superior grade, and himself an employer of labour, was on the spot, and had courage enough to attempt to stem the tide of popular passion and influence enough to be successful. He addressed the crowd in a few energetic sentences, imploring them to go peaceably home and reserve their displeasure for the officers of the draft. He finally prevailed on them to desist from their purpose of arson, and to content themselves with breaking the black man's windows. But during the greater part of the night a few of the rioters lingered around the place, determined to hang the negro if he ventured abroad. Ultimately, however, either from the exhaustion of their patience, or the rumoured arrival of the military and police, they withdrew, but not before they had threatened him with instant death if he dared to open his shop on the morrow. As soon as all was quiet, the negro and his family took the opportunity to escape. Clambering over the wall at the rear of their premises, their first intention was to make their way to the open country and encamp in the woods. Remembering, however, that there was one gentleman who had been kinder to them than others, they determined to go to his house and solicit his protection. They went, and were hospitably admitted, the gentleman and his family, the females as well as the males, declaring that they would protect the lives of the hapless fugitives at the hazard of their own. Here they have been hiding for seven days, and still remain in close concealment. And who, it will be asked, was this good Samaritan? Was he a friend of Emancipation? No. Was he a professed humanitarian? No. Was he a Minister of the Gospel? No. Had he ever, like Messrs. Cheever, Beecher, Phillips, and Greeley, proclaimed himself to be the especial friend of the negro race? No. Had he ever advocated their social and political equality with white men, or made himself conspicuous

in any way as their advocate? No. Was he known to be more benevolent and charitable than his neighbours? No. What, then, was the secret impulse that drew the negroes towards him in their hour of peril? Nothing but the fact that he was a Virginian. He was a man from the South, who had been a slave-owner, and who, like his countrymen, thoroughly understood the negro character. Knowing all about him, and that he was not an Abolitionist, a preacher, or a philosopher, they singled him out from all the men of the little world in which they moved to be their protector from the fury of a white multitude that was raging for their blood. It was a dangerous service to demand, but it was generously and freely rendered. Let those who will point the moral of the tale. In America it will excite no surprise. In England it may, perhaps, help to prove that the tender mercies of those who would under no circumstances consent to make a slave of the negro may, nevertheless, be very cruel, and that, whatever the deficiencies of the negro intellect may be, the black man knows his friends from his foes—by instinct, if not by reason—and would rather trust his life to the honour of a Southern gentleman than to the kindly charity of a Northern Abolitionist.

## THE MISSION OF VICE-PRESIDENT STEPHENS.

The following correspondence has been published:—

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, July 2.

Hon. A. H. Stephens, Richmond, Virginia:

SIR:—Having accepted your patriotic offer to proceed as a Military Commissioner, under a flag of truce to Washington, you will receive herewith your letter of authority to the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States.

The letter is signed by me as Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate land and navy forces.

You will perceive, from the terms of the letter, that it is so worded as to avoid any political difficulties in its reception. Intended exclusively as one of those communications between belligerents which public law recognizes as necessary and proper between hostile forces, care has been taken to give no pretext for refusing to receive it on the ground that it would involve a tacit recognition of the independence of the Confederacy.

Your mission is simply one of humanity, and has no political aspect.

If objection is made to receiving your letter, on the ground that it is not addressed to Abraham Lincoln, as President, instead of Commander-in-Chief, &c., then you will present the duplicate letter, which is addressed to him as President and signed by me as President. To this letter objection may be made on the ground that I am not recognized to be President of the Confederacy. In this event you will decline any further attempt to confer on the subject of your mission, as such conference is admissible only on the footing of perfect equality.

My recent interviews with you have put you so fully in possession of my views, that it is scarcely necessary to give you any detailed instructions even were I, at this moment, well enough to attempt it.

My whole process is, in one word, to place this war on the footing of such as are waged by civilized people in modern times, and to divest it of the savage character which has been impressed on it by our enemies, in spite of all our efforts and protests. War is full enough of unavoidable horrors, under all its aspects, to justify, and even to demand, of any Christian ruler who may be unhappily engaged in carrying it on, to seek to restrict its calamities, and to divest it of all unnecessary sacrifices. You will endeavour to establish the cartel for the exchange of prisoners on such a basis as to avoid the constant difficulties and complaints which arise, and to prevent, for the future, what we deem the unfair conduct of our enemies in evading the delivery of the prisoners who fall into their hands; in retarding it by sending them on circuitous routes; and by detaining them, sometimes for months, in camps and prisons, and in persisting in taking captive non-combatants.

Your attention is also called to the unheard-of conduct of Federal officers in driving from their homes entire communities of women and children, as well as of men, whom they find in districts occupied by their troops, for no other reason than because these unfortunates are faithful to the allegiance due to their States, and refuse to take an oath of fidelity to their enemies.

The putting to death of unarmed prisoners has been a ground of just complaint in more than one instance, and the recent execution of officers of our army in Kentucky, for the sole cause that they were engaged in recruiting service in a State which is claimed as still one of the United States, but is also claimed by us as one of the Confederate States, must be repressed by retaliation if not unconditionally abandoned, because it would justify the like execution in every other State of the Confederacy, and the practice is barbarous, uselessly cruel, and can only lead to the slaughter of prisoners on both sides, a result too horrible to contemplate, without making every effort to avoid it.

On these and all kindred subjects you will consider your authority full and ample to make such arrangements as will temper the present cruel character of the contest, and full confidence is placed in your judgment, patriotism, and discretion that, while carrying out the objects of your mission, you will take care that the equal rights of the Confederacy be always preserved.

(Signed)

Very respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

RICHMOND, July 8.

His Excellency Jefferson Davis:

SIR,—Under the authority and instructions of your letter to me on the 2nd instant, I proceeded on the mission therein assigned without delay. The steamer *Torpedo*, commanded by Lieut. Hunter Davidson, of the navy, was put in readiness as soon as possible, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, and tendered for the service. At noon, on the 3rd, she started down James River, hoisting and bearing a flag of truce after passing City Point. The next day, the 4th, at about one o'clock p.m., when within a few miles of Newport's News, we were met by a small boat of the enemy, carrying two guns, which also raised a white flag before approaching us.

The officer in command informed Lieut. Davidson that he had orders from Admiral Lee, on board the United States flag-ship *Minnesota*, lying below, and then in view, not to allow any boat or vessel to pass the point near which he was stationed without his permission. By this officer I sent to Admiral Lee a note, stating my objects and wishes, a copy of which is herewith annexed, marked A. I also sent to the Admiral, to be forwarded, another in the same language, ad-

ressed to the officer in command of the United States' forces at Fortress Monroe. The gunboat proceeded immediately to the *Minnesota* with these despatches, while the *Torpedo* remained at anchor. Between three and four o'clock p.m., another boat came up to us, bearing the Admiral's answer, which is herewith annexed, marked B.

We remained at or about this point in the river until the 6th instant, when having heard nothing further from the Admiral, at 12 o'clock N. on that day I directed Lieut. Davidson again to speak the gunboat on guard, and to hand to the officer in command another note to the Admiral. This was done. A copy of the note is appended, marked C. At half-past two o'clock p.m. two boats approached us from below, one bearing an answer from the Admiral to my note to him of the 4th. This answer is annexed, marked D.

The other boat bore the answer of Lieut-Colonel W. H. Ludlow to my note of the 4th, addressed to the officer in command at Fort Monroe. A copy of this is annexed, marked E. Lieut-Colonel Ludlow also came up in person in the boat that brought his answer to me and conferred with Colonel Ould, on board the *Torpedo*, upon some matters he desired to see him about, in connection with the exchange of prisoners. From the papers appended, embracing the correspondence referred to, it will be seen that the mission failed from the refusal of the enemy to receive or entertain it, holding the proposition for such a conference "inadmissible."

The influences and views that led to this determination after so long a consideration of the subject, must be left to conjecture. The reason assigned for the refusal by the United States' Secretary of War, to wit: that "the customary agents and channels" are considered adequate for all useful military "communications and conferences," to one acquainted with the facts, seems not only unsatisfactory, but very singular and unaccountable; for it is certainly known to him that these very agents to whom he evidently alludes heretofore agreed upon a former conference in reference to the exchange of prisoners (one of the subjects embraced in your letter to me), are now, and have been for some time, distinctly at issue on several important points. The existing cartel, owing to those disagreements, is virtually suspended, so far as the exchange of officers on either side is concerned. Notices of retaliation have been given on both sides.

The effort, therefore, for the very many and cogent reasons set forth in your letter of instructions to me, to see if these differences could not be removed, and if a clearer understanding between the parties as to the general conduct of the war could not be arrived at before this extreme measure should be resorted to by either party, was no less in accordance with the dictates of humanity than in strict conformity with the usages of belligerents in modern times. Deeply impressed as I was with these views and feelings, in undertaking the mission, and asking the conference, I can but express my profound regret at the result of the effort made to obtain it, and I can but entertain the belief that if the conference sought had been granted; mutual good could have been effected by it; and if this war, so unnatural, so unjust, so unchristian, and inconsistent with every fundamental principle of American constitutional liberty, "must needs" continue to be waged against us, that at least some of its severer horrors, which now so imminently threaten, might have been avoided.

Very respectfully,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

THE JACKSON MONUMENT FUND.—The proposal to erect a monument to General Jackson of Virginia, whose fame as a soldier is the only thing bright and permanent which has arisen out of the American civil war, comes to us guarded by the express stipulation and condition, that the act of subscribing does not implicate the subscriber as an advocate of Secession, a friend of the Southern States, or an enemy to the Government at Washington. In fact, the subscription is but a testimony to the merits of a most accomplished officer—to the worth of a man of singular probity and purity, and to the brilliancy of acts rarely equalled in war. A statue of Stonewall Jackson, presented to the State which gave him birth, and in defence of whose rights he unsheathed his sword with a courage and high purpose which Bayard might have envied, by the admiring soldiers of England, would be worthy of the man, and could not be but grateful to those who mourn his loss. No matter whether he was right or wrong in his views of State Rights and Secession; never mind whether he regarded slavery a divine institution or not, Stonewall Jackson believed—with all the earnest force of his nature, and with all the fervour of his enthusiastic mind—that he was fighting for God and his country against a vile and unprincipled invasion. There was something in his character and career which renders the proposal to erect a statue to him acceptable to our sympathies, though it may not be quite so demonstrative and clear to our reason. And the day must come when a resting-place will be found for the pedestal in the land he loved so well, and when Americans from the North and from the South will gaze on the statue of the hero whose fame will have outlived the factious hate of the hour, and will acknowledge that it was a gracious deed of Englishmen to erect such a mark of their approbation of the virtues and of their grief for the loss of the great soldier, "Stonewall Jackson."—*The Army and Navy Gazette*.

THE House, like the country, wishes well to the Confederates; rejoices in their victories, regrets their sufferings, glows with indignation against the crimes and cruelties of which they are the victims. And this sympathy, national and parliamentary, is in itself a strong and powerful argument in favour of the Confederate claims. For it is sympathy which has grown out of the development of American character and the increase of English knowledge. At first the national feeling was adverse to the South, and those who knew the truth and laboured to make it clear had an uphill work to do. It is the growth of knowledge as to the source of the struggle—in the determination of the South not to be ruled by a sectional faction, and not in a love for slavery—it is the virtue of the Confederates, the savage brutality, cowardice, and insolence of the Northerners; it is the conviction that there is nothing respectable in the attempt of the Federal Government to conquer the South, and everything that is generous and chivalric in the determination of the South never to be conquered; it is the certainty that the Confederates are in the right and the invaders in the wrong, that has taught the English people, as well as their representatives, from their hearts to desire that the tide of invasion should be rolled back, and that the Confederate States of America should take that high place among the nations to which they are entitled by deeds of heroism that have few parallels in the history of mankind.—*Morning Herald*.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made—

At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

At Paris, to Messrs. PERIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1863.

## BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

		£	s.	d.
J. W. Schroder, Esq.	.. ..	50	0	0
W. J. Fernie, Esq.	... ..	20	0	0
H. Fernie, Esq.	.. ..	20	0	0
D. Fernie, Esq.	.. ..	10	0	0
F. Adams, Esq.	.. ..	1	0	0

## War without End.

FROM the very beginning of the war, the Northern Government, press and people, as well as a majority of the Federal partisans in this country, have systematically endeavoured to blind themselves and others to the truths which have been forced upon their vision by the lightning-flashes of war. They have exaggerated a successful skirmish into a pitched battle, and made light of a pitched battle lost as if it had been an indecisive skirmish. They have claimed drawn battles like Antietam as glorious triumphs for their arms, and have pretended to victory even when, as at Shiloh, their forces have had a narrow escape from total destruction. They have concealed disasters and invented successes; they have multiplied the enemy's slain by hundreds, and his prisoners by thousands; they have drawn on their imagination for triumphs numerous and great enough to compensate even for the multitude of defeats which make up the reality of their military history. A dozen times during two years they have announced the approaching dissolution of the Confederacy, and the final extinction of rebellion. Found out, exposed, ridiculed, they lie as boldly and unscrupulously as ever; knowing that if even a tithe of their statements obtain credence, they will get more credit than they deserve, and believing apparently that a disaster denied is half retrieved. This has never been the policy of the Confederates. Their Government has always dealt frankly with the people; their press has never attempted to deceive the world; their friends abroad have not concealed defeat nor exaggerated victory. We shall not now depart from the wise policy of truth; we shall not pretend to doubt that the present situation is discouraging in the extreme; the more discouraging because a fortnight ago very different tidings had been looked for. Vicksburg and Port Hudson gone; Charleston in danger; Bragg in retreat; Lee's blow, which might have been a decisive one, foiled, and his assault on the enemy's frontier converted into a successful but resultless foraging expedition—these are misfortunes which the calmest cannot regard without emotion, and which the bravest cannot witness without admitting a sense of secret uneasiness. At the same time, we see no reason for doubt, much less for despair, as to the final issue of the war. The Federal yell of triumph, which proclaims that the rebellion

is crushed and the Union in progress of restoration, is as false now as it was after the fall of Fort Donnellson, after the surrender of New Orleans, or before the battles of the Chickahominy. No Southerner despairs of the Commonwealth because a fortress falls or an army retreats. Such misfortunes or mishaps may open a river to navigation, or expose a State to devastation; but to open rivers and to lay waste plantations, to burn towns and carry off negroes, is not to reduce a nation to servitude. The Confederacy is as strong as it seemed after the surrender of Island No. 10; stronger than it seemed when McClellan marched on Richmond. An army which General Meade did not dare to attack on the left bank of the Potomac still defends Virginia, and is provided with ample store of provisions and medicine, with abundant troops of horses and mules, with arms and clothing, the fruit of its recent foray in Pennsylvania. The enemy is as far as ever from Richmond; he has acquired not the State of Mississippi, but only the power to burn and murder therein; the great river is only opened to convoys, not made safe for trading vessels; if the Western States are physically separated from their sisters, they are not thereby detached from the Confederacy, much less conquered for the Union. And the power of the North for aggression is shaken to its centre by a danger long foreseen, but hitherto averted; by the refusal of the greatest and wealthiest city in America to send any more men to be slaughtered in a foolish and wicked war under the auspices of an imbecile, ridiculous, and unpopular Administration. The position is, no doubt, unsatisfactory—especially in an English point of view. Had Lee been victorious in Pennsylvania, he would have brought the war, in all probability, to an immediate close. Baffled there, he has abandoned that hope; and it is to be feared that no further attempt to end the struggle by striking a decisive blow on Northern soil can be ventured upon. The fall of Vicksburg gives encouragement to the aggressors, and sets free a powerful army to carry on hostilities in the south-west. The success of Banks at Port Hudson leaves no hope that the Confederates may succeed in the recovery of New Orleans. The news indicates that the war may be protracted for years; devastating the South, exhausting the North, ruining England. Most probably it is destined to last as long as the patience of Europe; for mere repulses will hardly turn the North from its frantic purpose, and it is no longer to be hoped that the South will be able to do more than repulse her assailants. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the reverses she has just sustained will induce her to end the war on any other terms than those which she has offered from the outset—unconditional independence. Let the worst come to the worst; let Charleston fall; let Lee retire on Richmond; let Grant ravage Mississippi; let Banks complete his work of destruction in Louisiana; in what way will the North be nearer to her object than on the day when her troops first turned their backs on the enemy, and hurried into Washington to announce their disgraceful rout at Manassas?

The task which the North has undertaken is the most gigantic that any conqueror ever yet seriously proposed. It is to overrun a country as large as Europe; to gain possession of myriads of square miles of virgin forest, interspersed here and there with towns and villages, cultivated lands and homesteads; to reduce to servitude eight millions of people of English blood, whose levy *en masse* would turn out a million of fighting men, of whom every one would be accustomed to handle a rifle, and of whom about a third would be veteran soldiers, who have already passed through several campaigns; to crush large armies led by first-rate generals; to take strong cities fortified by excellent engineers; to overturn eleven organized and regular Governments; to eradicate, exterminate, and utterly reverse the whole social fabric of this great country, to confiscate all its property, to abolish all its laws, to wrest from its citizens their personal and political liberties. Imperial Rome never made so desperate an attempt; content to reduce other nations to dependence on her will, and leaving them to deal in their own way

with their internal affairs. Alexander undertook no such task; he had but to overthrow the forces of kings and satraps, not to war with a resisting nation. Napoleon's invasion of Russia alone, among great schemes of conquest, approached the insanity of this Northern enterprise; and the Russian expedition overturned the throne of a conqueror who disposed of the force of empires numbering some hundred million inhabitants. The conquest of Poland alone, of actual conquests, was perhaps as complete as that which the North desires; and the conquest of Poland was achieved by the united forces of three great Sovereigns, assailing by stealthy treachery an unprepared, divided, anarchized nation. The North, to achieve its mighty purpose, has indeed vast wealth and enormous material resources; but it has but twenty millions of people, nor can it dispose of their lives as freely and absolutely as a French Emperor disposes of conscripts, or a Russian Czar of military serfs. Against mere force of numbers and material, the South has to set the advantages of a defensive position, of an extent of territory practically unlimited, of a country in many regions utterly impassable; of a people united heart and soul in the resolution to maintain their independence, and superior by far in military qualities to their boastful enemy. There is no reason to suppose that the Southern armies can be conquered in the field. They have never yet lost a pitched battle; when they have fought simply on the defensive they have always been victorious; when they have attacked, they have either won the day or retired unpursued and in good order, with guns, colours, and baggage. They may lose battles hereafter; for Generals Meade, Grant, and Rosecranz are men of a very different calibre from Pope, and Burnside, and Hooker; but there is no cause to believe that a Southern army will ever be routed. The worst that need be feared is that now and then a Southern general will be forced to give way, losing some guns and many men, before a superior enemy. The Confederates may experience such defeats as Napoleon endured at Leipzig, or Francis Joseph at Solferino; but they need hardly expect a Vittoria or a Waterloo. And even a Waterloo would not subdue them. A new army might be collected hundreds of miles beyond the enemy's reach; and if every army were routed and dispersed, a guerilla warfare might then commence, which could be maintained for years, and against which the North could achieve nothing. So gigantic is the task before the invaders, that if its nature had been foreseen at first, the war never would have been undertaken, and if it were now fairly understood, only a few of the most mad and wicked fanatics in New England would be willing to go on with it. But at the outset it seems to have been thought that one or two battles, ending in the capture of Richmond, would terminate the contest; that the quarrel might be settled, like a schoolboy-question of honour, by a struggle long enough simply to decide the question of comparative strength; that, once beaten, the South would give in, and the Union be restored. Even the experience of these two years of carnage has not taught the North that she has to deal with an enemy irreconcilable as well as unconquerable. Still she believes that, after a sufficient amount of beating, the Confederates will submit: that they prefer the Union, so dear not long ago to all Americans, rather than separation to be achieved by the sacrifice of half their youth and all their wealth; she does not dream of the bitter and burning hatred that her crimes have awakened, and imagines that Virginia would be as willing, when fairly worsted, to rejoin the Union, as New York, if the South were victorious, would be to seek admission into the Confederacy. Nine-tenths of the war party in the North expect to conquer the South and restore the Union, not by absolute subjugation, slaughter, and extermination, but by such successes as may compel submission. But for this expectation, they could hardly have remained blind so long to the utter impossibility of the object they have set before themselves.

The South neither can nor will submit. The passions of her people have been wrought to that degree of sternness and severity, that submission has become a moral impossibility. To submit to the devastators



of their country, the plunderers of their homes, the insulters of their women, the cowards whose backs are scarred with wounds received on ignominious fields, and whose hands are red with the blood of defenceless citizens murdered on their own hearthstone—this would be a degradation which no Southern Statesman dare propose to the Senate, no General to the army,—nay, no Southern man to the women of his family. It would be a dishonour worse than death, a shame which would bring a blush for his race to the brow of every honest man who speaks the English tongue, should a people of our own blood yield to the comrades of a Turchin, a Bleeker, and a McNeil, or submit to count a Butler among their countrymen, while they had either arms left wherewith to defend their country or a road whereby to leave it. And disgrace like this—disgrace that would make their kindred ashamed of them is to Southerners as impossible as to Englishmen. Deserted, coldly looked upon, sacrificed as they have been, they are the last race on earth likely to give their mother-country cause to blush for them. The character of the war, the infamy of the aggressors, has made compromise an idea too dishonourable to be named even in a whisper; also, the circumstances of the struggle make it politically impossible. A time can hardly come at which the demands of the two parties will admit of reconciliation. So long as the North gains upon the South, she will ask submission on terms alike intolerable to the pride and fatal to the prosperity of the weaker Power; only when she is beaten and desponding will she offer reunion on equal terms, and to that offer, except it were in the darkest hour of gloom and despondency, no Southerner could listen. The war, therefore, is likely to last as long as the patience of Europe will endure it. The North can never conquer the South; that is a physical and geographical impossibility. The South cannot submit to the North; that is a moral and political impossibility. It seems hopeless to expect that the South can, for many years, so completely beat the North as to extort an acknowledgment of her independence; and, on the other hand, it seems certain that the pretensions of the North so grow with success that, even in the last extremity, peace on the basis of reunion must always remain out of the question. It must rest, therefore, with foreign Powers to determine when they will declare that a conflict so disastrous to the civilized world has lasted long enough; that the Union cannot be restored; and that those who choose to appeal to the arbitrament of battle must abide by the sentence which the sword has recorded against them. Until France and England shall grow weary of suffering in silence, and prefer an intervention worthy of great Powers to a neutrality which hardly falls short of national *lâcheté*, the South must trust to her own arms to maintain her independence, knowing that she can hardly hope to conquer peace, but resolved to prefer a disastrous war to a dishonourable submission.

## A Parallel and a Contrast.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that the same historical period marks the dissolution of the American Union and the disintegration of the Russian Empire. The resemblance which the Colossus of the Old World bore to its counterpart in the New, and which was only heightened by the strong contrasts in other respects, bids fair to continue to the end, and even to become more conspicuously prominent as the end approaches. During the vigour of apparent health this resemblance between the two held good not only in physical and geographical features, but to an almost equal degree in their moral aspects and political tendencies. Both were gigantic democracies, and though the one acknowledged a single master and the other a multitudinous one, we have seen in the rapid transformation of the Northern States,—if indeed we needed another lesson added to those with which history abounds—that these two forms of democracy are easily

convertible, and do not greatly differ in essentials. Both were comparatively new-comers and intruders upon the political system, the balance of which they threatened to overthrow; both were arrogantly confident in their enormous numerical strength; both were mad with visions of manifest destiny, ambitious, overbearing, and aggressive. The mutual congeniality was felt and acknowledged by both in a reciprocal sympathy which the world found it difficult to explain. The only European Power that cordially befriended the United States was Russia; at this day the only friend of Russia is the dictatorship of Mr. Lincoln. In the agony of the great crisis which has overtaken both at the same time, they resemble each other even more. Both are attempting to crush by brutal force an heroic people, superior to them in all the attributes that constitute a title to national independence; both are equally regardless of the means by which they accomplish their ends; both butcher in cold blood, pillage and burn defenceless habitations; both instigate servants to rise against their masters; both decree confiscation, proscription, and extermination against the vanquished. The only difference in their mode of warfare is a scarcely perceptible one of degree; while Butler insults gently-nurtured women and feeds them on soldiers' rations in a roofless prison on a fever-stricken island, Mouravieff adopts the simpler plan of flogging. Of the two, the barbarity of the American is the more revolting, because, while the Russian makes no pretensions to the humanity of modern manners, the Yankee claims to be the foremost nation in the race of progress and civilization.

A somewhat similar parallel might be drawn, though not so far, between the Confederates and the Poles. Widely remote as are these two people, they yet have many characteristics in common,—courage, skill in arms, genius for command, a high development of individual character, coupled with exalted patriotism, and an unquenchable thirst for national independence. Like the Confederates the Poles are a nation of slave-holders; until within a few years the great mass of the population were the purchasable and saleable property of the land-owners, and even now continue their bondsmen, in fact though no longer in name; only that the yoke of involuntary servitude bore upon a far larger proportion of the aggregate population, and with more galling severity, in those Northern plains than in the more genial climate of the cotton region, nor had it, as in the latter, the alleviation of being founded on a broad natural distinction of race. Like the Confederates, the Poles are strictly an agricultural people, having little taste for manufacturing or commercial pursuits. As with the Confederates, class-subordination is the vital principle of their social fabric; universal equality is the law of the Russians as of the Northern Americans. Here, however, the parallel must end. In the capacity for organization, in fertility of resource, in the power of self-control, and above all, in fixedness of purpose and unity of action, the Confederates have excelled the Poles in as great a degree as the events of the American war have exceeded in magnitude those of the Polish insurrection. The difference between a people of English blood and one of Eastern descent is further manifest in the fact that the Confederates, unlike the Poles, have never retaliated crime by crime, nor have they, even under the severest provocation, resorted to that hideous weapon of despair, political assassination. Indeed, the resemblance diminishes on close comparison between the two people, but is most striking when each is contrasted with its respective antagonist.

It is curious to observe how Europe has judged these parallel struggles in the Old and the New World. The relative positions of the parties to each, as we have said, are similar; the issues involved in each are similar; the interests which Europe has at stake in each, are similar, only that they are immeasurably more momentous in the one case than in the other. The United States presented a far more formidable danger to the balance of power than Russia; their prestige had not been shorn and their career of aggression

checked, as that of Russia had been by the Crimean war; to go to war with them implied, moreover, something beyond an outlay of men and money, for as they commanded the chief source of supply of the principal industry of the Western Powers, war with the United States implied domestic sacrifices and dangers which could not well be computed by numerical estimates; lastly, the United States were, what Russia never could have been, a standing menace to the Old World institutions, for their hollow prosperity had commenced to seduce the imaginations of the lower orders of European society, and to make them discontented with the more securely established order and the slower but steadier progress at home. If, then, the interest of Europe was different in the struggle across the Atlantic and that on the shores of the Baltic, it was only a difference of intensity, and one might have supposed that if either could wholly absorb public attention to the exclusion of the other, Poland would have been forgotten amid the solution of the portentous problems in America. It has not been so, and apart from the tragic interest which a war unsurpassed in its magnitude could not fail to awake, more serious, more thoughtful, and more statesmanlike consideration has been bestowed on the less important issue. Again, there was one, only one, but this a radical difference between the two cases. In the one case, a number of independent, self-governing States dissolved political connection with colleagues who neither in theory or in practice, nor by any perversion of terms, could be said to have any sovereignty over them; in the other, a part of a consolidated monarchy revolted—justifiably, we are ready to admit—against the ruler whom solemn treaties and the acquiescence of all Europe for several generations recognised as its lawful sovereign. In the one case, organized political communities, without the slightest alteration or convulsion of their internal structure, proceeded as such to vindicate their acts by arms, to form a close alliance among themselves, to levy troops, to raise money, to carry on war by land and by sea in their own defence. In the other case, an exasperated people turned frantically upon its oppressors, without plan, without scarcely an object save that of despair, without a chance of success save that doubtful one which depended on the sense of justice and the instinct of humanity of foreign nations. In the one case Europe has beheld the spectacle of war on the grandest scale, great armies, terrific battles, memorable naval engagements, long campaigns, eventful sieges; in the other, there has been desultory fighting, small bands of insurgents forming in the shelter of a forest, surprising a detachment or a post, dispersed by regular troops to form again, forming again only to be again dispersed. In the one case there has been a regularly constituted Government, holding undisputed sway in its own dominions, secure of the loyalty of its citizens, respected by all the world, and successfully maintaining its capital within less than two hundred miles of that of the enemy; in the other case, there is no recognised central head, no form of authority except a secret committee whose members are unknown, whose locality is a mystery, whose mandates are issued in whispers and executed in darkness. In the one case, there are great statesmen, generals whose names have become historical; in the other, there is no man who has yet risen above the merit of a successful guerilla chief. We say not this in derogation of the Poles, or of their heroism and valour, or of the justice of their cause; we say it only to point the contrast. This contrast Europe has seen fit to officially ignore; it has formally declared that for States to withdraw from a federation of States is rebellion, and that the citizens of Virginia or of South Carolina—States which England formally recognised by treaty—are, while obeying the command of their lawful authorities, insurgents. So Europe has decided to treat both cases as insurrections. But even from this point of view, and placing the Confederate States on a level with Poland, there is a strong contrast. Even judged as insurgents, the six millions of the Confederate people have accomplished incomparably more



than the eleven millions of Poles. They have dared more, suffered more, and done more. Now, mark the difference of official action in the two cases. Diplomacy is exhausting her efforts, and the threat of a European war is not spared, to rescue Poland. Not a finger has been lifted, not a voice has been raised, not a remonstrance made, on behalf of the Confederate States. No hazard is too great, no combination must be left untried, to coerce Russia; but toward the United States we are bidden to be exceedingly careful lest in thought or speech we commit an unfriendly act.

We have drawn this parallel and pointed out this contrast, not in the spirit of idle complaint, and still less in that of envy at the generous sympathy that has been extended to the Poles. We have done so because the attitude of Europe this day towards Poland refutes beyond rejoinder the heartless theory by which of late it has been attempted to supersede the promptings of international justice and the duty of Christian civilization. We have been told by writers of the "Historicus" school that a neutral had no right to interfere by word or act in a struggle between an insurgent and his former sovereign until the struggle was substantially over; in other words, until interference had become supererogatory. No matter how righteous may be the struggling cause, no matter how grievous may be the wrong that is sought to be inflicted, no matter how warmly our sympathies may be enlisted, no matter how great may be the injuries which the contest entails on neutrals, unless and until the weaker—for the party resisting oppression is infallibly and necessarily the weaker—shall have forced the oppressor to desist, we must remain not only inactive, but silent. Upon this plea the British people have allowed their rulers, against their better judgment, to let one opportunity after another slip by for ending the war in America. The necessities of a country far more in need of aid at all times than the Confederate States have ever been or are likely to be, have overborne this plea which was never more than a fallacious pretext, and by what is now being done for Poland men may measure the injustice done to the South. It may be that the moral pressure brought to bear upon Russia may not save Poland, so extremely critical is her situation, but certain it is that one tithe of that same pressure exerted upon the Washington Government at the proper time would ere this have given peace to America and cotton to Lancashire.

### The New Aspect of the War.

THE Confederates are facing their new perils in the spirit in which brave men should meet adversity. They do not underrate the gravity of the crisis, but they resolutely count the odds against them, and prepare themselves for a fresh trial of strength. There is no "caving in," no cry for help, no talk about submission; but from the President to the poorest citizen there is but one feeling manifested, that of unconquerable resolve to achieve the independence of Southern homes. President Davis calls another 200,000 men into the field; but in Georgia and Alabama the whole population capable of bearing arms rise to defend their soil from the invading army, and defeat gives as many willing recruits to the Confederate ranks as victory. The latest mail brings out in remarkable relief this undespering attitude and temper of the Southern people. The populations of Georgia and Alabama have hitherto escaped the ravages of war. The fire and sword of the plundering Northern hordes have passed them by. Now they are threatened with the devastation which has made the lower portion of the State of Mississippi a wilderness; they too have to take their share in the miseries which the presence of an armed invader never fails to bring with it. But there is no panic. At Rome and Atlanta the white and black populations are working at the fortifications. In Alabama there is a rising *en masse*. Generals Bragg and Johnstone retire but to reinforce their weakened armies with eager recruits, and within three months there is every

probability that the Southern army will present as formidable a front to the invader as at any previous period of the war. And the relative strength of the two armies now in the field is by no means so unequal as it has been represented by Northern partisans. Let us count the Northern forces as they are now distributed.

Of these we may estimate:—

Meade's army of the Potomac at	100,000
Grant's " Mississippi	70,000
Banks' " Louisiana	40,000
Rosecranz' " Tennessee	70,000
Burnside's " Kentucky	20,000
Gillmore's " Charleston	20,000

The Federal forces in North Carolina in garrisons along the Atlantic coast, in Arkansas, and along the Mississippi may be computed at 30,000

Total 352,000

And this force has to defeat and destroy armies of more than two-thirds its strength in the field, and then occupy a country of nearly a million of square miles, held by a hostile population.

The Confederate armies now in the field are:—

The army of Virginia under General Lee, comprising the army in the field, and in the garrison of Richmond	100,000
The army of General Johnstone	30,000
The army of General Bragg	40,000
The armies in the States west of the Mississippi, under Magruder, Kirby Smith, Taylor, and Price	30,000
The army under Beauregard defending Charleston and Savannah	25,000

Total 225,000

Exclusive of the guerillas in Tennessee and Kentucky, the garrisons of Wilmington and Mobile, and other fortified towns.

It will be seen that the disparity of force is by no means so great as it has been described, and the South has even at this moment an army which is by no means incapable of retrieving the fortunes of the Confederacy. And this is the more apparent when we consider the nature of the warfare in which the two armies are engaged. An army of defence on a friendly soil is necessarily more economical of human life than one of aggression. The kindly sentiments of the people, the superior knowledge of the country, the choice of strong positions are immense advantages to the defensive force. The invading army must to a great extent provide its own supplies, must count every man capable of bearing arms a foe, must attack when the enemy chooses to fight, under every possible disadvantage. True, the North has its unrivalled facilities of water transport; but these are beginning to fail, while the South acting on interior lines acquires the greater strength the more its defences are contracted. If we add, finally, that for the next three months the climate must fight for the South, that active operations can only be carried on in the regions of the Lower Mississippi at a loss of life that would make even success a disaster, and that typhoid fever is already at work in the Federal armies, we have said enough to show that, although there is cause for regret in the present aspect of affairs, there is none for despondency, and that if the South is resolute in its fight for freedom, its aim, although deferred, must be ultimately accomplished.

The military situation has not greatly changed since the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. But the exultant feeling of the North has sustained two or three remarkable checks. Lee's army, which was reported to be retreating in hot haste for Richmond, has faced about and assumed a threatening attitude. By the last accounts Confederate forces held the passes of the Potomac, and Gregg's cavalry had been surrounded and badly cut up by Stuart. It was feared that another raid into Pennsylvania was intended; in the meantime, it was certain that Lee had sent South most of his Pennsylvania booty; that he was in great force; that his men are in excellent spirits and *physique*; and that Meade had very considerable doubts about the expediency of closing with his wary enemy. Another disappointment to the North was the defeat of their army at

Jackson, Mississippi. Almost simultaneously with the fate of Vicksburg it was reported that General Osterhaus had crossed the Big Black River, and attacked and defeated General Johnstone with a loss of 2,000 killed and wounded. It turns out that the Federals did attack Johnstone in the capital of Mississippi, and were handsomely repulsed with the loss of 400 killed—General Osterhaus amongst the number. For upwards of a week the attack continued, until General Johnstone, finding the Federals by their superior numbers were able to outflank him, drew off his troops without loss. The Federals occupied the town, but contented themselves with this success, and Johnstone's retreat was unmolested. In a day or two the Federals fell back upon Vicksburg, so that for the present the upper portion of the State of Mississippi is tolerably secure. General Sherman indeed reports that Johnstone's army cannot remain together for want of provisions. But this is a mere assumption. The upper portion of Mississippi and the State of Alabama have been largely sown with grain, and there is ample subsistence for a much stronger army than Johnstone is likely to get together. But if Johnstone is allowed quietly to collect the paroled prisoners of Vicksburg—some 20,000 men—he will have in another three weeks a very powerful army in the field, and one which in the easily defensible country of Alabama and Mississippi will prove a serious obstacle to Grant's further progress in those States. One more disappointment the North had to bear—the contradiction of the reported fall of Charleston. We now know that the success of the Federal forces at Charleston was limited to the capture of some batteries on Morris Island, and that at the latest dates they could boast of nothing further. A joint attack had been made upon the batteries at the extremity of Morris by a considerable land force from Folly Island, assisted by the fire of gun-boats and monitors. The attack seems to have been somewhat of a surprise; after a sharp but brief engagement the Confederates were compelled to withdraw. Emboldened by their first success the Federals made an attack upon Fort Wagner, but were repulsed with heavy loss. A Federal force landed on James' Island had also been driven to the gun-boats. It was evident, however, that the attack would be repeated, and that a systematic siege by the united naval and military forces was commenced. According to latest advices, Fort Wagner still held out, and there were rumours of greater Federal disasters. But even if Fort Wagner should fall, there remain the batteries of Cumming's Point to be taken before any effectual attack upon Fort Sumter can be made, and as these are commanded by the Fort Sumter guns the assault will not be a light enterprise. By the next mail we shall hear something definite of the prospects of the siege. The defences of Charleston are immensely strong, but there is no such thing, in these days of long range, as an impregnable position, and Charleston may yield as did Sebastopol to the superior strength of the attack, but it will only be when the town is in ruins. There will be no second New Orleans. The Federals, if they do succeed, will take possession of a ruined and deserted city—a protest against their unholy war of conquest, and a fresh testimony to the unalterable resolve of the Southern people.

Of the movements of the Federal armies in the West little is known. Grant's army is at Vicksburg, resting; Banks has moved into Western Louisiana, to drive out guerillas and retake Brashear City; Rosecranz is still in Tennessee, and it seems to be doubtful whether he is strong enough to follow up Bragg into Georgia. If he leaves the Tennessee river he must trust to his own transport, and he will be moving into the enemy's country at a very considerable risk. We hardly think it likely he will make so bold a move at this season. Of Bragg's whereabouts we hear nothing. He is probably arranging the defence of Georgia, and preparing to throw all possible obstacles in the way of Rosecranz's advance. The report of a march across Alabama to effect a junction with General Johnstone is obviously incorrect. Strangeto say, General Morgan



is still at work in Ohio, and his force, notwithstanding the loss it has suffered in the New York papers, is stronger than ever—reaching, according to Northern reports, 10,000 men. This raid, however, will exercise little influence on the war, and from a political point of view is almost to be regretted, considering the impending issue of Mr. Vallandigham's appeal to the men of Ohio. It is as well, however, that the North-West should be made to feel some of the miseries it has helped to inflict on the South. On the whole, we are inclined to think that the tide of Federal success has nearly reached its height. The season in the South and South-West is too far advanced for operations of any great magnitude. Within three months the Confederate conscripts will be respectable soldiers; and as the North will not have the draft, it is likely that the struggle will recommence with forces more nearly equal than they have been at any former period of the war. It is a question of hard pounding. We shall see who will pound the longest.

### The Rightfulness of Southern Secession.

By the almanac it is not yet three years from the disruption of the American Union, but in our impressions of the social status of the South and in our knowledge of the political condition of the New World such a revolution has taken place that it seems as though a decade at least had passed away since the first bombardment of Fort Sumter. Yesterday Europe, sitting at the feet of New England, regarded Secession as the idle threat of a disappointed political clique. To-day we know that the Federal Government did not represent a homogeneous people or even a league of homogeneous States, but that nationalities as distinct and irreconcilable as those inhabiting the countries divided by the Straits of Dover composed the Union, and that Secession was the formal expression of a severance of interests and sympathies long accomplished. Before the battle of Manassas Northern swagger about the enervation of the Southerners, and the impossibility of their carrying on a war, found so much credence that when Mr. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand men to put down a "rebellion" that has resisted the efforts of a million and a half of men, the proposition did not excite a cry of derision. The war has dissipated these and many other glaring errors. The Southerners have shown themselves heroic and enduring, and, moreover, ingenious enough to provide all things necessary for the defence of their country. The negroes declared to be ripe for revolt have, with few exceptions, been unmoved by Northern incentives to murder and rapine, thus manifesting a fidelity to their masters that is a meet reward for that undeviating kindness which has changed them from savages into docile, Christian labourers. At the outset it was thought that the North loved the Union for its own sake, and was intent on its restoration. Who thinks so now? We mean who now supposes that the war is carried on for the reconstitution of a Federal league of free States? What, desire to win back the South as a coequal partner, and enact a tariff that would make her the tributary of the East? What, expect to restore the Union by bloodshed, by spoliation, and by the commission of such atrocities as have never before disgraced the annals of civilized warfare? The most insatiate credulity could not swallow such contradictions, and no wonder Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir G. C. Lewis—members of the non-recognition cabinet—have emphatically proclaimed their conviction that the North is fighting for empire, and the South for independence. The attempt to enlist the sympathies of this country by asserting that the North is warring for the emancipation of the negro has signally failed. Mr. Lincoln may not be more honest than his English agents, but he had to cajole the Democrats whilst his party was forging the fetters for Northern liberty, and so he expressly declared that he did not contend for emancipation, and that he would uphold slavery if by so doing he could restore the Union. He acted

on this principle when he issued his proclamation. He avowed that it was simply a military measure, and proffered the right to hold slaves as a recompense for loyalty, and decreed the loss of slaves as a punishment for the worst crime known to him—disloyalty to black republicanism. The treatment of the coloured race in the North is conclusive evidence of the rank hypocrisy of abolitionism. We do not risk our lives for those whom we hate with a bitter relentless hatred. In Illinois and other States the negro, bond or free, is denied a home. He is hunted like a wild beast, and tortured and murdered. He is dragged into the army, taught that the first duty of a soldier is to plunder and burn, and when the opportunity occurs is kept by Federal bayonets within range of the enemy's cannon. No, the war is not for the Union, nor for emancipation, but for the subjugation of the South, for the overthrow of liberty in the North, and for the despotic domination of the Republican party. This being so everybody, the little Anglo-Federal faction excepted, admits that the Confederates are bound by honour, by patriotism, by interest, and for the sake of their wives and children, to resist the invading hosts with all their resources and might, and at any sacrifice. And in justice to the South, let us remember that not only is the maintenance of her separate existence a bounden duty, but that her secession was expedient, imperative, and rightful, as well as lawful.

Very few words will suffice to make this abundantly clear. For a moment setting aside the sovereignty of the States, which legally justifies secession, let us see whether the reason for it was irresistible or frivolous. The question we have to decide is, whether the South had a moral obligation as well as a legal right to go out of the Union. Now, accepting the republican doctrine that the federation was a nation, and not a congeries of nations, the election of Mr. Lincoln proved that one section had become altogether dominant. He was chosen President in spite of the unanimous disapproval of the South—that is, the South was in no way represented at Washington. This was a violation of the vital principle of free Government, which involves the representation of minorities. Take the constitution of the United States as an example. Mr. Lincoln, though legally elected, is President in opposition to a large majority of the popular vote. The South had no more part in the Federal Government of 1860 than the Poles have in the Government of Russia. She could not protect her property from taxation for the benefit of New England. She had no power to stay the passage of the Morrill tariff, or the imposition of an export duty on cotton. She was altogether at the mercy of the Northern section, as much so as she would be if she were conquered by the Northern armies.

The republican party knew the extent of its victory, and was determined to gather its fruits. It would listen to no compromise. It was zealous in making a reconstruction of the old union impossible. In the farewell speeches of the Southern representatives in Congress secession was not spoken of as a threat, but as a remedy for a crying evil. Before the commencement of hostilities the South sent commissioners to Washington, but they were not received. Why not? The several States had a perfect right, and it was a common practice for them to send commissioners to the Federal Government, to arrange disputes. The Lincolnites, disregarding right and custom, refused to enter on negotiations, which might have prevented war. They trifled with the Southern agents until they were ready to strike the blow at Fort Sumter, which, by inaugurating war, would give them a chance of subjugating the South and crushing their political opponents in the North.

What did the South leave undone that she ought to have done? Was she to submit to political serfdom? Was she to allow her prolific country to be cultivated, not for her own benefit and for the benefit of the world, but for the sole profit of New England? Did she not make every effort to preserve peace? Perhaps we may be told that she should have sought a remedy within the constitution. She could find no remedy under the forms of the constitution, and hence the moral justification of her Secession. The

ballot box had been tried and found wanting. She might have gone up to Congress and voted, but only with the certainty that her votes were powerless to save her from the despotism of the North. The one way to maintain her independence and to prevent her fair land being the prey of the spoiler was to go out of the Union; to exercise her legal right of secession. She might have remained in the Union, and been a tool of the North in its aggression on the commerce and territory of England. She chose the better part. She righteously, but not without a pang of deep regret, separated herself from the Union that she had so long fostered and upheld.

The partisans of the North may ask us scornfully of what advantage to the South is the righteousness of her cause? Did it save Vicksburg? Did it shield the people from the horrible atrocities of Butler, Turchin, McNeil, and Milroy? The Anglo-Federals can point to terrible sufferings of which the wondrous fortitude of the Southerners cannot conceal the poignancy; to the violation of school-girls by Northern soldiery; to the murder of tender women, little children, and helpless negroes; to the thousand sorrows that have come upon the devoted country; and ask us mockingly of what avail is righteousness against superior numbers? Emulating the blasphemy of those they serve, they will tell us that the favour of Heaven is always with the biggest army. The *Daily News*, the organ of the Anglo-Federals, will not trouble itself about the ethics of the question, but refer us to the calculation it has published of how many years and how many men will be needed to make every child in the Confederacy an orphan. The *Star*, venomous but fangless, will assure its patrons that the republican faction will not be stayed in its course, but will cement its power with the blood of a nation. Yet in spite of hissing profanity and savage mockery, our faith is unshaken. The right of the South, even more than her heroism, assures her friends that though she may have to pass through an ordeal such as no other nation has endured, though it may please God that the furnace of her affliction may be seven times heated, yet she will finally triumph.

### The Peace Party at the North.

As an accomplished gentleman, an effective orator, and a staunch patriot, Mr. Vallandigham would, under any circumstances, have occupied a distinguished position in his own country, but owing to the indiscretion of his enemies he is called upon to take the leading part in a contest which engages the attention of the world. In Ohio is to be fought the Waterloo of Northern liberty, and whatever may be the result of the battle, his name will live in history. If he triumphs, the days of Republican despotism will be numbered; if he is defeated the United States will pass under the yoke of a military despotism. The issue cannot be put off, or its consequences avoided. Mr. Lincoln has provoked the conflict; he has thrown down the gage of battle, his challenge has been accepted, and to retreat would be equivalent to being utterly vanquished. Mr. Vallandigham will not give him a loophole of escape. He hurls defiance at him. If the man whom Mr. Lincoln treated as a felon and banished as a traitor is inaugurated as Governor of Ohio, the Lincolnites will sink under a load of contempt which would crush the most powerful Government on earth. If by military force the will of the people of Ohio is made null and void, if the last relic of constitutionalism is openly abrogated, then the United States become subject to the irresponsible rule of a faction that has carved its way to power by the sword, and that can only maintain itself by doing violence to every principle of freedom. To which side victory will incline it is impossible to predict. If the Democrats are firm, resolute, and united, if they are ready to repel force by force, then they will conquer. But we must remember that oftentimes a brave people has quailed before military despotism, and have submitted to the fetters imposed by the creatures to whom it had given power. The Lincoln despotism may find it an easy task to crush liberty in the North, although



foiled in their efforts to deprive the Confederates of their independence.

The South, it is true, has a deep interest in the events that are transpiring in the North. The success of the Democrats will put an end to a war which cannot bring about her subjugation, but which entails upon her great and increasing suffering. The worst that can happen to the South—'tis indeed bad enough—is the prolongation of hostilities, and the impoverishment of her people. But she is an agricultural country; her is in the land that may be desolated but cannot be taken from her; her recuperative power\* is so great that whenever peace is restored, she will forthwith enjoy the return of plenty and prosperity. She cannot lose, however protracted, may be the struggle, her liberty and that constitutional form of government which ensures the happiness and develops the resources of her people. With the North the case is altogether different; she too will be pauperised by her continuation of the war; and because she is not altogether an agricultural country her revival will be slow. But poverty is the last of the ills that will come upon the North. Only peace, and peace now, can save her from the loss of freedom, and freedom is not a mere abstract principle, but with it will depart the prosperity of the country. The peace party is fully aware of the greatness of the stake. Upon its success depends the future welfare of the North.

In his address to the people of Ohio, Mr. Vallandigham points out the absurdity of inviting the South to return to the Union, whilst it is polluted by the domination of the Lincolnites. Next to the ruthless war that has been waged upon them, the character of the present Federal Government is certainly one of the strongest reasons that can be conceived for the Confederates preferring to make any sacrifice rather than renew their political connection with the United States. Mr. Vallandigham testifies to the unalterable resolve of the Southern people not to give up the struggle for independence, and no doubt Mr. Lincoln and his advisers are equally convinced of the impossibility of subjugating the South, and that if there were no other cause, their despotism, corruption, and infamous acts, are sufficient to perpetuate the disruption which they brought about for their own aggrandisement. The war against the Confederates is with them a pretext, a cloak, under which they are enabled to raise armies for the conquest of the liberties of their fellow-countrymen. Thus, though peace would be a benefit to the South, it is a vital necessity to the North. The continuation of the war will add immensely to the afflictions of the Confederacy, but it cannot utterly destroy her, whilst it will bring upon the United States irretrievable ruin. The friends of peace, of humanity, and constitutional liberty are bound to pray heartily for the triumph of the party of which Mr. Vallandigham is the acknowledged and worthy leader.

#### FEDERALISM.\*

Though published by a firm which, so far as a publishing house can be supposed to have political opinions, must be esteemed pre-eminently hostile to the Southern cause, this book is in no sense a partisan pamphlet on the American quarrel. It is not, indeed, the fruit of the second War of Independence, except in so far as that war has fixed the time of its publication, and apparently led the author to write in a hurry, with a view to bring out the book at a time when circumstances have given a peculiar interest to its subject. To hurry we are willing to ascribe some of its blemishes, which are, for the most part, rather likely to irritate than to mislead the reader, to injure the reputation of the author than to diminish the value of his work. It is most unworthy in the historian of a Greek State to point every argument and give pungency to every biographical fragment, by a reference—often entirely uncalled for—to the proceedings of "Louis Napoleon Buonaparte." The Emperor of the French may be a great patriot and a consummate statesman, or he may be, as Mr. Freeman thinks him, an unscrupulous adventurer and a political highwayman; but what in the world has he to do with the achievements of Philip or the tyranny of Lysichadas; and what is gained by calling him by his family name, and

talking of "the pseudo-Imperial" crown of France? At least his title is as good as that of the Republic, mob-born and mob-ruled, which he suppressed with the applause of France and to the infinite relief of Europe. At worst he is no more an usurper, and not half so much a traitor, as one Louis Philippe, some time Duke of Orleans, whom we suppose Mr. Freeman would not hesitate to describe by his strange title of "King of the French." These allusions are unworthy of the dignity of history, and utterly out of place in a work of political philosophy; and it is only on the understanding that he has written in a great hurry, and without the opportunity of enjoying the advice and criticism of his friends, that we can forgive Mr. Freeman for intruding upon his readers those irrelevant and impertinent taunts against a man who has nothing in the world to do with any form of Federal government, ancient or modern. His personal antipathies and political prejudices are in no wise interesting to us. As an historical scholar we are grateful for his knowledge and how respectfully to his authority; as a political philosopher, he deserves that we should hear him with attention; but as a commentator on passing political events, he is as valueless as Mr. Edward Dicey or Mr. J. M. Ludlow, or any other of the many gentlemen who display their prejudice, passion, and ignorance at the expense of the able and estimable publisher of the present work.

Flaws apart, we consider this volume one of the most valuable that has yet been published on forms and theories of government. The views which it promulgates are thoughtful, sober, and deserving of very deliberate consideration, although they are tinged with prejudices of a kind that mark the scholar of the closet as distinguished from the man of the world. The facts of history by which the author endeavours to elucidate his political theories are well arranged and well related; and if his conjectures are somewhat too bold and confident, they seem to us probable as well as plausible, and we are thankful for them, as throwing light on portions of history respecting which our actual and certain knowledge is but small. Finally, his style is good, and his matter is readable; and this, in days like the present, when of making many books there is no end, is a virtue of paramount importance. A man now-a-days who presumes to write badly or unreadably deserves no mercy; for no one has time to spend or strength to spare in mastering anything that is not made as easy of mastery as may be. Dull books deserve to find no readers but those who have nothing else to do.

Mr. Freeman's comparison between small and large States is, to begin with, instructive and suggestive. We think it, however, too favourable to the former. It may be true, no doubt, that in the old city commonwealths of Greece the passion of patriotism was stronger than in many modern countries, inasmuch as with every citizen the freedom of his city was a matter of direct and appreciable personal interest. To be conquered was to run the risk of personal slavery, and at best to be subjected to harsh usage, insult, and oppression at the hands of a foreign ruler. To be reduced to a dependant condition involved for the citizens at large a position of mortifying humiliation, and for each individually the liability to be forced into military service against his own will, and to be wronged or affronted with impunity by the citizens of the dominant Power. At the same time, we are forced to remember that almost every Greek city, in the palmy days of town autonomy, seems to have contained an anti-patriotic faction. In Athens the aristocracy was always disposed to Laconise; in the cities allied with Sparta the democracy was always phil-Athenian. There were Theban partisans in Thespie and Platea; there was, in later times, a Macedonian party everywhere; and a foreign conqueror almost always found it possible to govern by means of a native faction in his own interest. We doubt, therefore, the extreme loyalty of Greek city patriotism; and in modern times we certainly do not believe that the Belgians are more patriotic than the French, or that the citizens of Hamburg or Frankfort would be more ready to die for their city than Englishmen to fight and fall beneath the standard of a Queen on whose dominions the sun never sets. The comparison between citizen-soldiers and professional soldiers is less easy to draw. In ancient times the citizen was less savage, and almost equally efficient with the mercenary; in modern times the spirit of Christian chivalry, and the fact that soldiers by profession are mostly led by gentlemen, has made the warrior by trade less ferocious, on the whole, than the warrior by chance, choice, and passion. It is perhaps true that war between small commonwealths is more frequent and more ferocious than war between great States; but this again is not a matter easily ascertained. The ages of great Powers have not generally been ages prolific in wars; but this is perhaps less because the Powers have been great than because they have been civilized, because they had few chances

of collision, or because, as in these times, war had become too terrible and too costly to be lightly undertaken.

The chief advantage attributed by Mr. Freeman to the system of city commonwealths is that it affords an excellent political education to the citizens. We grant that there is truth in this view; we appreciate all that our author, following Mr. Grote, has to say concerning the beneficial effect on Athenian character of the popular assemblies, in which every citizen might hear the views of Pericles or Thucydides on the highest questions of foreign or domestic policy. But we are not inclined to rate this advantage so highly. Political power may be an excellent school in its way; but it is a school in which the learners are masters, and in which those who should teach are at the mercy of their scholars. And we may ask leave to doubt whether the learning of the Assembly made the Athenians better men, better husbands and fathers, more industrious mechanics or more daring seamen, than they would have been had their functions been confined to the election of five hundred gentlemen to represent them in Senate, and undertake on their behalf the government of the affairs of the Commonwealth. The murder of the Ten Generals, the massacre of Mitylenæ, the expedition to Syracuse, would hardly have been voted by a representative council. They were precisely the kind of sins of which no sovereign, single or multitudinous, would ever have been guilty except he had acted on his own account, and not through responsible Ministers. Demos, as our author reminds us, was a tyrant, *i.e.*, a sovereign *lege solutus*. And as the exercise of tyranny was always found to demoralise the individual usurper, so it doubtless acted to deprave the Tyrant People; and though, under the sway of a Pericles, they might act as generously and wisely as Philip when advised by Aratus, as Joash under the guidance of Jehoiada, or Alexander of Russia while influenced by the statesmen who strove in vain to create for him a constitutional and loyal kingdom in Poland, the Athenian democracy were probably more injured by that visible possession and direct exercise of sovereign authority for which no populace—perhaps no large body of men—can ever be fit, than improved by the sharpening of their intellect and the quickening of their sense of dignity and self-respect which that possession and exercise of sovereignty naturally involved.

On the other hand, we conceive that the disadvantages of small as compared with large Commonwealths are understated by Mr. Freeman. He frankly admits that the first and most obvious superiority of the modern system of great empires—the preservation of internal peace over vast territories inhabited by many millions of men, is so great as to outweigh in itself all the benefits which he attributes to the city commonwealths of old. It is no trifle that, instead of having London at war with Southampton, Newcastle with Sunderland, and Liverpool with Manchester, we have a unity of empire which compels even Scotland and England to settle their disputes, if they have any, at the bar of the Queen's Bench or in the House of Commons; which, indeed, scarcely leaves it possible for them to have any more serious disputes than such as may be readily decided or accommodated by the Heralds' College. It is a great thing, too, that foreign wars generally affect only a small portion of any country. Still greater, perhaps, are the advantages of civil peace, and the consequent restraint imposed on the passions of contending parties. The government of a city commonwealth may be overthrown by a band of conspirators; this happened during the Peloponnesian war in many places, but notably at Coreyra and in Athens herself. To overthrow the Government of an Empire requires a civil war of such magnitude as, with the conditions of life under great kingdoms, is fast becoming impossible. Hence a city must deal severely with suspected persons, and a constitutional opposition is a thing almost intolerable. Every Greek city—excepting perhaps Athens in her prime—had its exiles; and these were the only avowed Opposition. In our own days, we tolerate even a Bright, even an Ernest Jones; because we know that we are safe from them; that their followers can never overturn the government unless the nation should be on their side. Hence political warfare is, as Mr. Freeman truly says, far less bitter in great States than in small. Again, great States are too strong to be lightly provoked; and hence their subjects are safe under circumstances where those of small Powers are exposed to considerable hazard; also, they are strong enough to maintain internal order in troublous times far more vigorously than small Powers can do.

(To be continued.)

#### MAGAZINES FOR AUGUST.

The author of a review of the clever pamphlet "Richard Cobden, King of the Belgians" which appears in the current number of the *New Review*, is a very dangerous

\* History of Federal Governments, from the Foundation of the Achaean League to the Disruption of the United States. By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Vol. I.—General Introduction—History of the Greek Federations. Macmillan and Co., London and Cambridge, 1863.



advocate and a very harmless adversary. He has fallen into the error of attacking the invulnerable points of his enemy, and by so doing only blunts his own weapon. Mr. Cobden deserves censure for the egotism of his own pamphlet, to which the one in question is a reply, and for the principles he therein enunciates, that there is none other God than Mammon, that the defence of national independence is not worth the cost, and that Belgium should do nothing—that is, should not spend a sixpence in protecting herself against the possible aggression of her neighbours. But nothing can justify the writer in the *New Review* referring to Mr. Cobden's private affairs, and asserting that because that gentleman's fortune had become impaired, he was intrusted by the English Government with a foreign mission. Mr. Cobden is our political foe, but it would be worse than absurd for us to deny his eminent ability and his respectable standing. In this country a man does not rise from the ranks, and is not pressed to take high office under the Crown, unless he has undoubted talent and an unblemished reputation. The writer in the *New Review* is also pleased to sneer at Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay on account of their late interview with the Emperor of the French. Our impression is that the Conservative party, and even the supporters of the Ministry, are by this time convinced, if they ever doubted it, that Messrs. Roebuck and Lindsay were faithfully serving the interests of their country by the course they adopted.—An essay on "Modern Eloquence," though not very profound, will repay perusal. It is rather amusing to see President Davis and Mr. Charles Francis Adams linked together, as speakers possessing "considerable ability and fair eloquentary attainments, but neither of whom comes up to the standard of the men who were common not only in the War of Independence, but even in the last generation." We suppose the writer has never read any of Mr. Davis's speeches, or he would have arrived at a very different conclusion as to his oratorical ability. Certainly he has never heard the Confederate President speak. Mr. Davis is famous, not only for his eloquence, but for his elocution. His action is graceful, and his voice, though not very powerful, is so admirably modulated that crowds have waited to hear an occasional sentence drop from his lips. The articles in the present number of the *New Review* besides those we have noticed, that deserve special commendation, are "Le Père Lacordaire," and "Critics and Reviewers."

The *Church and State Review* treats upon a subject which has for some time been much neglected, that is, "Federal Finance." Some months ago the indebtedness of the United States was a marvel to Europe, and a crash and a break up of credit was reasonably anticipated. The indebtedness has been enormously increased, is still increasing, but credit is unimpaired. Has Mr. Chase, indeed, discovered the secret of converting paper into money, into a currency, we mean, that has an intrinsic value? No; but he has skillfully devised means by which bankruptcy may be postponed until the financial ruin is perfectly accomplished. The process is simple. Mr. Chase issues greenbacks in profusion, and all these promises to pay that are not required for currency are invested in Government bonds. "The Federal Government has a means of making money by the issue of the national notes; and at the same time a means of forcing the public to lend money, in the purchase of the interest-bearing national bonds, as the only means of saving themselves from loss through a depreciation of the 'greenbacks.'" There are two other articles on America in the *Church and State Review*, one, a candid notice of Mr. Pollard's "First Year of the War," and the other is entitled, "Does the Bible sanction Slavery?" and it betrays very profound ignorance as to the constitution of slavery in the South. The writer of the article has, no doubt, been misled by accepting the statements of Professor Goldwin Smith as truths. We are surprised that any writer for the English press can repeat such ridiculous calumnies as that in the South "the human cattle are bred like sheep or swine for the market." It is unhappily too true that in the North the negroes are slaughtered as though they were cattle, and roasted as though they were swine.

*Blackwood* opens with an account of a visit to an insurgent camp in Poland. The narrative is instructive. It reveals to us the great difficulties that the Poles have to contend with, but it also shows us how strong a people are when they strike for freedom. The National Government has no lack of means for carrying on the war; for though its coffers are not overflowing, the patriotism of the country provides it with military equipments, and with a sufficient commissariat. Nothing can exceed the devotion of the Polish ladies, and their spirit gallantly defies the infamous brutalities of the Russians.—An essay on the works of Mr. George Cruikshank is highly commendatory and appreciative. Few artists are more original, but we hope that the pamphlet he has

lately published on ghosts, which is very good in its way, is not an indication that he is about to give up the pencil for the pen.—A second and concluding article on the "State and Prospects of the Church of England," is worthy of the attention of all those who are interested in the welfare of the Establishment. We cordially endorse the opinion of the writer that if the Liturgy and the Confession of Faith need revision, it is lawful though it may not be expedient to have them revised; but when it is proposed that the Church shall have no Confession of Faith, or that her ministers shall be allowed to read a service they disapprove of, and to belong to a Church from the articles of which they dissent, we protest against the scheme, because "it would cut the ground from beneath the feet of the Church of England, both as a Church and as a religious establishment."—A paper on "Indian Prosperity" gives a hopeful view of what we may do to promote the well-being of our Indian Empire. If the news by the last mail is true that Nana Sahib has been captured whilst conspiring against our authority, it proves the great need of watchfulness and of, at the same time, strengthening our position by developing the resources and the riches of the country, and attaching the natives to us by the bonds of interest.

At this season of the year, when only the lightest of light literature is popular, the majority of readers will skip the first article in *Fraser*, "McCulloch on Taxation," but in so doing they will pass by an able contribution. One paragraph has a particular application to the present moment. Some persons think the proper remedy for the distress in Lancashire is to promote the wholesale emigration of the operatives, but *Fraser* observes that it is worse to sacrifice our labouring population than to drive capital abroad. In the one case we lose our productive power, in the other we lose that which by thrift and industry we can replace. Hence *Fraser* contends that the war in America may do good by deterring our labourers from crossing the Atlantic to settle in a country no longer untaxed. With this view we cannot coincide. Repudiation may relieve the United States of the burden of taxation. If the war in America should cease, then so great would be the demand in the South for our manufactures, so certain would be our supply of cotton no longer jeopardised by the prospect of a war with the North, that the prosperity of our artisans would put an end to undue emigration.—"Mr. Buckle in the East," is a letter written by a gentleman who travelled with that lamented writer on the journey that immediately preceded his death. It is a melancholy narrative. The writer does not hide the imperfections of Mr. Buckle's character. "Truth, indeed, compels me to say that, during these months of intimate acquaintance as fellow-travellers, there were instances in which indignation was roused, not only against what appeared to me distorted moral views, but against acts wanting in generosity, if not in justice. Out of regard not only to the feelings of his friends, but to the reticence which I conceive imposed on myself by the intimacy even of an accidental acquaintanceship, and still more by his death, I have in these pages suppressed all allusion to those particular views and acts to which I thus generally refer." Probably, if Mr. Buckle had lived a few years longer, he would have found that beneath the errors of fanaticism, of superstition, and of ignorant credulity, there was something grand in the social life of man, and that the world, bad as it seems, is actuated by nobler impulses than he dreamed of.—An essay on "Party" can never fail to attract the attention of Englishmen. Our system of government is essentially a government of party, and without it that our constitution would fail us, as it has failed other nations who have adopted it. Parties are of very slow growth, and cannot be created by universal suffrage, but unhappily they may be rapidly impaired, and even uprooted. It was not the inauguration of free trade that was a danger to England. If all the evils had resulted that Protectionists anticipated, we could have ensured a return of prosperity by a change of policy. The real risk we ran in 1846 was the disruption of party ties, and to this day we suffer many inconveniences from the party anarchy incident to the repeal of the Corn Laws.—"A Chapter on Châlons and Aldershot" contains some useful hints for the improvement of our camp system. They do these things better in France, but we know of no reason why our neighbours should continue to excel us.

"Romola" is concluded in the present number of the *Cornhill*, and though it is an admirable novel, worthy of the reputation of the author of "Adam Bede," and deserving the success it has already met with in its three volume dress, we think it is not very well suited for publication in a serial.—"On a Medal of George the Fourth" is a playful essay upon the prevalence of crime, and the excitement incident to its commission. We quote the conclusion:—

Now think what scores of men and women walk the world in a like predicament; and what false coin passes current! Pinchbeck strives to pass off his history as sound coin. He knows it is only base metal, washed over with a thin varnish of learning. Poluphoebos puts his sermons in circulation: sounding brass, lackered over with white metal, and marked with the stamp and image of piety. What say you to Drawcansir's reputation as a military commander? to Tibbs's pretensions to be a fine gentleman? to Supphira's claims as a poetess, or Rodocessa's as a beauty? His bravery, his piety, high birth, genius, beauty—each of these deceivers would palm his falsehood on us, and have us accept his forgeries as sterling coin. And we talk here, please to observe, of weaknesses rather than crimes. Some of us have more serious things to hide than a yellow cheek behind a raddle of rouge, or a white poll under a wig of jetty curls. You know, neighbour, there are not only false teeth in this world, but false tongues: and some make up a bust and an appearance of strength with padding, cotton, and what not; while another kind of artist tries to take you in by wearing under his waistcoat, and perpetually thumping, an immense sham heart. Dear sir, may yours and mine be found, at the right time, of the proper size and in the right place.

And what has this to do with half-crowns, good or bad? Ah, friend! may our coin, battered, and clipped, and defaced though it be, be proved to be Sterling Silver on the day of the Great Assay!

A contribution on "Foreign Actors and the English Drama" contains a great deal of sound criticism, though we cannot agree with the unfavourable verdict passed on *Mlle. Stella Collas*. She cannot be devoid of dramatic power and passion, or she would be unable to sway the audience. It is true she gives too much heed to stage business; but she is popular, not on account of that, but in spite of it. The critic says her personation is "mob acting," by which, we presume, he means that it brings down the gallery and rouses the pit; but this was just the effect that was produced by Kean, Kemble, and Charles Young; and to this those great artists looked as the criterion of their success. When Edmund Kean was asked by his wife what Lord Essex thought of his performance, he replied, "Never mind Lord Essex, the pit rose at me."—We must not forget to mention an excellent essay on "Heinrich Heine;" His genius is unquestionable, but, unhappily, like Byron, he wasted his power, and has only left behind him works which prove how much he might have done for his day and generation, had his moral character been different.

It is notified on the title-page of *Macmillan* that the right of reproduction of articles published therein is reserved, but following the example of our contemporaries we quote in *extenso* "The American Iliad in a Nutshell," by Thomas Carlyle.

#### ILIAS (AMERICAN) IN NUCE.

PETER of the North (to PAUL of the South). "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year as I do! You are going straight to Hell, you —!"

PAUL. "Good words, Peter! The risk is my own; I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method."

PETER. "No, I won't. I'll beat your brains out first!" (And is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it. May, 1863. T. C.)

Mr. Carlyle happily exposes the sham of the sham pretext put forth to gull Europe.—Baron Liebig continues his criticism on Lord Bacon, and although he utterly fails to damage the reputation of the English philosopher, he is eminently successful in doing what Dogberry pathetically asked one of his friends to do for him.—The Rev. Hugh Macmillan contributes a pleasant and instructive paper on "The Plants on the Summits of the Highland Mountains."

Mr. Ainsworth proceeds with his romance, entitled "Cardinal Pole" in *Bentley*, and although it is very good of its kind, the author has harped too long on one string to produce a novel that has any pretensions to novelty.—Dr. Michelsen gives a sketch from life of Rosini meeting with a lazzarone who had a fine voice, and after a little instruction became first tenor at the San Carlo.—The "French Language," by Frederick Marshal, is, we presume, intended for a lesson; but it seems to us rather out of place in a magazine of light literature.

*London Society* is, as usual, profusely illustrated, and the articles are short and amusing. "Recollections of Almack's" is a graphic picture of some of the doings of a bygone generation. The Guards' Ball, which was no doubt the ball of the season, is the subject of three illustrations, in one of which the ladies look dreadfully crowded and uncomfortable. The story entitled "The first Time I saw Her" is continued, and promises to be a very attractive novelette.

TROPHIES OF THE BATTLE FIELD.—Mr. Nat. C. Harrison, in his last trip from Fredericksburg, brought down 188 pounds of leaden balls, which had been picked up by some of our troops, in front of the famous stonewall, beneath Marye's Heights. It is stated that hundreds of pounds of balls still remain in front of this wall, flattened and twisted out of shape by being shot against it. It is stated that most of these balls were fired at our men behind the stonewall, by Meagher's Irish brigade, which was so terribly handled during the first battle there. These balls have been gathered up as lead, and will probably be instrumental in killing a few Yankees in some subsequent battle.—*Petersburg Express*.



## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, August 4.

If Poland be not already reconstituted, if Austria and Prussia, as well as Russia, be not ready to disgorge the prey of 1772, if the map of Europe be not remodelled in a quite different fashion to that of 1815, it is not the fault of the Paris press, or of those who inspire it. It is the one subject of the day, and if I have some interesting extracts on another question to send you, one of them at least is in close and not unexpected connection with the Polish question. I begin with it. The *France* of last night, which, with more moderation than its fellows, has of late joined the war cry, comments thus on the connection between the Russian Autocracy and the American Republic:—

In the despatches and correspondence from America, we see traces of a movement of opinion which deserves to be noticed, although it certainly does not express the feelings of the Cabinet of Washington.

From these letters we learn that the idea of an alliance between the United States and Russia, in case of a war between the Court of St. Petersburg and the Western Powers, gains ground with the advanced party. It was only yesterday that the *Herald* advocated immediate war with France and England.

The heads of the people of the North are already turned by General Meade's successes and Lee's retreat. They fancy the South already vanquished, and at their mercy, and they are thinking what they shall do with their armies and fleets. The old Monroe doctrine is again their preoccupation, and their cry is "Go ahead."

Our correspondents even add that in the North they already point to Mexico as the object of this encroaching policy, Mexico, which the foresight of France seeks, by the constitution of a strong and regular Government, to oppose as a barrier to Northern ambition.

We must not ascribe more weight to these tendencies than they deserve. Of course, Mr. Lincoln and his counsellors will disavow them, but they show the disposition of the popular mind, and as doing so they deserve attention.

Such are the Republicans of the North. They offer the hand to the oppressors of Poland; they are as indifferent to the enfranchisement of this noble nation, as they were to Turkey in 1855, and of Italy in 1859. It is only the other day that they received the thanks of Russia for refusing to join in the representations made by the whole of Europe.

Their conduct is logical. The Cabinet of Washington denies the right of any nation to self-government. At home they violate the rights of national liberty, by seeking to force the States of the South into a union which is henceforth impossible. What they are doing in America against the Confederates is destined, if they were to succeed, to renew in America the misfortunes and disorders of Poland; it is, therefore, only natural that they should approve of Russia's conduct in the Polish movement.

What will their partisans here say to these aspirations after a Russo-American alliance? It is true that they do not pique themselves on consistency; and that, unlike the Unionists of Washington, while they recognise the right of the Poles to break the chains which unite them to Russia, they deny that of the South to throw off the fetters which bind them to the North, and to proclaim their independence.

In these tendencies there is something which should not be entirely lost sight of. Ill defined and insensate though such projects be, there is a certain party in America which obstinately advocates them. It is the inveterate hatred nourished against England and France which, though the Government may not dare to indulge it, may find vent among the adventurers whose numbers and daring the past may vouch for.

We have here a fresh proof of the wisdom of the French policy which proposed a recognition of the Confederacy, and has gone to war for the pacification of Mexico, for the purpose of putting a stop to the exaggerated development of this American Republic, whose audacity recoils from nothing, and whose extension might destroy the equilibrium of the whole world.

The *Patrie* has a letter to prove the revolutionary character of the late riots in New York. "These black Republicans," says the writer, "are also Red Republicans; their heroes are the heroes of the Red Republic in Europe, whose portraits decorate the walls of the *lager* beer-cellars where they congregate. There were striking points of resemblance between a Paris or Lyons' *emueve* and that of New York. The movement was a sudden one, for which no preparation had been made, but already on the second and third days more discipline might be remarked among the rioters, and even a few barricades at last appeared. Had the Germans, French, and Italians been able to come to an understanding with the Irish, the *emueve* might have been longer-lived. But their Archbishop had quieted them by the administration of large doses of blarney, and there is at all times a strong antagonism between the Irish and the other immigration. The noble race cannot live in friendly contact with any other, although a community of oppression may for a time smother the feeling of jealous ill-will." "The American papers," he continues, "warn their readers that this was no riot for the sake of pillage; the rioters were working men or mechanics. The friends of Mr. Lincoln may say that the fall of 4 per cent. in the price of gold is the proof how trifling the insurrection seemed to American capitalists. But there are papers which do not see it at all in this light. They attribute the fall in its price to the panic of its holders, who brought down the market by the sudden demand for bills upon England and France, where they may have before long to take refuge."

Mexico has been referred to in one of these letters, and the wise foresight which has undertaken its pacification praised. The choice of a Government, not by the simple ordeal of universal suffrage, but by the votes of a body chosen by double election—General Forey being the first degree, the commission of Government chosen by

him the second, and 254 notables chosen by these, the result—has excited no enthusiastic admiration in France. But the general's—now marshal's—last act, the sequestration of all property, movable and immovable, belonging to persons in arms against France is an act of barbarism which has elicited some marks of disapprobation even here, and which it is not probable that the Emperor will countenance. The silence of the *Moniteur* on the subject is considered a pledge that this decree will be withdrawn. The occupation of Mexico, determined on for five years, the occupying army to be paid by the Mexican Government, will be a sufficiently thorny task, without adding individual hatreds to patriotic resentment.

To return from the Equator to the Poles, I should have a difficulty in selection if I attempted to convey to you by extracts the eagerness of the Paris press to rush into war. In the general public, however, this martial ardour is very much cooled down, and the constantly increasing violence of the press is a proof of this. The French people are ready enough to go to war with Russia, but they will do this willingly only on condition of having England by their side in the adventure. The declarations in parliament and the tone of the press in England have done much to allay the war-fever, but the unanimity with which the French press continues to advocate war leads to the suspicion that the Government has determined upon it. The *Presse* had two days ago a correspondence from London, in which it is said that England has determined to go with France and Austria to all extremes, and it states that Lord Russell gave this assurance the very day of the prorogation of parliament, in exchange for the assurance that France would seek no increase of territory as the price of her sacrifices. Commenting on this news, the *Siecle* says that, "notwithstanding all her hesitations, tergiversations, and unwillingness, the French fleet would not have sailed a hundred knots from Cherbourg in the direction of the Baltic, before the English fleet from Portsmouth would join it. The Crimean war is not so distant that we have forgotten the conduct of England then. She hesitated then; she showed then the same unwillingness to go to war till the moment when we lifted our anchors. Then all objections ceased. Whatever her motives, the concurrence of England will not be wanting to us now any more than then. The hope of Liberals, that they may see the flags of the two nations united in so just a war as that for Poland, will not be deceived."

This is evidently written as an answer to the objectors, who begin to shrink from the prospect of another Russian campaign. In ten days we shall be able to judge better of the Imperial decision. The Emperor returns to-morrow, and if, as at present said, he remains here for his fête, the 15th, it must be with the intention of then saying something either to calm public apprehension, as M. Fould is said to have urged, or to show that war is inevitable. Rumour attaches great importance to a meeting of the Privy Council, called for the middle of the month, as it is seldom assembled; but it may have nothing in view but the interior policy of the Empire, and the modifications which the recent elections have made in it. The absence of movement on the Bourse shows how uncertain people still are here with regard to the ultimate decision of the Government. If war were known to be imminent there would be a great fall, unless staved off by those measures which the Government has so often taken to sustain quotations; but the general impression is that the funds formerly used for this purpose are now at a low ebb. The small rise in the funds to-day—they are now at 67.10—is attributed to a report current in Paris yesterday, that England had refused to agree to the project of identical notes put forward by France.

## AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKET.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, August 5.

THE panic of last week has been surmounted in a manner much better than was anticipated. The arrangements for adjusting the accounts have, however, only just terminated, and failures among firms of the Stock Exchange fraternity to the extent of five have taken place. If several others had not obtained assistance they would have been brought to the "hammer," and the result would have been worse confusion than that already experienced. Now the agitation created by these lapses in credit has passed, a more favourable feeling is entertained, since it is believed the difficulty with Poland will be settled in an amicable way—Russia being allowed to make terms without inflicting any serious wound upon her pride. The sudden recovery in French rates to-night shows that the "situation" in Paris is considered less discouraging, and consequently greater confidence was expressed both in the money-market and in the neighbourhood of Capel-court. If the war question shall be finished with explanations, the appearance of the weather and the influx of bullion will lead to cheaper rates of discount, and already the tendency is in that direction. The Bank next week, looking to the prospects of the future, may reduce to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; if so the rates, instead of being as they are now out of doors,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 7, would be about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 34.

## BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The specie movements at the Bank of England continue on a rather limited scale, though certainly the transactions this week have been more extensive than for some weeks previously. The total amount of bullion sent in has been £351,000, but on the other hand there have not been any withdrawals. The arrivals of bullion have likewise been small, amounting only to £130,000, of which £15,788 is from the Brazils, and the remainder from America. The silver market remains in a very quiet state—for bars there is very little demand. Mexican dollars have only been slightly inquired after, but the price remains firm at 5s. 2½d. per oz. The gold ships known at present to be on their way to this country are the Kent, from Australia, with £117,500, and the John Durham, from Otago, with £160,000.

## BILLS ON INDIA.

The billings for 40,000,000 rupees in bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were to Calcutta 22,000,000 rupees, to Bombay 16,000,000 rupees, and to Madras 2,000,000 rupees. The declared minimum price was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay and Madras. The applications within

the limits amounted to 198,00,000. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 11 per cent. on Bombay at 1s. 11½d. about 32 per cent., and all above these prices in full; on Madras in full.

## CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

Since our last there has been an absence of political news which would influence the value of this loan. On the Stock Exchange, however, there has been an unabated panic, caused, principally, by the forced sales of numerous weak holders—sums, which, in the aggregate are insignificant—but being forced off at a time when there is a general disinclination to operate, has caused a heavy decline. The price touched 30 this morning, for a moment only; there were speedily buyers at 26; and we close steady at 25 to 24 discount. Very little doing.

The marked depression in the Loan, however, must be attributed to something more than the ordinary fall created by adverse operations. It would seem, and indeed it is alleged that there is a deep-rooted conspiracy among men with Northern proclivities to offer stock in any quantity with the view of frightening holders, so that they are driven to sell out at any price. This will explain the unparalleled drop of the last three days, and the comparative state of panic which has prevailed in the market. The price of 35, 33 and 25 discount is not the representative value of this loan, and though the quotation may rule temporarily between these figures, this state of things cannot last long. It is quite clear that at any such depression buyers will come forward and take whatever can be obtained, and therefore in the course of the next week we expect to see a strong reaction towards, at least, the point of par. If this change should ensue, we should subsequently not be surprised to find a run up to a premium—the cotton basis of the transaction entitling it to favourable consideration apart from its dividend and sinking fund capacity, which may be viewed as extremely satisfactory.

The following correspondence with regard to the Confederate Loan has passed between one of the holders and Hon. C. J. M'Rae, agent of the Confederate States for its negotiation:—

"35, St. James's-place, London, Aug. 5, 1863.

"Sir,—The present position of the Seven per Cent. Cotton Loan on our Stock Exchange is such as to give anxiety to the holders, of whom I am one. At the same time I, for one, have not lost for a moment the confidence I always had in the ultimate success of the Confederate cause, nor putting aside this view for the present, do I doubt that the engagements the Confederate Government have entered into with the holders of the bonds of this loan can be and will be faithfully fulfilled.

"However, in order to have a clear idea of the position of affairs, I should like to know from you, the accredited agent in this country for the Cotton Loan, some few particulars on the subject:—

"1. Whether there exists within the Confederate States, in possession of the Government, cotton sufficient to discharge its liabilities on this Loan; if so, what amount they possess.

"2. Where the cotton is stored and how; and if the taking of Charleston, Mobile, and Savannah by the Northern army will cause the destruction or capture of any portion of the Government stock of cotton, and how much.

"3. Whether I or any holder of paid up bonds, on demanding cotton in exchange for bonds, can get immediate possession of the same within the limits of the Confederacy, and whether having possession of the cotton forthwith, I shall, on return of peace, or having previous opportunity of exportation, be exempt from all duty, except the stipulated duty of an eighth of a cent per pound.

"4. Your candid reply to these queries will much oblige me.

"H. W. SCHWARTZ.

"To Mr. C. J. M'Rae.

"Burlington Hotel, Cork-street, Aug. 5.

"Sir,—In reply to the inquiries contained in your note of this morning, I have to say that on the 1st of March last the Government of the Confederate States had purchased about 320,000 bales of cotton. The purchasing was still going on, and it is fair to presume that by this time the quantity has been increased to at least 500,000 bales.

"This cotton is principally in the States of Georgia and Alabama, and some also in the eastern part of Mississippi, North-western Louisiana, and Texas, and is stored on the plantations of the planters from whom it was purchased, in sheds or warehouses 300 feet from any other buildings, and in all cases the planters have agreed with the Government to take the same care of the cotton as if it still belonged to them, and to deliver it to the order of the Government when wanted. The capture of all our seaports would not endanger the loss of a single pound of cotton, as there are no stocks of cotton at any of them, nor are there any considerable stocks of cotton at any one place in the interior, care having been taken by the Confederate, as well as the State Governments, that no cotton should be stored at any point within five miles of a railroad, station, or navigable stream. That portion of the crop of 1861 which had been brought to the various interior depots has long since been taken back to the plantations by special order of the State Governments.

"The cotton will be delivered to any holder of the bonds on demand, as provided for in the fourth article of the contract. In the States of Alabama and Mississippi, where I have personal knowledge of the manner in which the business has been transacted, the cotton has been sampled, weighed, marked, and invoiced, and the agents of the bondholders can examine the samples at the offices of the chief agents of the loan in the different States, and take their orders on the planters for the delivery of the cotton without trouble or expense. The cotton obtained under this loan will not be subject to any tax or duty, except the export duty of one-eighth of a cent per lb., existing at the date of the contract.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"C. J. M'Rae, Agent for the Loan.

"Mr. H. W. Schwartz."

## LOAN FOR GUATEMALA.

A loan for £150,000 has just been notified for the Republic of Guatemala, for the purpose of local improvements. The interest is to be at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly in London, with a sinking fund at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum.

## BANKING AMALGAMATION.

An official announcement has just been made that the old established private banking firm of Messrs. Hankey and Co., of Fenchurch-street, have made arrangements for an immediate amalgamation with the Consolidated Bank (Limited) of London and Manchester, to which another old private banking firm, that of Messrs. Heywood, Kennard, and Co. has recently been added, and on whose premises the business in London is now carried on. The great progress recently made by the Joint Stock Banks, and the great favour in which they are held by



the public have induced these amalgamations, and the general impression is, that others of a similar character will follow at probably no distant date.

MERCANTILE SUSPENSION.

The suspension has just been announced of Messrs. J. E. Figgis and Co., merchants and warehousemen of Gutter-lane. The total liabilities are estimated at between £35,000 and £40,000, but it is thought the assets will be nearly if not quite equal. It is stated that the stoppage has been occasioned through the non-arrival of expected remittances from abroad.

HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

Business in the English Securities has been very quiet throughout the week, but this is to be expected, to a greater or less extent at this period of the year, when a large portion of the dealers are, as usual, taking their holidays. Consols have varied during the week from 92½ to 93½, and close this evening at nearly the highest point, being 93 to 94 for both money and account. Exchequer Bills have not been so largely dealt in, and again show a slight decline, the latest quotations being 1 dis. to 2 prem. There has been less speculation in foreign securities, and prices have been rather better supported. At one period there was a little excitement with regard to Greek stock, but affairs at Athens being looked upon rather more satisfactorily, prices have again improved. A fair business has been done in Spanish, Turkish, and Mexican, but without any material alteration in values. Greek Five per Cents. closed at 31½ to 32½, Spanish Certificates, 12½ to 13, Do. Passives, 31½ to 32, and Mexican, 36½ to 37.

AMERICAN SECURITIES.

A large business has again been transacted in American securities, but chiefly in those descriptions more particularly identified with the Northern States. Prices have fluctuated rather more than usual, but, in most instances were rather firmer at the close. United States' redeemable in 1874, have been dealt in at 70 and 72; Virginia State Six per Cents., 42½, 42, and 42; Atlantic and Great Western Railway, Pennsylvania Section, 72, 72½, 72 and 72½; Erie Share, \$100 all paid, 69, 70, 70½, 68, 68½, 69, and 70 ex. div.; Illinois Central Seven per Cents. 78½; Do. \$100 Shares, 890 paid, 19½, 21½, 22, 21, 21½, 22, 20½, 21½, 20½, 20½, 19½, 19 and 16 dis.; do. all paid, 71, 70, 69½, 69½, 70½, 70, 71, and 73; Michigan Central, Convertible 1869, 78; Do. Sinking Fund, 1st Mortgage Convertible 1882, 80 and 84; New York Central, \$100 shares, 80½, 80, and 77½, x. c.

RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The Railway Share Market has shown but little animation as regards business, and prices throughout the week have been gradually declining, there having been scarcely a momentary improvement. Great Northern have experienced a decline of nearly 3 per cent., chiefly in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the dividend. Caledonian, Midland, Great Western, North Eastern (Berwick), Lancashire, and Yorkshire, are also considerably lower. In Foreign Railways there has been more business doing, and prices have been comparatively well sustained, and in those of British possessions, although the transactions have been more limited, prices have ruled steady.

JOINT STOCK BANK MEETINGS.

At the first half-yearly meeting of the proprietors in the Union Bank of Ireland, a report by the directors was read and adopted, which stated that notwithstanding the depression in every branch of industry in Ireland, consequent on successive deficient harvests, the statement of accounts showed, after paying all current expenses, a balance of profit of £823, which would be carried to the next account. The arrangements for the establishment of branches in Ireland, it appears, were not completed till the middle of last March. At a meeting of the proprietors of the Bank of Hindostan, China, and Japan, resolutions were passed confirming the previous minutes for excluding from the Articles of Association the 19th clause

thereby empowering the directors to buy and sell the shares of the Company. At the second half-yearly meeting of the Imperial Bank, the report of the directors was unanimously adopted. It states that the gross profits for the past six months had been £10,056; and after making all deductions, there would be left a net balance of £4,012, being equal to a dividend of 5 per cent. The directors, however, deemed it prudent not to announce any distribution at present, but carry the balance to the current half-year's account, the report to be presented. At the half-yearly meeting of the Bank of Egypt on Tuesday next states that the net profit of the half-year, including a balance of £4663, brought forward from the previous half-year, amounts to £13,895, out of which the usual dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum for the half-year, free of income-tax, will be declared, leaving a balance of £5,145 to be carried to the next account. In consequence of the death of Philip Anstruther, Esq., Deputy-chairman, Patrick F. Robertson, Esq., has been elected to fill the vacancy created.

PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

There appears at present not to be any falling off in the introduction of new joint-stock companies, although the mania for those gigantic undertakings which prevailed a short time ago has been repressed. Of the six brought forward this week, the Charcoal Iron Works Company requires £230,000; the Kythanser Mining and Smelting Company, and the British and Foreign India Rubber Company, each ask for £200,000; the North-Western Railway Rolling Stock Company, £100,000; the Metropolitan Lavatory Company, £60,000; and the Brighton Club and Norfolk Hotel Company, £40,000; making together a total of £830,000. A supplementary return of the new companies registered since the 15th June up to the 9th ult., has been published, which shows that in the short period of three weeks, the number of English companies was 58, with a nominal capital of £14,328,200; two Irish, with a nominal capital of £14,000; and three Scotch, with a nominal capital of £3,600. The average nominal capital of the English companies is £247,000; the highest being that of the Credit Metropolitan for £3,000,000; and the lowest that of the United Bank of England, France, and America, being for only £1,000.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In every department our American trade presents the same dull monotonous aspect, as noticed for some time past. Passing events throw no light upon the question as to when the war is likely to end; and traders therefore relax none of their wonted caution in conducting their operations. Speculation is a dead letter, and even actual requirements are only sparingly provided for. In this way transactions from day to day appear trifling in the extreme, and yet from their continuity they sum up a better aggregate in the quarterly returns than might, under existing circumstances, be expected. In the price of American wheat and flour there has been no change; but the movements of the week point rather to easier than firmer rates in the future. Already new English wheat is coming to market, and the samples are taken as indicating a crop quite equal in quality to former years; whilst as to quantity, estimates are in all cases placed above those of last harvest. American provisions have generally met an improved demand. Bacon sides of fresh and good quality have made 40s.; but purchases are confined almost exclusively to the best descriptions. Bacon middles, with continued transactions for export, are again 1s. per cwt. dearer. American butters are neglected in the absence of fine qualities. The principal feature in the tobacco market is the diminishing stocks of American, and it is expected that should the imports prove small and of the same inferior quality and condition as the samples as yet received, some extension of demand from precautionary, buying may be experienced. Cotton rules firm, with sales of about the recent average. Petroleum was

purchased freely till within the last few days; the price of crude advancing to £19 15s. per tun, and refined to 2s. 5d. per gallon. At the close, however, the market is quiet, with quotations barely so good. American spirits of Turpentine being wholly in one hand, are retained at 100s. in the face of a further fall to 71s. per cwt. in the price of French. Owing partly to the position of the Exchange at New York, sperm oil has been sold at 20s. per tun advance. In articles suitable for the American demand there is very little change, and the sales since our last have been upon a very limited scale, as also have been the entries for shipment. Scotch pig iron, after touching 53s. 3d. has receded to 52s. 9d. and 52s. 10½d. Camphor sells in retail quantity at £6 5s. Shellacs are making a little more money. Gums remain stationary in value. At our colonial wool sales scarcely anything is doing for America.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday Evening, August 5.

The past week has been a very quiet one for our cotton market, with daily sales, ranging from 4,000 to 5,000 bales, but the inclination of prices has been rather against the seller. This has been in part owing to the large arrivals of Indian cotton, some 50,000 bales have come up in the last ten days. Trade also in Manchester has again settled into dulness, and here and there spinners are shortening their hours of work. The last news received from India was rather disappointing, as it showed that the demand for goods had fallen off, and a slight reaction occurred. The American advances since our last report have had no sensible influence on the market; their tenor sums to point as conclusively as ever to a long-protracting and desolating war. We quote to-day Middling American cotton 22d.; Fair Dhollerah 18½d.; do. arrived 17½d. to 3d. for May sailing and 17½d. to 3d. for June sailing.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, 4th August.

The American intelligence during the past few days has had a depressing effect on our yarn and cloth market, and very little business has taken place in consequence. The Federal successes appear to have engendered a belief in the minds of buyers here, that the war will not continue much longer, and that it is extremely risky buying anything beyond what is wanted for immediate requirements. Holders, on the other hand, do not see anything but a prolongation of the war, yet are afraid to enter into further purchases of cotton or yarn, but talk of resorting to short time again.

Advices by telegram received here on Friday from India, report markets there as quiet and for some fabrics lower prices are being taken. This also has had a tendency to weaken prices and assist in the depression of tone. Yarns suitable for home manufacture are the weakest, but very little has been done in them. Some few transactions have been entered into by continental shippers at steady prices, but the present state of demand for their markets is not such as to materially improve. Goods of all kinds are little inquired for, but as stocks are light, very slight concessions, if any, would be made in case of offers.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of July 30, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE LATE FEDERAL SUCCESSES.  
THE LOSSES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.  
THE FRUITS OF MASTERLY INACTIVITY.  
THE NEW YORK RIOTS.  
THE SESSION.  
MR. CORDEN ON THE ALABAMA.  
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Per oz.	Per oz.
24 carats fine is worth.....£4 4 11	13 carats.....£2 6 0
23 ditto.....4 1 5	12 ditto.....2 2 ½
22 ditto (British Standard).....3 17 10½	11 ditto.....1 18 11
21 carats.....3 14 4	10 ditto.....1 11 10
20 ditto.....3 10 9½	9 ditto.....1 8 3½
19 ditto.....3 7 3	8 ditto.....1 4 9
18 ditto.....3 3 8½	7 ditto.....1 1 24
17 ditto.....3 0 2	6 ditto.....0 17 8
16 ditto.....2 16 7½	5 ditto.....0 10 7½
15 ditto.....2 13 1	4 ditto.....0 7 1
14 ditto.....2 9 6½	3 ditto.....0 3 6½

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# GENERAL THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON.

Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III—No. 68.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 13, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK: THE IMPENDING CONFLICT BETWEEN  
FEDERAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES.  
TWO YEARS' INVASION AND ITS RESULTS.  
THE EMPIRE OF MEXICO.  
MR. NEWMAN HALL'S EXCOMMUNICATION.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, JULY 4TH AND 11TH.  
CAN INDIA SAVE OUR COTTON TRADE?  
CORRESPONDENCE FROM NEW ORLEANS: THE SITUATION  
IN LOUISIANA.  
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE Federal Government has avowed its intention to enforce the conscription in New York, as elsewhere. A large number of Federal troops, estimated at not less than 5,000, is encamped in the public squares in various parts of the city to overawe resistance. It is not therefore probable that the riots will be renewed. A more formidable conflict, however, is impending between the Federal and State authorities, as our New York correspondent points out with great force and clearness. "There is no longer a mob," he says, "but in place of a riotous multitude there is a great State in all its organized forms as a separate political community, which the counsellors of the Administration would leave to be treated as a mob and ruled by the bayonet." He foretells with remarkable precision the nature and the occasion of the collision. The Federal Government has evaded, by a paltry subterfuge, the judicial decision of the constitutionality of the act during the progress of enrollment. At the next stage of proceedings, when the enrolled men are actually drafted into service, the issue must be broadly met, and as the Federal Government appears to be fully determined to shield itself behind the Act of Indemnity, and if need be, to resist the decision of the State courts by military force, the last struggle for constitutional liberty must be regarded as having already commenced within the North itself. If it terminates in favour of the central authority, which is suspected of having deliberately provoked it, the revolution through which Federal America has been so rapidly passing will be complete.

We have Richmond correspondence, dated both before and after the recent Confederate reverses, of the 4th and 11th of July respectively. As our correspondent's letter of the former date betrays no undue exultation, so neither does his later one exhibit any evidence of depression or discouragement. The Southern people measure fully the whole extent of the disaster, and resolutely betake themselves to the supreme effort of retrieving it. The Southern papers before us, some of which are of as late a date as the 20th ultimo, confirm this impression of the unflinching determination of a unanimous population. It is remarkable, however, and singularly characteristic, that while Europe rings with praise at the heroic though unsuccessful resistance of Vicksburg, a portion of the Southern press subject the surrender to an excessively severe criticism. According to the *Richmond Examiner*, for instance, the sufferings of the garrison bore no comparison to what had been endured in other memorable sieges. The time of the surrender and the foolish words ascribed to General Pemberton are also very sharply commented upon, and we think not unjustly. We consider such criticisms, unless carried too far, as the symptoms of a sound public opinion and wholesome in their effect. It is better that a nation should err by excess of self-examination, than that it should allow

itself to be flattered, like the North, into an overweening and fatal self-conceit. Besides, it must be remembered that the standard of military excellence is necessarily very high in the South, and that what would ensure praise in most other countries does not, with a people placed as the Southerners are, always ensure against censure. What, doubtless, also embitters the comments on recent events is the reflection that the two greatest losses which the Confederacy has sustained—New Orleans and Vicksburg—happened where Northern men were in command, Pemberton being a Pennsylvanian, and Lovell, though a native of Maryland, having continued a citizen of New York until after the battle of Manassas. Coincidences of this sort are seldom construed with perfect justice. Another singular feature in the tone of the Southern press is that the *Richmond Enquirer*, which has of late distinguished itself by several vehement attacks on different departments of the Administration, clamours for an extension of the President's powers, and would, had it its own way, make Mr. Davis almost as absolute as Mr. Lincoln.

Our New Orleans correspondent gives us minute details of the surrender of Port Hudson, some subsequent engagements which terminated unfavourably to the Federals, and are therefore not reported by the telegraph, and the expedition sent out to recover Brashear City. The most important item of intelligence is, however, the brief and almost incidental statement that since the fall of the two Confederate strongholds, and the day after the "opening of the Mississippi" had been publicly celebrated in New Orleans, a steamer arrived in that city riddled with Confederate balls.

It is not probable, as the North tremblingly fears, that the South is even thinking of resorting to the extreme measure of arming its slaves. But it is quite true, that if driven to the necessity of using it, the South has this weapon fully at its command. The negroes, led by their own masters, would fight as much better than when led against them, as the Sepoys fought better under than against their European officers. An organization similar to that of the native troops in India would answer all practical purposes. A levy of all the able-bodied slaves would give nearly 800,000 within a few weeks. A partial levy of only 200,000 or 300,000 men would not materially interrupt the agricultural work of the country. There would be no danger to society in such a measure. The same natural authority on the one side, and instinctive obedience on the other, which enables a single white man, far removed from neighbours, to control hundreds of negroes, would ensure discipline and subordination. A more solid security is in the tried loyalty and devoted attachment of the Southern slave to his master. The idea of negro troops in the Confederate service exists, however, only in the fears of the Northern people.

The telegraph announces the death of the Hon J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky. At the outbreak of the war, few men enjoyed to so great an extent the respect and reverence of both sections of the late American Union. He was known as the Nestor of the United States' Senate, having entered that body in 1816, and with few intervals represented his State there from that date to the year 1861. During the same period he filled the offices of Governor of Kentucky and of Attorney-General of the United States. The colleague and contemporary of the greatest American statesmen of the post-revolutionary era, the Calhouns, Jacksons, Websters, and Clays—the representative of a State which both geographically and socially occupied a central position in the Union—and belonging during the whole of his public life to a party which favoured a strong Federal Administration, Mr. Crittenden in his advanced age found it

impossible to break with all the traditions of his youth and manhood, and to take that prompt and irrevocable decision which the emergency demanded. It was he who devised the celebrated Compromise Resolutions, best known by his name, in the vain hope of conciliating the exasperated sections. It was he who seduced his State into the untenable attitude of neutrality, which has been the cause of so many misfortunes to Kentucky and the South at large. Thus having lost the confidence of both parties to this war, accused of treachery by both, and treated with indignity and contempt by both, he has died, a melancholy instance of a great statesman surviving his own reputation. It will, perhaps, best illustrate the difficult position into which Kentucky and Kentuckians have been forced through this unhappy indecision, to remark that Mr. Crittenden has a son in each of the contending armies, both general officers in their respective services. Cases of this kind are peculiar to Kentucky; and in that State alone are the parties to the contest so locally intermingled, as to give to the struggle the features and character of a civil war. The awful responsibility of this fact Mr. J. J. Crittenden takes with him to the grave.

The Northern press is much exercised at what they consider the imminent prospect of European intervention in the American war. They argue that so long as the South continued not only to hold its own, but even seemed the stronger, it was the interest of France and England to let it fight its battles unaided; but as the prospect of the success of the Union arms grows brighter, the certainty of foreign interference becomes more apparent. The establishment of a monarchy under French protection is considered as the first avowed step in this direction and as a deliberate challenge to the North. "Mexico," says the *New York World*, "instead of being, as heretofore, a weak Power, formidable to no other, will, under this regime, be one of the strongest on this continent; French enterprise and a steady Government will develop her magnificent natural resources, while, politically, Mexico will be France." France will, therefore, practically become one of the strongest American powers, rivalling England in prestige and influence. The Southern Confederacy will be the natural ally of this French-Mexican empire; and hence the *World* concludes, not unreasonably, "The danger was never so great as now, that we must encounter other arms than those of the South, before this contest is closed."

The *New York Herald*, which from its circulation and influence is emphatically the representative journal of the United States, continues to clamour for war with England and France. Those who think this mere braggadocio will nevertheless find it difficult to answer an argument advanced by that journal in its issue of the 29th July. After calling upon the President to immediately declare war against England and France, it observes, "Of all measures calculated to heal the wounds of the country, to harmonize its divided feeling, and to ensure the revival of the old sentiment of devotion to the Union, we believe this to be the most effectual. All history teaches us that after internal convulsions a foreign war is a sovereign specific for the restoration of health to the body politic. Thus it was with the ancient Greek and Roman republics, and thus it will ever be with communities similarly organized." This is true. It agrees with the doctrine laid down in the current number of the *Edinburgh Review*, that Federations are formed to resist foreign aggression; that they are only held together by the fear of foreign aggression; and that the national remedy for a decadence of federative feeling is a foreign war. The *Herald* concludes by an appeal to North and South. It tells the North that we have been anxious to act against it—that is, to recognise the South—only we were withheld by a mightier Power.



and it reminds the South that we have played her false by refusing her recognition, and says:—"The opportunity has been suffered to pass by, and the Southern people will resent it energetically when the occasion arises." The reconstruction of the Union is impossible, but it must be confessed that our Government has done its best to promote it on the basis of a war with England.

The republican leaders in the North are highly incensed and alarmed at the report that they are fighting for the restoration of a constitutional Union. Through their organ, the *Tribune*, they affirm they are totally opposed to such a scheme. A re-union on the old basis would be fatal to their influence. The Democrats desired to force the South back to secure their political preponderance, but now, perceiving that the conquest of the Confederacy is impossible and that the war threatens them with political ruin, they seek peace. The Republicans are in a minority, and see that their only chance of dominating in the North and crushing the Democrats is by continuing hostilities. At first, both parties, though from different motives, were earnest supporters of the war; at present, the Democrats are willing to let the South go, in order to save themselves from a military despotism; but the Republicans eschew peace because their political opponents are not yet entirely subdued. In an article on Mr. Roebuck's motion, published in the *Tribune* on the 27th of July, the member for Sheffield is treated with unwonted leniency; but the O'Donoghue, who expressed a hope that the Union would be restored by the North if possible, but if not by the South, is severely censured. Of course the Republicans did not break up the Union for the purpose of reconstructing it.

The Confederates are not fighting to obtain, but to maintain their liberty and independence. This position is forcibly illustrated by some decisions on *habeas corpus* cases delivered by Judge Halyburton at the Court at Richmond on the 23rd of July. In the South the law, and not military necessity, is supreme. Mr. J. R. Lone was drafted, and refusing to serve was imprisoned. He claimed freedom from the military service of the Confederate States on the ground that he was a mail contractor, and therefore exempted by the express terms of an act of Congress. The Court admitted the validity of his plea, and directed his discharge. In another case, Messrs. Solomon and James Adows petitioned to be released from confinement in "Castle Thunder," where they had been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the army. They submitted that having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States under compulsion, they did not owe any military duty to the Confederacy. Judge Halyburton ruled that they were illegally imprisoned, and directed their discharge from custody. At the same time the Court held that as citizens of North Carolina, they were liable to military duty, and that they were not exempted therefrom by the imposition of an oath of allegiance to a foreign government. Upon this, they were forthwith conscripted by the district attorney of North Carolina as part of the quota to be furnished by that State. This important decision, which makes the oath of allegiance forced upon Southerners on pain of confiscation and imprisonment null and void, is in perfect accord with the doctrine hitherto acted on by the Supreme Court of the United States. There is no such thing as a citizen of the United States or of the Confederate States, but each person owes allegiance to a sovereign State, and from that allegiance no proceeding of a foreign Government, nor even of the Federal Government with which the State is in union, can absolve him.

The Federals, who prate so glibly about exterminating the people of the South, find it difficult, and even impossible, to perform that operation on the small tribe of Sioux Indians. As the offer of \$25 per scalp has not led to so much sport as expected, though a considerable booty of scalps has been secured north of the Minnesota River, the Governor has offered an additional reward of \$75, and it is hoped that the incentive of \$100 "will send into the woods a goodly number of unerring rifles, directed by consummate coolness and skill." It is reported that some of the Indians have taken refuge in British territory, and that General Sibley has applied for permission to follow them. The correspondent of a New York paper suggests that if the permission is refused "General Sibley should act without authority." Whether or not it is our duty to give up the Indians to their pursuers may be an open question, but we trust that the Federals will not be allowed to scalp their enemies on British territory.

In the celebrated engagement in the Hampton Roads the Virginia warned us to get rid of our wooden walls and to put our trust in iron; the defence of Battery Wagner has taught us how armour-plated ships are to be resisted. Solid masonry has not a chance against modern artillery; but earthworks can take, without material

injury, just as much pounding as a fleet of iron-clads can administer.

On the 18th July the Federals assayed, for the second time, to possess themselves of Battery Wagner. About 10 A.M. two land batteries of five guns each and four gun and mortar boats opened the bombardment, and at noon they were joined by the Ironsides and five Monitors. The parapet of Wagner was pulverised in a few minutes, but for all the damage subsequently done the bombardment might as well have then ended. The loss of the Confederates, who were protected by bomb-proof works, was, after eight hours' cannonading four killed and fourteen wounded. They were merely spectators, only answering the fire now and then, just to show the place had not surrendered. Towards dusk General Gilmore signalled to the fleet to give the enemy a final dose. For an hour the firing was wonderfully rapid, and tons upon tons of iron were buried in the earthworks. Then the land batteries were silent, and the Monitors drew off, for the Federals were ready for the assault, and the advance was in the line of the fire. Suddenly the ground across which the Federals were moving was swept by a deadly storm of grape, shot, and shell. With their ranks terribly thinned the assailants neared the out-works, when the garrison poured into them a deadly volley from their rifles. At the same time they were exposed to a flanking fire from howitzers, and in a few minutes the ditch was filled with their dead and wounded. Nothing remained but to retreat across the fatal plain. The Federal loss was 2,000. Colonels Shaw and Putnam were killed; General Strong was mortally, and General Seymour severely wounded. The casualties among the officers were out of all proportion. Two sentences from the report of the *Tribune* will show this:—"When the brigade made the assault, General Strong gallantly rode at its head. When it fell back, broken, torn, and bleeding, Major Plimpton, of the 3rd New Hampshire, was the highest commissioned officer to command it. . . . The 54th Massachusetts (negro) went boldly into battle for the second time, commanded by their brave Colonel, but came out of it led by no higher officer than the boy, Lieut. Higginson."

On the 25th and 26th the bombardment was renewed, but with what result the authorities at Washington did not think it politic to publish. Two days before the attack on Wagner the Federals were driven off James' Island. These events have produced an impression in Washington and New York that the siege of Charleston will be a long affair if it is not raised.

The Federals are speculating as to the whereabouts of General Lee, and, as usual when they are ignorant of the position of the Confederate army, notify that a great battle is imminent. A letter written by General Lee, in which he states that General Meade has magnified the capture of a few stragglers into the surrender of an entire brigade, has given the *coup de grace* to the reports about the utter demoralization of the Southern army. The Republican party are anxious for the removal of General Meade, not because he writes false reports or because he is not thoroughly successful, but because he may acquire sufficient influence to make him a formidable political rival.

The movements in the South-West are not very important. The Confederates are in force at Chattanooga. It is reported that Brashear City, having been evacuated by the Confederate forces, surrendered to the Federal gunboats. As General Johnston keeps his plans a secret, the Federal newsmongers are compelled to draw upon their imagination, and they lately entertained the Northern public with two contradictory stories. One was that General Johnston's army had deserted him; the other, that General Johnston had deserted the Confederate Government. These tales were, of course, equally true.

It is reported that a small body of Confederates has been repulsed in Kentucky, and that the Federals had the best of a skirmish in West Tennessee.

General Morgan has been captured, imprisoned, and a demand is made in some quarters that he should be executed. We think General Morgan is safe, but if he is murdered the crime will not go unpunished.

The Washington Cabinet seems to have abandoned the idea of forcing their troops to mix with the "hated negro." It has been ordered that all coloured men taken under the present draft are to be separated from white conscripts by Provost-Marshals, and consolidated into the nearest coloured regiments or companies being organised in the several States.

A Boston paper praises Mr. Whiting, the Solicitor to the Federal War Department, and who is now commissioned as the legal adviser of Messrs. Adams and Dayton, for not receiving any compensation from the Administration. The *New York World* observes—"Few

men have so correct an estimate of the value of their own services."

The reported capture of President Davis's private library and correspondence at Jackson has deeply gratified the party of the Administration, because it is hoped that some of the enemies of the Republican faction may be convicted of disloyalty on the evidence of letters written ten years ago. A system of terrorism is being introduced in the North, so that no man's liberty is secure. The *Tribune*, the organ of the Republicans, is nicknamed "Titus Oates" by the Democrats, and the epithet is deserved.

It seems probable that Butler's efforts to get up a negro insurrection in New Orleans may not prove abortive. The French residents in that city are so alarmed at the prospect of a revolt, that it is reported they have applied to their Consul to send for a French ship of war to protect their lives.

The Federal armies are still as far as possible recruited with foreigners. On the 23rd of July fifty-three men arrived at New York from Plattsburg, en route for the camp of instruction at Washington. Of these fourteen were originally drafted, and thirty-nine were purchased substitutes, seven of them being Canadian French, and the rest Irish residents of Canada. Is the enlistment of British subjects a violation of the Queen's proclamation? The Federal Government would so consider it if the Confederates recruited in Canada, but the warm neutrality of our Foreign Secretary in favour of the United States covers a multitude of transgressions.

#### ENGLAND.

It is intended almost immediately to lay down at Chatham a new iron frigate, according to Mr. Reed's plan. The vessel will bear the name of the Bellerophon, and will be somewhat smaller than the Achilles. She will be a little over 200 feet in length, with a breadth of beam of 50 feet, and will mount twelve guns of the most powerful description. Her armour will be  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick in the more exposed parts, and in other parts  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Her engines will be of 1200 horse-power, and she is expected to steam fifteen knots an hour. She is to be completed and ready for sea in two years.

A detachment of Royal Engineers under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart will be immediately despatched to the East from Chatham for the purpose of laying down a line of telegraph through Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, to India. The non-commissioned officers and men have completed their course of instruction at the telegraphy and survey schools at Brompton Barracks. All the men selected are of the most healthy and robust constitution.

A rumour is current in military circles at Chatham, that in consequence of the menacing news recently received from America it is the intention of the Government to send additional troops to augment the forces in Canada. At present, the troops in that dependency consist of two battalions of Guards, three battalions of the Line, one battalion of the Rifle Brigade, and a battery of artillery in Montreal; two battalions of the Line at New Brunswick; a battery of artillery, a company of Engineers, a battalion of the Line, and a battalion of the Military Train at Nova Scotia; one regiment at Toronto; and one regiment at Kingston.

Trials of armour-plates of considerable interest were held last week at Portsmouth. The weapon used was a 95 cwt. 68-pounder, the distance 200 yards, and the charge 16 lbs. of powder. Messrs. Petin, Goudet and Co., of France, who have lately executed a large contract for the English Admiralty, supplied two plates of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches respectively. The Millwall Company, and Messrs. Beale, of the Parkgate Works, Yorkshire, sent plates each of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inch plate of Messrs. Petin, Goudet and Co. was an absolute failure, from the carelessness of its manufacture, but their  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inch plate succeeded admirably, from the superior quality of the iron. The Millwall Company's plate, made for the Agincourt, was all that could be desired; but that of Messrs. Beale, intended for the Royal Sovereign's turrets, was not quite so good. The results seemed to show that the production of a good armour-plate is simply a question of cost, and that Messrs. Petin, Goudet and Co. being able to furnish finished plates at an average of £35 per ton, are preferred to the English makers, because the latter cannot turn out equally good work at that price.

The iron-clad battery *Pervenitz*, which has been constructed in the Thames for the Russian Government, left Gravesend at 6 A.M., on Saturday last, for Cronstadt. Rumours were afloat that her departure was hurried from political reasons; but that statement has been denied, and the fact appears to be that the vessel by contract ought to have been finished on 1st of July, and



that now no time is to be lost in view of the risks of the Baltic navigation at a later period of the year. The vessel was accompanied by the Russian steam-ship General Admiral. Off the Maplin Sands the *Pervenitz* was tried at the measured mile, and realised a speed of 8 knots, with 80 revolutions of her engines, their maximum number of revolutions being 110. She completed a full circle in 5 minutes 15 seconds, and was found to be under the most perfect command of the helm.

The pauperism in the twenty-one unions of the cotton districts rose suddenly in the final week of last month, and displayed a net increase of 1,290 on the increase of the previous week. The total decrease, however, in the thirty-four weeks ending on the 1st of August, amounted to 123,700. The total expenditure in out-door relief, for the forty-four weeks commencing with Michaelmas last, was £601,274. The total subscription obtained by the Mansion-House Committee from the first opening of the lists up to the present time is £508,516, and the balance now in hand is £74,500. The committee last week made grants of £3,315. The Victoria Emigrants Association has sent out about 400 persons, and is preparing to send 200 more to Australia. The Manchester Emigrants Committee have sent 148 adults to Canada, and are arranging to send fifty families and seventy-five single women to Victoria. The Blackburn Committee has forwarded sixty-two adults to Canada, and sixty adults will shortly be sent by the Manchester society to Queensland. Other smaller societies are also engaged in assisting emigration to Victoria, Queensland, and Canada.

At the last weekly meeting of the Central Executive Committee, the Earl of Derby presiding, the secretary reported the balance in the bank to be £317,168 1s. 10d. and the receipt of £1,375 5s. 8d. during the preceding week. The sum of £2,500 was voted in grants for various places. A question of great interest was asked by Lord Egerton, and became the theme of animated discussion, namely, whether the persons employed on the public works by Government were to receive pay as paupers receiving relief, or as men working for wages. Mr. Farnell stated, in answer, that it was distinctly understood that these people should be treated as independent labourers, and be struck off the list of the guardians and relief committees. Sanitary works and town improvements are the principal objects of the Bill.

The income-tax, at the rate of 9d. in the £, produced in the year ending the 5th of April, 1862, in England, £9,313,782; in Scotland, £882,337; and in Ireland, £793,984. The class of incomes considered as fixed and not derived from land, and charged with the tax, displayed an aggregate amount of £89,013,493 in Great Britain, being an increase of four millions on the preceding year; and the number of persons paying in that class on incomes between £100 and £150 was 135,262 while sixty-seven persons admitted incomes exceeding £50,000. In Ireland, by way of contrast, it is found that such incomes represent an aggregate of only £4,677,568, and the returns actually show a decrease in the number of persons who pay in the class. Moreover, in that country only two persons paid on incomes of £50,000 and upwards.

The Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland held their annual show last week at Kelso. The Duke of Argyll presided at the banquet, and in the course of the speech, in which he proposed "Prosperity to the Society," made some remarks replete with interest, though confessedly of a theoretical and speculative character, on the present state of agriculture in Scotland and the United Kingdom. He instituted a comparison between the system or philosophy of Darwin, and that in point of fact pursued by the practical breeder, showing that, as according to Darwin, all animals had been in the course of ages introduced upon the world by means of the principles of natural selection and intercrossing, so by the same art or method artificially developed has the breeder instituted the various specimens of creation necessary for the purposes of his art. The same comparison was also suggested in the development of particular grasses and the annihilation of other kinds. After a short reference to the question of agricultural statistics, voluntarily established and subsequently abandoned by the Highland Society, and in regard to which a hope was expressed that the prejudices of the English farmers on the subject would be speedily eradicated, the Duke proceeded to cite passages from Mr. Trollope's book, illustrating the fertility and vast expanse of the corn-growing districts of the Western States of America, and thence the conclusion was drawn that the attention and efforts [of the British agriculturist] must in future be concentrated on the rearing and fattening of cattle as the primary source of profit, the importations from the States having fairly driven him out of the corn-growing

market. Allusion was also made to the enormous sums of money sunk as capital by the farmer, and a cheering picture drawn of the future of agriculture in Scotland.

In reference to the fatal accidents from rope-walking which have occurred at Cremorne and Aston Hall, and of which an account has appeared in these columns, many letters condemnatory of the system have appeared in the daily journals. Now, however, the great authority, J. F. Blondin, has spoken out, and addressed the public in a letter from the Hôtel de Paris, Seville. The accomplished artist attributes all past and possible accidents entirely to want of knowledge and experience on the part of persons who pretend to be members of the profession. He tells us that for thirty-three years he has exercised his art, and has never met with an accident; and this immunity he attributes to the care bestowed personally on the manufacture and condition of the ropes and materials used by him; indeed, he has gone so far in this direction as to have caused all his ropes to be tested by steam; he further announces that he does not intend to remain much longer in public life, and that if public opinion abrogates the high-rope ascensions in England he will readily bow to that decision.

An appeal in the interests of civil and religious liberty has appeared in the columns of the daily journals with reference to the disposal of the body of her Highness the Maharanee Jadhore of Lahore, the mother of his Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, and widow of the renowned Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. Her Highness died on August 1, at Abingdon House, Kensington, and, on the assumption that a strong objection is felt by the priests and other members of the household to the English process of sepulture, two persons, called Ucheel Singh and Kishen Singh, bearing, respectively, the titles of Jageedar and Khutry, have appended their signatures to a document in which it is stated that his Highness the Maharajah denies the right of the household to dispose of the body according to the customs of the Sikhs, the rule of their religion being that the body be burnt and the ashes given to the Ganges. It is in the same appeal urged that as no moral or physical law would be infringed thereby, it is not to be supposed that the wisdom and intelligence of the land will oppose such obedience to the dictates of their religion. The next argument advanced is that, as no funeral is hallowed without the intervention of a priest, or other person competent to officiate at the obsequies, and as a Christian minister is out of the question, and further, inasmuch as burial completely shuts out the native ministration, the last sad duty to her Highness will remain unperformed. It is observed that the deceased lady was particularly careful about everything relating to caste, kept a separate establishment of natives, and even refused to eat when his Highness the Maharajah happened to be on the same carpet with herself. However, immediately after the publication of that letter, Colonel Oliphant comes forward with a reply, and states that the persons who signed the former document are two discharged servants of the household of the late Maharanee, and that had they been present at the funeral, they would have seen with what scrupulous care the Maharajah avoided giving any offence to the prejudices of his countrymen. In fact, it seems from Colonel Oliphant's letter, that the body has been deposited temporarily at Kensall Green Cemetery, pursuant to the precedent set in the case of his Highness the late Rajah of Coorg. The funeral was attended by the Maharajah and Colonel Oliphant, by the friends of his Highness, and by all the retinue of her late Highness. No Christian rite was attempted, his Highness Duleep Singh, when the coffin was placed in the mausoleum, merely addressing his people in their own language with affectionate earnestness on the uncertainty of human life.

A deputation from the English Church Union has waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, in reference to the licenses granted to the Royal Theatre or Theatres within the control of the Lord Chamberlain, to remain open during the Holy Week. The memorial which was on this occasion presented to His Grace is signed by fifteen bishops, eight deans, fifteen archdeacons, and a great number of beneficed clergy, peers, and members of the House of Commons. The theatres had been allowed to continue their performances in the Holy Week of 1862, and this had been the first example of the infringement of the ancient rule. On that occasion a deputation had waited on the Lord Chamberlain, but his Lordship then considered that it was too late to insert the prohibition clauses in the licenses. In the autumn of the same year a memorial, influentially and numerous signed, was presented to the Lord Chamberlain without avail, and consequently the officers of the society took the present step of requesting the Primate to use his influence in the matter. The Archbishop said that he strongly deprecated the practice of opening the Theatres in Holy Week, and

promised to use his influence in the cause, though he declined to pledge himself to any defined course of action. It may be remarked that the Archbishop of York did not sign the memorial, because it did not go further, and include other days in Lent; and the Bishop of London considered that his influence in a matter within his own diocese could be more effectually exercised in other ways.

An address, signed by between 400 and 500 clergymen of the diocese of London, has been presented to the Lord Bishop of that diocese by the Archdeacons of London and Middlesex. The address views with apprehension the suggestions made by persons of importance for the removal of the existing subscriptions made by the clergy at their ordination and on other occasions. The Archdeacons, in presenting the address, expressed by letter their full concurrence in its object, and their desire that his Lordship would aid in the preservation of the barriers of subscription, by which their forefathers had endeavoured to exclude from the schools of the University and the Ministry of the Church all persons whose cordial adherence to the doctrines of the Church might be reasonably doubted. A document of explanation accompanied the address, the purport of which was, that those who signed the address are not to be understood as being unprepared to accept any future revision of the existing clerical subscriptions if undertaken by the Church itself; that the protest is levelled against the total abolition of subscription, and that the conviction of the persons signing is that the Church must have some doctrinal standards. The Bishop has replied to these addresses in a most elaborate and able letter. He quite coincides with the memorialists in the absolute necessity of some subscription; but he is equally strong in his conviction that the present form is unsuitable, and ought to be changed. He is desirous at once to strike out the clause in the Act of Uniformity, which he believes to have been forced on this country by the dominant intolerant party in the reign of Charles II. for the express purpose of excluding from the Church all who held what may be called Evangelical opinions as to the Prayer Book. He wishes that the whole subject of subscription should at once be submitted to the judgment of the Church, in order that changes which are proved to be required may be made on adequate authority, and that what is not changed may be maintained on grounds of good argument as being right in itself, and not from mere dread of innovation. As to the question of university subscription, which, it will be observed, was imported into the discussion by the archdeacons, his Lordship agrees that the government of the Universities should be in the hands of members of the Church of England, but thinks that the present form of subscription is unsuitable.

#### THE CONTINENT.

The Russian Government has evidently been both surprised and alarmed at the impression created by its replies to the propositions of the three Powers. We have already summarised a despatch, addressed by Prince Gortschakoff to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna repudiating the interpretation which Count Rechberg had placed upon his language, and we have this week to mention a despatch addressed by the Russian statesman to the Baron de Budberg, and intended to remove the irritation which his language had created at Paris. It seems that M. Drouyn de Lhuys, whilst postponing any formal rejoinder to the Russian despatch, had expressed to the Baron de Budberg his disappointment and dissatisfaction with its terms. The Russian Minister, of course, lost no time in communicating this conversation to his chief, and Prince Gortschakoff, without waiting for the instructions of the Emperor, who was at the time in Finland, addressed a very able and elaborate despatch to Paris, in which, whilst protesting very strongly against the inferences of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, he maintains and defends the views he had expressed—an explanation and defence evidently intended as much for the European public as for the French Government, inasmuch as it was published in the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, almost before a copy could have been placed in the hands of the French Foreign Minister. Prince Gortschakoff first protests against an assumption of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that his answer, under the appearance of an adhesion in principle, was in fact a definitive refusal of the six points. He points out that the insurgents themselves have loudly declared that they will be content with nothing less than the reconstitution of Poland in the limits of 1772, and this even after the three Powers had presented the six points. He observes that if the Russian Government did not repudiate bad faith and crooked ways, it might have accepted the six points, and thrown upon the insurgents the responsibility and the odium of rejecting them. The Prince then protests against the suggestion of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that he had intended any accusation against the French Government, in the



assertion that a permanent conspiracy organised abroad was the principal cause of the present insurrection. But in protesting he nevertheless repeats the statement that Paris is one of the principal foci of the insurrection, furnishing it with some of its principal resources; and he proceeds to argue that the ill-will to Russia and the failure of its attempts to conciliate Poland are due to the intrigues of the emigration, whose principal seat is Paris. Prince Gortschakoff then argues that a suspension of hostilities is impossible. "We cannot," he says, "explain to ourselves with whom an armistice could be negotiated, or by what means its execution could be guaranteed." The Russian Minister, after a vindication of his suggestion of a preliminary conference between the three Powers, as justified both by precedent and the nature of the case, goes on to express his painful surprise at the impression which, according to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, his answer has created. The question, he says, is much too serious to allow any intention of irony, much less of provocation. But he adds, that the wounded dignity of Russia, "profoundly wounded by attacks probably without precedent in history," may have manifested itself in the expression of his opinions. Russia, he says, has neglected nothing to bring about an understanding conformable to the general interests, and especially to the relations which have for a long time united her to the Government of the Emperor of the French, but she counts on her part on the same disposition, and the ambassador is told not to conceal from M. Drouyn de Lhuys how difficult "our" task would be if the necessities which the national feeling imposed upon us were disregarded in France.

Prince Gortschakoff, it will be seen from this analysis, modifies in no degree the determination expressed by his previous despatch. But whilst vindicating the resolves of his Government, he labours to show that he meant no offence to France in any of his expressions, and that he will be most happy, if possible, to come to an amicable arrangement with France. To that extent the despatch has a pacific influence. It must remove by its explanations and apologies any feeling of irritation which the irony—as with all deference to Prince Gortschakoff it must be called—of his previous despatch had provoked.

The French rejoinder to the despatch of the 1st of July was, it seems, despatched upon the 8th, and must be by this time in the hands of Prince Gortschakoff. It is quite certain now that some considerable difference of opinion prevails between the three Powers; not only is there no identical note as proposed by France, but the separate despatches were not sent off at the same time.

Prince Gortschakoff has addressed to the Russian diplomatic agents a circular explanatory of the arrest—or by whatever name the removal of the Prelate from Warsaw may be called—of Archbishop Felinski. He points out that the proceedings of the Archbishop in resigning with so much ostentation his seat in the council of state, and addressing a letter to the Emperor, which received immediate publication, in which he declared that an absolute independence, with no other connection with the Empire than a dynastic tie, would alone put an end to the painful situation, rendered it necessary to recall him to Russia, where he is treated with all the regards due to his position.

The National Government has published two manifestoes; one, addressed to the Polish nation, declares that the National Government must remain deaf to all those who demand the cessation of hostilities before the attainment of the one object of the insurrection, namely, the re-establishment of Poland in the limits of 1772; and makes a vehement appeal to all the inhabitants of the old Polish kingdom to come forward and fight themselves, or contribute the sinews of war; the other, addressed to the peoples and governments of Europe, is full of the usual orthodox revolutionary verbiage, and calls upon the Western peoples to declare that Russia has no right to rule over Poland. Neither proclamation is calculated to promote the cause of Poland. Already the Prussian journals which were favourable to the Polish cause are turning against it.

The war news is not important. Another expedition from Galicia into Volhynia has signally failed. The Polish leaders seem to be quite aware of the futility of these efforts, but they persist in them because the apprehension of an invader compels the Russian Government to keep an immense force in these provinces, which, if disengaged, might soon turn the scale in Congress Poland. It is impossible—whatever our opinion as to the prudence of the measures, or our opinion as to the desirability or otherwise of the success of the Polish cause—to refuse a tribute of warm admiration for the heroes who proceed upon their forlorn hopes, sacrificing their own lives

cheerfully to give their fellow-combatants a little more breathing time. According to Russian telegrams, the insurrection is at an end in Lithuania. The assertion is, of course, untrue. Mouravieff has, indeed, by his brutal measures, got the whip hand of the movement, but the reports of fights given by the official journals show that a few heroic bands are still maintaining the struggle.

It is suggested by some German papers that the National Government, of which we hear so much, has no more its seat in Warsaw than in Timbuctoo. The arguments advanced in favour of this opinion have very great validity, and confirm the opinion which we have throughout entertained that the real seat of this Government is Paris. Whichever be the fact, the skill shown is equally admirable. To exist at Warsaw, garrisoned by so many thousand Russians; to make from Paris the world believe in proclamations dated Warsaw, is a signal triumph of diplomatic skill. Prince Ladislaus Czartoryski is said to be at the head of the secret government, and to be also intriguing for his own election as King of Poland. The latter statement is not worthy of much credit.

The Emperor of Austria has taken the bull by the horns. He has in the most unexpected manner called a meeting of all the German sovereigns at Frankfurt on the 16th, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken for a seasonable reform of the Confederation. Hitherto, all projects of Federal reforms have failed, either because they were too sweeping, going beyond reform, asking for a German Empire, or because they were too infinitesimal. It may be assumed that the Emperor Francis Joseph has not summoned this congress without having prepared a plan to lay before it, and that this plan includes a central power of some kind—and a parliament controlling it. Nothing less would satisfy Germany; the Emperor of Austria is too shrewd to go to Germany with a scheme which would at once disappoint and irritate the public. However excellent this plan may be, the chances are that it will not succeed. Prussia has her own scheme of Federal reform, the subjection of the whole of Germany to Prussian hegemony; and the National Verein and all the dreamers of a German Empire have adopted that Prussian hegemony as the consummation. Any reform relieving the real evils experienced by the country would deprive this agitation of its nourishment; it is, therefore, hardly probable that Prussia will agree to any proposal, however judicious, which may be made at Frankfurt. The telegraph informs us that Prussia has already refused to take any part in the conferences, but this is hardly probable. Even Herr von Bismarck—to take no account of his master—would hardly venture upon a step which must condemn Prussia to isolation. The conference will meet—we incline to believe all the sovereigns of Germany will be there. We wish we could feel confident of the success of the deliberations—a success certain if the discussions were honourably and loyally entered upon. But we will still hope that the German sovereigns and the German people will remember the saying of Scharnhorst, that the best thing cannot always be done, whilst something might always be effected,—and endeavour to reorganise the Confederacy upon a system which may secure its power for good and its inability for mischief.

Sir James Hudson, for so many years English Ambassador at Turin, has been succeeded by the Hon. Mr. Elliott. The change is regarded by the Italians almost as a national misfortune. Sir James Hudson was a warm friend of Piedmont. He has given the whole weight of his influence to the cause of Italian unity; in fact, as some critics allege, thinking more of Italian than of English interests. He retires, it is said, from the diplomatic service, and proposes to still reside in his adopted country.

#### MEXICO.

GENERAL FOREY has lost no time. His council of notabilities was hardly named when it was invited to pronounce upon the question of Empire or Republic. Its decision could not be doubtful. Unanimously, less two votes, it in the name of the Mexican people selected the Empire as the future form of Government; proclaimed the Archduke Maximilian as the first Emperor, and implored the Emperor of the French, in event of the Archduke's refusal, to select some peer for the throne. The Empire was accordingly proclaimed on the 10th July, and according to the news *via* Havana, great manifestations of joy followed the announcement. *La France* insists that as fifteen out of the eighteen States of Mexico have pronounced in favour of French intervention (this is a piece of news entirely its own), they will ratify the proclamation of the Archduke as Emperor. But the two things are very different; the ostensible purpose of the French expedition was to rescue the Mexicans from anarchy,

and to establish order and security. The proclamation of the Empire may be the best mode of attaining these results, but agreement as to the end does not imply an understanding as to the means. However, we may hope that the Mexicans, wearied of their intestine trials, will accept the haven of rest offered them. A deputation has been sent to Europe to offer the crown to the Archduke, who has, it is stated, received the congratulations of the Emperor and Empress of the French. If the last statement be correct, we may conclude that his Royal Highness will take the throne. The Emperor of the French would not have offered his congratulations, unless the proclamation of the Archduke had been in accordance with his wishes and instructions, and he would not have used the Archduke's name unless his assent had been secured beforehand. The Emperor pursues his purposes with unremitting energy. Obstacles do not daunt him or destroy his plans, although they may delay their execution. Great objections were offered to the election of the Archduke when it was first hinted at, and the project seemed to be dropped; the next the world hears of it is that it has been successfully carried out. If the Mexicans get him for a sovereign they will be fortunate. There is not a prince in Europe of a higher character. He contrived even to conciliate the sympathies of the Italians during his governorship of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. He is brother of the Emperor of Austria, is thirty-one years of age, and married to the only daughter of the King of the Belgians. He has no children.

#### THE SITUATION IN LOUISIANA.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, July 19.

SINCE the surrender of Port Hudson General Banks has arrived in this city. The day following, General Frank Gardner and staff came down on another boat, and they are now quartered in a private house on Rampart-street, held as prisoners of war until advices are received from the United States' Government at Washington. The officers who were previously brought down are still in confinement in the Custom-house. Numerous efforts have been made to gain access to them, and the number of applications for passes and permits convinces the Provost-Marshal, no doubt, that even in this city, so lately cleared of "registered enemies of the United States," there are still hundreds of persons who are anxious and most willing to render such aid and comfort as the officers may need. Pending their parole, however, I believe no permits have been granted to visit the Port Hudson prisoners of war.

The new commandant at Port Hudson is not only commander of the post, but also of the negro regiments. Both facts are announced in connection in the same general order, and are sufficiently suggestive and significant. The negroes are to be the garrison, while the white regiments will take part in the attempted movement to recover the lost territory in this state.

The commencement of this new movement was indicated in my last letter. We have since, some further details, but I need not advise you that while every success, however small, is paraded in print here and at the North, it is extremely difficult to learn the details of any disaster to the Federal arms in this department. Banks's force is numerically so small that it will scarcely bear much further reduction even in print. The movement of Grover's division from Donaldsonville down the Lafourche bayou was badly begun. The advance, consisting of the 90th and 91st New York, with the 30th Massachusetts regiment, was intrusted to the command of the colonel of the 90th New York, then acting as a brigadier. When his brigade had advanced a few miles down the bayou road, and was surprised by the Confederate force, it was drawn up in line of battle, and after the first fire was comparatively at the mercy of the enemy. The engagement was short, but was quite as disastrous, considering the numbers of the opposing forces, as were the two assaults upon Port Hudson. The 90th New York was terribly cut up. It is said that out of 450 men only 150 escaped death, wounds, or capture. The other regiments were also badly used, and in the midst of the fight, Morgan, the colonel commanding, ordered the two New York regiments to the rear, and left the Massachusetts regiment to bear the brunt of the attack. This brilliant acting-brigadier was also brought to the rear in an ambulance, though he was not wounded. It is enough to say, perhaps, that he is now under arrest, and the charges specified against him are "intoxication and misbehaviour in the face of the enemy." In other words, he was drunk and cowardly. There are no present means of knowing the number of the killed and wounded in this brief engagement, but about 350 wounded Federals were brought into Donaldsonville, and were sent up by boat to the hospitals at Baton Rouge. It is mentioned, as a source of comfort in connection with this Federal disaster, that the Confederates captured only one field piece instead of three, as was first reported.

This Morgan, who has a commission as a colonel in the Federal service, is the keeper of what New York people call a "saloon,"—a cellar on the Brooklyn side, near Fulton Ferry, where whisky is retailed by the glass. By one of those unaccountable appointments, too frequent in the United States' volunteer army to be called accidents, he was, for a while last year, the commandant of the military post at Key West. There were some 1,500 slaves on that island, and Morgan, anticipating the emancipation order of his master, declared these negroes free. For this and other offensive acts towards the inhabitants



of Key West, the Abolition Administration at Washington (with a not unusual inconsistency) removed him. The prayers of the people of Key West were heard. Morgan was sent away. The negroes loafing about the island in idleness and in want, begged to be taken back again, and in some cases the masters consented to receive them, and there was a general rejoicing over the departure of Morgan. From that post he went to Port Royal, and afterwards joined the Banks' expedition. He did not particularly distinguish himself at Port Hudson, and his brief career as an Acting-brigadier General near Donaldsonville was not such as to ensure his rapid promotion even in the Federal army.

Since this skirmish, which occurred July 11, we have received no news relative to Grover's advance towards Thibodeauxville. He has had abundant time, if Magruder's force will permit, to advance to Brashear City. We have, however, no means of knowing his situation, his successes, or his disasters till he reaches that point, and news can be brought from the bay by way of the Gulf, and up the Mississippi to this city. The projected movement is by no means unimportant. If is an effort on the part of the Federal forces to recover a portion, at least—not of the Teche and Attakapas country, so recently "walked over" by Banks—but of the region secured months ago by Butler, and held by Banks until he attempted the Port Hudson expedition. The Federal lines extend westward from Algiers (opposite this city) to Bute Station, eighteen miles. This "extension" is only along the line of the Opelousas railroad. A day or two ago, a battery advanced from that point a few miles as far as Raceland, but hearing there was fighting going on in that vicinity, the batteries came back to Bute with all possible speed—not liking to risk the capture of their guns. They learned from a man who lived near Lafourche Crossing, that the Confederates had abandoned Thibodeaux, and had concentrated at Brashear City. It is more than probable, for Brashear City is the important point to be held. I do not think, however, that a stand will be made even there. The Confederates have, no doubt, carried away everything that was valuable and transportable, and before now the vast stores and munitions of war accumulated by the Federals and captured and "confiscated" nearly a month ago by the Confederates, have been distributed at points where these things were needed in the Confederacy. But the position, thanks to Butler, Banks, and Weitzel, is quite well fortified. It is on the island made by Berwick's Bay and Lake Polouire on the west and north, and Bayou Boeuf on the east and south. There are earthworks all around, with guns enough to hold and cover the position; and if Dick Taylor's men intend to keep the place, they have retained there the enormous quantity of shot, shells, and powder left by the Federals. Otherwise, the guns have been spiked, thrown into the bay or bayou, and whatever could not be removed has been destroyed.

That this place was left in an unprotected and almost defenceless condition by Banks in his advance to Alexandria is only an evidence of the weakness of the Federal force. There was a guard there, "supposed" to be sufficient to hold the position, but for the movement Red Riverwards it was necessary to withdraw every gunboat from Berwick's Bay but one, the little Holyoke, which steamed down the bay as soon as the Confederates made their appearance, leaving nearly 1,800 sick, convalescent, and well Federals to be summarily "gobbled" by 600 Confederates. We cannot learn, at present, whether the forces of Magruder, Taylor, and Mouton will contest the position or not. That the Federals think they will is evident from the amount of force sent to recover the position. Grover, with not less, probably, than 6,000 men, is marching upon Bayou Boeuf, from Thibodeaux, if he is that far on the route. Three gunboats from here—the Estrella, Calhoun, and Holyoke—go down the Mississippi, to-day, intending to reach Berwick's Bay via the Gulf, and to join with Grover in "shelling out the rebels" from Brashear City, if they should happen to be there. It is said that the Confederates have planted two guns on High Shell Bluff, commanding the entrance to the Atchafalaya, but it is not likely there was transportation in the bay to move down the guns. As it is, we can only learn the success or failure of the Federal movement from the return of one of the gunboats, or until Grover re-establishes travel on the Opelousas railway from Bayou Boeuf or Brashear to Algiers. To do this, extensive repairs will be necessary—the torn-up track must be relaid, the burned bridges must be rebuilt—and possibly the whole rolling stock of the road, nearly all of which was at Brashear at the time of the capture, must be replaced. We shall know in the course of this week the result of this movement, the only one of importance now making in this department.

If it should result favourably to the Federal arms, as it will if the Confederates have abandoned Brashear, simply contenting themselves with the valuable stores collected in that place—the capture is only a recovery of the position minus what has been removed by General Taylor. It is only doing again what has been done once before. For Banks to be almost wholly employed in attempting to re-acquire territory once "conquered" and then lost, is certainly expensive business. The recent Port Hudson movement has cost him at least 5,000 men, and with his present force and the utter failure to increase his army corps by conscripting the negroes, he can ill afford further expenditure of men and means in this kind of work. A rumour comes to us from Port Hudson that Grant has sent down by transports 12,000 men to the mouth of Red River, an advance to recover Alexandria, to march down through the Attakapas, and to join Grover and the gunboats on Berwick's Bay. If this were done it would only be another recovery of the Attakapas region, whose conquest has been blazoned abroad as one of Banks's most brilliant achievements. It is now a comparatively barren waste. What was not stolen or destroyed by the Federals has since been removed to a place of safety, or

has been destroyed by the Confederates. But I do not believe Grant has sent such a force from Vicksburg to Banks. One of the very first boats down from Vicksburg to Port Hudson, after the surrender of both places, carried away a portion of the Illinois cavalry (not Grierson's), showing that Grant, with his large army, had not horsemen enough to successfully initiate the series of extensive hen-roost robberies—known as "raids"—projected in the vicinity of Vicksburg.

It is claimed now that the river, the Mississippi, is open. We have had here two arrivals from Vicksburg, and one of these boats left St. Louis June 23. One or more boats have come down to Port Hudson and Baton Rouge, bringing grain and beef to the army. The cattle were brought from Natchez, Mississippi, 105 miles below Vicksburg, and 110 miles above Port Hudson. The Federals claim the "capture" of this place; but it was simply an occupation, for there was no Confederate force there. There were, however, large droves of cattle collected at that point, and the place has long been noted for the number of wealthy people residing there. The process of "confiscation" has already commenced, and Natchez will soon be stripped of the last silver spoon.

Banks has not yet publicly announced his reduction of "the stronghold of the rebels"—at least, not in this city. He may think, as we do, that, after all, Port Hudson is a very small return for the amount of expenditure in life and money its reduction cost.

We are anxiously expecting this morning the arrival of the steamer *Morning Star*, with New York dates of July 11. The news from the North, thus far, is disheartening; but it does not seem to have at all affected business matters, nor are we yet deriving any of the promised benefits that were to follow the opening of the Mississippi.

### THE SURRENDER OF PORT HUDSON.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, July 15.  
WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

My last letter announced the surrender of Port Hudson. For some reason beyond the reach of ordinary comprehension, we are still without a published line, signed by General Banks, proclaiming this important "victory." Nor does his official organ announce some after-occurrences, which shall be duly detailed in this letter. Premising, then, that the Port Hudson garrison was starved out, let me give you the circumstances connected with the capitulation.

After the second unsuccessful attempt, June 14th, to carry the works by assault, General Banks employed "the coloured engineer regiment"—that is, the negroes not slaughtered in the two assaults, and capable of still using the spade and shovel—to undermine the Confederate entrenchments. These negroes worked for weeks, day and night, exposed to the fire of the sharpshooters. In the meanwhile, Banks pretended to be, and perhaps actually was, preparing for a final assault. I do not believe that he intended again to attack Port Hudson until he was largely reinforced, either from Grant's Vicksburg army, or from Port Royal. There was nothing to indicate that his Government intended to send him reinforcements. He continued from day to day a vigorous bombardment of the place, but this did nothing towards reducing the garrison, for the earthworks, though not cased, were filled with "rat-holes," where the men could retire when the shells were bursting over-head and, moreover, the Confederate force was distributed along the whole line of defences, extending five or six miles in the rear of Port Hudson. An assaulting column of 1,000 men had volunteered to lead the "last" attack, but they were white men, and it was hardly thought advisable to sacrifice them. Since the assaults of May 27th and June 14th, the Federal negro enlistment business has been as dead as the two-thirds of the blacks who were conscripted first, then slaughtered in the two attacks.

There was then no danger of an immediate assault. Some of the heaviest guns in Port Hudson were removed from the water batteries and were mounted in the rear. The river was too low for an attack by gunboats. They could only lie below the town, and shell the Confederates who went down to the levee to draw water. If an assault had been made, there is no reason for believing it would have been successful. Two circumstances induced General Gardner to surrender the position—first, the news, certified by Banks, that Vicksburg had fallen; and, second, the prospect of speedy starvation.

For, if Vicksburg had really surrendered, Grant could, and undoubtedly would, send down the river on transports 15,000 men to the relief of Banks—and when Gardner proposed to surrender, it is a fact that the last mule had been eaten, and there were but two or three bushels of corn left in Port Hudson. The reports that Gardner had received and was constantly receiving full supplies were incorrect. There was a Federal battery on the opposite shore of the Mississippi, and consequently it was impossible to swim cattle across the river. The rear was closely invested, and no supplies could get in from the country. Nothing in the way of food from the outside has reached the garrison since the closing of Red River, until Banks sent in six thousand rations after the preliminaries were arranged for the formal surrender of the place.

There was a period of about ten days when the batteries on the river near and below Donaldsonville actually cut off Banks's communication with this city, and, for a while, his army suffered for want of supplies. This was concealed as much as was possible, but it was known in this city that for a time it was a question which army would be first starved. The country round about was stripped. After the last "rebel raid" Springfield Landing was not considered a very safe place for the accumulation of large amounts of stores; and one or two of the provision-laden boats starting from here were so crippled by the river batteries that they were obliged to return to this city.

Had there been abundant supplies of food in Port Hudson, the garrison could have "held in" longer than Banks would have been able to "hold out." There were comparatively few mouths to feed; no women and children, no citizens who were not soldiers, and only 5,500 Confederate troops, with about 400 negroes employed as servants, camp police, and in repairing damages done to the earthworks. The troops, excepting those belonging to Boone's battery, the 12th Louisiana, 1st Mississippi, and 1st Tennessee batteries, were infantrymen, nearly all of them sharpshooters, and there was a plentiful supply of ammunition. Hundreds of these men were taken prisoners at Donelson and Fort Henry, and they never intended to be taken alive again. That they could fight, the terrible repulses of Banks's men in the only assaults ever attempted are sufficient evidence.

But the surrender—to general starvation, if not to General Banks—was inevitable. The preliminaries were arranged, July 8, by Federal Brigadier-Generals Stone, Dwight, and Birge, and Confederate Colonels Miles, Stedman, and C. H. Smith. The formal surrender followed next day. A part of the Federal force marched into the place—the Confederates drawn up in line on the main street. Gardner and staff on the right grounded their arms, while the General handed his sword to Brigadier-General Andrew, Banks's chief of staff and representative, who immediately returned it. Ninety-two officers were held as prisoners of war. All of the men were paroled the day after the surrender, and most of them went immediately into the country, while several were carried on one of the steamboats and landed up Red River. The surrender gives to the Federals the works, the guns, the munitions of war, and 6,000 stand of arms. After accompanying the Federal officers in their inspection tour, General Gardner and staff rode out to visit Banks at his head-quarters, three miles in the rear, and were handsomely received, and entertained as guests.

A day or two after Banks moved his head-quarters into Port Hudson, and General Gardner shares his tent with him. Scarcely a house in the place is habitable. There are not more than 100 houses, including two or three shops and warehouses, in the place, and these are generally cheaply built of wood. There is one church. The buildings, since May 26, have been subject to an almost daily bombardment, and they are completely riddled. After the surrender it was hard work to find a building suitable for a telegraph station. The hospitals are in a ravine, and were uninjured. There were a few sick men, a very few wounded, and it is stated that only twenty-five men were killed by the Federal artillery during the entire bombardment. The Federal sick and wounded have been carried into the place; a portion of the army corps is also camped inside the works, while the rest remain in the old camps behind their own earthworks. It is reported that General Banks and General Gardner will come down in a day or two to this city, and Gardner's rooms and his friends are ready to receive him.

The little steamboat *Zephyr* arrived from Port Hudson yesterday morning with the ninety-two officers who are held as prisoners of war, and are now confined in the Custom House. I annex their names:—

Colonel W. R. Miles, Miles's Legion; Major J. T. Coleman, Miles's Legion; Captain S. M. Thomas, Boone's Battery; 1st Lieut. B. C. Cushman, Adjutant 30th Louisiana; Captains J. W. Dealu and W. B. B. Cook, Miles's Legion; Captain W. A. Kemp, Captain J. J. Slocum, 2d Lieut. S. M. Simmons, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 1st Lieut. L. F. Woods, Miles's Legion; 1st Lieut. J. D. Conn, 4th Louisiana Volunteers; 1st Lieut. H. W. Coleman, Miles's Legion; Captain Commanding B. K. Chinn, 9th Louisiana Infantry; Captain W. B. Seawell, 12th Louisiana Battalion Artillery; 1st Lieut. Joel Barnef, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Captain Commanding Thos. K. Porter, 30th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieuts. P. Thalheimer, and A. V. Duralde, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. J. J. Kendall, 4th Louisiana Infantry; Captain C. W. Cushman, 30th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. H. Carpenter, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 3rd Lieut. G. Maurras, 30th Louisiana Infantry; 1st Lieutenant D. D. Phillips, 1st Tennessee Battalion Artillery; Captain E. S. Morgan, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 1st Lieutenant R. H. Hughes, 12th Louisiana Battalion Artillery; 1st Lieut. S. G. W. Coleman, 7th Starr Artillery; 1st Lieut. J. C. Lemon, 4th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. C. H. Frith, Miles's Legion; 1st Lieut. J. Lahey, 1st Tennessee Artillery; 1st Lieut. S. K. Allison, 1st Louisiana Battalion Heavy Artillery; 2d Lieut. G. W. Keller, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Captain A. Turner, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 2d Lieut. Fred. Winters, 12th Louisiana Battalion Heavy Artillery; Captain W. L. Burnett, 9th Louisiana Infantry; Captain R. M. Hewett, Adjutant Miles's Legion; 3rd Lieut. J. B. Davidson, 1st Lieut. J. B. Dunn, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Capt. S. A. Whiteside, 48th Tennessee Infantry; Captain A. Bradley, 2d Lieut. B. B. Staims, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 2d Lieut. D. C. Coats, 12th Louisiana Heavy Artillery; 3rd Lieut. W. M. McQueen, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 1st Lieut. A. Leblanc, 30th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. I. S. Spring, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 1st Lieutenants Bailey Davis and L. H. Clark, 12th Louisiana Heavy Artillery; 2d Lieut. J. B. Keyes, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 1st Lieut. A. C. Richardson, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. R. A. Orillion, 30th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. A. J. Hughes, 1st Lieut. E. S. Thompson, 1st Tennessee Battalion Artillery; 2d Lieut. W. B. Cook, 1st Tennessee Battalion Artillery; 2d Lieut. E. W. Aroun, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. W. Carey, Major J. De Baur, Lieut.-Colonel Wingfield, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Captain James O'Neil, 1st Lieut. John Kiersan, Miles's Legion; 2d Lieut. S. B. Harbour, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 1st Lieut. Geo. J. Wilson, 1st Lieut. Bolivar Edwards, Miles's Legion; Captain John M. Kean, 12th Louisiana Artillery; 2d Lieut. A. A. Roberts, 4th Louisiana Infantry; Captain S. F. Wale, 3rd Lieut. A. C. Bechaur, Captain O. P. Amacker, 2d Lieut. John O'Dalut, 3rd Lieut. E. McKane, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; 2d Lieut. Sam Ash, 1st Louisiana Artillery; 1st Lieut. L. M. Rub, 1st Lieut. O. Rodriguez, 12th Louisiana Artillery; 1st Lieut. H. T. Waddell, 1st Lieut. Joseph Evans, 3rd Lieut. M. D. Evans, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Junior 2d Lieut. W. H. Holden, 9th Louisiana Infantry; 1st Lieut. John O'Brien, 4th Louisiana Infantry; 2d Lieut. Pat. Burns, jun., Miles's Legion; 1st Lieut. E. P. Harmanson, Boone's Battery; Captain G. W. Lewis, 9th Louisiana Cavalry;



Junior 2nd Lieut. T. Toca, Boone's Battery; Captain Charles S. Whiteman, Quartermaster 4th Louisiana Infantry; 1st Lieut. H. C. Wright, 2nd Louisiana Infantry; 2nd Lieut. B. W. Lanier, Captain W. W. Carliss, Miles's Legion; Junior 1st Lieut. E. H. Goll, Seven Stars Artillery; Senior 2nd Lieut. J. W. Kearney, Captain Wm. DeFeau, Miles's Legion; Adjutant Haul Waterman, 12th Louisiana Infantry; Lieut.-Colonel E. S. M. Lebreton, Aide to Chief Heavy Artillery; 1st Lieut. J. A. Erwin, 9th Louisiana Cavalry; Captain J. A. Fisher, 1st Tennessee Artillery; Colonel Benjamin Johnson, 15th Arkansas Infantry.

The surrender of Port Hudson is a matter of no material consequence to the Confederates. To secure this position—which was of no value to the Confederates except as a depot for the receipt of supplies when Red River was open, and was entirely valueless when that source was cut off—the Federals have lost millions in money and thousands of men. Frank Gardner was shrewd enough to keep Banks with his whole force at Port Hudson for weeks, while Magruder, Mouton, Taylor, and their men quietly "cleaned up" the rest of the State, recovered a large part of the negroes and cotton lately stolen from the planters, burned Federal boats, and did much damage with their batteries on the Mississippi, and captured Brashear City, with an enormous amount of valuable and much-needed military stores. If Banks and his government are satisfied with the exchange, the Confederates surely need not complain.

On the evening of the surrender Weitzel's and Dudley's brigades, under command of Brigadier-General Grover, went down in steamboats to Donaldsonville, where they landed with the intention of capturing or conquering the "rebels" in the rear of that place. When the boat Zephyr came down with the prisoners of war the evening before last, she stopped at Donaldsonville. From one of the Federal officers who was on board, I learn that after landing Grover's men marched up the Lafourche bayou road. The 30th Massachusetts Regiment was in advance, and when about four miles from Donaldsonville they encountered a body of Confederates lying in a cane field near the roadside. The Confederates shouted, and the Federals supposing they were coming out to attack them, immediately fired a volley into the cane. Next moment out rushed the Confederates, and attacked the Massachusetts men who had just discharged their muskets. The work was short and sharp—150 of the Federals were killed and wounded; the Confederates captured three field-pieces which accompanied the regiment, and retreated with them, while the Massachusetts regiment fell back to the now rapidly advancing main body. We have nothing further from the advance. The intention, no doubt, is to march down to the old camp at Thibodeauxville, near Lafourche Crossing, and if the Confederates will permit it, they will try to get possession once more of the Opelousas line of railway from this city to Berwick's Bay. At the same time a very small force has been sent from here to go out on the road; and, possibly, if Grover's expedition is successful, the Federal lines may extend westward beyond Bute station, their present limit. Brashear City is the point to be recovered, if Banks wishes to nominally hold as much of Louisiana as was actually under the control of Butler. The place has been "cleaned out," and, by this time, the Confederates have probably carried away all the valuable property captured in that city. I am inclined to think the little gunboat Antona went down the river on Monday evening, intending to run around by the Gulf, and go to Brashear City up Berwick's Bay. She commenced her cruise by running into the Federal gunboat Sciota, lying a few miles below New Orleans. The Sciota sank almost immediately, and Lieut. Davenport was so severely injured by the collision that it was necessary to amputate one of his arms. Having accomplished thus much, the Antona proceeded on her mission.

THURSDAY MORNING, July 16.

There is nothing of special importance to add this morning. We are not yet favoured with General Banks's official announcement of his "taking" Port Hudson. An order from General Emery, published to-day, rescinds that part of his previous order, which required coffee-houses, shops and stores to close at nine o'clock in the evening. This is certainly magnanimous. Brigadier-General Andrew has been appointed commander of the post at Port Hudson, and he also assumes the command of the *Corps d'Afrique*, showing that the armed negroes are to be kept at Port Hudson, for which we are duly thankful. Our latest news from the North does not specially affect business here, for there is almost no business to be effected—no sugar, no cotton, and almost no money—while, in spite of "the opening of the Mississippi," all kinds of provisions and the necessities of life rule higher than almost anywhere in the Confederacy—especially in those places which are "blockaded" by the Federal fleet.

NEW ORLEANS, Sunday, July 12.

I learn that a despatch steamer (announced to go North to-morrow) is suddenly ordered away, and goes in half-an-hour. I have only time to write you a few lines by this steamer.

You already have, no doubt, news of the fall of Vicksburg. We have it here, so that we can believe it for the first time this morning, by a copy of the *Jackson Mississippian*, of July 7.

Port Hudson has also surrendered. General Banks, however, has not officially announced it, and it is difficult to convince the people here that it is true—the published statements by authority are so conflicting and contradictory in their details. The place seems to have been starved out. It is reported that the garrison has been paroled! The exchange account of prisoners in this department is enormously against the Federal side, and there is nothing to prevent the Port Hudson men from speedily taking the field again.

As you know very well, Port Hudson was not considered so much a formidable defence of the Mississippi as a protection to the mouth of Red River, the source of supplies from Western Louisiana, Texas, the Rio Grande, and consequently (by the Rio Grande) from "all creation." Its usefulness in this respect was gone with the closing of the river in May. The loss of both Port Hudson and Vicksburg is nothing in comparison with the disasters of Donnellson, Henry, and Island No. 10.

Banks, with an enormous loss of men, has exchanged the whole of the Lafourche, Teche, and Attakapas country for Port Hudson.

The Hartford, Albatross, and Estrella came here last night. They have been since March 14th or 15th above Port Hudson. The New London gunboat also arrived from up river in tow of gunboat No. 3, and riddled and crippled by shot from the batteries on the river, whose "opening" was celebrated here last night. There was a procession of Federal office holders (and those who desire to be) and an enormous throng of negroes followed in the line.

The order requiring citizens to be at home at nine o'clock at night has been rescinded. It was very annoying to the Federals, who were overwhelmed with applications for passes, and no doubt it was considered an infringement of their rights by the niggers.

Nearly 2,000 negroes have answered Governor Shepley's call to the "citizens," to form a brigade for the defence of "their homes." By order (commencing yesterday) no citizen is allowed to carry arms in the street, and all officers and soldiers are ordered to carry them.

Business is entirely unaffected by the recent news. There are apprehensions of an invasion—if the rigid enforcement of the recent orders is an indication. The city gasworks and waterworks are now under guard—and yet the place is very quiet.

All the gunboats are gathering here. The fleet is larger opposite the city than it has been for many months.

These things hardly indicate that sense of security which would necessarily follow great successes. If the river is open, we shall soon have communication with St. Louis, but I hardly think boats will begin to run this week.

The city is still healthy; but the Spanish war steamer Pizarro, from Havannah, is at quarantine, having lost since she has been there three men by yellow fever, and ten more cases are reported on board.

#### LATEST FROM NEW ORLEANS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, July 23.

Your readers know already that the victory achieved by the Federal forces in the surrender of Port Hudson was at best but barren. The actual losses more than balance the supposed successes, and apart from the possession of Port Hudson, the position of the Federal army in this department is far less favourable than it was a year ago. Much has been lost, and no material advantage has been gained.

The surrender only enables Banks to devote his attention to the recovery of a portion of the territory lost in the advance upon Port Hudson. The beginning of this movement was indicated in my last letter. The advance from Donaldsonville proceeded about five miles, and returned to the starting point with an admitted loss of nearly 500 men, and a drunken Acting-brigadier to be court-martialed and probably cashiered. I am told that this officer actually made a report to his Commanding-General (Grover), giving his version of that day's disasters, and that Grover returned the report with the endorsement that it contained so much falsity that he declined to receive it. It is, indeed, an evidence of progress in this department, when the falsity of a military report renders it unacceptable to a Federal officer. But the war in detail in the different departments is only in miniature what the whole affair is at Washington—first a military movement, then a military committee of investigation or inquiry to find out why the movement was a failure, when the whole world knows that the disaster was the result of military incapacity, and sometimes even the want of ordinary common sense.

While Grover was endeavouring to ascertain at Donaldsonville why the advance to Thibodeaux was so suddenly arrested, Weitzel came down to report to and consult with Banks. Weitzel is, beyond all doubt, the ablest of the Federal Generals in this department. He is a thoroughly good soldier, and his intimate acquaintance with the State (gained when he was with Beauregard, before the war, engaged upon the forts below, and elsewhere in the State defences) made him a valuable assistant to Butler and to Banks. He is better liked by the Confederates than any other Federal officer, from the simple fact that he is a soldier, and not a sugar and cotton stealing speculator. Nor is he particularly ambitious to command the *Corps d'Afrique*. Weitzel went back to Donaldsonville by steamboat from this city Tuesday night, and we may now presume that the movement for the recovery of Brashear City has commenced in earnest.

The movement is as follows: Port Hudson is in the hands of the negroes, the *debris* of the *Corps d'Afrique*, and they garrison that now unimportant post. Baton Rouge is held by men enough to take care of the sick and wounded in hospital at that place, and to watch the Massachusetts soldiers who refused to take part in the assault of June 14 because they were nine months' men, and their time expired June 6. These soldiers, mind you, are Banks's own State pets, and they are now in the penitentiary, awaiting a decision respecting their disposal. It was intended first to send them to the Dry Tortugas, but a box-full of shoulder-straps were cut off and sent to Governor Andrew, the remains of his officers, and the men were imprisoned. They can scarcely be called a portion of the Federal force at Baton Rouge. Nearly all the white regiments engaged in the reduction of Port Hudson were thus moved to Donaldsonville to take part in the new advance to Brashear—to make fresh

prints of shoddy shoes on old and well-worn Federal paths—to do once more for Banks what Weitzel's men did for Butler many months ago.

When the plan for this movement was perfected, it was only necessary to put it in operation to show the necessity for a revision. The repulse of the advance brigade gave the rest of the corps an opportunity to rest a day or two, and to think the matter over. Yesterday morning the steamer Crescent came down from Donaldsonville with nearly 800 men belonging to the 12th and 13th Connecticut regiments. They go round by sea (the Gulf), and up the Atchafalaya to Berwick's Bay. Following the Crescent, Farragut sends the gunboats Holyoke, Estrella, and Sachem, and probably one or two more. The remaining regiments at Donaldsonville proceed down the Lafourche to Thibodeaux, and thence westward direct to Bayou Boeuf and Brashear City. All told by sea and land, nearly 8,000 men are engaged in this advance.

And all this to recover the "other end" of the Opelousas railway running through the Lafourche from Algiers to Berwick's Bay, and to collect the beggarly account of empty boxes that previous to June 23 contained new Enfield rifles and other valuable military stores. For the Crescent brought the important but already surmised information that the Confederates have abandoned the Lafourche Country, and have crossed the Teche. A detachment of Grover's cavalry occupied Thibodeaux on Tuesday, and scouts sent out nine miles beyond returned and reported no enemy in sight. Taylor has had four weeks, and all the small boats to be picked up in the bayous, in which to remove the large amount of military and other property left by Banks at Brashear. The natives say that he has been particularly busy during the last ten days. It seems evident enough that the small force which engaged Morgan's brigade near Donaldson was sent expressly to check Grover's advance till Taylor could pick up the fragments and boat them across to Berwick City. There is no reason for holding Brashear, especially when a small force would inevitably be exposed to a vigorous shelling from the gun-boats in the bay, and an attack in the rear by Grover. It is also probable that Grover will not cross the bay; and Magruder, Taylor, and Mouton have concentrated a force on that side, which is able to repel any movement the now much weakened Federal force might attempt on the Teche. If Banks gets back Brashear without his military stores, which by this time are far beyond his reach, and, above all, without a fight, he may be considered a lucky man.

Thus much for the military situation in this department to-day. If Banks succeeds he merely establishes railway and telegraphic communication once more from New Orleans to Berwick Bay, and holds once more nearly as much territory as his lines covered last April, when he began the advance to Alexandria.

We have heard that Grant's 12,000 men were coming down to Red River, to make an adjunct movement for the recovery of the Attakapas, but we have yet to hear of their arrival: and more transportation and a higher stage of water are necessary before an advance can be made up Red River to Alexandria. When the entire movement is complete, the Federal Government will have an opportunity to compare its gains with its losses in Louisiana.

THERE is no faltering at present in the spirit of the Southern people; there is no party among them crying out for submission, no opposition to their leaders, no insurrections against the Conscription. While this is so, the loss of Charleston, even if the next mail should tell us that it was consummated, would add nothing of probability to the Northern expectation of the ultimate subjection of the country. More than this, if every town in the South were in the hands of the Federals, they still could not afford to draw away any one of the four armies that now represent the Northern power, nor could they recall one ship from the squadrons which now blockade the coasts. Until the South surrenders at discretion or goes free, the North are destined, in all perpetuity, to maintain those armies and those fleets. These would-be conquerors should judge their Southern brethren by themselves. They should ask themselves what would be the term of their resistance if their chief cities were occupied by the armies of a detested invader. They have seen what Spaniards could do, and what the Circassians have done, and what the Poles can do; do they feel that the Anglo-Saxon blood is more quiet in subjection? When we look for the reasons for the exultation which now pervades the Northern States we discern positively nothing to justify it. These jubilant conquerors are poised in air. If the Southern people mean what they say, and if they hate the Northerners with the sort of hatred which people generally entertain towards those who have destroyed their homes, confiscated their property, and slaughtered their relations, the Northerners are ten years yet from the object of their desires, even if those ten years were years of success.—*Times*, August 10.

FEDERAL VANDALISM.—A letter from Huntsville, Alabama, published in the *Mobile Evening News*, July 3, says:—Lieutenant W. F. Jannon, of Leighton, Alabama, makes a report to Colonel Roddy, which is copied in the *Advocate* of this place, of the vandalism of the enemy in the Tennessee Valley, from which it appears that the citizens of North Alabama have suffered more severely, perhaps, than any portion of the country permanently occupied by the enemy. These outrages were principally committed by General Dodge, from Corinth, in his late incursions into the valley. Upwards of 200 persons suffered, and personal property fairly estimated in value \$1,800,070, consisting of bacon, beef, salt, cattle, horses, &c., carried off. In addition to this they burned the Lafayette Female Academy at Lagrange, valued at \$5,000, Lagrange Military Academy, three large buildings containing 5,000 volumes, a large chemical and philosophical apparatus, a large cabinet of minerals and fossils, 140 bedsteads and mattresses, a hospital building and five houses attached, the loss estimated at \$75,000; also the burning of the Masonic Hall and two large factories at Florence. Now that our camp fires light up the hillsides of Pennsylvania, would it not be well to hold these things in cherished recollection? The kid-glove policy in the enemy's country has been too long indulged in, while the vandals destroyed everything they could lay hands upon in our own territory. It is high time to inscribe *Let talionis* upon our bloody battle-flag.



## THE VIEWS OF A SOUTHERN PLANTER.

The writer of the letter from which the following passages are extracted is one of the largest and wealthiest planters in Southern Georgia. His sentiments, as expressed in a private letter to a friend in Europe, may be taken to reflect those of the most influential class of Southern society. The letter is dated anterior to the fall of Vicksburg, but when the public mind of the Confederacy had already come to regard that event as in all probability inevitable. Of the feeling which animates the people he speaks thus:—

We are every day firmer in our belief that we must fight unassisted to the end of the present bloody war. But I think both our cause and people get stronger and better for the conviction. If determination, courage, and sacrifice can gain the victory, we shall succeed, and so strong are the sentiments of national hatred, so stern the intention of sacrificing all we possess, and so powerful and general the resolve to die in defence of home and family, that I may say but one heart, one soul and one mind exist throughout the Confederacy. Hitherto we have, indeed, been victorious, yet our country has suffered so much, our poor but noble and proud women have been subjected to so many hardships, and our civilization is sinking so rapidly under the influence of this dreadful war, that its further protraction is appalling to the humanitarian, and we cannot without an effort relinquish the fading hope that the civilized powers of Europe must at last raise their voices to stay the further progress of the dreadful scourge. . . . There is one reason which I think ought to induce the English Government to do something in behalf of our present commercial relations. Most of the cotton at present in stock where not the property of the Government has passed from the hands of the planters into those of the speculators, and the greater portion of these are backed by English capitalists. In other words, the greater portion of the cotton now in the Confederacy belongs to Englishmen. The price, too, is being rapidly augmented by the cost of storage and insurance, the rotting of rope and bagging and consequent necessity of repacking, and the tax now levied upon it by the State and Confederate Governments. The longer England and France delay, the longer will they leave the cotton of their subjects to be taxed and rotted, while at the same time they prevent our planters from attempting to provide for the future. They are thus inflicting sufferings on their working classes which must prove in the end irreparable.

The crops of all kinds of cereals, wheat, oats, and Indian corn, are represented as unprecedented, and as proving conclusively that the Southern cotton fields will grow excellent wheat. As regards the cotton crops the writer, speaking from personal observation, says that less than one-fifth of the usual quantity has been planted, even where the enemy's depredations did not, as in many parts of the Lower Mississippi, suspend the cultivation altogether; that the season was unfavourable, the spring having been too cool, and that under the most favourable circumstances the crop of 1863 could not exceed 500,000 bales.

Speaking of the question of Ironclads *versus* Fortifications, in connection with the repeated assaults upon Fort McAllister (originally built and for six months commanded by the writer) he says:—

I have never seen such random firing at so close a distance (not quite a thousand yards). There is no doubt in my mind that the gunners are not able to see what they are doing, or they never would or could fire so wildly. At Charleston I made the same observation; the fact is they did even worse. Iron gunboats and ironclads are played out, and have fallen so much in public opinion that nobody now cares for them, and the authorities and citizens of Charleston and Savannah are confident that they never will do much harm to their cities.

## PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT DAVIS FOR A NATIONAL FAST DAY.

Again do I call upon the people of the Confederacy—a people who believe that the Lord reigneth, and that His overruling Providence ordereth all things—to unite in prayer and humble submission under His chastening hand, and to beseech His favour on our suffering country.

It is meet that when trials and reverses befall us we should seek to take home to our hearts and consciences the lessons which they teach, and profit by the self-examination for which they prepare us. Had not our successes on land and sea made us self-confident and forgetful of our reliance upon Him? Had not the love of lucre eaten like a gangrene into the very heart of the land, converting too many among us into worshippers of gain, and rendering them unmindful of their duty to their country, to their fellow-men, and to their God? Who, then, will presume to complain that we have been chastened or to despair of our just cause and the protection of our Heavenly Father?

Let us rather receive in humble thankfulness the lesson which He has taught in our recent reverses, devoutly acknowledging that to Him and not to our own feeble arms are due the honour and the glory of victory; that from Him, in His paternal providence, come the anguish and sufferings of defeat, and that, whether in victory or defeat, our humble supplications are due at His footstool.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of these Confederate States, do issue this, my proclamation, setting apart Friday, the 21st day of August ensuing, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; and I do hereby invite the people of the Confederate States to repair, on that day, to their respective places of public worship, and to unite in supplication for the favour and protection of that God who has hitherto conducted us safely through all the dangers that environed us.

In faith whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal of the Confederate States, at Richmond, this twenty-fifth day of July, in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

BY THE PRESIDENT:

J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State.

## LETTER FROM GENERAL LEE DENYING GENERAL MEADE'S REPORTED CAPTURES.

Headquarters, Army, Northern Virginia, July 21.

General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector-General, Confederate States of America, Richmond, Virginia.

General.—I have seen in Northern papers what purported to be an official despatch from General Meade, stating that

he had captured a brigade of infantry, two pieces of artillery, two caissons, and a large number of small arms, as this army retired to the south bank of the Potomac, on the 13th and 14th inst.

This despatch has been copied into the Richmond papers and as its official character may cause it to be believed, I desire to state that it is incorrect. The enemy did not capture any organised body of men on that occasion, but only stragglers and such as were left asleep on the road, exhausted by the fatigue and exposure of one of the most inclement nights I have ever known at this season of the year. It rained without cessation, rendering the road by which our troops marched to the bridge at Falling Waters very difficult to pass, and causing so much delay that the last of the troops did not cross the river at the bridge until 1 p.m., on the 14th. While the column was thus detained on the road, a number of men, worn down by fatigue, lay down in barns, and by the roadside, and though officers were sent back to arouse them as the troops moved on, the darkness and rain prevented them from finding all, and many were in this way left behind. Two guns were left in the road. The horses that drew them became exhausted, and the officers went forward to procure others. When they returned, the rear of the column had passed the guns so far that it was deemed unsafe to send back for them, and they were thus lost. No arms, cannon, or prisoners were taken by the enemy in battle, but only such as were left behind under the circumstances I have described. The number of stragglers thus lost I am unable to state with accuracy, but it is greatly exaggerated in the despatch referred to.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

## THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON: GENERAL BEAUREGARD'S DESPATCHES.

Gen. S. COOPER,—CHARLESTON, July 18, 6 P.M.

The Ironsides, five Monitors, four gun and mortar boats, two land batteries (five guns), have fired furiously all day on Battery Wagner. Four killed, fourteen wounded, and one gun-carriage disabled.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Gen. S. COOPER,—CHARLESTON, July 19, 3.40 A.M.

After a furious bombardment of eleven hours from the ships and shore, throwing many thousands of shot and shell, the enemy assaulted Battery Wagner desperately and repeatedly, beginning at dark. Our people fought worthily, and repulsed the attacks with great slaughter. A number of prisoners were captured. Our loss is relatively slight. It includes, however, valuable lives. Brigadier-General Taliaferro commands on our side. Pickets now well in advance. God is again with us.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

CHARLESTON, July 23, 1863.

The enemy recommenced shelling again yesterday, with but few casualties on our part. We had, in the battle of the 18th instant, about 150 killed and wounded. The enemy's loss, including prisoners, was about 2,000. Nearly 800 were buried under a flag of truce.

Colonel Putnam, acting Brigadier-General, and Colonel Shaw, commanding the negro regiments, were killed.

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General.

## SETTLEMENT OF OUR ACCOUNTS WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

(From the *New York Herald* of July 24.)

The most sanguine sympathizers with the cause of the South are compelled to own that the rebellion is played out. The despairing tone of the rebel organs themselves would belie any other conclusion. After the discoveries made in our recent cavalry raids, it was plain that it required but a few effective blows on its upper crust to ensure the caving in of the whole rotten structure. These have followed in rapid succession and with stunning force. Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson have exhausted the vitality of the resistance, and we have now to encounter but a few last expiring kicks. Before autumn has stripped the trees of their foliage, there will not be a rebel in arms from one end of the quondam Confederacy to the other. It is all nonsense to talk of the procrastination of hostilities by a system of guerilla operations. Wars of this magnitude never thus degenerate. Besides, the revolted States, once returned to their allegiance, will be compelled, through their local governments, to guarantee the good behaviour of all within their limits.

The restoration of the Union once ensured, what becomes the duty of the President? In the troubles by which it has been overwhelmed, the nation has with impatience beheld the administration compelled to temporize with the indignities and provocations offered it by the two leading European Powers. This state of things must not be suffered to continue. The submission of the South virtually secured, Mr. Lincoln should not hesitate a minute as to the course to be pursued. Let him at once issue a war message, declaring his intention of calling England and France to account for their hostile and treacherous conduct towards this country, and convoking Congress to pass the measures necessary to support his determination. There is not a man of any party, whether he be Republican or Democrat, copperhead or rebel, who will not hail with gladness this step.

Of all measures calculated to heal the wounds of the country, to harmonize its divided feelings, and to ensure the revival of the old sentiment of devotion to the Union, we believe this to be the most effectual. All history teaches us that after internal convulsions a foreign war is a sovereign specific for the restoration of health to the body politic. Thus it was with the ancient Greek and Roman republics, and thus it will ever be with communities similarly organized. We are no advocates of war in the abstract; but we consider that a government is faithless to its trust, and encourages aggression when it shrinks from resenting insults and injuries inflicted upon it in its hour of weakness. Never has a Cabinet observed less of form and management in its manifestations of unfriendly feeling towards a nation with whom it professed to be at peace than has that of Great Britain towards this country. It not only sustained the South, by according to it belligerent rights at the beginning of the war, but it connived at the building of privateers to prey on our commerce; and now, in violation of its own laws, it openly permits the construction of iron-plated vessels of war in its ports for the invasion and destruction of our seaboard cities. The French Emperor has exhibited towards us the same faithless and treacherous spirit, profiting by our divisions to push his schemes of aggrandisement in Mexico. The plans of both were fast approaching maturity, and if they have failed it is only because a Power mightier than theirs has so controlled

the fortunes of war as to place us in a position to defy all that they may be disposed to attempt against us.

But will our people now rest satisfied with this attitude of patient expectation? We do not know the national spirit if it does. We are satisfied that Mr. Lincoln has but to appeal to the feeling which is burning in every breast against the two Powers who have so largely contributed to the aggravation of our troubles to obtain any amount of support that he may require in hostilities against both. Let him but declare that it is the determination of our people not to lay down their arms until the French are driven out of Mexico and the British out of Canada, and he will enlist the sympathies of every man in the country, Southerner as well as Northerner. The Southern men will rush into such a war with even more eagerness than those of the North; for they accuse Great Britain and France of having betrayed them into their present unfortunate position by underhand assurances of support and recognition, which they only meant to fulfil when it suited their own interests. The opportunity has been suffered to pass by, and the Southern people will resent it energetically when the occasion arises. It will depend upon Mr. Lincoln to furnish it. Let us not bring the rebellion to a close, and he will not want the means to call both Governments to a severe reckoning. The draft, which he is said to be desirous to enforce merely in reference to this latter object, will not be necessary. Let him but declare war against the two traitorous governments that have aimed to destroy our national life, and willing hearts and hands will accord him all that he requires.

MEADE'S ARMY.—The New York correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—The old army of the Potomac is in excellent spirits and splendid condition, and can "go anywhere and do anything" that a force of its size of any army in the world is equal to, but it has dwindled down during the last six months with alarming rapidity. There are at this moment but 1,500 regulars left in it. In ten regiments of regulars there are altogether but 1,000 men, or an average of 100 men to a regiment. The largest of them in the service is the 8th, which is now here, and musters 600 men, but their full complement is 1,500 men each. A Massachusetts regiment, which took the field with 1,040 two years ago, went into action at Gettysburg with but forty, and stood in the hottest point on the left centre, and at the close not a man remained. There are whole divisions which number only 800 men. This extraordinary reduction in the regiments is due to the fact that all the reinforcements the army has received come in the shape of new regiments. The old ones are allowed to dwindle away, because the new recruits will not enlist except under new officers, or rather nobody will occupy himself in raising volunteers except persons who expect to command them when raised. But the effect of this spectacle of the dwindling away of the bodies actually in the field on the survivors who compose them is, of course, in the highest degree discouraging. Nothing can well be more depressing for a soldier than to find himself one of 100, when but a year ago he was one of 1,000. Every parade vividly reminds him of all the losses his regiment has suffered since the commencement of the war, whereas if it was kept up to its full strength by the accession of fresh men, he would, let him feel the loss of his old comrades ever so much, at least be sustained and cheered by the reflection that he belonged to a body as powerful, whether for offence or defence, as when he first joined it. It is to meet this defect mainly that the Government is resorting to the draft, because the draft enables it to put the recruit in the regiment or the arm which it chooses, and not that which he chooses, and the cadres now in the field must be speedily filled up, or the whole organization will go to pieces.

The defence of Vicksburg is one of the most heroic feats recorded in history. It is one of those struggles which, successful or unsuccessful, go to form the character and mature the spirit of a people. It is, perhaps, well for the South that it should meet with misfortunes and undergo heavy trials. It might have presumed too much on an unbroken tide of success, and, in its presumption, rushed upon its ruin. Its manifold struggles have earned for it the sympathy of Europe and a place in history. Centuries after it has emerged from its baptism of fire, and taken its proud place among the nations, the Southern father and the Southern mother will narrate to their children, by the fireside, in burning words, the story of their ancestors' prowess, and bid them emulate the deeds of their fathers in the olden time. They will tell their sons of those conquering veterans of Virginia, those dauntless defenders of the blood-stained Mississippi bastions. They will tell their daughters how women of Charleston tore off their jewels for the war, how women of New Orleans hurled defiance at the Northern tyrant in the midst of his troops. Those sons and daughters will then grow up into a people that will be worthy of those from whom it sprang. To us, here in England, there will be an abiding regret. We did not once stretch out a hand to aid the combatants in this noble struggle for independence. Even Northerners tell us now that we might have stopped the war long ago by the simple recognition of the South. We might have made these brave men our brothers and friends, detached them for ever from their selfish kinsmen of the North. As partners in commerce we should have become the providers of the world, when New York and Philadelphia were as desolate as Tyre and Sidon. We have left the South alone to win its spurs. Our neutrality is designated as selfish. If rightly understood, it is unselfish in the extreme—but it is also unwise, and cruel.—*Morning Herald*.

THE Honourable Mr. Whiting, solicitor, is the bearer of certain demands in reference to the fitting out of Confederate privateers, which are to be enforced under all sorts of penalties in the event of our non-compliance. Now, it would be as well if the Federal Government understood once for all that we have gone to the utmost limit of our legality already in our interference with the shipping interests of the country, and that no Cabinet will dare to make itself the ally of Mr. Adams in forcing the will of a domineering American power upon the people of Great Britain. We have not forgotten the exposures of the Alexandra case, and the humiliation endured by the English people at the sight of the Queen's Ministers leagued with an infamous American spy for the restriction of our legitimate trade operations. And if Mr. Whiting has come here with a new batch of spies and informers to try and heap fresh indignities upon our Government, we venture to tell him that his labour is worse than lost, and that he may end by creating serious trouble between the two Governments. This country has borne much—in suits to its flag, damage to its commerce, stagnation and paralysis in the chief branch of its manufacturing industry, destitution and starvation in 100,000 homes in the northern districts, all to be traced directly to the Washington Administration. But it will not submit to have its laws altered, or their meaning wrested, to serve the purpose of Mr. Lincoln.—*The Standard*, August 10.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Secretary Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings.

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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1863.

## Two Years' Invasion, and its Results.

THE Federal organs in this country remind us very forcibly of the clever gentry who, in spangled jackets and light pantaloons, advertise their marvellous performances in our quiet suburbs and less-frequented thoroughfares. Their *modus operandi* is pretty well known. A crowd is collected, and a ring made; there are some very mild acrobatic performances, and some extraordinary feats are promised, provided the coppers flow in. The decapitation of one of the simplest of the bystanders, and immediate restoration of the abstracted cranium, the ponderous ladder, and the "twopence more and up goes the donkey," are the regular capital of these bold adventurers. And they manage to trade for some time on the credulity of the public. Of course, the head of the intended victim remains safe upon his shoulders; the ladder is only shown, and the donkey does not walk up. But in the meantime the police interfere because the crowd is too great, or the player retires in virtuous disgust at the meanness of the audience. At any rate the principal performance never comes off. The *New York Herald*, flourishing upon congenial soil, is certainly the greatest performer in this particular line. But there are respectable journals in this country which assume a most elevated moral standing when denouncing their more adroit and less scrupulous colleague, and which are yet very little behindhand in idle bombast, rank dishonesty, and reckless assertion. The tone is a little more polished to suit English tastes. There is not the same offensiveness to the English reader. But in all that relates to the war, to the Southern people, their motives, their system, their morals, their history, our English contemporaries are nearly on a par with the rowdy Northern papers, if not in advance of them; for this reason, that they are notoriously inspired by the extreme Abolitionist faction, the men who clamour for "an anti-slavery god and anti-slavery bible," and who from pulpit and stump have proclaimed their devilish desire for one universal scene of massacre, pillage, and incendiarism in the South. No wonder that, given up to such influences, English journals should lose that moderation and fairness which characterise them as a body, and commit themselves to the most absurd and manifestly dishonest statements in their eagerness to claim even a momentary triumph for the principles they advocate. Only a week or two ago, we were assured the war was over, the backbone of the rebellion was broken, and secession at an end. Lee's army was a rabble, Bragg's army broken up, Johnston's forces starved; Virginia was all but conquered, Louisiana subjugated, North Carolina only waiting the signal to return to the Union; Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi at the mercy of General Grant, who, in a very few weeks, would join Rosecranz, and crush out the last embers of the rebellion in Mobile,

Savannah, and Charleston. The Confederacy was split in two. Arkansas and Louisiana were in the hands of the Federals. Texas would soon be disposed of, and by 1864 the Stars and Stripes would float over all the old United States' territory. One portion of this picture, we admit, our English contemporaries did not fill up. They did not threaten England with expulsion from Canada, and France with punishment in Mexico. They stopped with the burning of the last Southern city and the raid on the last Southern plantation.

Now, it is worth while to consider how probable these foreshadowed contingencies are, how much nearer practically the North is to the subjugation of the South than it was in 1861. A cursory glance at any map of the Old United States will show this. The Federals boast of the territory they have gained; and their organs in this country claim that wherever a Federal army marches there is a lasting gain to the Federal cause. Now if we take the seceded States in order, we shall find that the progress made by the United States' army, in comparison with what remains to accomplish, is almost insignificant. Take the State of Virginia. A portion of this State in the neighbourhood of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, revolutionized by Mr. Lincoln, was Federal in its sympathies from the first, and has remained so. The Federals hold Norfolk and the surrounding country, with a portion of the York-Town Peninsula, and have temporary occupation of the Shenandoah Valley; they hold actually less of Virginian territory than they held this time last year; and a victory of the Confederates—a very probable event—would sweep them once more into Maryland and Washington. The fate of General Milroy shows how precarious is their tenure upon the territory of the Old Dominion. In North Carolina they have made no progress for twelve months. They still hold Newbern, whence they send out bands to plunder and burn, but the ground is not theirs five hundred yards beyond their outlying pickets. In South Carolina the Northern army has still less to boast of. It has not yet reached the mainland. It has not even made an impression upon the outer defences of Charleston. It holds Beaufort and St. Helena Island, as it did eighteen months ago. Georgia is intact. In Florida the Federals have destroyed thriving towns, but have gained no permanent footing except on the coast. They have made no impression in Alabama, or the upper portion of Mississippi. They have lost Galveston, their only foothold in Texas. Their actual conquests are limited to portions of the State of Louisiana temporarily overrun by Northern troops, the river districts of the States of Mississippi and Arkansas, and part of the State of Tennessee. Now, this has been achieved with the loss of more than 500,000 men, at incredible expense, at the cost of civil war, actual or threatening, in Northern cities. And what does it amount to? Simply to this:—that where a Northern army is strong enough, it locates itself in or traverses a hostile territory; that it holds only the ground upon which it is encamped, and that the moment it evacuates a position, Confederate troops, guerillas or regular forces, occupy it. Why, at this moment we hear of Rosecranz pushing forward for Chattanooga and threatening Georgia, but in Western Tennessee the Confederate army is recruiting, and fighting is going on with varying success. Let us travel from the seceded States into the Border States. What is going on in Kentucky? General Burnside is proclaiming martial law, and issuing proclamations against disaffection. Large bodies of Confederate troops are ravaging the country, and destroying Northern property, and pitched battles are fought. A little further North we find even the Federal States unsafe; Indiana and Ohio traversed by a considerable Confederate force, which is only defeated and captured after doing millions' worth of damage to Federal property. In the face of these undeniable facts, to talk of the prospect of subjugation, is worse than absurd. Even if there were a large Southern minority favourable to the reconstruction of the Union, the work of reconquering and of holding subject nearly a million of square miles of immensely fertile, thinly populated, and

inaccessible territory, would be beyond the powers of the North. But when every man, woman, and child loathes and curses the enemy as he passes, when, as Mr. Vallandigham testifies, every Southerner spurns the idea of reconstruction, the task is a physical impossibility.

Conquest would be an impossibility even if the Confederate armies were reduced to as low a state of morale and efficiency, and to the insignificant numbers assigned to them by Federal journals. But the South has large armies still in the field, and it has vast resources to fall back upon. There are at this moment at least 350,000 men in arms in the South. The last call of the President will strengthen them by 200,000. The South has abundance of arms and ammunition, a fine artillery, and skilful generals. Fighting on the defensive, it can economise its forces; and it ought to, and will, account for Federal armies of greatly superior numbers. It must be observed that the more contracted are the Confederate lines, the more available strength her commanders have for the defence of any assailable point. The vast area which the South has hitherto defended has doubtless told upon Northern resources and endurance. But it had the disadvantage of greatly exposing the weakness of the defence. The North by its enormous naval superiority on the rivers and the coasts, was always able to bring overwhelming numbers to bear at any given point; and the Confederates were compelled to fight the invader where his water communications almost ensured him success. Now that Johnston's army has fallen back from the Mississippi, and Bragg has retired to the Tennessee mountains, the contest will be more equal. Henceforth the unrivalled facilities of transport enjoyed by the Federals will cease. Their armies, if they march inland, must carry their own supplies. There are no great rivers to aid them, but painful marches through an easily defensible country of primeval forests and few roads await them. Bragg and Johnston must have between them, with the troops that were paroled from Vicksburg, and in due course exchanged, at least 100,000 men. These with a gallant population to back them make up a very formidable army, so formidable that we doubt very much if the Northern Generals will adventure any inland movement this season. Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston are threatened. But the safety of Mobile ought to be secured by the presence of Johnston's army at Okolona; and Savannah and Charleston, if they should fall, will, no doubt, have added their due quota to the bloody list of casualties which is, at last, wearying out even the savage aspirations of the Northern mob. But even if the remaining ports of the Atlantic coast should suffer the fate of New Orleans, their fall would not alter the result. The war might still be carried on for twenty years. At the end of that time the South would be a wilderness, but it would be still unconquered. What the North would have become it is difficult to guess.

## The Empire of Mexico.

IF there is one country favoured above all others by the lavish hand of Nature, it is that land of wonders and of wealth, the cradle of the earliest civilization in the New World, Mexico. Washed by both great oceans, with a soil fertile beyond conception, permeated by inexhaustible mineral treasures, a climate which realizes the dreams of mythology, it seems to combine all the conditions which should ensure for its inhabitants the greatest measure of earthly happiness. Humboldt's description reads like a poem. Though situated within the tropics, Mexico cannot be considered a tropical country. The mean temperature of the great plains is only a few degrees greater than that of Naples or Rome. On the declivities of the Cordilleras there reigns a soft perennial spring, which at no season varies in temperature more than a few degrees. But from the configuration of the country, one may, thermometer in hand, select, within the distance of a few leagues, any temperature desired, from that of frozen Lapland to the arid heat of Algiers. The produc-



tions of every clime, from the cereals of the temperate zone to the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics, grow in profuse abundance, and whatever man can possibly want or desire, the soil affords with little cultivation. With the exception of the narrow belt of coast where the *vomito* prevails, the climate is healthful and even invigorating. If the European cannot live and thrive in such a country, where shall he live and thrive?

Yet for fifty years Mexico has been a scandal and a disgrace to civilization. Claiming the privileges of a civilized people, and at the same time the immunities of barbarians, the Mexicans have come to be regarded as a nation of cutthroats and robbers. Since the commencement of their independent existence they have numbered more revolutions than years in their history. The material progress, so promising even under the shortsighted and narrow-minded colonial policy of Spain, has not only been arrested, but retrograde steps have been taken with fearful rapidity. The reason of all this is plain to all who are content to see facts as they are, and not as they wished them. Seduced by the example of the United States, the Spanish-Americans took literally what the Anglo-American's better practical sense only flung out as a glittering paradox, the dogma of the universal equality of man. In English-America the white race was, if not the exclusive occupant, at least immensely preponderant in numbers; in Spanish-America the whites formed numerically the smallest element of the population. The political privileges which further North even the white man did not know how to use moderately and wisely, were here to be the birthright of mongrels, who retained the worst vices with none of the virtues of the parent races. Analyze the component parts of what is facetiously termed the Mexican nation: There are, first, the individuals of European birth, a mere fragment, scarce appreciable in the aggregate. Next the pure descendants of Europeans, or Creoles, who, with the former class, form the only basis upon which the structure of a national system can be made to rest, but who are only rather less than one-sixth of the whole. Next come the *Mestizcos*, or half-castes between the whites and Indians; the *Mulattoes*, between whites and negroes, together about one-third of the whole; the element of discord and disturbance; vicious, idle, and restless; the ready tools of lawlessness and crime, and the source of all the miseries that have afflicted Mexico. Next, the *Zamboes*, or mongrels of Indians and Negroes, the Negroes, and a few men of Chinese and Malayan descent, and the intermediate mixtures between these various hybrids; these form the pariahs of the social system, the lepers rather than the criminals of the population. Lastly comes the substratum of this heterogeneous mass,—the copper-coloured Indians, much the same as Cortez found them in manners, morals, and modes of thought; docile, laborious serfs; counting for, perhaps, one-half of the population. Had the political constitution been framed according to that hierarchy of races which Nature herself has appointed, an orderly and prosperous government might have been established and maintained. But imagine the radical theories of American democracy carried into practice among a population so constituted, and the result must inevitably be what it has been in all the Central and South American Republics, all of which more or less resemble Mexico. It is suggestive that the only self-governing communities on the American continent—excepting, of course, the British colonies, which, though virtually self-governing, have the advantage of being dependencies of a vast and admirably balanced Imperial system—which have for any lengthened period enjoyed internal tranquillity and a stable form of government, are monarchical Brazil, and the North American federative Republic. In the latter, the South had heretofore formed the balance-wheel, and contributed the conservative check which has controlled the elements of destruction. The South alone, basing its social fabric upon the principle of subordination of one race to the other, is capable of retaining republican forms and principles of government. Cut loose from its conservative partner, the North is already drifting rapidly into anarchy or despotism.

The establishment of monarchy in Mexico is, therefore, the beginning of a new and, we hope, a better era in the history of the New World. That monarchy, if it would lay the foundation of real liberty, must, for some time at least, rule with an absolute hand, but gradually rallying to its support the white population; establish, in fact, a white man's Government. The jealous exclusion of mixed blood from political affairs will avert the most imminent dangers; a paternal and judicious regard to the material and moral interests of the Indian, the indigenous peasantry of the country, will secure for the social superstructure a base as solid and as broad as the most exacting theorist could require. Even the Northern papers admit that under such a *regime* Mexico, from being an insignificant and contemptible Power, will become one of the strongest on that continent. Her regeneration will, it is to be hoped, inaugurate that of her unhappy sister States, and the fairest region of the globe may in time be reclaimed from the barbarism into which, since the expulsion of the Spanish dominion, it has been gradually lapsing.

Except that an Englishman might reasonably feel some apprehension at seeing the prestige and influence of France extending over the New World, where his own country is daily losing both, there is nothing in the creation of the French-American empire which does not afford subject of congratulation. If France has ambitions in the Western hemisphere, she will be all the less dangerous in the Eastern, and at present her mission appears to be to realize the dream of Canning, of redressing the balance of the Old World by the New. The long-neglected claims of English bond-holders are now certain of being paid; a new and most lucrative field for the operation of British capital will be opened, and a new direction given to British commerce; for be Mexico her own mistress, or whoever be her master, so she be but prosperous and tranquil, British enterprise will be sure to secure a fair share of the wealth which she is capable of offering to the competition of the world. Upon the pending struggle on the North American continent this great event must necessarily exercise no inconsiderable influence. We do not believe in the rumour, inspired by Northern fears, that an alliance is already on the point of being concluded between France and the Confederate Government; the less so, as the same rumour alleges one of the terms of that alliance to be the promise of modifications of the institution of slavery, modifications which the Confederate Government has not the power either to make or to promise, and which, however ready the South might be to make them, it could not, in self-respect or with a due regard to its independence, make at the suggestion of a foreign Power, or promise as a condition of recognition. But this rumour is both the confession of a fear and the admission of a fact. The North knows that the Southern Confederacy is the natural ally of regenerated Mexico, and it feels that through regenerated Mexico France is inevitably the ally of the Southern Confederacy. The contemptuous disregard of the Monroe doctrine is moreover almost as cruel a blow to Northern pride and visions of "manifest destiny" as the secession of the Southern States. It is the realization, even before the hope of recovering from the first blow is resigned, of some of the most dreaded consequences anticipated from secession. It is, in truth, a declaration of war; for the Northern Republic cannot, however much exhausted it may come out of its present crisis, permit the establishment of a foreign rival on its own continent without at least one desperate effort at dislodging him. Already the idea has vaguely presented itself to the Northern mind as the least of two evils, to give the South all it asks and all that must at last be granted, as the price of a perpetual alliance against the European intruder. "Better divide with the South this continent," so it is already darkly hinted, "than give it all to Europe." There has thus entered a new element into the American war, indicating results of the gravest importance, but which it would be premature as yet to attempt to define.

### Mr. Newman Hall's Excommunication.

THE *Daily News* and the *Star* of Saturday last contain a letter dated from Surrey Chapel, and signed "Newman Hall," addressed to "the Editors of *Good Words*, *The Evangelical Magazine*, and other religious periodicals which have admitted the Appeal from the Clergy of the Confederate States," in which the said editors are roundly taken to task and the proprietors indirectly threatened with the withdrawal of public patronage, for having permitted the "Appeal of the Southern Clergy to Christians throughout the World" to be stitched up within the covers of their respective publications. This letter, dated from a place dedicated to the worship of the Most High, and signed by one who professes to be a minister of the Gospel, contains the following remarkable passage: "Knowing that the existing slavery of the Southern States involves, not only as an accident, but as an inherent element, 'fornication, covetousness, and extortion,' with almost all other vices and crimes, *I for one could not admit to the Lord's table, nor receive into my house, far less aid with my prayers, or by giving currency to their arguments*, such men as these, who, maintaining such a system, still invoke the name of Jesus, and plead the authority of the Bible." What awful words to fall from the lips of one who assumes to teach his fellow creatures the law of Him who spake from Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;" from one who claims to speak in the name of Him who died on the cross to save sinners. This man, forgetting how much he himself owes to that religious toleration and freedom of conscience which permit him to defy and war against the Established Church of his own country, hurls against others an excommunication as fierce and as blasphemous as ever freighted the formulas of a Popish bull. He will not listen, nor allow others to listen, to the defence of the victims of his wrath; he will not recognise them as fellow-beings by receiving them into his house; he will not recognise them as fellow Christians by admitting them to the Lord's table; far less will he pray for them, that they may learn to know the errors of their way. From all human kindness, and even from Divine mercy, this teacher of a religion of love and charity would exclude them. It has been often observed how alarmingly close is the resemblance between English sympathisers with the Federal cause and their prototypes. The presses of that school imitate the tone and style of their American models; their speakers fall into the same phrases, the same line of argument, the same rhetorical habits; it only remained, to make the resemblance complete, that fanaticism should from the pulpit emulate the example of Beecher, Cheever, and others of that ilk. If Mr. Newman Hall has not quite succeeded in this, it is probably because British ideas of decency and decorum are still too inveterately old-fashioned and unlightened to make the too sudden adoption of trans-Atlantic manners an altogether safe experiment.

It might be supposed that no slight cause could have betrayed a minister of the Gospel so far beyond the propriety—to use no other word—of his profession. Yet this merciless excommunication is launched at the heads of men who approach their brethren, "not in the spirit of controversy, not by political inspiration, but as the servants of the Most High God to speak the 'truth in love' concerning things that make for peace." The prayer which is so vehemently refused in Surrey Chapel, and which these men ask for themselves, for their churches, their country, is "the devout prayer of God's people—'the will of the Lord be done.'" And as the beginning and conclusion of this Address are thus characterized with genuine Christian meekness and devout resignation, so is the body of it free from all intemperance of thought or expression. There is no reference to political issues, no recriminatory accusations, no attempt to make proselytes to any dogma or opinion whatever. There was one subject on which, as men of honour, of truth, and of courage, the signers to the Address could not be silent. For thirty years



the people whom they represent have been the object of calumnies, so gross, so systematically propagated, so persistently reiterated, that history presents no parallel of misrepresentation on so gigantic a scale. Providence had placed among that people, to dwell with them, another people of a different race, one-third as numerous as themselves, but only a few generations removed from the most ferocious form of barbarism. Of these dwellers amongst them, the Southern people were held up to the world as the ruthless oppressors, excluding them for the most wicked of motives from all human rights, and suffering in turn by a righteous and inevitable retribution the consequences of the crime in a moral degradation such as few nations ever sank into. The representatives of this people, knowing that these calumnies have chilled the sympathies of many hearts towards them, modestly, but firmly, give their testimony against them. They do not ask their fellow Christians in other countries to imitate the institutions of the South; they do not extol those institutions at the expense of others; they do not disguise their shortcomings and imperfections. This is what they say, and what has drawn upon them the excommunication of Surrey Chapel:—

With all the facts of the system of slavery in its practical operations before us, "as eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, having had perfect understanding in all things" on this subject of which we speak, we may surely claim respect for our opinions and statements. Most of us have grown up from childhood among the slaves; all of us have preached to and taught them the word of life; have administered to them the ordinances of the Christian Church; sincerely love them as souls for whom Christ died; we go among them freely, and know them in health and sickness, in labour and rest, from infancy to old age. We are familiar with their physical and moral condition, and alive to all their interests; and we testify in the sight of God, that the relation of master and slave among us, however we may deplore abuses in this, as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of the Africans in our land is an occasion of gratitude on their behalf, before God; seeing that thereby Divine Providence has brought them where missionaries of the Cross may freely proclaim to them the word of salvation, and the work is not interrupted by agitating fanaticism.

And they add, with a pride which is surely justifiable in men so cruelly put on the defensive:—

The South has done more than any people on earth for the Christianization of the African race. The condition of the slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fictions would have men believe, but prosperous and happy, and would have been yet more so but for the mistaken zeal of the Abolitionists. Can emancipation obtain for them a better portion? The practicable plan for benefiting the African race must be the Providential plan—the Scriptural plan. We adopt that plan in the South, and while the State should seek by wholesome legislation to regard the interests of master and slave, we, as ministers would preach the word to both as we are commanded of God. This war has not benefited the slaves. Those who have been encouraged or compelled to leave their masters have gone, and we can aver can go, to no state of society that offers them any better things than they have at home, either in respect to their temporal or eternal welfare. We regard Abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord's blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth no good fruit; instead of blessing it has brought forth cursing; instead of love, hatred; instead of life, death—bitterness and sorrow and pain, and infidelity and moral degeneracy follow its labours. We remember how the apostle has taught the minister of Jesus upon this subject: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. *These things teach and exhort.* If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but dotting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt mind, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself."

This is all they say on this subject. It is not an argument in favour of slavery; it is a vindication from unfounded accusations, a statement of circumstances for which the South is not originally responsible, but the duties of which it recognises and is sincerely anxious to discharge. Is it conceivable that a hundred ministers of the Gospel should deliberately unite in a solemn lie in the face of God and man? And what is the character of the evidence that is arrayed against them? Men, it is true, have gone on for years writing books against the South, but

for the most part they have borrowed from each other, the most bitter being those who had the least opportunity for personal observation. It is a fact regretfully admitted by the most uncompromising enemies of the South, that the hatred to its institutions abates by contact. The social system of no other country has been scrutinized by so hostile and malevolent a criticism, yet the argument to this day needs the aid of the most palpable falsehoods and the most glaring contradictions. It is but yesterday that an English professor of political economy wrote an elaborate work to prove that seven-tenths of a population, the aggregate product of whose industry exceeds annually that of any other equal number of people, led a life "alternating between listless idleness and the excitement of marauding expeditions." We have been told that the Southerners are indolent, slothful, unenterprising; we have during the last two years seen them improvise armies and navies, and the means of equipping these, while shut out from intercourse with the world. We have been told that they were lawless, cruel, and barbarous; we have seen them brave, resolute, and moderate; while in an enemy's country, disciplined; and, even under unheard-of provocations, always generous and humane. And it is fair to add, that such denunciations as Surrey Chapel has hurled against men who only pray that God's will be done, were never uttered by a Southern minister against the enemy who ravage his country with fire and sword, outrage defenceless women, and butcher unarmed citizens.

The vehemence of such language as this proceeding from a professed teacher of Christ's word, may well cause reflecting Christians to pause and examine into what grievous injustice false zeal may carry them. The most heinous criminal should not be condemned unheard, much less upon testimony which has been discredited in so many essential particulars. And surely no human being, much less a whole nation, is so irretrievably wicked that the Christian may refuse the aid of his prayer. Let men entertain what convictions they may about the institution of slavery, let them be ever so earnest in their desire to see it disappear; but let them remember also, that but a few generations past it was the almost universal institution of the civilized world, and that the curse of Surrey Chapel would fall with equal force upon our ancestors as upon the Southerners of the present day. Let the statesman remember that no people have ever yet had so difficult a social problem to solve as the presence of an inferior race in their midst, of one-third of their own number. If this problem is as yet imperfectly solved, let us at least be just, if not charitable, to the effort, if sincere, to solve it. Let us weigh the practical good against the theoretical evil. If, as Mr. Newman Hall indignantly says, the law fails to recognise the binding force of the marriage tie among the slaves, let us be thankful that the sanctity of that tie is more generally observed among them than among probably any other labouring population in the world. If the law permits separation of families, let us take courage from the fact that such separation happens in practice less often than among the poor of the most prosperous countries. If such evils exist, and undoubtedly they do exist, let us hope that a people so brave, so generous, and so God-fearing as the South has proved itself to be, a people which speaks the same language as ourselves, believes in the same Sacred Scriptures, and relies on the same Saviour, will not lack the will to apply the remedies. The absence of any particular law does not imply the existence of the particular offence which that law would punish, but it is rather the law which argues the pre-existence of the offence. The Romans prided themselves on not punishing for centuries the crime of parricide, because it was unknown. Similarly, and with good show of reason, the Southerners excuse the deficiencies in their legislation of which Europe specially complains, on the ground that society has not yet felt the grievance against which that legislation is meant to guard. It is impossible that any human society should be based upon a deliberate violation of human rights; and were the relations of master and slave such as to "involve,

not only as an accident, but as an inherent element," all the vices and crimes with which it is charged, society in its own defence would be compelled to protect those who are not able to protect themselves. But if, in the performance of this great and responsible duty the Southern people require our aid and counsels, it is surely not the best mode of tendering these, to refuse them all hearing, all intercourse with them as men or communion as Christians, and to return their prayers with curses.

### Can India save our Cotton Trade?

THE Federal agents in England have done what they could for their employers. As there was not much to be said in favour of their own case, and as the arguments of their opponents were unanswerable, they have persistently and unscrupulously assailed the motives of those who have avowed themselves the well-wishers of the South. They allege that the universal admiration for the conduct and heroism of the Confederates has its origin in extreme selfishness, and that we should not have sympathized with them but from the conviction that the disruption of the Union is a great gain to this country. It is true that our interest in the establishment of Southern independence is only second to that of the Southerners themselves; but so far from this influencing public opinion, it has never been adequately appreciated. Had we known how large was our stake in secession and how much we had to lose by a continuation of hostilities, so far from refusing recognition, the British Government impelled by an irresistible pressure, would have long ago taken steps to put an end to one of the most bloody and certainly most useless wars that has ever been waged. We are beginning to understand that union means aggression on our commerce and territory, and that separation is a guarantee for the peace of Canada, and promises an extension of our trade. A few months hence we shall have thoroughly learnt another important lesson. Two years ago, when it was manifest that Mr. Seward's promise of putting down the "rebellion" in ninety days was mere braggadocio, and that it was just as likely that the South would conquer the North as that the North would subdue the South, great anxiety was felt for the future of Lancashire. Then to quiet our fears and to confirm us in our policy of inactivity, it was whispered by the Federal agents that England should rejoice at the prospect of the American cotton supply being cut off for ever. What was to prevent our becoming growers as well as manufacturers? Why should not our Eastern Empire send us all the raw material we need? No doubt India had been tried and found wanting, but high prices were to overcome all difficulties. Mr. Bright, who made his reputation by declaiming against the folly and iniquity of any Government interference between the producer and consumer, has boldly advocated a protective policy with respect to the growth of cotton in India. If ever the end would justify the means, here is an instance. The prosperity of Lancashire to be assured, and simultaneously our vast dependency to be flooded with wealth, by which we, the dominant race, would be more enriched than the natives. Thus were many persons reconciled to the prospect of a long war in America. It was a dazzling vision, but as utterly baseless as it was brilliant and fascinating.

We have before us a pamphlet—"The Cotton Trade of India," which deserves a wide circulation. The author, Mr. Samuel Smith, of Liverpool, therein records what information he gleaned during a tour in India in the spring of 1863, undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining whether that country could supply the place of America. Mr. Smith cannot be accused of partisanship. He seems to us to fight as hard as he can against the inevitable conclusion to be derived from his well-authenticated and careful statements. When he tells us that "India is not able as a cotton-growing country to supply the place of America," he adds, "but though India cannot be a substitute for America, she may be a valuable supplement." A glance at the reasons for the first assertion will show that there is little foundation for the second.



Mr. Smith estimates the present production of India at 1,750,000 bales, and the question, for the moment disregarding cost and quality, is to what extent this quantity can be increased. Until now very high prices have not been nearly so efficacious as expected. We have been told that this is owing to the want of railroads, and to the peculiar tenure by which land is held. If the profit on cotton were fractional, and depended on the cheapness of transport, the construction of railroads might exercise a vast influence on production; but the profit has been so large and so easily realized by the grower, that although the development of railroad enterprise would bring the crops sooner to market, it would do little or nothing in increasing the production. The doctrine of free trade which Mr. Bright has abjured, that production is entirely dependent on demand, is thoroughly sound. Commerce will always find a convenient outlet, but providing a convenient outlet will not create a commerce. As to the second point, the Indian farmer is in an enviable position. He is virtually a freeholder. The tax he pays on his land is not more than a fifth, and in many instances not more than a tenth of the value of the crops thereof. Surely Mr. Bright is wrong in saying that this state of things gives the ryot a claim on the Government for protection. Further the ryot is now out of debt, and being no longer under the dominion of the money-lender, can and does sell his produce at the fair market rate. Where the tenancy is not direct from the Government, and where the zemindar intervenes, the ryot pays a higher rent; but even then his profits are proportioned to his total returns. We cannot expect, therefore, to materially increase the production of cotton in India by changing the tenure of land or by making railroads.

Without dwelling on details and the many difficulties that under any circumstances would make it the work of a generation at least to develop the culture of cotton in India, it is sufficient for our purpose to prove that as compared to America it never can become a cotton-producing country. The climate is against it, and no Act of Parliament that Mr. Bright can devise will change that. The Indian cotton is inferior, and this after many costly experiments to effect an improvement. American planters have been at work and failed. The most ingenious contrivances have been perseveringly tried, for the prize was magnificent, and they have been tried in vain. American seed has been imported, but in the few districts where it has become acclimatized it has still yielded a crop altogether inferior in quality and quantity. In a word, Indian cotton is not so good and costs more than American cotton.

We may be told that these objections are trite, and that it was a waste of time and energy for Mr. Smith to go to India to prove that that country could not compete with America, since that had been long since demonstrated by the supremacy of American cotton in our market. We may be reminded that the issue is not whether India can compete with America, but whether America, being out of the field, India can or cannot supply her place. It will, we imagine, be very hard to persuade the ryot that his old competitor is permanently disposed of. Even the sanguine Yankee does not dream of being able to exterminate the peculiar climate of the South as well as her people, and whenever the war ends, the cultivation of cotton will be resumed, though perhaps to a limited extent. New Orleans will again take the highest position, and Surats will only find purchasers by a concession of price. But undoubtedly the war has severely interfered with the American supply; every day peace is postponed adds to the difficulty of resuming the culture on an adequate scale, and at best many years must elapse before we can get cotton at the same price and in the same quantity as before the commencement of the war. In the meantime can India keep our mills at work?

Mr. Smith adduces very cogent arguments to prove that it cannot do so, and except the Anglo-Federal faction, no one will pretend to dispute his conclusion. But if India is to do even a little more than formerly, the unscrupulous Anglo-Federals

themselves must admit that the stimulus of high price is indispensable. Let cotton fall to the normal price, and the ryot will turn his attention to other crops, for cotton will cease to be profitable. Now we all know that our staple industry became so gigantic on account of the cheapness of our fabrics. Dearthness invariably brings about a diminution of consumption. It is so with bread and potatoes, and it will even in a greater degree be so with cotton cloths. It is infinitely easier to stint our backs than our stomachs. In England the consumption of cotton is about ten pounds per head of the population, whilst in some European countries it is not more than five pounds per head. We mention this as an indication of the extent of possible reduction of the consumption of cotton under the pressure of dearthness. The present abnormal price cannot be maintained, and unless India can grow cotton as cheaply it cannot replace the American supply. It is an indisputable fact that India cannot do so, and therefore cannot save our staple industry from decay.

We have gradually drifted into this state of affairs, and we as yet fail to realise the situation. On Friday last the *Times* congratulated its readers upon 5,000 Lancashire operatives having in one month emigrated or found other employment; and the next day our contemporary wound up an article on British Columbia by saying—"We have on former occasions expressed our belief that Lancashire is now overpeopled. We do not see any reasonable prospect of the re-employment of all the half-million hands at acceptable wages." What a profound sensation this assertion would have caused at the beginning of the war! It means that our operatives will have to labour where their valuable skill will be of no avail—that our splendid human machines must be employed in less remunerative work, or emigrate to other lands. It means that our cotton trade is permanently crippled, and that India cannot replace the American cotton crop. Verily the masterly inactivity of our Government has borne much fruit. And let us give the Yankees their due. They have failed in subjugating the South, but they have crippled the English cotton trade without the risk of a war with England. Never did a nation pay a heavier price for neutrality. The dearest war we ever waged was cheap in comparison.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, July 11.

Vicksburg has fallen. The long siege was brought to a close by the capitulation of the garrison on the 4th of July, a result doubly gratifying to the enemy because of the capture without further loss of life to their army, and because of the coincidence of the event with the national anniversary, a day memorable as associated with liberties, dearly bought, which have been lost to the Yankees and their heirs for ever. The terms of the capitulation were highly favourable to the garrison, as the heroic and obstinate defence of the place reflects the greatest credit upon General Pemberton. The officers marched out with side-arms, and were allowed to retain their horses and private property. The shattered regiments bore the colours which they had defended so gloriously, colours blackened with powder smoke and riddled with balls. Officers and men were both paroled on the spot and allowed to come over to our lines.

As you may well suppose, this untoward result of the protracted league of Vicksburg has created here a feeling of the bitterest regret. While many had expected the announcement at any time these four weeks, the public mind was unprepared for it, so confidently had we been assured that the defences were unweakened and the supplies abundant. It turned out that immense breaches had been made in the fortifications, and that the brave defenders of the town were almost in the last stage of weakness and exhaustion.

Of course there are various speculations here as to the parties upon whom the blame should rest. By some General Johnston is held wholly responsible. He had a large army, they say, and did nothing whatever to relieve the suffering garrison. He urged General Pemberton to fight the battle of Edward's Ferry against the latter's counsel, and held himself aloof from the field, when his presence had been worth half-a-dozen regiments. He has since manifested a criminal indifference, arising out of an overweening sensitiveness with regard to his rank, to the critical situation of Vicksburg, while yet the siege

might have been raised. Others visit General Pemberton with their displeasure. He was a Northern man, they say. He never would have been placed in so important a command had he not been a favourite of the President's. His inefficiency had reduced Vicksburg to an indefensible condition before General Johnston had arrived on the spot. Others, again, declare that the Administration was at fault in not having properly victualled Vicksburg, knowing well that it would be subjected to a close investment. *Non nostrum tantus.* Such criminations are profitless in view of the stronghold of the Mississippi in the enemy's possession. I am happy to believe that they are not in the mouths of the people at large. They remember with pride and gratitude the shining services of Joseph E. Johnston in the first year of the war; they recognise the heroism and devotion displayed by Pemberton during these past seven weeks of weary vigils within the beleaguered limits of Vicksburg, and they have not yet withdrawn their confidence from the Government which they are willing to believe has done all that it could do for the public defence. It is said of the Pasha of Egypt, that when the first accident occurred on the railway between Alexandria and Cairo, he was exceeding wroth, and ordered the heads of all the officers of the company to be stuck up the morning after on the front of the Cairo station. The Yankees have acted on the principle since the beginning of the war, officially decapitating their commanders-in-chief after every disaster to their arms; and however effectual such sharp practice may have proved in preventing accidents on the Egyptian railway, it has certainly failed altogether to put a stop to Yankee defeats. Our people are just, even in their most poignant sorrow over this latest reverse. It will be time enough to punish the culpable when a proper investigation has shown upon whom lies the fault; or if you please, the criminal, when they know who has committed the crime.

As to the effect which the loss of Vicksburg will have on the Confederate cause, no one regards it as fatal or even remediless. It is not certain that it will secure henceforth the uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi. It turns out as I had feared, that the "juggling fiend" in the office of the telegraph at Jackson paltered with us in his statement that our troops were in possession of Milliken's Bend; but there are other points on the river at which we may give the enemy trouble, and for the present the navigation is safe only for iron-clad gunboats, which could pass the batteries before Vicksburg had been taken by General Grant. The only certain result of the capitulation will be the indefinite prolongation of the war—more strife, more ravage, more waste of treasure, more empty sleeves, more artificial legs and wooden stumps, more early graves of the young and gifted, more bitter tears of the widow and orphan. Sad, sad thought, inscrutable decree of the All-wise Ruler of kings and presidents!

Our intelligence is not full or satisfactory from Jackson since the capitulation of Vicksburg, but we know that Grant is moving upon that town with his whole force, and that skirmishings have occurred between his advanced guard and the outermost regiments of Johnston's army. The inhabitants of Jackson are flying precipitately from their homes, feeling well assured that the triumph of the enemy will be the utter destruction of the town and all that it contains. General Johnston has 40,000 men in his command, and it is computed that Grant's force cannot exceed 70,000 men; and in a general engagement these odds, judging from past experience, are not absolutely conclusive of Yankee victory. It is hoped that, should Grant give Johnston battle in the open field, he may yet measurably retrieve the great disaster which he was powerless to prevent.

Events of the utmost importance have taken place in Pennsylvania, the accounts of which, as given in the New York and Philadelphia papers, might induce you to believe that the Confederate Government was non-extant, did you not know with how large a pinch of salt you are to receive the statements of the Lincoln press. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, July 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, there was heavy fighting at Gettysburg, in which the Yankees claim that their new Commander-in-Chief, General George G. Meade, gained a glorious victory over General Lee, completely annihilating his army and putting the veterans of Jackson and Longstreet to what "Fighting Joe Hooker" calls "ignominious flight." Strange as it may seem, we have not as yet received full details of these three days' operations, but we know enough to be assured that Meade's victory consisted in losing his fortifications at Gettysburg, after a long and bloody struggle, in which both sides suffered severely, and that the ignominious flight was a voluntary abandonment of the works as untenable by General Lee the day after they were carried, and the subsequent withdrawal of his army to Hagerstown, where, at last accounts, it was massed in very strong position, the men in fine temper and excellent



spirits. We are ignorant of General Lee's reasons for falling back upon Hagerstown. Whether he found his base line seriously menaced, or whether the question of supplies was paramount, we cannot say, but it is significant that Hagerstown is nearer to Washington City by fifteen miles than Gettysburg. Many wounded officers who participated in the three days' battle at Gettysburg have reached the hospitals in this city, and they represent that the conflict on Friday, the 3rd of July, was very sanguinary; that the enemy fought with desperation and repulsed our troops in the attack on their entrenched heights several times, but that these were finally triumphantly occupied by us, and with this result the battle terminated. Several thousand prisoners were taken on both sides. It is claimed, however, that General Lee did not lose a gun. His movement to Hagerstown was conducted with the most perfect order. Of the casualties we know little with absolute certainty. The brave General Barksdale was killed. It is said that we have also to mourn the loss of Generals Kemper, Armistead, and Garnett. Among the wounded we are pained by the report of so long a list of Generals as Jones, Beth, Pettigrew, Hampton, and Hood. On the Federal side, Generals Reynolds, Zook, and Paul were killed. General Sickles had his leg amputated on the field, and is reported as having died of his wounds.

Telegrams were received yesterday and to-day, announcing that there had been skirmishes in force at Williamsburg and Boonsboro', in which the enemy had been driven off. These are but the preludes to another great burst of the awful music of battle between the two armies, the echoes of which may reach you in Bouverie-street before this writing arrives at that distant point. We have no fears for General Lee. He may not be able to carry out his plans to the full extent, but he will baffle the attempts of the enemy to cut off his army, and may possibly offset the reverse at Vicksburg by a success of which the enemy little dreams.

The attack on Charleston was renewed by the iron-clad fleet yesterday, and has been continued to-day, in co-operation with a land force disembarked on Morris' Island. The main fire of the fleet is understood to have been directed upon Fort Sumter, so far with little damage; on the island there was a spirited combat in which our loss is reported at 125 killed and wounded. Up to the moment of writing, the enemy has been foiled both on land and water. The attack was made in consequence of an impression on the part of the Yankees that Beauregard had left Charleston to join Lee, and all the Confederate troops there had been withdrawn to strengthen the army beyond the Potomac.

A correspondence of great interest is published in the daily papers of this morning between the President and Vice-President of the Confederate States, and between the latter and the Federal officers in command at Fortress Monroe. It cannot have escaped your notice that as long ago as the 13th May, two Confederate officers, Messrs. Corbin and McGraw, who had been sent by General Humphrey Marshall to open recruiting stations in Kentucky, were executed by order of General Burnside at Sandusky city, Ohio. Information of this fact having been received by the Confederate Government, notice was given to the Government of the United States that retaliation would be made upon two Federal officers to be chosen by lot from among the prisoners held in this city. Thereupon the cartel of exchange was wholly set at naught in the retention by the United States authorities of all the Confederate officers in their hands, and the threat that should the President retaliate for the murder committed by Burnside they would hang two for one. On Monday last, the 6th instant, a painful solemnity was witnessed in the Libby prison in this city, the casting of lots for the two Federal officers who were to suffer for Burnside's barbarity, and the doom fell on Captain Henry W. Sawyer, of the 1st New Jersey Infantry, and Captain John Flynn, of the 51st Indiana Regiment. Three days before this selection had been made, the President, with the view of obtaining something like a definite understanding with the United States' Government with regard to the future conduct of the war, as to the protection of private property and non-combatants, and of preventing us if possible from drifting into a strife unrestrained by the usages of civilized warfare and the sentiments of a Christian morality, had empowered Vice-President Stephens to proceed as Commissioner to Washington City for the purpose of holding an interview there with such person as President Lincoln should delegate to meet him. Mr. Stephens proceeded as far as Newport's News, and after having been detained there forty-eight hours, in order that the United States' officers might communicate with President Lincoln, was informed that he would not be allowed to visit Washington, but that he must resort to the ordinary channels of communication between the United States' Government and what the Yankee Naval

Commander in Hampton Roads was pleased to call "the insurgents." Mr. Stephens has, therefore, returned to Richmond, and the correspondence is published for the enlightenment of Europe. The letter of instructions from President Davis to Mr. Stephens is beautifully characteristic of the man. It is expressed with that striking simplicity that belongs to all his writings, and it overflows with a Christian humanity that must win for him the respect of every honest foe, the love of every disinterested foreign reader. Not upon us shall rest the blame, if this war, waged on our part in defence of the dearest principle for which men have ever contended—the right of self-government, shall blaze out into a fury of hell, a whirlwind of fiendish passions, wherein all restraint, all mercy, all forbearance, shall be withered and lost in the fierce heat and fearful vortex of human wrath and satanic rage.

The recent rains have caused a flood in all the rivers of Eastern Virginia and North Carolina. Much injury has been done to the wheat crops, cut and standing, on the Dan River, in the counties of Halifax and Charlotte, in this State. The James River, which was above the wharves yesterday, has subsided to-day to its usual bed. The weather is warm and sultry.

RICHMOND, July 4.

Five weeks have elapsed since the date of my last letter—weeks which have wholly changed the position of affairs in the American war. The arrears of my correspondence are so heavy that I cannot undertake to bring up fully the record of events in this excited interval of time. A rapid glance at what has been done is all that I can attempt.

The two matters of greatest moment just now are the invasion of Pennsylvania and the leaguer of Vicksburg. Let us speak of these from the Richmond standpoint, though this is not the best, so restricted are our means of obtaining trustworthy and definite information.

The movement of General Lee's army from the position it so long held near Fredericksburg, through the Valley of Virginia, across the Potomac and the narrow strip of Maryland into the enemy's territory was accomplished with the most admirable order and celerity. The cavalry of General Stuart kept the enemy employed, while the columns of Ewell, Longstreet, and Hill made the passage of the river without opposition. Stuart fought the enemy at various points with various success, at Brandy Station, where the combat was long, obstinate, and bloody, where the gallant Frank Hampton and Williams were killed, and General W. H. F. Lee was wounded, but where the Yankees lost heavily and were driven back; at Aldie, where his victory was decided and indisputable, and at Upperville, where the advantage was as clearly with the other side. The infantry columns in their advance met with slight resistance. General Jubal A. Early's Division stormed and carried the fortifications at Winchester on the 14th of June, and General Edward Johnson's Division entered Martinsburg the following day, capturing a large quantity of stores and ammunition. At Winchester the spoils were immense. The prisoners taken in the two towns numbered nearly 7,000, among whom were about 300 officers. All of them were brought to this city. Simultaneously with these operations Generals Jenkins and Imboden wrought great destruction on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as far west as Cumberland. Our advices from General Lee's army, since it crossed the boundary, have been altogether from Northern sources *via* Fortress Monroe. We learn that Chambersburg, York, and Carlisle have been occupied, and the latest account represents that Harrisburg is invested. Strict orders have been given that private property shall be respected and non-combatant citizens unmolested by our troops; but this does not mean that Pennsylvania shall not support the army while it remains within her borders. General Early has issued his proclamation to the people living in the neighbourhood of York, calling upon them for \$150,000 in money, and adequate supplies of provisions, and warning them that if his requisition is not obeyed, he will enforce it. Retributive justice would seem to demand that upon entering Yankee territory our troops should have marked their way with fire, laying every vestige of civilization in ruins, and sparing neither age nor sex in the universal sweep of the sword; but inhumanities such as these are abhorrent to the Southern character, and whatever may be the result of this campaign, we shall have no reason to blush for the conduct of our army. It rejoices us to know that they are now, for the first time since the beginning of the war, enjoying an abundant commissariat in a land of rich pastures and overflowing granaries, and that they are likely soon to exchange that tattered state of wardrobe which has hitherto been so unseemly in Northern eyes, for habiliments better suited to the conquerors of the "greatest people on the face of the earth."

The consternation produced among the Yankees by the advance of General Lee's army has been almost ludicrous. To the confines of New England, nervous people have been visited by forebodings of the wrath to come, and a consciousness of what they have deserved at our hands fills their souls with the direst apprehensions. Meanwhile, a great stir among the militia, rapid organization of new regiments of raw recruits, wildly inconsistent theories of the proper plan of defence, bitter reproaches exchanged between Jersey men and Pennsylvanians, paralysis of the Cabinet at Washington, positively last appearance of "Fighting Joe Hooker" as Commander-in-Chief, third grand demonstration of those precious popinjays in patent-leather boots, the immortal "Seventh Regiment of the National Guard, New York State Militia," in coming forward "to repel

invasion," and most touching submission to the decrees of fate on the part of Greeley, who serenely declares that if General Lee can whip the Yankees, "so be it!" The comments of the Northern press on the invasion of their territory remind us of nothing so much as the dialogue which Goldsmith tells us, in his *Citizen of the World*, was overheard between a debtor through the grate of his prison and a soldier outside, on the all-absorbing topic of the invasion of England by the French. "If the French should conquer," said the prisoner, "what would become of English liberty?" "May the Devil sink my soul in flames," replied the soldier, "if the French should come over, but our religion would be utterly undone." Victims themselves of the most degrading tyranny on earth, the secular, Satanic, and religious press of the North look upon the success of the Southern army as striking a death-blow to American freedom, and the blessed expansion of New England ideas of virtue and morality.

What General Lee's plans are, in his present military enterprise, will be fully made known in a very short time, and it would be idle to speculate upon them. It may be safely assumed that so sagacious a commander has not set in motion an army of 100,000 men, which has been made as nearly perfect a machine for warlike purposes as any similar organization of modern times, without having carefully considered and matured his purpose, and we entertain the strongest confidence that results will establish its wisdom and practicability.

From Vicksburg we have highly encouraging accounts, though our means of regular information is altogether unsatisfactory. For days in succession we hear nothing at all, and then we are annoyed by a column of confused, and often contradictory telegrams. The agent of the Associated Press at Jackson is a sphinx. Whether his oracles are uttered under the inspiration of whisky, or whether he deliberately trifles with the understanding of a long suffering public is of no consequence, it is enough that he never deviates into sense in his electric communications. It is certain that General Kirby Smith has possession of Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi, and the statement has been made that his connection is uninterrupted with Vicksburg by water, thus enabling him to throw both men and supplies into the city, but this rests upon no official authority. The operations of the enemy in that quarter have been further perplexed in the capture of their strong position at Berwick's Bay by a force under General Dick Taylor, which stormed the works and carried them at the point of the bayonet. More than a thousand prisoners, ten heavy guns, and a large amount thus fell into our hands. It has now been forty-eight days since the army of Grant commenced what they termed the "hermetical siege" of Vicksburg, assisted by the gunboats on the river. The bombardment from the land side and from the fleet has been unparalleled in modern warfare, save alone in the long-continued and desolating fire thrown into Sebastopol by the Allies. It is computed that half-a-million of shells had been rained upon the devoted city from the gunboats up to the 13th of June. Accounts have doubtless reached you of the change in Grant's plan of operations from a direct assault upon the works to a series of regular approaches with the aid of the sappers and miners. In the sanguinary engagements which took place before he gave up the hope of carrying Vicksburg by storm, it is admitted that he lost 40,000 men, and an equal number is thought to have fallen since by the hand of disease, though the latter estimate is somewhat conjectural and may be extravagant. A large fleet of steamers, however, had been employed in carrying off the sick, and 960 victims of the fever were conveyed to Illinois on a single one of these moving hospitals. At the latest accounts from Vicksburg, our men engaged in countermining were so near the Yankee workmen underground that they could distinctly hear the sound of their picks. We are wholly uninformed with regard to the prospective movements or designs of General Johnston, but he is now in command of 40,000 men with his head-quarters at Jackson, and it is believed that he will yet raise the siege of Vicksburg by striking a blow at Grant exactly at the proper moment.

Advices from Tennessee give us reason to believe that the long period of inaction on the part of the armies of Bragg and Rosecrans is about to terminate. Rosecrans, it is said, attempted a flank movement on Bragg's right wing, but fell back on learning that the force at Chattanooga was ready to meet him. Bragg will probably not offer battle, but occupies a strong position on the railroad between Tullahoma and Decherd, where he is confident of repelling any attack that may be made upon him.

General Dix, who commands at Fortress Monroe, has sought during the past week to steal the laurels which M'Dowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker failed to gather at the head of their immense armies, in the capture of Richmond. Believing that the departure of General Lee had stripped Virginia entirely of Confederate troops, he collected hastily all the Yankee soldiers he could gather from Norfolk and Suffolk, and sent a force under General Keyes, variously estimated at from ten to twenty-two thousand men, to West Point and the White House for the immediate reduction of the capital. From the White House, the cavalry of this command made a raid on Thursday, the 25th of June, upon the Central Railroad, overpowering the guard at the bridge over the South Anna River, which structure they burned. Continuing their ride through the county of Hanover, they visited the family mansion of W. F. Wickham, Esq., where they took prisoner General W. H. F. Lee (son of General R. E. Lee), still suffering acutely from the wound received in the fight at Brandy Station, and brutally carried him off from the ministrations of his wife in the stolen carriage of Mr. Wickham. A chivalrous enemy would have paroled a gallant officer, prostrated by an honest wound, on the spot. Not so did the Yankee cavalry. They took General Lee back with them to the White House, where he might see the ruins of his own dwelling, which they destroyed by fire, and it is believed have sent him to Washington.



His life may be lost through their barbarity. On Saturday the 27th, information was received by the Government to the effect that the enemy was advancing upon Richmond, and a joint proclamation of the President and the Governor of Virginia, issued simultaneously with an address of the Mayor of the City, called the whole male population to arms. It was a levy *en masse*. The manner in which the citizens responded to the summons reflects upon them the highest honour. Early the next morning, while the noble women of Richmond, calm and undaunted, were gathering together in the houses of God to pray for the protection of their homes, their sons, husbands, brothers were collecting at the appointed place of rendezvous, with their muskets on their shoulders, to fight for the same. Ever since, the entire male population has been under arms. The houses of business are closed. The marts of trade are hushed, the haunts of vice are hushed into decorum. Everything sordid seems to have faded out in the intense light of patriotism, everything vile has slunk away into the darkness it loves. A solemn stillness broods over all. There are no non-combatants in Richmond. Merchants, attorneys, judges, ministers of the Gospel, young and old, eminent and obscure, are to be seen in the ranks. Up to this moment, no battle has been fought between considerable numbers, but on Thursday, the 2nd July, the brigade of General Jenkins, of North Carolina, moved upon the enemy, who were strongly posted at Crump's Farm, four miles South-west of Tunstall's Station, in New Kent County, about eighteen miles below the city, and drove them rapidly before them to Tunstall's, the Yankees running like deer. So swift was the flight that but small damage was done the retreating body. They lost ten killed, their wounded they managed to carry off, and eleven prisoners fell into our hands. To-day it is reported that the main body is in motion towards Hanover Junction, with the view of destroying both the Central and Fredericksburg railroads, and it is possible that a fight may come off in that neighbourhood before this letter leaves the country.

I have spoken well of the citizens of Richmond for the alacrity with which they sprang to arms at the call of the Government. The same spirit of patriotic devotion to the cause animates the people of the country districts. A writer in the *Sentinel* mentions that among the farmers who had come up to Gordonsville, a few days ago, to repel a threatened raid of the enemy, was the Hon. W. C. Rives, venerable for years, wisdom, and learning, who was trudging through the mud with his neighbours, in the humble position of a private in the ranks.

The loss of the Confederate steamer Atlanta, in the Savannah River was a serious misfortune, but it is not true that the enemy took her in excellent condition, or that they will ever be able to make of her a serviceable vessel of war. The Brooke guns, which constituted her armament, will prove the most valuable part of their prize. The destruction of the Tacony finds some compensation in the gallantry with which it was done by the heroic Captain Reed, and his subsequent achievement in seizing and destroying the Revenue cutter, Caleb Cushing, in the harbour of Portland. That terrible fellow Semmes, with the Alabama, is still lighting up the waves of the wide Atlantic by the conflagration of Yankee commerce. When last heard from, he had seventy-four chronometers hanging up in his cabin. He keeps the chronometers of his prizes as the veteran fox-hunter keeps the brushes of his game, or an Indian brave of the Far West the scalps of those he has slain in combat. The Confederate navy has been augmented within the past fortnight by the successful launch at our Richmond wharves of two gunboats of the Merrimac pattern, which, when clad with their iron armour, will prove formidable engines of river and harbour defence. They bear the names of Virginia and Chickahominy.

Another solemn farce has been recently enacted at Wheeling in the inauguration of a new Governor to succeed the immortal Pierpont. His name is Boreman, or Boorman, but I have seen no one who can tell anything of his antecedents, or whether, indeed, he has any.

We have had copious rains of late, which have injured the wheat harvest in Virginia, but to the same extent benefited the growing crops of corn and oats.

#### THE IMPENDING CONFLICT BETWEEN FEDERAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 27.

It was true, as I wrote you, that the United States' Provost-Marshal helped the State authorities in the quieting of the late riots, by the publication of a notice that the draft was suspended. The impression was conveyed that there would be some understanding between the War Department and the State Authorities, for the determination of the legality of the Conscription Act before it should be again enforced against the sense of the community and the repugnance of the labouring classes, which had been so unmistakably manifested. That illusion was very speedily dissipated. Orders were received on Saturday from Washington, directing the draft to be proceeded with without delay. The interval of quiet has been improved by the Government in strengthening itself by concentrating a considerable body of troops here. There has been, too, a change of commanders. Major-General Dix has been sent to take command in the department. Dix is a New Yorker, a man of energy and capacity, and was last year ranked with the Conservative party in this State, having been a competitor of Governor Seymour for the democratic nomination for Governor of the State. What he is now it may be difficult to tell. His politics have been vacil-

lating, and his selection for an appointment likely to bring him into conflict with the Executive authorities of his own State is not a favourable omen. The Administration is not in a temper to have selected any man for the post who is not of its policy, and its policy is proclaimed to be that of force. The places of drafting will be strictly guarded by such ample forces that no impression could be made by any multitude of the unorganized labourers, if there should be an attempt of the kind made, which is no longer probable. The Governor has also been busy in collecting a considerable body of State troops, which will be at his own disposal. The drafting will be effected without any serious disturbance. But the drafting presents no point of collision. It designates the persons on whom the conscription falls—summoning them to service comes after. By the act, as the Government construes it, the fact of being drafted makes a man a soldier of the United States. He is there notified to appear for duty after a certain number of days, and on failure to appear without having proved his exemption, furnished a substitute, or paid \$300, he may be arrested, tried by court-martial as a deserter, and shot. The attempt to seize drafted men who fail to report and refuse to pay the exemption, will be the point of contact between the opposing parties. Individual resistance will be easily overcome, for State and city functionaries will co-operate with the Federal authorities to maintain order. But the opposition to the Act may at that point take a much more imposing shape, in the interposition of the courts of the State to protect the liberties of the inhabitants of the State, and the resolution of the Governor of the State to protect the courts in their jurisdiction. The unconstitutionality of the law is affirmed by the best lawyers of the State. Governor Seymour is of that opinion, and has pledged himself to have the question tested by the courts, and to sustain the courts in their judgment. An effort was made to have a decision on the Act—in the question of enrolment—and a writ of *habeas corpus* was tried out to test the validity of the imprisonment of a man for refusing to be enrolled. The Government officers evaded that issue by discharging the man, and making return to the writ that he was not in custody. The enrolments are over; the drafting is going on, and there is no legal ground for interposition until a case is made by the arrest of some person for refusing to appear. Governor Seymour in his proclamation against the rioters last week, assured the peaceful opponents of the draft that an "appeal to the courts" is the only opposition which can be "allowed;" and added this significant promise:—"The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the courts must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people." If the courts of New York pronounce the Act to be null as unconstitutional, the Governor must forbid its execution within the State, until that decision is reversed by some authority which the State acknowledges to be competent.

But there is another act of Congress which the President may interpose at this point; but the collision will not thereby be avoided. It is the Indemnity Act of the last Congress to which the objection of being unconstitutional is made with as much confidence, as against the Conscription Act. This Act empowers the United States' courts to take jurisdiction immediately out of the hands of the State courts, and to suspend the *habeas corpus* Act in enumerated cases; of which opposition to the Conscription Act may, in the latitude of assumptions at Washington, be construed to be one, even when it takes the shape of opposition through the courts. The whole of this Act has been denounced as a gross usurpation of power, subversive of the rightful jurisdiction of the States, and the attempt to put it in force for the purpose of suppressing the appeal of the citizen sustained by the judiciary of the State, or his right to appeal to the judiciary of his State in a matter of personal liberty, will constitute a separate ground of conflict which the State authorities will meet as promptly as the Conscription Act. There are instructions out, and published, as to the other States, which imply very distinctly that the Federal authorities mean to 'destroy' State writs; and there is a case in this State of the refusal of the commanding officer at Fort Lafayette to recognise a writ issued in Keys county, and this course of proceeding is under advisement with the officials at Albany.

The course of probable proceeding is this:—If the Government officers refuse to appear before the State courts, or refuse to respect State process, the instruction of the Government will not be allowed as a plea in bar. Attachments may issue against the parties, and where that is neglected or resisted, the authority of the State will be invoked to support the Judiciary; and hence a direct conflict of jurisdiction and a collision of forces. If the Indemnity Act be set up to subvert the State jurisdic-

tion, the constitutionality of that Act will be tested in the same way. The suspension of the *habeas corpus*, under the same enactment, will only vary the form and change the point of resistance. The State authorities, to be consistent with their declarations, will support the State courts and defend the State jurisdiction. If they are assailed they must defend themselves—force against force. The Conscription Act being involved in their conflicts, a call for militia to sustain the State against military aggression from Washington would be hailed with immense enthusiasm, and bring out a large majority of the able-bodied men of the State, glad to have their intense hatred of the law and the measures of the Administration organized into legal opposition.

These are the prospects if the draft be persevered in, unless one or the other of the parties now fronting each other with such apparently irreconcilable antagonism shall recede from its position very soon; the time for retreat or compromise is reduced to days. To my understanding there is no possibility of escape from the issue; and on the part of the Administration, no desire to show it. I might say the same of the State authorities, but in the history of the past two years so much of public liberty and private rights has been surrendered to the Administration under the plea of military necessity, that it is not safe to expect anything to be withheld which the military Government is sufficiently arrogant to ask and bold enough to insist upon. Besides, it is charged by those who have watched its course most closely, with designs, in pressing Federal authority to its utmost limit, which have no reference to military results, in the carrying on or closing of the war, but are purely political and partisan. They find proofs of this purpose in the utter uselessness of perseverance in the draft for any advantage or admitted necessity of the war. The exhibitions of popular hostility to the Conscription have been so many and so violent, that the property of the country is alarmed into a tendency to make any contributions by voluntary aid for the engaging of volunteers. The New York city councils appropriated \$2,500,000 by a unanimous vote, to soothe the exasperation in the city by buying off unwilling conscripts, and paying bounty to volunteers. Wall-street is so terrified as to be equally ready to pay liberally to have the execution of the act avoided; and so in all places where men of property have felt the presence of the unseen strength of a deep popular passion. If the Government would suspend the execution of the act, which is entirely within its discretion, its enactments not being compulsory or even directory, but merely enabling, the rich men and the municipalities would charge themselves with paying bounties to recruits, provided always that the courts shall not in the meantime decide that men cannot be constitutionally constrained to fight against their will, nor to fee others to fight unless they please; in which case the zeal for contributions would fall off suddenly. The argument of terror has gone far enough to be useful—if pushed further it may end in the failure to get either money or men. There is another sense in which the persistence in pushing the draft to collision is useless. On the showing of the Administration, they have been boasting that the recent successes of the Federal arms are indicative of a speedy closing of the war; that the Western armies are triumphant; and the Confederacy nearly overwhelmed everywhere. If this be half true, there is surely no need for exceptional measures to obtain large additional forces. Too much stress, however, need not be laid upon this view, for it is not certain that the Administration believes the bulletins of its own War Department, or is so much satisfied with the decisive character of the recent results as its organs affect to be.

The Administration has partisans in the public Press, who are thought not merely to be in its confidence, but to be almost dictators of its policy, who cry aloud for the sternest enforcement of the draft through all consequences, to vindicate its own power, and crush and punish all opposition. They say that if, in order to do this, it be necessary to drunch the streets of New York with the blood of thousands—as in a city taken by assault,—it must be done. Better that New York should be "wiped out" than that the law should be successfully resisted. It is very true that riots must be sternly repressed and authority vindicated; there is no safety else for any man's life or property. But let us discriminate. The riots have been put down by the same authorities which are still in power, and still competent and willing to repress all attempts at disorderly opposition to any officer of the law. But these authorities also plant themselves on legal grounds for opposing the execution of an Act of Congress where it shall be pronounced to be null as not law, and to maintain their jurisdiction over the whole subject until overruled in legal form. It is to this species of resistance that the organs of the party at Washington apply the designation of rioting, and it is to this point of conflict that they are urging the Govern-



ment, with the strong outside conviction that they are preparing the public mind for what the Government has decided upon already. There is no longer a mob, but in the place of a riotous multitude there is a great State in all its organized forms as a separate political community, which the Counsellors of the Administration would have to be treated as a mob and ruled by the bayonet, and the Administration has apparently rejected the dictation which it is suspected of having prompted.

The idea which is at the basis of these violent proceedings is, that there is really a revolution already effected, by the Southern separation and the events of the war, in the principles by which Government is hereafter to be administered, and that it is the function of the party in power to fix, as far as it can, upon the present forms its own ideas of what a new Government should be, and to provide by every means within its reach, civil, political, and military, in order to retain authority in its own hands. The success of the plans of the Administrative party will establish a revolution in the old Government more complete and radical than that which would have been effected if the demands of the Southern States for a revision of the terms of Union had been listened to or even with prudence conceded. In either case the original elements of self-government and all personal and public liberties would have survived intact under the protection of organized local Governments, and a thousand affinities and interests would have drawn all the States together into another Union, more powerful and more permanent; or two Confederacies, similar, but not the same, could have run parallel paths in peace. But the South was outraged to madness, spurned, and driven into separation. In the fury to destroy self-government everything has been given into the hands of the Administration, and it has so used these lavish concessions, North and South, that in no possible event of the war can the Union and the Constitution be restored as they were. If the Southern States secure independence the balance wheel is lost by which the movements of the old system were mainly regulated. There has been always in the North a large body of men to whom a splendid national Government with a strong supremacy over the States, with a heavy national debt, and costly national establishments to bind the interests of capital everywhere with those of a powerful centralization, has been the object of constant desire. The opposite theory of limited powers in a general Government, and the support of the State Governments in the possession of all powers for internal protection, has, however, prevailed in the government of the Union since the Federal administration, and mainly by the support of the South. In the whirlwind of faction and fanaticism which brought the Republican party into power, the consummation of the first complete overthrow of these principles was effected. The South found itself doomed to destruction by the new action impressed upon the Government, and took up the reserved rights of self-government for its own protection. The North, in its lust for conquest, rushed to arms, and inaugurated this horrible war, and after two years of a desolating strife against the Southern people, and a surrender into the hands of men in power of unlimited means and unchecked will,—here is the position in which they find this once great country. The general Government has absorbed nearly all powers, and is using them to perpetuate this state of things for ever. Without the Southern States, it is reasoned that remaining States have not the power to prevent the accomplishment of these views, and the consolidating of a mighty centralised power, of which the ruling principle shall be military. If the Southern States be subjugated, and held by force of arms, they will not form parts of the Federal Union as before. The majority of the people will continue to be instinctively at enmity with their conquerors, as the Poles are with the Russians, and must be held by military means. If the forms of self-government are conceded, these will be only a juggle for the benefit of the ruling faction at Washington. The governments so organised will be military colonies in fact, and the political power they exercise will be not the expression of the will of the inhabitants of the States, but the reflection of the prevailing will of those who appoint and maintain a minority in power. The prospect for the Democrats and Conservatives,—who are at this late day assuming a front of hostility to these designs of the Administration,—are very gloomy for any restoration of the principles of the old Union. They have given their adversaries an advantage of position from which no success can dislodge them, so as to repair the damage they have inflicted on both sections. In consenting to join hands for the enslaving of the South they have enslaved themselves, and find themselves at last confronted in their last entrenchments—behind their damaged entrenchment of State Sovereignty, waiting for the threatened assault which is to decide whether they shall have any rights

at all, except as concessions, from the Centaur power at Washington.

This is the meaning of the impending conflict in the State, if the State authorities shall have the nerve to meet what is threatened.

#### NORTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE—GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

RALEIGH, June 30.

The Legislature met in extra session at twelve o'clock to-day, and a quorum being present, Governor Vance's message was read. Both houses adjourned till eleven o'clock to-morrow.

Governor Vance recommends that provision be made for the continued reception of all non-interest bearing Confederate States treasury notes, irrespective of the date of their issue. He regards the action of the Virginia Legislature and the Richmond banks, however patriotic the motive, as most unfortunate, and tending to still further depreciate the currency, and says no more deadly blow could be stricken against our cause than the repudiation of our currency. That North Carolina should be among the first to dishonour the money paid her citizens for their subsistence, and her soldiers for their blood, is something he should regret having lived to see. If one issue of Confederate notes be good then all are, since the same honour is pledged for their redemption.

He then refers the Legislature to an accompanying communication, for the public, and recommends a modification of the militia law, so as to facilitate the raising and equipping of the seven thousand militia called out by the President. He also recommends an enlargement of the list of exemption, for the protection of the State treasury. The communication reviews the financial condition of the States, and suggests, in view of the action of the Virginia Legislature and the Richmond banks, that the collection of State and Confederate taxes be suspended temporarily.

FROM MEMPHIS.—A friend has kindly permitted us to make the following extract from a private letter, dated Memphis, June 18, 1863:—"The authorities rule with an iron hand here. To-day is the last day given to citizens to remain disloyal. A great many have taken the oath, but few of those that you know, as a good many have gone out, but few of the married men with families. Those going out are mostly young men, so you see the Federal authorities are recruiting for Jeff Davis."

The following telegram is dated at Jackson, Mississippi, July 2, and appears in the Mobile papers, July 4. Magnolia Place is three miles below Bayou Sara on the same side of the river, and only seven miles above Port Hudson:—"On Sunday night, Logan captured about 500 negroes and Yankees, and a large lot of beeves, horses and mules, at the Magnolia plantation, below Bayou Sara; and Powers captured over 100 negroes and thirty odd Yankees at Oakland Place, opposite Red River Landing. Paroled the Yankees and brought the negroes off. Powers passed in the neighbourhood of Woodville this morning, with the negroes."

MOBILE, July 4th.—To-day being the anniversary of American Independence from English domination, we shall, with the Banks, conform to established custom, and omit one issue of the *News* and of the *Advertiser* and *Register*.

DIED.—On the 27th of April, 1863, in camp, near Fredericksburg, in the 22nd year of his age, Octavius Cuthbert, a son of Hon. John A. Cuthbert, of Mobile.

DIED.—On the 30th of June, 1863, at Short's, on the Eastern Shore of Mobile Bay, in Baldwin county, Mrs. Emma D. Meek, wife of Judge A. B. Meek, of Mobile.

#### AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, August 12.

The tendency in the value of money has been towards advance the last three days. Although a large influx of gold has taken place at the Bank, the early and almost simultaneous character of harvest operations in the various districts has created a more than ordinary drain for notes and coin, which have been used for circulation to a large extent. For the moment no probability exists of a reduction in the official *minimum* without; the directors are so satisfied of future prospects that they may think it unnecessary to wait for the return of the money to their coffers. In addition to the supplies coming forward from America, the Australian imports will shortly increase, and should no great revival in trade follow, moderate rates of discount will rule throughout the succeeding months of the year. The Bank quotation is 4 per cent., and out of doors the value is closely up, say from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 4 per cent., the majority of the brokers being able to get rid of their supplies on those terms. The public appear to have been satiated with the current of speculation the last four or five months, and have not since the late reaction in prices attempted to stimulate business in any especial direction. As showing the progress in the contraction of engagements, the half-monthly settlements now in course of adjustment represent but a very moderate amount of differences, and such is the low rate of continuation that not the slightest inconvenience is experienced in making terms for "carrying over." The trading demand for accommodation, either in Mincing-lane or elsewhere, will be comparatively sluggish for the next few weeks until the holiday season shall have terminated.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank during the past week, including £53,000 this afternoon, has been £457,000, while on the other hand, there has been withdrawn for transmission to Brazil £100,000. The arrivals of bullion have been only to a moderate extent, say £261,370, all from New York. There has been a rather more active demand for silver for the East, but there has been no alteration in prices, bar being still quoted at 5s. 1d. per ounce. The dollars by the last West Indian packet have been sold at 5s. 3d. per ounce, being an advance of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d., over the price obtained for those brought by the previous packet. A telegraphic despatch from Melbourne announces that since the departure of the last mail there have been shipments of gold amounting to £145,000.

##### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The state of business in the Confederate Cotton Loan has been rather uncertain. Adverse influences are evidently at work, unduly to depress the price; and it is said the agents of the Northern Government are at the bottom of the manoeuvre. Further intelligence from Charleston is awaited with interest, since late telegrams published on the subject prove to have been fabricated. The last price of the Loan this afternoon was 26 to 24 discount.

#### LOAN FOR THE MATANZAS AND SABANILLA (CUBA) RAILWAY COMPANY.

Proposals have just been issued for subscriptions for £300,000 in bonds, to bear interest at 7 per cent. from the 15th June, on behalf of the Matanzas and Sabanilla Railroad Company, in the island of Cuba. The loan, which is required for the construction of new works, and which will cause a large increase in the traffic, is to be secured by a first mortgage (after £74,000 of existing bonus shall have been paid off) on the works of the entire line, representing a cost of £760,000, and yielding a net revenue of £84,200, and which it is estimated will be increased next year to at least £106,000.

It appears that the Company a few years since raised £200,000 in similar bonds, of which £126,000 has already been paid off by the annual operation of a sinking fund, and which will entirely extinguish them in 1868. The interest on the proposed loan is to be paid half-yearly in London, and will be discharged by means of a sinking fund of £10,000 per annum, commencing in June next. The subscription price is £95, and the first coupon will be paid by Messrs. J. H. Schroder and Co., the London agents, on the 15th December.

#### THE VENEZUELA LOAN OF 1863.

Messrs. Matheson and Co. have issued a notification that in pursuance of the request of subscribers to the above loan, on the ground of the short time allowed for the ratification by the Government to be received and duly notified to them, they have obtained the authority of Senor Servadio, the financial agent of the Government of Venezuela, to postpone payment of the instalment of 20 per cent., due on the 20th inst., until the 21st September, and the subsequent instalments payable on the 15th September and the 1st October, to the 12th October and the 30th October respectively.

#### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The dealings in the English funded securities have exhibited but little animation. Under the influence of the exceedingly favourable weather for harvest operations, and the absence of any particularly adverse news with regard to foreign politics, prices continue well sustained, Consols closing this evening at 93 to  $\frac{1}{4}$  for money, and 93 $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  for the September account. Exchequer Bills have been but moderately dealt in, and are without alteration at 1s. dis. to 2s. prem. There has been but little buoyancy in the Foreign Stock market, and all the speculative descriptions have been unusually quiet; still a fair average business has been transacted in Greek, Mexican, Turkish, and Spanish, at advanced quotations. Mexican has specially improved on organization of the Empire with the proposal for the Archduke Maximilian to accept the Throne. Greek 5 per cent., closing at 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mexican at 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Spanish Certificates, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; and the Passives at 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Turkish 6 per cents., 1854, 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and do. 1862, 67 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 68.

#### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

A large business has again been transacted this week in American securities, but although prices continue to be fairly sustained, the fluctuations have been to a much less extent than has been the case for some time past. United States 5 per cent. redeemable in 1874, have been dealt in at 68 and 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Virginia State Six per Cents., 42, and 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Atlantic and Great Western Railway, New York Section, 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; do. Pennsylvania Section, 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 73, 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 74 and 76; Erie Shares, \$100 all paid, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 74 ex. div.; do. Seven per Cent. preference, 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 70, 72 $\frac{1}{2}$  ex. div.; do. Third Mortgage, 1883, 75; do. Fifth Mortgage, 72, 71 and 72; Illinois Central Seven per Cents., 79; do. \$100 Shares, 890 paid, 16, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 15, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 16, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 16 dis.; do. all paid, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 75, 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 76, 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; New York Central Sinking Fund 1883, 70 and 79; do. \$100 Shares, 85; Pennsylvania Railway, First Mortgage Convertible, 73 and 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; do. Second Mortgage, 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; do. \$50 Shares 43, 43 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 43.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A satisfactory business, so far as the actual dealings are concerned, has been transacted in British Railway Shares, but prices, particularly for most of the leading descriptions, exhibit an unfavourable aspect, though to-day there has been more firmness, at rather improved values. As compared with last week, however, a decline is apparent in Great Eastern of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  in Caledonian; and from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. each in Great Northern, Brighton, Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire and North-Eastern (Berwick). On the other hand there has been an improvement of 1 per cent. in Bristol and Exeter, and from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  in Great Western, Chatham and Dover, and Midland. Foreign Railway Shares have not been so much in demand, but there has not been any material variation in prices. For Colonial descriptions the inquiry has been moderately active, at comparatively steady rates.

#### BANK MEETINGS.

At the half-yearly meeting of the proprietors of the London and County Bank, the report of the directors was unanimously adopted. It stated that the accounts of the Bank for the half-year ending the 30th June, showed a net profit, after deducting all charges, of £63,838, which, added to £1,482 brought forward from previous accounts, made a total of £65,322, out of which it was proposed to declare a dividend for the half-year of 6 per cent. free of income tax, which would absorb £35,978. The directors also recommended that £15,000 should be added to the reserve fund, which would then stand at £95,000; and that the balance of £14,343 be carried forward to profit and loss account. The chairman in moving the adoption of the report, said that the result of the past six months' working showed a larger increase of profit and business than had ever taken place since the establishment of the bank; and he had no doubt that at the next meeting the directors would be enabled to appropriate a larger sum for distribution among the proprietors. At the meeting of the shareholders in the Bank of Egypt yesterday, the report, of which an abstract appeared in our last week's impression, was adopted *nem. con.* It was stated that the net profits for the past half-year, including a balance brought forward of £4,663, amounted to £13,895; out of which a dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum for the half-year was declared, and leaving £5,145 to be carried forward. The directors of the Agra and United Service Bank have declared the usual interim dividend of £2 10s. per share for the half-year ended the 30th June.

#### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the City of London Brewing Company, the report, which was unanimously agreed to, stated that out of the profits of the half-year, £19,867 was to be applied to the payment of a dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum for the half-year. The usual sum, amounting to 10 per cent., should be placed to the credit of the reserve fund: £2,000 set aside for depreciation of leasehold property, and the balance carried to the current half-year's account.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Shareholders of the Electric and International Telegraph Company, the report of the directors stated that the net profits for the half-year was £39,061



out of which a dividend was recommended of £3 10s. per cent. for the half-year, which would absorb £33,058, leaving a balance of £6,003 to be carried to the present half-year's account. The report was adopted.

At the meeting of the Shareholders of the Mediterranean Extension Telegraph Company, the usual dividends of 8 per cent., less income-tax, on the preference shares, and of 3 per cent. on the original shares, free of income-tax, were adopted. It appeared from the report that the receipts for messages during the past half-year amounted to £5,449, whilst for the previous half-year the receipts were only £5,100.

At the annual general meeting of the Royal Insurance Company a dividend of 3s. per share with the addition of a 4s. bonus was declared. A very favourable report was presented, which showed that during the year 1862 the premiums in the fire department exceeded £300,000, and that the net profits on this branch reached £56,205. In the life department, the amount insured during the year was £701,247, under 1,493 policies.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

There has been only one new Joint Stock Company brought forward this week, viz., the Weston-super-Mare Hotel Company, for which the capital proposed to be raised is £75,000.

#### DEATH OF THE PIONEER OF JOINT STOCK BANKING IN LONDON.

The death of Mr. J. W. Gilbert, late the General Manager of the London and Westminster Joint Stock Bank, has just been announced. He was the great developer of the Joint Stock banking system in the metropolis, and passed a long life in affording by his writings information for the benefit of the public at large.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In most descriptions of American produce a fair amount of business has been concluded since our last, whilst our American export trade has shown uninterrupted dullness in every department. From New York the imports have been only moderate, and most of the supplies are taken off freely as they become available. This is more particularly the case as regards bacon, which has advanced fully 2s. per cwt., the present quotation being 30s. to 48s., according to quality. Fine hams at 54s. to 56s. are wanted. Barrel middles continue in request, and are scarce. American cheese meets a steady sale at 46s. to 56s. per cwt., and there is every indication of prices being maintained, as most other foreign cheese is relatively dear, whilst hardly so well adapted for the general demand. Lard is more saleable, and the tendency of prices is in the sellers' favour. Our abundant and early harvest is already affecting the value of foreign grain in the London market. With large receipts of English wheat quotations have receded 1s. per qr. for nearly every description imported. A somewhat large arrival of American flour has induced renewed caution on the part of buyers of this article, and only small sales have been practicable at fully 6d. to 1s. per barrel reduction. The demand for petroleum has remained dull, and occasionally easier rates have

been taken. To-day refined is quoted 2s. 3d. per gallon buyers, and 2s. 3½d. sellers. Crude Pennsylvania would not bring more than £19 per tun. American turpentine has at length in some degree followed the course of French, and is now quoted 95s. per cwt. The price of the latter remains at 65s. Rosin is firmly held, and for the finer kinds stiffer rates are demanded. American cotton brings a small advance, and meets a steady demand from the trade. In the tobacco market no new feature has occurred. Purchases are confined to the mere provision for immediate orders, but even in this way a moderate business is passing, and as a rule, prices are firm. American oil peppermint (Hotchkiss) is still held for 16s., at which only retail sales are effected. New York tallow sells slowly at 42s. to 42s. 6d. per cwt. Tallow oil remains at 39s. to 40s. Sperm oil maintains the recent advance, £81 per tun being required for foreign, and £82 for colonial fishing. Linsed oil is the turn cheaper, owing rather to a falling off in the demand, than to any material increase of supply. Gum arabic is rather more in request, and Turkey in sorts ranges up to 70s. per cwt., although fair stocks are held. In Anini there is no quotable change. Of Kowrie some small shipments are making to New York, and rates are steady at 34s. to 40s. according to quality. Fine descriptions of plumbago are not over plentiful, and with a good demand, bring long prices, say 7s. to 9s. for fair lump. In drugs very little change has taken place. Camphor is, however, rather dearer, £6 10s. being now demanded. All kinds of bark are firm, with a moderate inquiry. Our spice market continues dull, and for export sorts of both nutmegs and pepper easier rates have in some instances been taken. In metals there is not a great deal doing at the moment. Scotch pig iron has fluctuated from 53s. 6d. to 54s. 1½d., and is to-day 53s. 9d. per ton. With a fall of £3 per ton in common English tin (the price of which is now £115), foreign has declined to £120 cash for straits. Tin plates are unaltered.

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday Evening, August 12.

Our last report left the market in a quiet state, which continued for a day or two longer, but an improvement in Manchester reacted on us here. It appeared that large orders for goods suitable for the East had been in hand for some time—most of these were quietly put through last week, and when the business transpired, a decided improvement in tone occurred.

Our market felt the influence of this movement on Saturday, and in addition to that it was favourably affected by the American news by the Persia. She brought intelligence of the severe repulse of the Federals at Charleston, which, like every Southern success in the present state of affairs is supposed by the public to protract the war. The sales on Saturday accordingly reached 7,000 bales at full prices. On Monday the movement became stronger, and the sales reached 10,000 bales, American and

Egyptian showing a slight advance, and Surats being firmer all round. There was a large demand for Seinde, Bengal, China, and the inferior growths of Eastern cotton, which had been much depressed, and prices of those kinds showed some improvement. Yesterday the sales were 8,000 bales, at full prices. The market in Manchester was healthy, though not very buoyant, and to-day the demand has been very active here, with sales of 10,000 at hardening prices.

Middling American may be quoted 22½d.; and Fair Dholerah and Omrawuttee, 18½d. to 19d.

In arrival cotton an active business has been done, and the current price of May Dholerahs is now 18d.—one sale has been made at 18½d. June sailing may be quoted 17½d. to 18d. May Omrawuttee is worth 17½d.; Guaranteed Fair, June, 17½d. to 18d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, August 11.

The American intelligence received during the past week, although to a great extent similar in character to that of the week before, is now imparting a firmer feeling to holders, and a desire on the part of merchants to place orders where their limits are practicable. Although we are advised of the opening of the Mississippi, and of a line of steamers plying regularly between St. Louis and New Orleans, we do not hear of any cotton coming to market in consequence, but do hear of cotton advancing at New York, which very much tends to strengthen our market.

India gums are in good demand, especially No. 40's Mule, for which an advance of fully ½d. per lb. has been obtained. Mulls and Jaconets are also well looked after for the same market, and for which extreme prices are readily paid.

In home-trades there is better inquiry, but it is difficult to get more than ½d. per lb. advance on last week's prices.

India shirtings, although light in stock, are not much inquired for at present, which is to be accounted for by the telegrams for Calcutta, dated July 16, and received to-day, reporting these goods as lower in price.

#### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Aug. 6, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

NEW ORLEANS LETTER.

PARIS TOPICS.

WAR WITHOUT END.

A PARALLEL AND A CONTRAST.

THE NEW ASPECT OF THE WAR.

THE RIGHTFULNESS OF SOUTHERN SECESSION.

THE PEACE PARTY AT THE NORTH.

FEDERALISM.

MAGAZINES FOR AUGUST.

A VOICE FROM A FEDERAL PRISON.

MR. VALLANDIGHAM'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO.

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THE SOUTHERN CONSCRIPTION.

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V. The Official Reports of the Meetings of the Anthropological Society of London.

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22. Journal of the Anthropological Society of London.

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2. Ferguson on the Influence of Race on Art.
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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III—No. 69.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 20, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.  
NEGRO SOLDIERS IN NEW ORLEANS.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
NORTHERN VERSUS SOUTHERN SLAVERY.  
PROGRESS OF THE WAR.  
NEGRO SOLDIERS.  
THE LIFE OF A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND, JULY 18.  
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THERE is a lull in the war, and the telegrams of the week are exceptionally bloodless. A Confederate victory is reported in Louisiana over Banks. The Federal cavalry, under General Buford, crossed the Rappahannock, was met by the Confederates, and driven back with heavy loss. The siege of Charleston is said to be progressing, but which way is not stated by the Federals. General Gilmore is being reinforced, but not sufficiently to compensate for the havoc made in his army by the operations of the enemy and the prevailing sickness. Several guesses per day are hazarded as to the position of General Lee. It is supposed that General Meade has been reinforced from Grant's army. The boasted success in North Carolina is now asserted to be a total failure. The Federals, according to their custom, have plundered Yazoo City, carrying away the furniture of the houses, as well as the negroes. Both the belligerents are preparing for another campaign. It must seem strange to those who have placed faith in the story of Northern strength and Southern weakness, that the Federals are inactive. This inactivity and the anxiety of the Washington Government to get recruits at any cost and in any way, are unmistakable evidences of exhaustion. The North as well as the South is calling upon her reserves.

The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson has not resulted in a revival of trade. For this, not only our New Orleans correspondent, but New York vouches. Only peace can make the Mississippi a high road for commerce. The loss of these two strongholds has, however, jeopardised some stores of cotton, and the Confederate Government has given notice that all cotton in danger of being captured by the enemy will be destroyed by the military authorities.

The death of Hon. William Lowndes Yancey, one of the Senators of the State of Alabama in the Confederate Congress, is announced. Mr. Yancey was born about the year 1812, and had therefore not yet passed the prime of life. Though a native of South Carolina, his public life is inseparably connected with the State which he represented at the time of his death, and in which he had resided from his early manhood. In 1846, at the period of the celebrated Oregon Boundary dispute, he served his first and, we believe, only term in the lower branch of the United States' Congress and like Mr. Calhoun and almost all the other Southern members, zealously and successfully strove to avert war with Great Britain. We have recently had occasion to quote (*vide* No. 64 of INDEX) from his speeches in those memorable debates. On the expiration of the term for which he was elected, he retired from public affairs, and devoted himself to his profession, in which he acquired the distinction of being one of the ablest criminal lawyers in the South-west. Party ties sat loosely on him, and

therefore, although each of the great parties then contending for mastery would gladly have secured the aid of his wonderful powers of oratory, his services could never be altogether unconditionally and unreservedly given, even to the Democratic party to which he nominally belonged. The feverish fermentation of the public mind, which preluded the dissolution of the Union, brought, however, all his powers into full play, and made him one of the foremost men of the period. His celebrated letter, in which he urged the necessity of "firing the Southern heart and precipitating the people into a revolution," has caused a more premeditated and more important agency in the impending events to be ascribed to him than is perhaps historically true. Certain, however, it is that he threw himself with all the vehemence of his nature into the movement, riding, so to speak, the top wave of that irresistible tide which wrecked the Federal fabric. He led the delegations of the Gulf States which withdrew from the convention of the Democratic party at Charleston, and that he fully understood the consequences of this act is shown by the prophetic words with which he accompanied it, "that the pen was already nibbed that should write the history of Southern independence." His speeches during the ensuing Presidential canvass, delivered to enormous multitudes both in the South and North, have caused him to be styled the Demosthenes of the revolution. In January 1861 he was a member of the Sovereign Convention of Alabama which passed the Act of Secession, and in that body advocated in the most masterly manner the insertion of a clause into the State Constitution perpetually prohibiting the African slave trade, and a clause which was subsequently also inserted into the Confederate Constitution. In this argument he used the words which have been frequently repeated,—"To the legislator the slave is property, but to the man a fellow-being, and to the Christian a soul to be saved." Owing to the fact that his conspicuous position in the revolution had exposed him to fierce personal and political enmity, which in the interests of general conciliation had to be appeased, he voluntarily resigned all pretensions to a seat in the Provisional Congress, and for the same reason, when the choice was offered him, preferred a diplomatic exile to a place in Mr. Davis's Cabinet. As head of the joint commission sent by the Confederate Government to obtain the recognition of European Powers, he remained in this country until February, 1862, when his unanimous election by the Legislature of Alabama as Senator recalled him home. Mr. Yancey was one of those men who are produced, or at least brought forward, in great political convulsions, and his temperament was suited to stormy rather than peaceful times. He was always considered as the representative of extreme views, and he was often accused of too rigid an inflexibility to the necessities of practical statesmanship. As an orator he had few equals and no superiors even in the South; as a patriot no hostile tongue has ever doubted his spotless purity; but though few public men have had in their lifetime more devoted adherents and ardent admirers, few have had the misfortune in an equal degree to raise against themselves so many inveterate and irreconcilable enemies.

The telegraphic operator announces from Queenstown, on the 18th instant, through all the public prints, that "the Confederate privateer Florida was off Kinsale yesterday, and boarded a pilot-boat, to which she transferred three passengers who were landed here. It is supposed that the Florida is still off the coast." Was it not possible to convey this information without falling into the puerile slang of the Federal presses? The Confederate Government is recognised as a belligerent

Power by all the principal European countries, and virtually, in the formal exchange of prisoners, by its adversary. The Florida, as well as the Alabama and the Georgia, belong to the Confederate Government; the officers of these vessels are duly commissioned with their respective ranks in the Confederate navy; the crews also are enlisted under the authority of the Confederate Navy Department. They are, therefore, in theory and in fact, the regular men-of-war of a belligerent Power, and it is difficult to perceive in what single respect either of them partakes of the character of a privateer.

The Federal Treasury Department has received claims from the States for reimbursements on account of raising troops previous to muster into the United States' Service. The amount claimed for raising volunteers under the Act of Congress of July, 1861, is \$25,701,991. The expenses incurred by the State authorities under the Act of July, 1862, are estimated at \$40,000,000. These sums, though large, do not nearly represent the entire claim of the several States against the Federal Government for recruiting.

Judge Magrath, of the Confederate Court, South Carolina District, has lately delivered an elaborate and lucid judgment on the liability of alien residents to military service. A person named Henry Spincken petitioned for release from military duty, on the ground that he was exempted because he was an alien resident. Besides the main issue, the petitioner pleaded that, by the General Orders of the Confederate War Department, the words of the Act of Congress, "residents in the Confederate States," meant persons domiciled in the States; and further, that any other construction of the words would be totally opposed to international law. Judge Magrath ruled that neither of these special pleas were admissible. He said that, no doubt, the Court would treat with respectful consideration the construction placed upon an Act of Congress by a Department to which such Act had special reference, but the Court was in no way bound by such a construction. The business of the Executive was not to make or expound, but to execute the law, and the Constitution of the Confederate States devolved upon the judiciary the right and duty of interpreting the law. If the meaning of an Act of Congress is clear, it was not for the Court to question its expediency, but that was a matter for the consideration of Congress. Nor could the Court set aside the plain intention of an Act of Congress because it was shown to be in opposition to a generally received doctrine of international law. It was within the province of the Government to determine if any modification of the law of nations was necessary for the well-being of the community. But in the case of Henry Spincken there was no conflict between the law of the Confederate States and international law.

The Act of Congress under which the petitioner was conscribed calls upon all white men residing in the Confederate States, who are between the ages of 18 and 35, to enroll themselves for military service, with certain specified exceptions. Henry Spincken was not exempted by any provision of the Act, and therefore was not exempted by the municipal law; and the only question to be decided was, whether the petitioner was exempted by any rule of international law.

Alien residents are of three classes:—First, those who are itinerant, merely casual visitors, and these of course are not included in the operation of the Act; secondly, there are domiciles properly so called, that is, persons who have become enfranchised, and there can be no question about their liability; thirdly, there are residents, persons who for a length of time have resided within the limits of Governmental jurisdiction, but who have not been enfranchised. Now, whoever takes up his residence in a foreign country has a claim upon the Govern-



ment of that country for the protection of his life and property. But the obligation is clearly reciprocal. A foreign resident must obey the laws of the country, and from the time he sets foot in it he so far owes allegiance to the Government that any act committed by him against the sovereignty of the Government is as much treason as though it had been done by a citizen. This being so, it follows that an alien resident is as subject to the operation of a law of conscription as he is to any other law of the Government under which he is living. What, is he to enjoy the same protection as the citizen, and yet not be liable to defend the State from invasion? At any time, at any moment during peace, the foreign resident can leave the country, and at the outset of a war he has this option. If hostilities are being commenced against the country of his original domicile, then he must leave the country of his adopted domicile, or otherwise he will be regarded as an enemy. If the war is not with the country to which he owes permanent allegiance, then he can go or remain; but if he remains, then in war as in peace he is subject to the laws of the country in which he chooses to reside. From May, 1861, to April, 1862, alien residents in the Confederate States were not called upon to aid the Government, and could have departed if they had been so inclined; but as they for their own interests and inclination continued their residence, they must take the consequences of such proceeding.

It was urged on behalf of the petitioner that he was forbidden by the laws of his own country to aid either of the belligerents, and that by so doing he would forfeit the protection of his lawful sovereign. But what protection does a Government afford its subjects residing in a foreign country? Its control over them is at an end, except underspecial treaty obligations; so that a political offender may find a secure refuge in the territories of a friendly Government. All that International law can ask either in justice or comity is that alien residents at the outbreak of hostilities should have the choice of discontinuing their residence. If they elect to stay in a belligerent country, they must aid the Government thereof whenever they are called upon to do so. The only question, then, is, whether the alien has resided a sufficient length of time to impose upon him obedience and allegiance. A satisfactory test of this was surely a year's residence in time of war in the Confederate States. Upon these grounds, which Judge Magrath showed to be in accordance with decisions of British and United States' courts, the petition was dismissed, and the alien resident was declared to be liable under the Act of Congress to serve in the armies of the Confederate States.

The case of Henry Spincken might have been decided without such a careful exposition of the law, for at the time of secession he incorporated himself in a company of Volunteer Militia, and took part in the contest against Fort Sumter. By so doing he entitled himself to the franchise of South Carolina, and clearly estopped himself from pleading his foreign nationality as a title to exemption from military service. It was not, however, upon this evidence that his petition was dismissed, but on the broad ground that alien residents who have for a long time and even during war enjoyed the protection of the Government owe obedience and allegiance to that Government, and to all its laws, and are legally and equitably called upon to repay its protection by sharing with the citizens the labour and danger of defending the country from foreign aggression.

President Lincoln objects to the way in which the Confederates treat their coloured prisoners, and has ordered that for every captured negro returned into slavery a Confederate prisoner is to be placed at hard labour on, public works. Now the coloured regiments in the Federal army are recruited from the South, and by all the rules of civilized warfare, if they are not to be considered as slaves seduced by the Federals, they must be regarded as traitors. Assuming for an instant that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation had the force of law binding on the enemy, and that the status of the negro was changed by it, so that he has become, if not a citizen, at all events an alien resident, in that case, according to the Constitution of the United States, he owes allegiance to the State in which he resides. In 1776 there was a large minority in the colonies who refused to join in the revolution. On the 24th of June of that year Congress resolved that all persons abiding within any of the United States, and desiring protection from the laws of the same, owe allegiance to such laws, and are members of such colony; and that such persons levying war against any of the colonies within the same, or adhering to the King of Great Britain or other enemies of the said colonies within the same, giving to them aid and comfort, are guilty of treason against such colony. Simultaneously the Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and we believe nearly all the colonies, passed resolutions confirming the

resolution of Congress, and declared that all persons residing in the colony owed allegiance to the colony, and if they aided and abetted the enemies of the colony they were guilty of treason. All this is, of course, very trite, but it happens to be every way pertinent to the case of the negroes. Even to adhere to a former Government is treason. If the South does not hold the negroes to be irresponsible slaves she must treat them as traitors and shoot them. The Confederates are, however, too merciful to do this, and so help Mr. Lincoln in getting rid of the "hated race." Therefore, if Mr. Lincoln persists in his order—falsely called an order of retaliation—the black flag must be unfurled. No other alternative can be suggested.

The substance of the decisions lately delivered by Judge Betts, of the United States' District Court, in the cases of ships seized by Federal cruisers, has been published, in order that the parties interested may be able to make an immediate appeal to a Supreme Court if they are so inclined. These judgments deserve something more than passing attention from our statesmen, jurists, and merchants. Three causes are alleged for the condemnation of the *Peterhoff*:—"First, That the said ship *Peterhoff* was knowingly on the voyage aforesaid laden in whole or in part with articles contraband of war, and had them in the act of transportation at sea." Now, we should like once for all to know whether or not contraband of war being on board a vessel bound for a lawful port affords any legal ground for condemnation? If it does, then our shippers must be careful, for example, not to include in their cargoes any medicine, if the vessel is intended to touch or to discharge at any port which the Federal Government may adjudge to be in convenient proximity to a blockaded port. If not, if any cargo is lawful on a lawful voyage, then, although contraband of war being found on board may perhaps be cited as collateral evidence of destination, it cannot be a ground of condemnation. The second reason given for the condemnation of the *Peterhoff* is, "That her voyage with the said cargo was not truly destined for the port of Matamoras, a neutral port, and for purposes of trade and commerce within the authority and intendment of public law; but on the contrary was destined for some other port or place, and in aid and for the use of the enemy, and in violation of the law of nations." Now be it observed that the Court could not even make a guess for what blockaded port or place the vessel was bound. According to her papers she was proceeding to Matamoras, and granting the whole of her cargo was destined for the use of the enemy she might still have been going to that port to discharge it. If so her condemnation is unlawful, for contraband of war intended for the use of a belligerent may be conveyed from a neutral port to a neutral port without let or hinderance. The third reason assigned for the condemnation is, "That the ship's papers were simulated and false as to her real destination." This charge of simulated papers was repeated in the cases of the *Springbok*, the *Sally Magee*, and other prizes. In all these instances the ships' papers were as regular as it was possible to make them, and therefore the conclusion is inevitable, that regular papers are no protection. If there is any pretext for condemning a vessel they are set aside as false. As to the facts connected with the *Peterhoff*, there was no contraband of war in her cargo; she was destined for Matamoras, and was carrying her Majesty's mails to that port, and her papers were regularly endorsed by the British and Mexican authorities; but irrespective of the innocence of the ship, the terms of the judgment are inadmissible. If this judgment is allowed to stand our merchants must give up their trade with British and other neutral ports in the neighbourhood of the Confederate coast.

We reprint from the *Mobile Register* a narrative of the siege and fall of Vicksburg, written by "One of the Garrison." We have not reproduced the concluding paragraph of the article, which is a severe, and as we think altogether unwarranted condemnation of the strategy of General Pemberton. Certainly there is nothing in the narrative of "One of the Garrison" to call for or justify such strictures. The exclamation of General McPherson when riding over the fortifications, "Good Heavens! are these the boasted fortifications of Vicksburg?" It was the rebels alone and not the works that kept us out of the town," very well illustrates the peculiar tactics of the opposing forces. The Confederates rely mainly on the sword, the Federals regard the spade as their most useful weapon.

President Davis has issued an address to the Confederate army, in which he says, "You know what the enemy means by success. His malignant rage aims at nothing less than the extermination of yourselves, your wives and children, to destroy what he cannot plunder, to partition our homes as the spoils of victory, to incite

servile insurrection, and to debauch an inferior race, hitherto contented, by promising the indulgence of the vilest passions as the price of treachery. Conscious of their inability to prevail by legitimate means, and not daring to make peace lest they should be hurled from power, the men now ruling in Washington refuse even to confer on the subject of ending outrages disgracing the age, or to listen to any suggestion for conducting the war according to civilized usages. No alternative is left you but victory or subjugation, and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families, and your country." Does any one think the Confederate President misrepresents the object of the war party in the North? Does any one suppose that it is the intention to restore the Union by committing such crimes as have never disgraced savage warfare? If any one is so deluded, we refer him to the organ of the Republicans, the *New York Tribune* of the 31st of July. The Washington correspondent of that journal writes that one of the first acts of the next Congress will be to amend the Confiscation law, "so as to deprive armed rebels of their property perpetually." He says that Congress and the President have hitherto misconstrued the meaning of that clause in the Constitution that, "no attainer of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the lifetime of the person attainted," and he avers that this does not "refer to the length of time for which such forfeiture shall be made, but to the time when such forfeiture shall be made. That the words mean that after the guilty party is dead there shall be no procedure against him or his property, but that while still living his property may be confiscated by the State for all time to come." This is a latitude of construction which neither a "Star Chamber," an Inquisition, or any other tool of despotism has ever ventured on; but we needed not this candid avowal to convince us that the men of the South are fighting not only for Independence and for their own lives and property, but for the lives and property of their wives and children. After thus showing under what pretext the South is to be plundered, the *Tribune* proceeds to whet the appetite of its readers by setting forth the vastness of the booty. It observes, "The actual value of property in the Rebel States is \$4,708,252,215—exclusive of slaves, about three and a half billions—not including Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri, though there is enough property in these States owned by rebels actually engaged in arms against us to offset the property owned by Unionists in original seceded States." Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky are not to escape, and the way in which the value of the slaves is referred to is a sly hint that the "cursed niggers" not killed in the war, or roasted in the North, will be worth money when their masters and protectors are slaughtered. The *Tribune* having assured the Republican adherents that they were contending for substantial booty, and not for any such profitless results as emancipation or reunion, points out as a further encouragement to persevere, that the negro may be the food for powder that is to purchase them the much coveted plunder. "He who says, 'Do not arm the freedman,' sends out at the same breath the beloved child of his bosom to fight in his place." So the negro is to do the fighting, and the abolitionist is to take the property of the South in perpetuity. To entertain such a design is an atrocity without parallel, and to proclaim it is an infamy that only the friends of Butler and Federal Generals of the Butler brand could perpetrate.

Many are the indications that the North writhes under the despotism of the Republican faction. In one State we hear of an armed collision between the Democrats and the supporters of the Administration, and of some of the forces raised under the pretext of conquering the South being sent to fight against the friends of liberty and constitutional government in Iowa. In Ohio and elsewhere there is resistance to the draft. In another part of our impression we publish a protest against the usurpation and tyranny of the Washington Government, which has been widely circulated in New Jersey. People who so well know their grievances will seek to redress them at the first opportunity. In Maine the Democratic State Convention has denounced the course of the Lincoln Administration. If peace with the South is long postponed it is likely to be preceded by war in the North.

Referring to the surrender of Brashear City "to a gun-boat," our New Orleans correspondent confirms the statement we made last week, that the place had been previously evacuated by the Confederates. The enormous quantity of Federal military stores had been conveyed across Berwick Bay, and secured by the Confederates.

Much has been said and written about the heavy blow sustained by the South in the loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, but we have heard little or nothing about the cost of these strongholds to the North. The *New Orleans Era*, of July 24th, devotes six columns and a-half of small type to a partial list of casualties at Port Hudson.



Neither this nor any other list that we have seen gives any account of the killed and wounded negroes. Moreover there is no record of the white troops who have died from disease, or of those who are in hospitals disabled by sickness. Adding these items together, it will appear that 12,000 men is a moderate estimate of the Federal loss before Port Hudson. It is admitted that Grant's army was 125,000 strong when he commenced his campaign, and that he had not quite 80,000 effective troops when Vicksburg surrendered. Such victories to an invader are substantially defeats. Greenbacks may be issued *ad lib.*, but the supply of men is limited.

"Our power and influence must spread over the whole continent of North America. There is no room here for the populations of the Old World save as our loyal subjects." So says the *New York Herald*, but we incline to think that in North America there is room enough for the Confederate States, for a Western Confederation, for British dominion in Canada, for a monarchy in Mexico, as well as for the United States. The Federals are speculating upon our relations with France being affected by the movements in Mexico. So far from this being the case the proceedings of the Emperor Napoleon are exceedingly popular in this country. We have much to gain and nothing to lose by the increase of French influence in America. Except the organs of the Federal Government, all English newspapers cordially approve the establishment of a Mexican Monarchy.

The Rev. James L. Vallandigham has published a letter in the *Philadelphia Age* in reference to his late arbitrary arrest. He says the reasons suggested for it are that he denied a false and slanderous charge against his brother, or that he had had a private quarrel with a republican neighbour, or that he was accustomed every Sabbath "to pray that the Lord would bring this war to a speedy close, and grant us again prosperity and peace." Mr. Vallandigham adds, "But though I may not be able just now certainly and positively to give the cause, I will state a few facts that may throw some light on the subject. 1st, My name is Vallandigham; 2nd, I am a Democrat; 3rd, At the commencement of the war I announced to my people that in war as well as in peace I was resolved to preach *only* the Gospel—determined not to know anything among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified—and I have strictly adhered to the determination." Preaching the Gospel instead of cursing the South is, no doubt, a grave offence, but the worst crime was praying for peace, which is equivalent to praying that the supporters of the Administration might get no more fat contracts.

The Northern journals publish a full and interesting description of the new Empire of Mexico. From the census of 1850, they give the area of the country at 829,916 square miles, and the population at the same date, as 7,661,520; and they add, "The average population to the square mile was about nine and one-fifth. It has not materially changed for the last dozen years." That Mexico, the most prolific country in the world, should stand still—in fact, should retrograde—during twelve years, proves the great need of the late intervention.

"Personne," the correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, gives an account of the fight on James Island on the 16th July, and says that the black prisoners allege that as soon as the fight began their white officers deserted them. They also stated that the reason they fought was that the Federal officers assured them if they were captured they would not be sold, but hung. No doubt Mr. Lincoln would be very glad indeed if the Confederates would treat coloured prisoners as traitors, and not as runaway slaves.

Captain Cutts, who acted as Judge-Advocate before the Vallandigham Court-martial, is now defendant in a court-martial ordered on his account. He is charged with using offensive and violent language towards Captain Hutton, a brother officer; refusing to retract; making false statements against another officer; and with the disgusting and disreputable offence of outraging the feelings of the wife of Captain Hutton, by peeping through the keyhole of her dressing-room. The *Boston Courier* mildly censures Captain Cutts by saying that he "appears in a very unfavourable light." Mr. Lincoln certainly has the knack of selecting dirty tools to do his dirty work.

The Confederate steamer Florida, reported off the English coast, put into the port of St. George's, Bermuda, for coaling and repairs to her machinery, on the 24th July. We learn from the *Bermudian* that she was saluted on her arrival by the forts and batteries. One of her officers, Assistant-Pymaster J. L. Lynch, who died on the 13th July, of consumption, was buried on shore. The funeral was attended by the officers, a portion of the crew, and a number of the inhabitants.

The bubble of Unionism in Louisiana has exploded. The persons who petitioned Mr. Lincoln for re-admission were a self-constituted committee of Federal office-seekers. A letter from New Orleans, published in the *New York Daily News*, says that the citizens of Louisiana have determined upon a separation with a fixedness of purpose that no persuasion or misfortune can alter, that they have declared their independence of the Federal Government, and that they will maintain that declaration even if it cost a fifty years' war.

The *New York Times*, either ignorantly or designedly, asserts that the United States' grain crop for 1863 will be immense, and that the need of Europe will make it anxious to maintain peace with the North. It happens that for the last ten years Europe has never been so independent of a trans-Atlantic supply of grain as at present. So prolific are the cereal crops, not only in England and France, but also in the grain-exporting countries, that the price of wheat has rapidly fallen, and no serious inconvenience would be felt if the American supply was entirely cut off. On the other hand, the report of the Department of Agriculture at Washington admits that the general appearance of the wheat is one-tenth below the average. Moreover, we know that the Federal armies have been recruited with Western agriculturists, and that, consequently, a much less breadth of land has been sown. Still the yield will be large enough for the demand, for the cotton States will not require any cereals from the West, and Europe will not purchase American grain except in a limited quantity and at a heavy decline. It is not impossible that the experience of the present autumn may do much to disgust Western farmers with the war, and teach them the folly of allowing themselves to be used as the catspaw of New England.

Besides scalping Indians the Federals have found a new amusement, which they designate "shooting at skeddaddling conscripts." The *New York World* gives us an account of this sport at the Conscript camp on Grapevine Point, Connecticut. A number of drafted men attempted to run the guard and escape from the camp. They seized the sentinel, threw him down, and then ran. The sentinel started to his feet and gave the alarm. The whole guard, fifteen in number, thus aroused, fired on the deserters. John McCarten, of Toronto, Canada, a substitute for a Newhaven man, while trying to escape, was struck by a ball in the breast, which glanced to his arm, cutting severely the muscles and shattering the bone. He was taken to the Knight Hospital, where his wound was found to be so severe that amputation of the arm was deemed necessary. In another place nine out of a squad of eleven recruits made their escape. They were all substitutes. The *Hartford Times* tells us of a man named Turner who had enlisted in four regiments before his game was stopped. The high bounty is an irresistible temptation to desert. Moreover the dealers in substitutes encourage desertion. The *Boston Post* says that the substitute agents in that city make from \$75 to \$1,000 per day.

A pretty and rather sensational story is being circulated in New York about the perfidy of England. It is asserted that our ministers being puzzled what to do with ticket-of-leave men, not liking to keep them at home, or to throw them on our colonies, have hit upon the expedient of sending them to the United States. Two felons have been arrested in New York, who aver that they were released from Portsmouth jail before the expiration of their terms, and were asked whether they would go to Australia or Canada. They elected the latter place, and Sir George Grey paid their passage to New York, promising them to send them a remittance to enable them to continue their journey. The remittance was not forthcoming, and so the ex-convicts resumed their old trade of thieving, preferring that to enlisting in the Federal army. This very probable tale is fully believed, and the British authorities are soundly abused. The *New York Times* suggests that the convicts should be shipped back to England to Sir George Grey, and charitably adds, "We could hardly be supposed to weep much if they were at once to garotte him." Garotters are not so foolish or ungrateful as to injure their best friend.

A correspondent of the *New York Herald* remarks: "I believe it is generally admitted that the rebels took as good care of our wounded as of their own at Charleston; but they are sadly deficient in surgeons if that is the case. . . . The rebels admit that they are very short of competent surgeons and of hospital stores and medicines." If there is a lack of hospital stores, it is owing to the brutal order of Mr. Lincoln which makes medicines contraband of war.

Our Turin correspondent sends us a literal translation of an address to President Lincoln from Garibaldi. The supreme absurdity of the document is surpassed by the odious blasphemy of associating the name of the

Saviour with that of a convicted thief and a midnight assassin. It seems, however, that no one can defend the Lincoln Government without being profane and blasphemous. The tone of disdain with which the press of Italy treats this ridiculous effusion is a good sign for the peaceful progress of the country. Demagogism is evidently at a discount.

The *New York World* says, "Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, son and son-in-law, and a daughter and son of President Lincoln, went down to Old Point Comfort, on Sunday, in the steamer Ella. Monday morning they visited Admiral Lee on board the flagship Minnesota, and were received with the usual salute. After spending a couple of hours there they proceeded to the Brooklyn, and afterwards to Fortress Monroe, the water battery firing a salute of fifteen guns." These proceedings and Mr. Lincoln riding out with a body guard will deprive Mr. Bright of the pleasure of contrasting the beautiful simplicity of United States' officials with the military parade of European Governments.

We learn from our Southern exchanges that one of the gun-boats building on the Tombigbee River was successfully launched in the first week in July.

## ENGLAND.

The Foreign Enlistment Act of 59 George III., c. 69, under which it will be remembered that proceedings were taken against the Alexandra, has now been put in force by the Russian Government against one Alfred Styles, who described himself as a Lieutenant in the Garibaldian army. This individual was brought up last week on a warrant before one of the Metropolitan magistrates to answer the charge of "unlawfully attempting to procure certain persons to enlist and be employed as soldiers in the service and aid of certain foreign people, to wit, the 'Poles,' who are now in arms against and opposed to his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia." From the evidence adduced, it appeared that advertisements had been inserted in the *Daily Telegraph* to this effect,—"An engagement is open for several young men to proceed abroad. Applications by letter only, enclosing references as to respectability and present employment, to be addressed to L. Z., 36, Seething-lane, Great Tower-street, E.C." An application was duly made by John Gregory, a schoolmaster out of employ, who, being in search of a situation both peaceful and pedagogic, was sufficiently amazed at receiving in answer a circular, the purport of which was that it was intended to form a regiment of volunteers, composed of gentlemen, sons of tradesmen, clerks, and others of respectability, to fight in aid of the Poles against the tyrannical and despotic rule of Russia. It was further stated that an English General of great experience in the Crimea and in Italy would be appointed to the command, and that the National Government would pay all expenses. A description roll was inclosed with spaces for information as to "name and address," "age," "height," "occupation," "constitution," and whether "married or single." Secrecy was enjoined on the applicant, with a caution against joining any crowd outside the office door, and thereby exciting suspicion. At the personal interview between the schoolmaster and the Polish recruiting officer, the latter said that 250 men had already joined the regiment, and that fifty more were wanted; that the pay would be the same as in the Polish army, whatever that might be; that if matters came to the worst the British Consul would send the men home, and that there was a prospect of plenty of prize-money, and the advantage of seeing the greater part of Europe. The vessel was to start in a fortnight, and the volunteers were to be drilled on board. The worthy schoolmaster, after filling up the blank forms and assisting Lieutenant Styles in certain correspondence, communicated with the Russian agents, a course which seems to have been followed by another witness, who had not the smallest objection to being considered a military spy. Eventually the Lieutenant was remanded, and being unable to find bail was locked up.

A regular panic has seized our Australian colonists. The Governments of the various States of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, have already, by a petition issued by the conference appointed for the purpose, exhibited the unanimous feeling of the colonists on the subject of transporting criminals to Western Australia, as proposed in the report of the Royal Commission on Convicts and Secondary Punishments. The idea is obviously quite at variance with all their preconceived notions on the rights of the settlements, the interests both of the colonies and the mother country, and of the object and method of legitimate emigration. Consequent on the petition already mentioned, an enormous mass of articles and letters has appeared in the daily journals, and now another petition is in course of signature by all the leading people resident



in England who are connected with Australia and New Zealand. In that petition it is represented that the scheme will at once bring into collision the Imperial and colonial authorities, and embitter the relations of England and the colonies beyond hope of reconciliation. An inundation of the more happy settlements by runaways, conditional pardon men, and *expatriés* is anticipated, the result of which would be not merely the demoralization of the colonists, but also the burdening their establishments with great additional cost in gaols, courts of law, and police.

The correspondence of Sir Henry Spelman, editor of the "Concilia and Glossarium Archæologicum," has been sold by auction. There were autograph letters from Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, who was born in 1580, from William Camden, Archbishop Ussher, and John Bradshawe, President of the Council convoked for the trial of Charles I. Other rare MSS. were also sold, among which was the sign manual of Richard III., as king of England, to a warrant commanding the restitution of dower to Anne Lye, the price obtained for which was £11. There was also a letter from Lord Byron to Hobhouse, dated Athens, February 28, 1811, in which, speaking of Hanson's desire to sell Newstead, Lord Byron says, "I will not, and I beg you in my name to say, No, no, no! If he must sell, sell Rochdale. . . . My mother sends me a pack of State scandal and newspaper extracts which one sees in every seaport town—Hanson, a damnable account of my affairs, though I can't tell if he speaks truth or not, his letter being quite facetious; a pretty time for joking, when a man is in Greece, and his property involved."

A successor to the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell, in the office of Judge Ordinary of the Probate and Divorce Court, has been selected in the person of Sir James Wilde, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. The new Judge is a man of considerable legal attainments, and remarkable for his amiable disposition and polished manners. It is, however, a matter of grave doubt whether his physical strength will prove sufficient to endure the toils of an office, the business of which exceeds in a twofold degree that of any other Judgeship. Probably in case of failure on his part to perform his functions, the Probate Jurisdiction will be severed from the Divorce Court, and a new Judgeship established.

Ireland exhibits some curious statistical results in the matter of education. The census shows that in 1861, of persons above the age of five years only 65 per cent. of the males, and 58 of the females could read. Consequently, out of the whole population of 5,798,967, two millions were unable to read, exclusively of more than half a million children under five years. In the same year nearly half a million persons were receiving instruction in the schools and colleges in Ireland. Unsatisfactory as the results may be, there is an improvement on the figures of the year 1841, when the art of reading was confined to 54 per cent. of the males, and 41 per cent. of the females above five years of age. Connaught is still in a desperate condition, having only advanced in scholarship in twenty years from 36 to 49 per cent. in the males; and Munster is but a shade better, with an improvement from 48 to 60 per cent. in the same time. It was also found that in 1861 more than one million of persons spoke Irish, but all of these except 163,275 spoke English also; and in this respect, too, Connaught heads the list, and Munster is second, the former county out of a population of less than a million having 77,818 Irish-speaking inhabitants. We may add as a set-off that longevity keeps pace with ignorance, and that 742 persons were existing in Ireland, in 1861, above the age of 100 years, 278 of whom were men, and 464 women.

On Friday, August 14, died Field-Marshal Lord Clyde, aged 70 years. Colin Campbell was born near Glasgow, on the 20th of October, 1792, and entered the army in 1808. His first experience of war was the retreat of Sir John Moore, and the fight at Corunna. Thence he went to join the Walcheren expedition in 1809, with the result to him of a fever, which never left his constitution for thirty years. Afterwards he returned to Spain, and was present at Barossa, and the defence of Tarifa. Through the battle of Vittoria he passed uninjured, but at the head of a forlorn hope at St. Sebastian he was twice wounded, and also received a bullet in the thigh at the passage of the Bidassoa. In 1814, with sabre, bayonet and bullet wounds, and yet only a captain, he went with the 60th Rifles to America, and thereby missed the Waterloo campaign. His next service was against the Blacks in Demerara, in 1823, as Brigade-major. Later he went to China as Lieut.-Colonel of the 98th, and thence to India. At the outbreak of the great Sikh war Colin Campbell was appointed to the command of the Third Division, and wherever the fight was hottest and

the crisis of battle impended, there he and his men were found. At Chillianwallah he turned into a splendid but costly victory what might otherwise have been a disastrous rout, and at Goojerat he showed himself the best of tacticians. But his proudest days were yet to come, and when the Russian war broke out, and England rang with the heroism of the storming of the heights of Alma, no man and no body of soldiery were so much the object of pride and admiration as Sir Colin Campbell and the glorious Brigade of Highlanders. Indeed, enthusiasm for him and his men knew no bounds after the action at Balaclava, and the repulse of the Cossack Cavalry by the 93rd Regiment in line and not in square, and without the loss of a soldier. Throughout that terrible winter the Highland Brigade, which took no part in the struggle and victory at Inkermann, covered the right flank of the British army, for Lord Raglan understood and appreciated the energy and experience of Sir Colin Campbell. When the command of the army became vacant by the death of Lord Raglan and the retirement of Sir James Simpson, there probably was not a man in England who did not feel convinced that Sir Colin Campbell was the only man and the best man for the post. Yet for reasons best known to the Government, the clue to which might possibly be found in the delicate requirements of the French Alliance, General Codrington, of the Guards, who had never seen a shot fired in anger before the battle of the Alma, was appointed to the command, over the head of the hero of the Peninsula and the Punjab. Sir Colin returned to England in disgust, and was only induced to resume his command by the personal wish of that Lady whose word with such a soldier was more than law. At the close of the war, Sir Colin was gazetted Lieutenant-General, and doubtless considered his honours and military career consummated. However, he was a man whom a Government might afford to neglect and despise in days of peace and routine, but whom alone officials could implicitly trust in the time of real peril. Consequently, when our Indian Empire was shook to its foundations by the Sepoy mutiny, Sir Colin Campbell was chosen to head the army in Bengal. His method of war was, under the exigency of circumstances, akin to perfection. It was not his business to sacrifice his men or imperil his ultimate success by "sensational" marches or battles. He experienced not a single check, and he left not an enemy behind him in his march. Above all, he never lost a man more than was necessary. Indeed, in this respect, he gave a lesson to his successors important at all times and at all places, but nowhere so important as in India. He taught that the value of the British soldier is incalculable, and that his life and health are the grand objects of a general. No man loved the English soldier so well; and what Lord Herbert was to the soldier in peace, that was Colin Campbell to him in war. On his return from India Sir Colin was appointed Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and subsequently made Field-Marshal, and raised to the Peerage, with the title of Lord Clyde. In person he was of good height, and of a very well-knit hardy frame. His eye was keen and of great power; his mouth the emblem of resolution. In his old age his hair was grey, short, crisp, and curly; and his appearance was that of a stern, worn, and grand old warrior.

An extraordinary instance of Sabbatarianism run mad has just startled easy-going Englishmen, not of the Exeter Hall school, and, therefore, quite incapable of appreciating the feeling of the religious people of Scotland on the point. The channel fleet, under Rear-Admiral Daeres, C.B., has lately visited the Firth of Forth, and it seems that shortly before the arrival of the fleet, and while the ships were lying off Sunderland, the Sabbath Alliance of Scotland deemed it necessary to address, through a man called James Blackadder, its chairman, a letter to the Admiral, bringing under his notice the great importance of issuing such an order as would prevent the general public from being received on the Sabbath as visitors on board of the ships, and thereby avoid a great amount of desecration. In answer to this cool requisition, the Admiral wrote to say that on board her Majesty's ships on Sundays, Divine service was regularly performed, and no irregularity permitted that would desecrate that or any other day; that he saw no necessity for preventing the public from simply visiting the ships after the hours of Divine service; and the Admiral further intimated that he was acting according to orders. Now, any reasonable being would have been content to put up with so complete and well-merited a snub, but not so the Sabbath Alliance of Scotland, nor James Blackadder, nor the great Dr. Begg, who subsequently, with dueunction, detailed the negotiations to the Commission of the Free Church General Assembly. It is truly wonderful, but not less a fact, that these worthies took it for granted that the Admiral had misunderstood the orders of the Admiralty. Thereupon a communication was addressed to the Duke of Somerset

as First Lord of the Admiralty, which only elicited a reply more curt and more unpalatable than that of the Admiral. But a dark hint is thrown out by Dr. Begg that matters did not end here, and that some application or other was made to test how far the Duke of Somerset understood his orders, and, that in consequence, a further snub has been administered to the Alliance by the head of the Government. However this may be, the great Dr. Begg made a terrific harangue to the General Assembly, in which, after stating the circumstances of the affair, he says that from the language of Admiral Daeres it seems that on board the fleet, "the worship—whatever worship there was—seems to have been hurried over at a very early part of the day, because the newspapers inform us that these ships were thrown open at 11 o'clock—that is to say, that they were thrown open to the public at the very time when the ordinary worship of the Sabbath commences." Dr. Begg then proceeded to call the Government ringleaders in inducing the people to violate the Lord's-day, and as such, liable to incur the sin thereof. We have no doubt of the zeal and honesty of Dr. Begg and his coterie, but we would suggest that he add one more important Christian element to his character, and that is charity. Scotch people, and particularly Free Church people, are no doubt very religious and very good, but why should Dr. Begg imagine that they monopolise virtue, and that all other men are sinners? What possible right has he to insinuate that on board her Majesty's ships "worship is hurried over," or that there is no worship at all? Above all, what an absurdity it is to object to worship because it is finished before 11 o'clock. Dr. Begg expressly objects to "canonical hours." What peculiar sanctity can he attach to 11 o'clock? Surely he cannot be ignorant that her Majesty's men do get up in decent time in the morning, and that to them 9 o'clock is much the same as 11 o'clock would probably be to the audience which enjoys the discourses of the reverend minister. Moreover, did Dr. Begg ever call at a friend's house on a Sabbath, and has an officer or seaman no right to see a friend on that day? Like all careless logicians Dr. Begg assumes the minor premiss, and declares that Divine law and also human law have been violated, a figure of rhetoric perhaps in his mouth, but at least a palpable absurdity so far as human law is concerned. We cannot stop to discuss the impertinent conceit which prompted the Alliance to imagine that it understood the orders of Admiral Daeres, and even those of the First Lord of the Admiralty better than they themselves did; but we would suggest that such zeal would ruin the best of causes, and that if the Sabbath Alliance wishes to be powerful it should above all things be careful not to appear absolutely ridiculous.

#### THE CONTINENT.

Nothing certain is yet known as to the character of the rejoinders which the three Powers have addressed to St. Petersburg. It was anticipated that the Imperial fêtes would have been signalized by some declaration of the French Emperor's intentions, but they passed without sign a circumstance which tends to corroborate the statement generally received, that the notes which have before this time been placed in the hands of Prince Gortschakoff bear a very pacific character. In the present state of popular feeling in France any announcement of an intention to put up with the Russian replies would have produced a very unpleasant effect; whilst a notification of war would have created immense enthusiasm. That nothing was said is a sign, we may take it, that the French Government has accepted the necessities of its position, and with all its desire to assist the Poles has given way to the pacific determination of England and Austria. These two Powers, although professing, and no doubt sincerely, a great desire to aid Poland, would rather see her annihilated than force on a European war from which they have nothing to gain and everything to lose; and the Emperor without them can hardly go to war. He knows that they would watch him with the utmost jealousy, and that although he only carried out what they threatened and fell back from, he might in a very short time find them his active opponents. The Poles have nothing to hope from Europe. France is the only nation which has the will to go to their assistance, and the neighbours of France are so afraid of her aggrandisement that they would willingly sacrifice half-a-dozen nationalities in order to preserve peace.

It is said that Mouravieff has been so successful in Lithuania that the Czar intends to confide the kingdom of Poland to his tender mercies. The rumour is hardly credible. Mouravieff is, no doubt, a very energetic man, and would probably in a short time reduce Poland to order; but the dose would be rather too much for Europe to swallow. It would be a defiance of Western opinion, which might draw even England into war.



There is no war intelligence. The Russians seem to have trampled out the movement in Lithuania and the other provinces which technically form part of the Russian empire. If the impression, generally entertained, that the Western Powers have resolved to content themselves with the promises of Prince Gortschakoff prove correct, we may expect to hear that all serious insurrection is at an end, even in Congress Poland. The struggle is too unequal. It has only been maintained by prodigies of valour, by sacrifices almost beyond example—all lavished in the hope of bringing about intervention. That hope dispelled, the supplies of money, munitions, and men from Posen and Galicia will cease, and the fight will only be continued by small bands, who have no other purpose than to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

The Emperor of Russia has visited Finland, and is said to have been enthusiastically received. The enthusiasm is a very doubtful matter. The truth is that the Fins are not enthusiastic for Russia or for Sweden, but they are very anxious for themselves. In the last war they suffered severely from the visits of the English cruisers, and if war should break out now, they would probably have to bear the brunt. Sweden would most likely be an ally of France. Her object would be the reconquest of Finland, and although the result might be favourable to Finnish prosperity, the cost would be heavy for the Fins, whilst there is no little risk that after all Finland would remain a province of the Russian Empire. Neutrality is what the Fins would like, but that neither Russia nor Sweden will allow them; and although they are not enthusiastic even for the Emperor who has convoked their diet, they doubtless in the instinct of self-preservation pray every day for the suppression of the Polish insurrection, which threatens to bring upon them such terrible havoc.

Prince Roman Czartoryski, who possesses large estates in Posen, has been arrested by the Russian authorities, and his family have the management of the insurrection. The Prince in visiting Poland courted the fate which has befallen him.

The *Fürstentag*, or Congress of Princes at Frankfort, is the great subject of political interest. The bold initiative of the Emperor of Austria has been so far crowned with success. The influence of Austria is immensely augmented throughout Germany, and the ambitious designs of Prussia are completely checkmated. The Emperor arrived at Frankfort on Saturday, and was received by the Imperial city, which apparently saw its old glories revive, with the greatest enthusiasm. He lodges in the Palace of Prince Thurn and Taxis—the hereditary Postmaster of Southern Germany—which has for a long time been the home of the Diet. The other sovereigns and the delegates of the Free towns arrived on the same or the following day, and on the morning of Monday the deliberations began. The first resolution was the adoption of a collective invitation to the King of Prussia to attend the Congress, which the King of Saxony will convey to William the First. The Emperor developed his plan, of the character of which, and of the course of the proceedings, we have yet no reliable information. The indications which journals supposed to enjoy official inspiration give are by no means concordant. The full details of the plan will no doubt be published in a few days, and it would be a waste of time to discuss as revelations what are only guesses. The Congress, adjourned over the Tuesday, resumed on Wednesday.

The greater part of the German Sovereigns are present at the Congress. The only exceptions of importance are the Kings of Prussia and Denmark. The latter can, of course, have no desire to see the organization of the Confederacy improved, as he would probably be the first sufferer by the change. The reasons for the refusal of the King of Prussia are given in a circular to the Prussian diplomatic agents, which, whilst recognising the necessity of a revision of the Federal constitution, points out the difficulty of bringing a matter so deeply concerning the interests of Germany to discussion and adoption by a conference of Princes without previous preparation by plenipotentiaries of the Governments, and hints at the reaction upon public opinion if such a conference should break up without results. The Prussian Government is, however, willing to take part in a conference of plenipotentiaries upon the subject. These reasons for refusal will not satisfy Germany or Prussia. The Prussians themselves regret that their King did not attend the Congress; they see clearly the loss of influence the step entails. Prussia is isolated. She has no other supporter than Denmark—a support which, in the opinion of all German patriots, will be her severest condemnation. It seems that the King at first intended to go to Frankfort, but that his evil genius, Herr von Bismarck, dissuaded him. The collective invitation is a

graceful step. It gives Prussia an opportunity of yet taking her place; it proves that the Congress is anxious, above all things, for her co-operation, and that Austria has no desire to deprive her of her legitimate influence: but if refused, it puts the Prussian Government terribly in the wrong, and will dispel any delusion which may still prevail, that Prussia, in the profession of a desire for Federal reform had any other object than the promotion of her own aggrandising views.

The Emperor's fête has been celebrated with the customary enthusiasm. The intense heat which has raged in Paris induced the Emperor, out of consideration for the men, to dispense with the usual review; but there were magnificent illuminations and other attractions for the holiday makers, composed, in large part, of visitors by the excursion trains from the provinces and foreigners. All the Parisians who can manage it have fled from the heat.

The Emperor has gone to the camp at Chalons. There is a rumour to the effect that he will meet the Emperor of Austria at Baden.

The Ionian Parliament has been dissolved, and a new one called for the express purpose of "consulting in the most formal and authentic manner the wishes of the inhabitants as to their future destiny."

The condition of Greece continues most deplorable. The origin of the evil is graphically portrayed in a speech delivered by the Minister of the Interior in a recent sitting of the National Assembly:—"The melancholy condition of the provinces is the consequence of the parties in the National Assembly. The Government took the reins of administration in a very critical moment, without money, without an army, in the hope of finding support in an agreement of parties; but, on the contrary, they have only shown themselves the more antagonistic, and the demands of the deputies upon the ministry rise every day. Out of the large numbers which daily reach the ministry, only three have put any question as to the condition of the country; all the rest demand appointments, dismissals, and removals of officials. Under such circumstances the Government can do nothing but issue orders; but neither soldiers, nor *eparchs*, nor *monarchs* obey. This determines me to give in my resignation to the National Assembly." The people refuse to pay the taxes; the soldiers refuse all obedience, and their commanders rob the treasury as much as they can. They charge for the pay of 1,000 men when they have only 250. Every patriot pillages his country as much as he can.

The Spanish Cortes have been dissolved.

Almost the last act of Sir James Hudson, whose retirement has been the subject of a lively controversy in the English press—the question being whether he voluntarily retired or was driven to resign to make room for Lord Russell's relative, Mr. Elliott—was the signature of a treaty of commerce between Italy and England. The Italian papers announced that subscriptions have been opened for a testimonial to Sir James, who has received the Grand Cross of the Bath.

The party of action is again busy. This time the object is Venetia. Its organs openly avow its plans, and accuse the Government of cowardice, and even treachery, because it does not hurl the young kingdom to its destruction against the Quadrilateral. The Two Sicilies are still in a most disturbed state. "Brigandage" has revived upon the mainland in the provinces most distant from the Roman frontier. The Government is at its wits' end to meet it; as fast as one band is extinguished another springs up. The Chambers just before the close of the session armed it with great and arbitrary powers. Cruelty, however, has been tried too much. The people are with the brigands. Conciliation is the only possible remedy for the evil, which is making the greatest ravages.

The telegraph sometimes makes most ridiculous announcements. Here is one from Brussels:—"Intelligence received here from Rimini states that the first instalment of a loan for the establishment of better means of communication throughout the Republic of San Marino is about to be paid. The loan has been negotiated in Paris by the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Republic, with the banking-house of J. Pic and Co." The Republic of San Marino is little more than a geographical square mile in extent. Its revenue is about £1,500 sterling; and its debt rather more than £200. This new loan, of which the first instalment has been paid, and for which the *Capitani reggenti* have had to go all the way to Paris, may amount, perhaps, to the large sum of £1000. It is not creditable to the intelligence or the care of the editors of the English daily papers,

that they should admit such paltry telegraphic news to a prominent place in their columns.

## MEXICO.

The Archduke Maximilian has not yet accepted the throne of Mexico. The Austrian press is by no means flattered by the offer, and rather counsels its rejection. It is understood that the Austrian Government takes no part in the matter. The question is left entirely to the Archduke's decision; he is to make his own terms and take himself the profits or the loss. It has been announced that the French Government has revoked the measures of General Forey sequestering the property of those persons who had opposed him, and prohibiting the exportation of specie. It is said that Doblado and Comonfort have given in their adhesion to the French intervention, a statement which requires confirmation, and that Juarez has applied to Washington for assistance.

## JAPAN.

The Japanese Government has paid the indemnities demanded for the outrages on British subjects, but has not surrendered the culprits, assigning, and no doubt truthfully, as the reason, that it is unable to do so. The question is not settled. There is little hope that war with its long train of further wars will be avoided.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

PARIS, August 18.

THE great heats which drove your correspondent, as well as every one who still had energy enough to move, out of Paris are over. The political as well as the physical atmosphere has cooled down to a very pleasant temperature. It may be that the warmer clothing which the evening air now renders necessary has reminded those Parisians who are ready to shout for anything in hot weather of the furs which a Russian winter renders indispensable; any how, the general impression in Paris is that, for the time, for this year at least, the war in favour of Poland is abandoned. The attitude of the English Parliament has no doubt contributed to this, but there are other causes which have had even greater weight. The Polish emigration is split into two factions, which hate each other as only exiles can hate; the one representing the high-handed aristocracy which was the last representative in Europe of those feudal lords whom French historians—not in disaccord with those of other countries—represent as the most abominable of tyrants, and the democratic party dyed in the deepest red of republicanism. Up to the present time the movement has been directed by the Aristocrats, represented by Czartoryski, men of great wealth and extensive influence, who have spared no money in furthering it, and their persons only because the cause is too dear to them to risk its failure with their lives. But this party has singularly failed, and now Mierolawski and the ultras claim their turn. The victories gained against Russian detachments by the insurgents, if victories they were, were Pyrrhic triumphs of which the aggregate amounts to a defeat. I need not say that the advent of the revolutionary party has been accompanied with a sensible cooling of the affections of the ruling Powers which had seemed to favour the movement. But there is another cause for the change which has come over the French dream. Not only England holds back, and revolution puts itself forward; Austria, the ally on whose co-operation, in default of perfidious Albion, the certainty of a short and successful campaign was based, has in the last three weeks begun to alter her tone. The ill-judged proclamation of the so-called National Government, claiming the whole of ancient Poland—which was, in fact, an appeal to a general war—and the recollection of the Italian campaign, begun with a limited object which it did not attain, but which resulted in greater changes than its author ever intended or could have wished, alarmed the great Conservative Power. If in one case the ally of France went far beyond the aim of the secret conventions which preceded the breaking out of hostilities, in the other he might be unable to secure even the integrity of his present territory, much less an augmentation. Austria has a bloodless game to play in Germany, and she is playing it with the consummate ability which an adversary's faults ensure, and she will throw away none of her chances by embarking in an adventure which becomes every day more doubtful.

The peace party, that is, all the monied interests, although they have not yet plucked up courage to improve the quotations of stock, find many things in the news of the last few days to countenance their hopes. The Emperor was very civil to Madame de Budberg, the Russian Ambassadress, at the ball at St. Cloud on Friday. Poland had dropped out of the *contata sang* at the opera on Saturday, and on Sunday it was known



that M. Drouyn de Lhuys was to absent himself for some days. It seems certain that the Western Powers have decided on giving Russia the benefit of the winter to secure the pacification of Poland, and monied men are too good Christians not to leave the spring to take care of itself.

It is still thought very uncertain whether the Arch-duke Maximilian, whom the *Charivari* represented a year ago as taking lessons on the guitar to fit him for the Mexican throne, finds himself a sufficient proficient to venture on such a stage. The *Moniteur* of yesterday contains a leader to announce the revocation of General Forey's order for the confiscation of the property of recalcitrants. At the same time the blockade of all the ports not in the hands of the French (and they are rather a long list), has been ordered for the purpose of depriving the *insurrection* of its pecuniary resources.

The expedition to Mexico is not—never has been, popular in France, but there are many who begin to recognise its utility. At a comparatively small cost of blood and treasure, the Emperor has fixed a limit to the pretensions of American Democracy. It is felt on all hands that to secure his conquest, to prevent Mexico becoming another Spain, his next step must be favourable to the Confederate States. A monarchical Mexico would be a neighbour whom the old United States could not brook, and notwithstanding the patience of the old bull-dog, and the hatred with which he is avowedly regarded in the North, there is little doubt that the new comer would seem to the politicians of Washington a safer object of attack than the hereditary foe on the other frontier. From this day forward it must therefore be the object of the French Government to favour the consolidation of an agricultural and, because agricultural, not an aggressive, Power, on the frontiers of a State which must for many years remain under French protection. Accordingly, in the semi-official papers there have appeared articles reviewing the last events in America, and showing that the recent successes of the Northern arms have had no other result than the spilling of more blood, without having any effect on the ultimate decision of the contest. The conference of the German Sovereigns at Frankfurt fills all the papers now; but so soon as this is over, and the Polish question, as now seems probable, receives a diplomatic solution, or is at least set aside for the winter, you may expect to see appeals to public opinion here in favour of a recognition of the Confederate States. Among the nominations in the Legion of Honour which appeared on the 15th, may be remarked the name of M. Paul, the French consul at Richmond, who is promoted to the rank of officer. This may be considered significant.

The Emperor has gone to the camp of Chalons with the little Prince, but he is to return to St. Cloud on Sunday. The Empress then leaves for Biarritz, but it is said that he will remain another week here, during which time his promised visit to Cherbourg will probably take place.

#### GARIBALDI AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN. (From our Own Correspondent.)

TURIN, August 14th.

Garibaldi, having nothing else to do, has addressed a letter to Abraham Lincoln, "the Liberator of the Slaves of the American Republic," which appeared, on the 11th instant, in the *Diritto*, an ultra-Radical paper, published in this city. The world needed not the evidence of this letter to prove that Garibaldi is a man of little judgment and of no political sagacity. Perhaps you will find space for the following literal translation of this document:—

If amidst the roar of your titanic battles, our voice can reach you, O Lincoln, allow us, the free sons of Columbus, to send you a word of greeting and admiration for the great work you have undertaken.

You, the inheritor of Christ and Brown's idea, you will pass down to posterity with the name of Liberator, a name more enviable than any crown or human treasure.

A whole race of men yoked to the collar of slavery by selfishness, is, through you, and at the price of the noblest American blood, restored to the dignity of man, to civilization, and love.

America, the teacher of liberty to our fathers, inaugurates again the solemn era of human progress; and while she astonishes the world with her gigantic daring, makes us sadly think how this old Europe, also convulsed by the great cause of liberty, can find neither intellect nor heart to emulate her.

While the parasites of despotism sing the Bacchanalian Ode and revel at the fall of a free people, let the free religiously rejoice at the fall of slavery—two mysterious parallels of history, the spoliation of Mexico and Lincoln's proclamation. We hail thee, Abraham Lincoln, the pilot of liberty! You, also, who for the last two years have fought and died around his regenerating standard, hail! Thou redeemed race, hail! The free men of Italy kiss the glorious scars of thy chains.

G. GARIBALDI.

That General Garibaldi was no Julius Cæsar we knew long ago, but that he would impudently associate the name of Christ with that of John Brown—a thief and a murderer; that, after the late orgies of New York, he would publicly belie history, by declaring that the policy of Abraham Lincoln restores the whole slave race of America to "man's dignity, civilization, and love;" and that he would pervert facts by assuming that America (i.e. the North) "astonishes the world with her gigantic daring," while it is a matter of notoriety she has had little to register on her escutcheon during these two years but plundering of towns, shooting of inoffensive citizens, and popular riots, is somewhat surprising.

The *Gazzetta di Torino*, a paper very much in favour of the Union, says:—

Though we are for the Union and the abolition of slavery, we object to signing the address, because we do not believe America "astonishes the world with her gigantic daring;"

because we denounce the false insinuations about the "parasites of despotism who sing the Bacchanalian Ode," and "the mysterious parallels of history," and President Lincoln as "the pilot of liberty."

The *Discussione*, a Liberal paper of the Conservative party, reproduced the address on the 12th inst., and to-day comments on it as follows:—

We should have contented ourselves with publishing the address, thinking it too insignificant to deserve a serious examination, but since the Turin correspondent of the *Unita Italiana* writes that we would, perhaps, comment upon it, according to our slavish sympathies, we think fit to make the following observations:—

1. John Brown was convicted of theft and murder, and as such condemned to be hanged by the legitimate authorities of the country, the Federal Government of that epoch performing the arrest of and disarming the whole gang. We believe the junction of Christ's and Brown's names to be impious and blasphemous.

2. The friends of order and liberty, under whatever form it reveals itself, we are far from being the friends of slavery; but it is erroneous to suppose that Lincoln restores the negroes to dignity, civilization, and love. His proclamation of emancipation is only a military measure, inasmuch as it declares free the negroes of rebel planters, while it maintains in slavery the negroes of the loyal ones. The war is professedly waged by the North for the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution; and these same Union and Constitution sanction slavery; therefore, he who wishes for the re-establishment of the Union, wishes also for the conservation of slavery.

3. We, who have really at heart the welfare of that unfortunate race, desire a gradual emancipation, for we are convinced—and all credible economists think as we do—that the black race of America would find their own destruction in a violent enfranchisement, either because of the excesses they would commit through ignorance, or of the want of proper means to provide for their immediate necessities. As for the rest, the late popular orgies in New York, and the massacres at Alexandria and Port Hudson, prove sufficiently to us what kind of love the North entertains for the poor negroes.

4. It is not true that America "astonishes the world with her gigantic daring." On the contrary, the North has given so far a very pitiful spectacle of herself, both in the defeats she has sustained, in the frequent violations of her constitution she has bowed to, and in the acts of vandalism, pillage, and incendiarism she has committed. Garibaldi, accustomed as he is to exaggeration in expression, has in this instance gone beyond his usual length, unless, indeed, he meant to be bitterly ironical.

5. We deplore the fatuity of the signers of the address in believing Lincoln to be the pilot of liberty. A policy which displays itself by devastation and bomb shells cannot be called liberty's policy, even when exercised in the name of wise institutions; and we emphatically declare we would never trust Italy's ship to such a pilot.

These are the only two papers in the whole kingdom that have so far paid any attention to Garibaldi's address to President Lincoln, and their comments are creditable to the common sense and free spirit of the country.

#### THE NEW JERSEY PROTEST.

The subjoined protest against the usurpation and tyranny of the Lincoln Government has been widely circulated in New Jersey:—

##### FREEMEN, AWAKE!

"Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

First.—The only solid foundation for all government is the consent of the governed. Governments exist for the benefit of the people, and not the people for the benefit of governments.

A government which fails to promote the interests and secure the affections of its people does not deserve to stand.

These principles are the foundation of the Federal Union; to deny them is to undermine our own political structure, to slander the title by which we have a place among the nations of the earth.

Second.—The people of the Southern States have of their own consent established a separate government, sustained it for more than two years with remarkable unanimity and devotion, under circumstances of great difficulty and trial.

We cannot, consistently with our traditions and our principles, deny to that people the right of self-government, or oppose by force the existence of the government they have set up. If we cannot conquer them by the arts and arms of peace, we have no right to conquer them at all.

To speak of a "Union" by force, is simply absurd; a piece of Puritanical hypocrisy.

Third.—The glory of a nation is: To establish justice, unity, peace, and concord; to ensure domestic tranquillity; to promote the general welfare; to secure the blessings of liberty and civilization; to cultivate the highest standards of morals and religion.

Territorial possessions may distract and weaken; wealth will enervate and corrupt; avarice, fanaticism, and revenge must debase; and ambition generally destroys.

Fourth.—When the present Administration was elected to office, among all the nations of the earth there was not one greater than the United States of America; not one more prosperous and happy; not one which conferred superior blessings on mankind. The people were proud of their Government and loved it; they would not have exchanged it for any other on the face of the globe; they hoped to transmit the jewel, with untarnished lustre, to remotest generations.

Fifth.—Within the last two years this Government has suffered a grievous change, a most disastrous and humiliating eclipse. It has become a filthy hybrid; a monster, smeared with the bloody sacrifice of its own children; a detestable compound of crimes and vices; a despotism which cannot fitly be described in decorous language, "the sum of all villainies; a league with hell and a covenant with death."

The Administration is ignorant, conceited, and vulgar; cunning, insincere, and unscrupulous; fierce, sanguinary, and cruel; full of all subtlety and all mischief; of all hypocrisy and deceit. It is without truth or honesty, without manliness or decency. Its avarice is insatiable; its corruption unbounded; for gain it will do anything, however infamous, oppressive, and wasteful, and does not scruple to barter the whole country for profit. It is a bully, a braggart, and a coward; it domineers by terror over weakness; it shrinks from truth and daylight; it deals in pimps, spies, and informers, and fears an enemy in every shadow. With bands of armed men it strikes down the liberty of the citizen at the

dead of night, when he is surprised, solitary, and defenceless; wages war on women and young children. It is barbarous and wanton, for it desolates peaceful and inoffensive lands with fire and flood; it destroys cities, towns, villages, and solitary dwellings; it plunders wherever its emissaries prowl, destroying what cannot be taken away. It does not spare the sacred monuments of art, science, and literature; respects not the grave; has no pity for the shrieks and entreaties of helplessness and purity, and the instruments of its crimes are only less detestable than the crimes themselves, and the criminals.

In everything, and in the most stupendous proportions, is this Administration abominable; the stench thereof rises towards heaven as the stench of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is a foe to all goodness, and whosoever should destroy it would confer a blessing on mankind.

Sixth.—The Southern people are fighting for our liberties, as well as for their own. No greater calamity could happen to us than their overthrow; the destruction of the one would speedily be followed by the subjugation of the other.

Seventh.—Should the Confederate army capture Washington and exterminate the herd of thieves, Pharisees, and cut-throats which pasture there, defiling our temple of liberty, we should regard it as a special interposition of Divine Providence in behalf of justice, judgment, and mercy.

Eighth.—No portion of this Union is entitled to public sympathy, or assistance, or protection from Southern defensive invasion, so long as it continues to be a party to the present aggressive war. There cannot be innocent accomplices in crimes at which humanity stands aghast.

Ninth.—"The thirty pieces of silver," the price of blood and the general ruin, is not entitled to protection. Let those who have grown fat on the misfortunes of the land, defend their own plunder, fight a little, steal and bellow less.

Tenth.—So long as the present war continues and despotism prevails, we shall have no disposition to oppose a Confederate army, whether on our borders or in our midst—rather would we hail them as friends and deliverers.

Eleventh.—We arraign Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and the men of his council, before the bar of public opinion and national justice, for the following high crimes, felonies, and misdemeanors:—

For the country they have betrayed; for the oaths they have violated; for the Constitution they have trampled underfoot; for the laws they have perverted or annulled; for the power they have abused and usurped; for the Union they have destroyed; for the precious hopes they have blasted; for the liberties they have taken away; for the rivers of blood they have shed; for the armies they have slaughtered; for the manifold, excessive, and widespread defraudings, robberies, plunderings, desolations, wastes, and cruelties they have perpetrated.

We arraign them for converting this once great, prosperous, free, and happy land into a land of discord, strife, and despotism—of ruin, misery, and shame.

Twelfth.—These pernicious criminals we propose to try by authority of all the laws their despotism has left us, by that very law of necessity and self-preservation which they maliciously, traitorously, and falsely have invoked, promulgated, and enforced. And we shall appeal for justice to that universal sentiment which passes judgment on all such as are enemies to the human race.

Thirteenth.—Fellow citizens: in the name of the Thirteen Colonies we say to you—"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

SPRIT OF '76.

4th July, 1863.

#### THE SIEGE AND FALL OF VICKSBURG.

The following interesting account of the siege and fall of Vicksburg is communicated by "One of the Garrison" to the *Mobile Register* of July 19.

On Sunday, the 17th of May, the Confederate army fell back from their position east of Big Black, their breastworks having been stormed by the enemy on that morning, and about 8 o'clock on Sunday night reached the city of Vicksburg, where they were immediately reorganized and placed in the following positions: General Smith's division on the extreme left, Major-General Forney in the centre, Major-General Stephenson on the right, and Brigadier-General Bowen's division of Missourians held in reserve. At about 2 o'clock on Monday afternoon the enemy's skirmishers came in sight and opened fire on our line of works without doing any damage whatever to the Confederate army; by 7 o'clock that night they had placed several batteries in position about 300 yards from the breastworks, but abstained from firing. On Tuesday morning before daylight they opened fire from their batteries, our guns responding immediately and with fine effect, compelling the enemy to shift their batteries several times. At the same time the enemy endeavoured to throw forward a body of sharpshooters, but were prevented by the fire of our men from so doing. The artillery duel and sharpshooting continued for about three hours, when General Pemberton rode up and ordered our men to cease firing, as he desired no artillery duels. In obedience to the order our men ceased firing, and the result was that next morning the enemy, emboldened by our silence, approached 100 yards nearer than they were the day before, without any opposition. On Tuesday the enemy made their first assault on the line of works held by Brigadier-General Shoup's Brigade of Louisianians. They marched up in one solid column, our men withholding their fire until the enemy had approached within thirty yards of the lines, when they opened a terrific volley of musketry. The enemy wavered a moment, then marched forward; they were again met by another volley, when they broke and fled under cover of the hills. This was the only attempt made on that day to force our lines, and the attempt was evidently made more with the intention of "feeling" our lines than with any serious idea of storming them.

The days intervening from the 19th to the 22nd were spent in one continued bombardment and sharpshooting during the day; in the night they generally ceased firing. On the morning of the 22nd the enemy opened a terrific fire with their Parrott guns, and continued it till about eleven o'clock, when the bombardment ceased, and heavy columns of the enemy could be seen forming in line of battle. Our forces were all ready for them, and eager for their advance. At about a quarter to twelve the columns of the Federal army advanced all along the lines in splendid order, and with a loud cheer dashed up to the works. They were gallantly responded to by our brave boys, and the first charge repulsed. On the extreme right of our lines the nature of the ground prevented the enemy from making any heavy attack, but on the right of the centre, the centre, and the left of the centre, the assault was desperately made and gallantly met—but once did our lines break, and



that was in Lee's Brigade; the enemy gained a temporary footing on the rifle pits; but Lee quickly rallied his men, and after a desperate hand-to-hand fight drove them out and re-occupied the lines. The engagement at this point and the right of the line, held by Brigadier-General L. Herbert, was of a terrible nature, the Federals having thrown their best troops on these works. Five times did they charge, and each time were repulsed. The last charge on the right of Brigadier-General Herbert's lines was made by an Irish regiment, (the 17th Wisconsin), carrying the green flag of Erin. They came at a double quick up the hill, each man in the front rank furnished with ladders to reach the works. Three times they essayed to plant their ladders, but were prevented by the obstinate resistance offered by the consolidated 21st and 23rd Louisiana regiments. At the third charge they came within ten yards of the line, but two volleys of buck-shot from the shot guns of our forces compelled them to make a precipitate retreat from the front of our works. At about 2 o'clock they made their last charge, and were again repulsed, when they retired, and did not attempt any further demonstration that day. The loss of the enemy on that occasion is estimated, by competent parties, at not less than from 8,000 to 10,000, while our loss was between 800 and 1,000 in killed and wounded. To describe the battle would be an impossibility, the cannonading appeared like one continued peal of thunder, and the sharp crack of thousands of rifles lent a grandeur to the scene that defies description. That day was no doubt the heaviest and most desperate assault on a line of breastworks that has ever been attempted during this war. No higher praise can be given to our troops for repulsing the enemy than the acknowledgment that the enemy fought with a valour worthy of a better cause, and the frank acknowledgment of General Grant that the troops that kept him out of Vicksburg for forty-seven days on one-quarter rations were the bravest troops he ever saw, and men that could have kept him out as long as they had provisions. On the 22nd, we lost some noble men, among whom were Colonel Herrick, of the 21st Louisiana, Captain Gomez, of the same regiment, and other gallant and chivalrous Southern men.

From the commencement of the siege to the 26th of May, the enemy had only fired during the day, but from Tuesday, the 26th, they kept up one continued fire night and day. The mortars on the peninsula opposite Vicksburg opened fire on the 25th of May, and continued an unceasing fire until the surrender of the city. Each day new batteries were erected, and a larger amount of guns brought to bear upon the town. It was estimated that as many as 6,000 mortar shells alone were thrown into Vicksburg every twenty-four hours, and on the line in the rear of the city as many as 4,000 per day.

After the grand attack on the 22nd of May, the enemy evidently perceived the hopelessness of taking Vicksburg by storm; they then commenced mining our works.

The writer here criticises the generalship of the commander, and thinks by a liberal use of ammunition the enemy might have been kept a greater distance from the lines.

From the 22nd of May to the 25th of June, no attempt was made of any serious nature with the exception of the attack by the turreted iron-clad gunboat Cincinnati, to silence one of our land batteries. The engagement lasted about fifteen minutes, when the Cincinnati commenced sinking, having been pierced several times by the Brook gun, known as "Whistling Dick." This was a spirited and exciting engagement, and the result appeared wholly unexpected by the Federals, as they confidently anticipated the destruction of the battery by their vaulted iron-clad. During the engagement a number of the enemy congregated on the bank of the river opposite Vicksburg, while Sherman, with his entire corps, rested on their arms, waiting for the destruction of the works, when he would "enter Vicksburg without any trouble." As soon as it became evident that the boat was sinking, she was run ashore and set on fire. She now lies a dismantled wreck immediately above the city on the Mississippi shore.

From the commencement of the siege to the 26th of June, our loss in officers had been very large; Lieut.-Colonel Rogers, of the 17th Louisiana, and Major Hoadly, of the heavy artillery, killed; Colonel Patten, Lieut.-Colonel Steever, Colonel Marks, Colonel Harrison, Brigadier-General Baldwin, Captain Bruike, and others wounded, all belonging to the field and staff. Colonel Garrott, commanding an Alabama regiment, was killed at the breastworks; also Captain Emanuel, Chief of Artillery of Herbert's Brigade, and a most promising young officer.

For about five days after the siege commenced, the troops were allowed full rations. At the expiration of that time they were gradually reduced to the following amount of food:—4 ounces of flour, 4 ounces of bacon, 1½ ounce of rice, 2 ounces of peas (the latter not eatable), and 3 ounces of sugar—making a total of 14½ ounces of food per day. From the small number of our forces it took every man to defend the lines, so that the men had no time whatever to rest. Occasionally a company would be permitted to go out to wash their clothes, taking their arms with them, and receiving strict orders at the first sound of musketry to hurry back to their position. Whole companies would lie back of the breastworks for three weeks without leaving the line for a moment.

It had been previously known that the enemy were undermining our works, particularly the fort on the immediate left of the Jackson road, and occupied by the 3rd Louisiana regiment of Hébert's brigade. At about half-past four or five on Thursday, June 25, a terrific explosion took place, caused by the blowing up of the above-mentioned fort. Luckily most of our forces occupying that line had been withdrawn to an inner line of entrenchments, erected by our forces in anticipation of the fort being blown up, so that only a few men were wounded by the explosion. As soon as the fort was destroyed, a column of the enemy advanced, as if with the intention of storming the line, but were met by the 6th Missouri, under Colonel Eugene Erwin. A desperate struggle for mastery now took place. Colonel Erwin was the first to ascend the parapet. As soon as he had mounted, a shot from the enemy's sharpshooters pierced his heart and he fell dead. He was a grandson of Henry Clay, and one of the most ardent supporters of Southern rights. The 6th Missouri enraged at his death, and aided by the 3rd Louisiana, sprang on the dismantled fort, and after a severe combat, drove the enemy from their position. Our loss on this occasion was heavy, being no less than eighty-six killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated between 300 and 400. They were severely punished in their first attempt at "blowing up" our works.

We now have to record an event of a most melancholy nature:—On the 27th of June, Brigadier-General Grenoy, of Missouri, was shot in the neck by a minie ball. He lingered for about an hour, when he died. He was an aged man, beloved by all who knew him, for his devotion to our cause, his intrepid valour, and his genial and amiable qualities. He

was a quiet and unassuming man; the meanest private in his command had free access to his presence, and he was looked upon by his men, not as a General, but a father to his brigade. Many noble sons of Missouri have fallen during this war, but none of her martyrs in our war of Independence will be spoken of in more glowing terms, or more deserved praise, than "the old man" who fell in defence of Vicksburg. His wish was gratified—he lived not to see Vicksburg fall!

During the siege many instances of daring took place. Several times our forces sallied out, taking prisoners. Among them were one Lieut.-Col. Cann, of an Illinois regiment, with a good many subaltern officers and privates. On the 22nd May, the 2nd Texas of Moore's brigade captured a stand of colours from the enemy in the following manner: The enemy charged up the hill towards our works; as soon as they had arrived about thirty yards from our line of breastworks, the colour-bearer of the regiment rushed forward and planted the United States' flag on the edge of our works. One of the men of the 2nd Texas quickly jumped out of the rifle pits, shot the colour-bearer, and taking away the flag, returned to the lines. Many other instances of individual heroism occurred during the siege too numerous to narrate. Our forces buoyed up with the hope of a speedy relief, determined never to permit the enemy to cross the line of our works. Repeated assurances were given to the men that succour would soon arrive. Couriers arriving from Johnston brought most exaggerated reports of the strength of the army under his command—many placing it as high as 80,000 effective men.

While these events were transpiring at the breastworks around the town, the enemy were not idle on the peninsula opposite. One constant stream of mortar shells was poured into the devoted city, the enemy exhibiting a refinement of cruelty in throwing their shells at the hospitals particularly, aware that the men who were now well and hearty were perfectly indifferent to the storm of shot and shell poured like hail upon them. They fired into buildings on which the yellow flag waved, killing and wounding several of the inmates. Whether General Pemberton offered any remonstrance at their doing so, has not been ascertained. If he did, no regard was paid to his complaint. The women and children remaining in town suffered severely, no less than three having been killed and twelve wounded during the siege. In spite of which, with all the heroism that characterizes our Southern women, those remaining well declared their willingness to run the risk of being killed rather than lose Vicksburg. Among the ladies wounded are Mrs. Hazzard, Mrs. C. W. Petus, Mrs. H. H. Clements, Mrs. Major T. B. Read, Miss Lucy Rawlings, and Miss Maggie Cook, the most of these ladies being well known in the State of Mississippi. The firing on the city was not marked with the same regularity and precision observed on the front of our breastworks, the mortar shells falling in every direction over the town, as if no particular object was aimed at. After the surrender of the town the Federal artillery officers stated that the mortars and Parrott guns opposite the city were manned by fresh troops, and were placed there for a double purpose—first, to annoy us in the city, and to practise themselves in that arm of the service, and gave that as their excuse for our hospitals having been struck so often. The enemy's sharpshooters were all splendid shots, and after the first few days of the siege it was a very dangerous thing for any one to look over the breastworks. So accurately did they aim, and in such numbers were they, that a hat placed on a stick and held above the fort for two minutes was pierced by fifteen minie balls.

On the 29th of June the enemy succeeded in blowing up the same portion of our line again. We lost several men of the 3rd Louisiana from the explosion. The enemy, however, made no attempt to charge the work, being apparently contented with the occupation of one portion of the ruined fort.

Tremendous cannonading continued during the remaining few days of the siege, with but little damage to the Confederates. The men were all in good spirits, and appeared satisfied to live on the meagre allowance of rations given them, rather than yield the city they had defended gallantly for so long a period. Not a murmur was heard among them—all were inspired with the greatest enthusiasm and devotion to their cause, and the word "surrender" was never broached among them. Five or six days previous to the surrender of the city "mule meat" was tried and found of good quality, the meat being equal to the finest venison, and was freely eaten by the soldiers and citizens alike.

An attempt was made by our forces to countermine the enemy, but the attempt signally failed—as from the position of the enemy's works they could not be mined.

On Friday morning, the 3rd of July, General Pemberton sent out a flag of truce, and a short time afterwards himself and Brigadier-General Bowen were seen leaving our lines. As soon as they left the works the men conjectured that the object of his going to Grant in person was to treat for a surrender of the city. There was soon considerable excitement observed among the soldiers, not one of whom favoured such a course; the excitement was partly allayed by the statement that General Pemberton had gone to Grant for the purpose of getting his consent to our removing the sick and wounded, and the women and children, from the town. After remaining at Grant's headquarters for about two hours, Generals Pemberton and Bowen returned. An armistice had been declared till 10 o'clock that night. The firing had ceased, and nothing but the voices of soldiers in angry and indignant conversation could be heard.

At half-past 6 o'clock on Friday evening a meeting of all the Generals took place at General Pemberton's headquarters, and at 10 o'clock a messenger went into the Federal lines with despatches from Pemberton.

On Saturday morning a circular from the Lieut.-General commanding announced the surrender of the city, and the terms of capitulation, as follows:—The entire force of Confederate troops were to surrender as prisoners of war, to the United States' army, under General Grant; the whole army, including the Generals, were to be immediately paroled and sent into our lines; all officers were to retain their arms; all mounted officers to have the privilege of riding out; private property to be respected, and all parties, whether citizens or not, connected in any manner with the army, were to be allowed the privilege of leaving the Federal lines on parole. All ammunition, stores, field artillery and siege guns were to be surrendered to the United States' army, as well as all small arms in our possession.

On Saturday morning, at half-past eleven o'clock, the men having stacked their arms, marched from the breastworks they had stood behind with such heroic valour for nearly two months. Soon after the Federal army commenced pouring into the town—in the space of fifteen minutes the city was crammed with them—and then began a scene of pillaging. Houses and stores were broken open, and the contents appropriated by the Federals. In justice to General Grant, I would say, that as soon as complaint was made to him, a guard was placed at all

the buildings that had been broken open. Soon after entering the city, the Stars and Stripes were hoisted up on the spire of the courthouse, amid the exultant shouts of the Federal soldiers, and the deepest feeling of humiliation on the part of the Confederates.

The Confederate army remained in the city for one week, during which time repeated fights took place in the streets between our men and the Federals—many of whom were very insulting and full of taunting remarks on the downfall of our Gibraltar.

On Saturday, the 11th of July, at about 12 o'clock, the Confederate army, having all been paroled, took up its line of march from Vicksburg, and arrived at Big Black that evening. It was a solemn and imposing departure. Tears were seen coursing the cheeks of many of our troops, and ever and anon the men would turn back to take one last look at the city they had so well and nobly defended. On Tuesday morning the troops commenced arriving at Brandon, where it is anticipated they will remain for a few days.

Thus fell the city of Vicksburg, after an obstinate and heroic defence of forty-seven days, for forty-two of which the Confederate army had subsisted on one-quarter rations. The city is now in the hands of the invaders, yet its fall adds not one single laurel to their wreath of victory. Starvation succeeded in doing what the enemy could never have done, and though the result was a reverse to the Confederate arms, when future historians shall speak of the siege of Vicksburg, the memory of the gallant men who bared their bosoms with unflinching firmness to the storm of shot and shell poured upon them will shine with a lustre of unsurpassed magnificence. All honour to them! Nobly have they sustained the Southern name, and in their fall robbed the enemy of a single claim of victory!

[Here follow some comments on the want of provisions, which the writer thinks ought to have been avoided.]

Our fortifications were pronounced by the Federal officers to be the "most miserable" they had ever seen, and it was a matter of great surprise to them that, with fifteen months' time, we had not erected works that could have defied an army of 200,000 men. The works were so badly made that the damage done to them by the enemy's fire in the day could scarcely be repaired by a large force of men working all night. Our engineers only existed in name; in fact, there was not one man among them that understood the duty. The fortifications were so poor that General M'Pherson, after riding over the line, is said to have exclaimed, "Good Heavens! are these the boasted fortifications of Vicksburg? It was the rebels alone, and not their works, that kept us out of this town."

The amount of prisoners captured at Vicksburg was about 23,000 altogether—among them were three major-generals, and nine brigadier-generals. About 90 pieces of artillery were captured, of which several are unfit for use; 40,000 stand of arms and between 35 and 40 stand of colours were taken by the enemy. The amount of ammunition surrendered is immense, there not being less than six months' supply stored away in the magazines.

The writer, who throughout his narrative betrays a strong bias against General Pemberton, concludes by criticising severely, and as it seems to us, without warrant, his military conduct and capacity. We must make every allowance for the disappointment of a soldier who was ready to die rather than surrender.

#### THE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

(From the *Mobile Register* of July 19.)

THE *Memphis Bulletin* of the 8th says,—The Mississippi river will soon be entirely opened by the triumphant capture of Port Hudson, and the resumption of our trade here is looked for as a consequence. When steamboats for New Orleans, and from it, are daily landing at our wharf, the Chamber of Commerce will again be, daily, the busiest spot in the city.

This dream of profitable trade is destined to be dashed from Yankee lips. The Memphis editor will awaken to disappointment and not to fruition. There can be no peaceful commerce on a river washing two thousand miles of hostile banks.

The time has come to combat the enemy on the great river in a new form. It has been gravely doubted by some whether the proper method of disputing the possession of the river was to seize and fortify salient points like Fort Pillow, Vicksburg, or Port Hudson.

The current of war has brought us to the test of the other mode advocated by the opponents of this system of defence. The first has been tried and through a negligence, that is without parallel and without conceivable excuse, has failed. Let us now prepare for the other system. It is to organize small guerilla parties of sharpshooters and light artillery to annoy the enemy at every point of approach to the river. The expedition should be planned on the principle of rapid mobility, to watch the passing transports, give them fire and retire upon the approach of a hostile foe. It is not humanly possible for the enemy, with all his gunboats and all his means, to guard the river at all points. No better service to the cause can be rendered than by numberless small squads of guerillas watching their opportunity and making the navigation of the "great river" a subject of constant anxiety and peril. This will soon open the eyes of the Northwest to the emptiness of the promises of Lincoln and his Generals that the fall of Vicksburg would revive their lost trade on the Mississippi river.

WE learn through a private source that Geo. B. Lawrison, Esq., a prominent citizen of New Orleans, and Secretary of the Committee of Public Safety there, has been released by order of General Banks, having been in close confinement ever since the occupation of the city by General Butler. It is supposed that Mr. Lawrison, since his liberation, which took place in the middle of July, has gone by a flag of truce back to Mobile.

An extract from the *Washington National Intelligencer* is communicated by the Foreign Office to the press for publication. It purports to be a copy of an order issued by Rear-Admiral Porter, providing for conveying trading vessels down the Mississippi. "Steamers destined for New Orleans with merchandise shipped and permitted according to law, will be conveyed all the way through to Vicksburg, from which place a sufficient force will be ready to start every Monday morning to give protection to the convoys. No vessel will be permitted to go down the river without a convoy for the present, and steamers will be obliged to lay over for a week if they do not arrive on or before the day of the week on which the convoys start. Armed vessels, however, going between times, will also give convoy, but no regularity must be expected, as they have to stop on the way. This arrangement will commence on the 10th of August next."



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at the earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20, 1863.

BRITISH JACKSON MONUMENTAL FUND.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

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Northern versus Southern Slavery.

THE *New York Tribune*, the well-known organ of Abolitionism, as well as several other "isms," commends as "highly creditable to both the head and heart of Brigadier-General Payne," the latter's report of his plan of managing slaves on estates which have come under the occupation of the Federal armies. It appears from the report of this military overseer, that while he pays the black men wages he takes care to inform them that he "would stop the pay of any lazy or disobedient servant, and would punish him besides." This last sentence throws a world of light on the Federal scheme of emancipation. It tallies perfectly with a prospectus now before us, setting forth "to capitalists" the official plan of managing plantations in Federal possession in Louisiana, to which is appended an assurance on the part of "Lieut. George H. Hanks, General Superintendent of Negro labour," that he will "use strong measures to enforce labour." General Phelps does not enter into the details of his system in Tennessee, but the more minute Lieut. Hanks supplies this deficiency from Louisiana. The negroes are "to do such a day's work as was done in former years;" they are to "obey the manager in all things;" they are to "go to work at daylight, and work until dark, taking the usual number of hours for meals;" they are "to rise at the tap of the bell, to be in their cabins at the last tap of the bell, and to remain there until the first bell in the morning;" "no one will leave the place without a written pass." All these rules are to be enforced by numerous and various penalties, the severer of which are only indicated under the vague phrase of "strong measures." Now, let the candid reader note well the features of this system of Federal "free labour," which the leading advocate of forcible emancipation commends as creditable both to the head and heart of the Federal officers. Let him point out, if he can, the superiority of the new system over the old, and let him also mark the differences between the two, for they are many and striking.

First, there is the usual work to be done,—“tasks will be given when possible,”—and the same hours of labour to be kept which writers of the Abolition school have loved to represent as cruelly exhausting

beyond description, and which an English professor of political economy has averred to lead to such a waste of human life as can only be replaced by wholesale importation from supposed "breeding States" through means of an enormous internal slave trade. Then there is the same restraint upon individual movements, the same rising and retiring at a given signal, the same prohibition "to leave the place without a written pass," the same despotic command "to obey the manager in all things," that have been complained of as the worst features of slavery; only that the discipline is evidently a harder one, for under the old system the negro might hunt 'possums and 'coons at night, or sing and dance to his heart's content. We have then all the essential conditions of slavery—arbitrary power, despotic jurisdiction, compulsory labour under pain of bodily punishment. But we look in vain for the modifying influences which alleviated the evils of the old practice. In the place of the master brought from childhood in close and cordial contact with the inferior race, bred to the habit of command from which self-control is inseparable, recognising a personal tie in the relations of his servant to himself, and at worst being influenced by the motives of an ever-present self-interest, and the pride which a man takes in all that belongs to him, even if it is only a dumb and useless animal—in the place of this master, belonging almost of necessity to an educated class and a high social sphere, we have the arbitrary manager, a stranger from a land where the negro is regarded as a leper, where he is massacred in every ebullition of popular fury, where he is not permitted to ride in the same railway carriage or omnibus as the white man, where he is not allowed even the right of residence, much less any other right. We lack also the gentle mistress, with her tender care for the moral and spiritual welfare of her subordinates tending the sick, praying to the dying, carrying comfort and brightness into the cheerless cabin. Whoever has watched the development of the Yankee character in this war, its fierce vulgarity, its brutal propensities, its mean vindictiveness, its cowardly ferocity, will tremble for the poor negro on his transfer from a Southern to a Northern master. Let us be certain that the worst does not appear in the published programmes of the "military superintendents of negro labour." And per contra, in these minute plantation regulations we look in vain for even the mention of any of those improvements, the hope of which reconciles many to the grave dangers of emancipation. There is not a word said about legalising the marriage of the negroes, or establishing schools for their instruction. "Human chattels" they still remain, though they are no longer called slaves, and the only problem which the "military superintendent" has to solve is to produce the largest possible amount of cotton or sugar at the smallest possible expense. We have all that was bad in the old system with none that was good. We have simply exchanged the family for the workhouse.

But, it will be said, the negro works for wages. Here again we shall find that the boon proffered by the North is a Sodom's apple, which turns to ashes when raised to the lips. In Tennessee, under General Phelps's management, the wages of the men are \$8 per month, and of the women \$5. Out of this the labourers must support themselves. In Louisiana, it is only "\$1 per month for women and boys; \$2 for field hands, and \$3 for mechanics;" but then each family is allowed half an acre for a garden, which, as each labourer is compelled to "go to work at daylight and work until dark" they can have little spare time for cultivating. The plantation slave has almost always a patch of ground, and poor indeed must he be and hard his master, if his "crop," or the eggs and poultry of which the master's family is most generally the liberal purchaser, does not produce him more than the Yankee offers him for his labour from "daylight until dark." But it is not necessary to enter into an elaborate calculation to prove that this wage in money is not equal to the wage which, as a slave, he received in kind. The \$8 in Tennessee do not more than suffice to buy his food and clothing, supposing, from the

absence of anything being said, the tenement to be free; and in Louisiana, where rations are furnished, the \$2 do not more than suffice for the clothing, the tobacco, and the other small luxuries which he enjoyed as a slave. Yet this miserable pittance is still further reduced by a scale of fines for petty offences, which seem devised for the purpose of eating up the wage. "Each hand will be responsible for loss and damage to stock, tools, or other property." "Lost time will be deducted. Lazy work will cause a deduction of wages." Getting out or turning in a few minutes after the tap of the bell, is punishable with a fine of one-twentieth of a man's monthly wage; striking a mule over the head with one-fourth. But, independently of all these drawbacks, supposing the negro to get the full amount, of whom, in a country so sparsely peopled, shall he buy his pennyworth of this and his shilling's worth of that? Evidently, from the necessities of the case, a shop must be opened on each estate. We are not left to surmise at the working of this plan. It has failed in the mining districts of this country, where the labourers were white men. It is now in full operation on the haciendas of Mexico, where the *peon*, or Indian serf, belongs to a race which in bygone times had reached the highest indigenous civilization on the American continent. The *peon* is sober, industrious, and docile, but from one end of the year to the other he never sees the face of a coin. The hacienda shop supplies, indeed, his most immediate wants, but his wage is ever necessarily and hopelessly absorbed and consumed in advance. So it would be with the negro, in an aggravated degree, if it were possible to conceive anything more utterly miserable than the condition of the *peon*. He would receive his wages as before when he was a slave, in kind, only more scantily and stintedly. Only nominally a freeman, without any of the privileges or the hopes of that condition, he would have all its anxieties and the heartburns. His children would become a burden. Disease, physical infirmity, old age, would visit him with all the terrors of despair. He would not, indeed, be sold by auction, but the amount of "black labour" that in him is would be transferred for a consideration from one estate to another, and from one purchaser to another, as caprice or convenience might dictate. Without in the slightest degree having acquired the control of his person, he would have lost the protection of the master in whose household he was born, to be the slave of every brutal white man, who might choose to kick, to buffet, to wrong, or to insult him.

Such is, fairly sketched, the emancipation which the North holds out to the world as the virtuous object of all its outlays of blood and treasure, and which it would persuade us is cheaply bought at the cost of the extermination of a whole people of our own race. Only an arrant hypocrite can recognise in the sketch aught else but slavery without the offensive name. This is the millenium of freedom promised to credulous Europe when the greedy, canting worshippers of the Almighty Dollar shall have overrun the fair lands of the South, divided the spoils, colonised the country, and when New England shoemakers and New York bar-keepers shall make the laws of Virginia and South Carolina. One advantage the change of name of the negroes would indeed have. It would open to Yankee cupidity the inexhaustible slave-market of Africa, wherewith to supply *ad infinitum* the waste of negro life which the new colonist is coining into money. Why not? If Europe is content to accept slavery under a new name, why not the slave-trade? But if some doubts should arise and make themselves heard with undue loudness, would not the universal Yankee nation then have cotton as well as cannon wherewith to silence such insolent objections?

In all truth and soberness, the negro's only hope on the new continent lies in the success of the South. Were we to judge only by the attested character of each of the two nations which are now warring, one for independence, the other for empire, we should not hesitate to which rather to intrust the destinies of four millions of helpless dependants. We should see in the Southerner's respect for law, in his love of



truth, his patience under misfortune, his moderation in prosperity, his enduring valour, his unwavering resistance to the temptation of retaliating the inhumanity of a barbarous foe, so many guarantees for the improvement of the negro's condition, which the most partial eye must fail to discover in either the language or the acts of the North. Hitherto the South has had little time for self-contemplation. In the Union, these thirty years past, it has maintained a desperate struggle for political equality. Out of the Union it is still struggling for national life. In both of these struggles, its adversary has selected slavery as the point of attack, because by so doing he was sure of enlisting the world's sympathies on his side. It was not the faults or abuses of the existing relation between the black and the white man that was assailed, but the relation itself. Men do not experiment upon new inventions of arms in the heat of battle; they do not alter the internal arrangement of a house whilst it is assailed by burglars from without. Similarly, legislators do not attempt experiments upon a social system at the time when that system itself requires every energy in its external defence. The South, therefore, absorbed in defending existence, and stung to fury by the persistent calumnies of its malignant defamers, has legislated but little on the subject of slavery, content to leave public opinion and the moral sense of a Christian community to supply the theoretical deficiencies the law had left. While the contest lasts it is idle to expect from the South any changes in its social fabric. When the vital object is secured, and it takes its place among the nations of the earth, it will doubtless treat its social problem as other nations have treated theirs, yielding to the same heaven-implanted aspiration at self-development and improvement which is the law of every civilized human society, and bringing to bear upon the subject the same wisdom, the same desire to consult and obey God's commands, which animates other Christian nations. Why should not the South be trusted to deal as justly and as humanely with its slaves, as other nations with their serfs, their poor, their criminals, or any other class needing protection or restraint?

### The Progress of the War.

THAT veneration for State rights, that loyalty to State authority which has at all times in American history clashed with the allegiance claimed by the Federal power, is at once the strength and weakness of the Southern Confederacy. Nothing has more strengthened the sense of injury, or more confirmed the resolve of resistance amongst Southerners, than the lawless violation of State rights by Mr. Lincoln's Government. And even in the North the time seems rapidly approaching when the total disregard by the Washington Cabinet of the feelings and rights of individual States will become intolerable and provoke a collision. But on the other hand, this limitation of the sentiment of nationality as it were to the frontiers of the State has its disadvantages, and the South is now experiencing them. There can be no doubt that up to the commencement of this terrible struggle, attachment to the State was the first duty and the first inclination of every Southern citizen; and it is surprising to notice how soon in the face of a common danger, and in support of a community of interest, it has been supplanted by a patriotic devotion to the Confederacy. But it would be unnatural to expect that the old feeling should altogether die out, and that a couple of years should bring about a unity of sentiment and object, such as one finds in adjoining English counties or French departments. There are regiments from every Confederate State in Lee's army of Virginia. The victories, the hardships, the traditions of three or four campaigns, have welded them into a homogeneous body, with probably as few dividing interests as any army in the world. But it is different where armies have been raised for local purposes, and where the defence of a district or a State has been mainly confided to its inhabitants. The Tennessean will fight bravely for his own soil. There, where his ancestors have died and are buried, where his children have

been reared, where are all his associations of the past and all his hopes of the future, he will struggle on to the last. But when foot by foot the Confederate army is forced back by overwhelming numbers, and something like a settled occupation of his chief cities by the Federal army takes place, it is difficult to convince him that his first duty is to defend the frontiers of the neighbouring State, and that his allegiance is, as it were, transferred. He has not the same interest, nor the same feeling to inspire him. His heart is still in his old home. Is it wonderful that he will brave all sorts of dangers to remain within the confines of his own State, and take his chance of there striking a blow at the invader, as bushwhacker or guerilla? No doubt he is wrong. His first duty is to the Confederate Government. His services in irregular fighting are comparatively worthless. But we can respect his motives while we blame his action. It is in no craven fear, no spirit of submission that he has quitted the Confederate ranks and preferred to throw in his lot with his beloved Tennessee. But the period has arrived when a common emergency forbids the indulgence of a mere sentiment, and when every citizen must be made to feel his responsibilities to the central Government. The strong appeal of President Davis will, we doubt not, bring back some thousands of veteran soldiers to the Confederate ranks. It was, of course, impossible that in an army so hastily levied and organized as that of the South, there should have been throughout the discipline incidental to the regular troops of the standing armies of Europe. The volunteer principle, still to some extent prevalent in its formation, is necessarily liable to produce an assertion of individual will, more or less fatal to perfect subordination. In most of the great engagements in the South-West, at the battle of Shiloh particularly, this inherent defect of the volunteer system has been conspicuous; and we cannot be far wrong in tracing to it some of the results against which President Davis's recent proclamation is framed. We have no fear but that his spirited appeal will be worthily met, and that for the time everything will be forgotten in the one resolve to beat back the armies of the invader.

In the meantime, it is evident that the resources of the North are fast drying up. Apart from the mere wear and tear of the armies in the field, the losses of the Federals in their several campaigns of this year are almost unprecedented. Take the army of the enemy in Virginia alone; Burnside's, Hooker's, Milroy's, and Meade's losses cannot be computed at less than 100,000 men; and to these must be added the withdrawal of the two years' service men. General Grant's operations against Vicksburg, and Banks's movements in Louisiana, have cost at least another 70,000 men killed in battle and dead by wounds and disease. How are these men to be replaced but by the draft? and if that is to be carried out only at the cost of civil war in the North, whence are the Northern armies to spring who in 1864 will overrun Virginia and South Carolina, and Georgia and Alabama and Texas, conquer, and hold them? We learn from Northern sources to what sort of stuff the recruiting officer is already reduced. In Massachusetts it is estimated that only one out of five of the drafted men is fit for service, and that a fresh draft will be necessary. In Ohio and Iowa armed resistance is organized to the draft. Wherever the military officer presents himself, it is at the head of an imposing military force, and at New York the conscription is enforced by cannon sweeping every principal thoroughfare. Yet with all this lack of *chair-à-canon*, the North needs at this present moment armies as strong as ever, if not stronger. It has greater distances to traverse, greater resistance to overcome, greater battles to fight. The present necessities of the Lincoln Cabinet show how powerless it is to meet adequately the present strain upon its resources. What will be its position, when another and another draft shall have proclaimed the absurd extravagance of its pretensions, and the utter futility of its hope of re-conquest?

Even the latest news is not without its further

proof of the terrible cost at which alone the North is able to hold the ground it has occupied and to undertake fresh offensive operations. It is nearly two months since General Banks left Western Louisiana in the possession of Federal troops. Large garrisons held the principal towns, and its plantations were worked by negroes under Federal supervision. With the withdrawal of Banks's army to the left bank of the Mississippi, the Confederates swept down upon the isolated garrisons, captured some 3,000 or 4,000 troops, some millions' worth of stores, and a valuable artillery, retiring in safety as Banks, with his wearied army, advanced to recover the territory he had won by so much hard fighting. It is reported, too, that the Confederates under General Taylor have turned to bay, that an engagement has taken place, and that Banks has been defeated with the loss of 6,000 prisoners. If this report be confirmed, it is of the utmost importance. For it will tend to paralyse the operations of the Federals in the districts of the Lower Mississippi for some time to come. The Confederates under Taylor, Magruder, and Kirby Smith can hardly be less than 40,000 men. They may have collected their corps, given battle to Banks, and defeated him. If this be the case, Banks must be at once reinforced, and it is only Grant who can aid him. But Grant's army has enough to do already. It has to garrison Vicksburg and the banks of the Mississippi, to threaten Mobile, to reinforce Gilmore at Charleston, and to lend 15,000 men to Meade. It has, besides, been weakened by some 15,000 two years' service-men, who went north after the fall of Vicksburg. There is evidently plenty of work cut out for the Federal armies in the south-west. At Charleston, General Gilmore's first plan has proved a failure. Fort Wagner still holds out; and the Federal General, tired of fighting at close quarters and engaging earthworks, is about to try a game of long ranges and fight an artillery duel with Fort Sumter at the distance of a mile. The siege of Charleston promises at this rate to be a very tedious and costly process. If the same sort of thing is to go on for the next three months at Mobile and Savannah, Mr. Lincoln is wise in enforcing the draft at any hazard, for he will want every man he can lay hold of. In Virginia the two armies have fallen back into very nearly their old positions on the Rappahannock, and Lee is once more on the defensive, in a country whose natural strength will at least counterbalance Meade's numerical superiority. A cavalry action has taken place in which the Federals were very roughly handled. Beyond that all is reported quiet. Both armies require rest. The Federal army is certainly in no condition to make a general attack with any hope of success. The probability is that there will be a period of inaction, during which both sides will be busily occupied in refilling their ranks. But Lee has carried away from Pennsylvania stores and subsistence for his army for the next six months, and he can very well afford to wait. Whether the impatient clamour of the Northern press will not force General Meade into precipitate action, and insist on a repetition of the fight of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, we have yet to see.

### Negro Soldiers.

MR. LINCOLN'S Proclamation of so-called retaliation opens a new chapter of horrors in the sickening tragedy of the American war. Henceforth even the pretence of carrying on a civilized warfare is to be laid aside. Prisoners of war are to be treated as felons and held to hard labour until impossible conditions are complied with. The gallows is to complete the work of butchery which the battle-field has left unfinished. There is no doubt that the vulgar despot who disgraces the chair of Washington will execute the threat to the full. A commander-in-chief whose approved lieutenants are such men as Butler, McNeill, and Milroy, is not likely to be deterred from any course by the ordinary considerations of humanity or justice. Nor is it an unaccustomed path which the Federal Government is about to tread. The murder of Mumford, of the ten prisoners



at Palmyra, and of unarmed citizens elsewhere, at their own thresholds and in presence of their families, have already quite familiarized the Northerners with killing in cold blood those whom the chance of war has thrown into their merciless hands. The incarceration of the gallant General Morgan and his staff in convicts' cells—a repetition of the treatment of captured privateersmen at an earlier period of the war—had already shown the world what Federal America was meditating to do whenever it thought itself strong enough to ensure impunity. The Proclamation of the 30th July contains, therefore, nothing absolutely new; it only systematizes on a larger scale the atrocities which have glutted the fiendish thirst for revenge from the first.

If there is anything more revolting than the barbarity of this proclamation, it is its hypocrisy. "It is the duty," so it runs, "of every Government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, colour, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service." Now, examining the question solely from a Northern point of view, there is not a single State in Federal America where the negro is held in law to be a citizen. In some States, among them the President's own State of Illinois, he is not even allowed the right of residence, which is refused to none other, of whatever race, colour, or country. In the metropolitan city of New York, after being hunted like a wild beast, beaten to death, hanged, drowned, or burned, he has just been again excluded from the use of the public conveyances. The Federal Constitution does not protect him against the cruel injustice of the several States, for that Constitution, as construed by the highest tribunal in the land, does not recognise him as a citizen. Mr. Lincoln cannot legally give him even a passport to travel abroad; he cannot obtain for him the permission to sojourn a single day in Illinois; he cannot in any part of the North make him socially, or in the eyes of the law, the equal of the white man; but he affects to consider him more than the equal of the Confederate soldier, his former master, and to protect him in that equality. Not only is every slave impressed in the Federal ranks to be deemed a full equivalent in exchange for a Confederate prisoner, but in every case where that exchange is refused a Confederate prisoner is to suffer the doom of a convicted felon. The most implicit believer in Abolition fictions would scarcely venture to aver this to be retaliation, and to compare the lot of a negro slave, under the harshest of masters, with hard labour in a penitentiary or a chain gang.

But let us, for the sake of argument, in the face of the United States' Constitution, in the face of the decisions of Federal and State tribunals, in the face of the municipal legislation of the several Northern States themselves, admit that the slave emancipated by Mr. Lincoln's "military measure" is a citizen. Assuredly, as such, his allegiance would be due to the belligerent State against which he has been induced to take up arms. Even the obtuse intellect of Mr. Lincoln foresaw this difficulty, and long since prepared to meet it. With habitual disregard of the plainest provisions of the Constitution which he was sworn to uphold, and which provides that all regulations for the government of the army should be submitted to and approved by Congress, he employed, through his Secretary of War, a Dr. Lieber, a German professor, to frame certain supplementary rules and regulations, which by the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Stanton now supersede the law. Foremost in this newly invented code of war is the monstrous declaration, that "*the uniform protects the soldier, of whatever class, colour, condition, or former political relations.*" The more rational of the Northern papers at once raised the voice of warning, and foretold the evils that must inevitably flow from such an unprecedented interpolation into the accepted laws of warfare. They reminded the Northern public that in the war with Mexico General Scott hanged fifty men in a batch, fighting in the Mexican uniform, because they had deserted from his army. The uniform then did not protect them against "their former political rela-

tions," and no sane man could contend that it should. Both Federals and Confederates have shot deserters in the enemy's uniform—the former vastly more often than the latter—during the present war. In those cases, the uniform was regarded as an aggravation of the offence. There was good sense enough left in New York to ask publicly the question: "If a British invading army, in 1812, had landed in South Carolina, and had uniformed and disciplined the slaves, does any man imagine that this (the United States') Government would have considered the act within the limits of Christian warfare, or would have listened to the assertion of a right on the part of England to dictate our course as regarded them?" In the war with the colonies a partial attempt at arming the slaves was indeed made, but it was denounced with equal indignation in both countries, and the British Government recognised its error by making restitution and compensation at the conclusion of peace. As early as June last, the *New York World* thus clearly placed the subject before the public:—

Slaves must be regarded either as property or persons. As property, they are as sacred as other property; as persons, they are non-combatants. There is no middle-ground. But our authorities conscript them. Grant that the right to do so is perfect; what are the rights of the other belligerent? It must be remembered that the United States and "the so-called Confederate States" are belligerents, and that the laws of war govern their present relations. It is treason here, punishable with death, for a man to give aid or comfort to the enemy. Can it be less treason for a man there to give aid and comfort to their enemies? Can we maintain our position before the civilized world on this question? If Napoleon had employed Russian serfs as his soldiers, could he have claimed immunity for them, from the laws of Russia, if they had been taken prisoners? We suspect not. *The public mind had better examine this subject carefully, and reflect wisely before coming to a conclusion, for the freeing of slaves, and enrolling them as our soldiers, must inevitably, at a very early date, bring about a character of warfare unknown since the Wars of the Roses.* The Confederate States could just as easily give up the claim of right to independence as the right of punishing alleged subjects for treason. The men who lead there, and the men who are led, unite cordially on this point. A scene of blood will soon be opened, and Europe will interfere forcibly, in the name of humanity. *The side in fault will be constrained. Let us be sure to be right on this point, and, in order to be right, let us discuss it.* The policy seems to have been adopted without examination, and by the military chiefs, in separate departments, and is to be examined under two aspects—our right, and the right of the other belligerent. It may be that we have no right to free the slave, or, if we have that right, no other. If we have a right to make a soldier of him, what are the rights of the enemy as against that soldier? We have a right to make a soldier of a deserter; the enemy has the counter right to hang him. Is this theory applicable to enlisted slaves? We own to a hope that the laws of civilized war prohibit the employment of the slaves of the other belligerent as our soldiers, for we can conceive of no measure so likely to prolong the war, to make the alienation permanent and the hate bitter, and, we regret to add, none which would so fully justify continued struggle, complete alienation, and life-long hate.

With even greater force spoke the unanimous English press, excepting, of course, the few organs of the Federal Government. The *Morning Post*, of the 22nd of June, observed truly:—

We doubt much whether quondam slaves would be entitled to demand the treatment of prisoners of war. Strictly, they might be considered bound by virtue of their servile status to espouse their masters' cause, and liable to be treated as deserters for aiding the opponents of those to whom they owe obedience. The North has not concealed its desire to excite a servile insurrection in the South, and the latter would be justified in taking any steps to prevent the consummation of so terrible a crime. To accord to a revolted slave the privileges of a prisoner of war would be *pro tanto* to weaken the inducements he has to remain loyal, as well as to diminish the penalties incident to ill-success. Humanity and strict law in this matter point in different directions, and we make these remarks in order to prevent any misapprehension being entertained in respect to the relative positions of the Confederates and such of the negro population as the Federals can induce to revolt. During a civil war which has now lasted more than two years, not one charge of inhumanity has been brought against any of the Southern generals. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of those of the North. If, therefore, in their contests with negro troops it should turn out that the Confederates have acted with unusual ferocity or severity, the peculiarly trying position in which they are placed should not be lost sight of.

The civilized world will soon have to judge in this matter. It has quietly permitted the Federals to make a maritime law of their own to the prejudice

of the Confederates; it will, perhaps, if Earl Russell is left to "construe the obligations of neutrality liberally in favour" of the stronger party, permit them a similar latitude in their warfare on land. But the Government which shall do this, and tacitly connive at such scenes as the North is now inaugurating, will have confessed that our boasted progress is but a hollow mockery, and share the infamy that must for ever cling to Federal America as the perpetrator of the most stupendous crime in modern history. Let no false issue becloud the position which the South holds in this sad emergency. The Confederate States are recognised by the principal Governments of Europe as a belligerent power. As such it has the right, and it is its duty to punish treason on the part of its citizens and subjects. The slave, by laws which antedate the formation of the Confederacy, and which are expressly sanctioned and supported by the Constitution in whose name the North professes to fight, is doubly a subject, to his master individually, and to the State at large. In the Federal uniform he is a criminal against both. It is absurd to suppose that the Confederate authorities can regard him in that case as a prisoner of war. For only one-half of his double offence—that committed against the State—the punishment awarded in the case of a white man would be death. It is the more humane policy of the Confederate Government to consider him as irresponsible for his acts, as the unwilling or unconscious tool of those who employ him, and therefore to restore him on capture to his former condition without punishment. It is different with white men who officer these slaves. They cannot be deemed irresponsible for their deliberate acts, nor ignorant of the law which on more than one occasion has been enforced with the aid of the very Government which they serve—the law which in every slaveholding State of the late American Union dooms the white man who shall head rebellious slaves to an ignominious death. That law is written on the Statute-books of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, States more or less in the possession of the Federal Government, and would unquestionably be enforced in each of them to-day. It is neither more severe nor more lenient in the Statute-books of Alabama and Virginia, and the other States of the new federation. White commanders of slaves organized to commit hostilities within the limits of any of these States will be regularly indicted before the competent tribunals for violation of this law, fairly tried, and if found guilty will not be entitled to the same leniency as their misguided victims. The South makes no new laws and resorts to no extraordinary measures; but it cannot be expected to stay the execution of the laws it has already, because an enemy deliberately organizes for their systematic violation on an unprecedented scale. Those who planned this diabolical scheme knew full well that the South had no alternative, but they counted upon the world's antipathy to slavery for escaping too strict an investigation of the facts, and for throwing the odium upon the object of their hatred. Up to this moment the South has erred on the side of mercy; it has not in a single instance taken a life in retaliation, in cold blood; it has even sought pretences for staying the hand of justice when already uplifted; it had just instructed the second-highest officer of its Government to make another endeavour to conduct the war according to civilized usages, and been repulsed with indignity. The execution of this last threat makes retaliation a necessity. With that characteristic incapacity for appreciating a noble or generous motive, the North has mistaken humane hesitation for cowardice, and has thus been tempted to this fatal step. Upon its head, then, be the blood of unarmed men which will now begin to flow as fast as heretofore on the battle-field.

**MOBILE.**—It has been officially announced that the following gentlemen constitute the Committee of Safety for the City of Mobile:—Messrs. Wm. D. Dunn, Dr. J. C. Nott, H. S. Smith, sen., D. W. Goodman, J. A. M. Battle, L. M. Wilson, Price Williams, Garland Goode, W. A. Smith, John T. Taylor, Dr. Geo. A. Ketchum, Percy Walker, Peter Hamilton, H. G. Humphries, C. F. Gage, Chas. Walsh, Dr. J. H. Woodcock, John Forsyth, R. L. Watkins, Daniel Wheeler, Jesse Carter, Hugh Monroe, John Reid, jun., C. K. Foote, A. M. Quigley.



## THE BIOGRAPHY OF A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.\*

ALTHOUGH the circumstances are altogether different, this life of a Southern soldier from the pen of a Southern clergyman recalls to mind at every page the biographies of Henry Havelock and Hedley Vicars. As we read this affectionate tribute to the memory of a brave patriot and a devoted servant of the Cross, we feel that, besides a common descent, a common language, and a common literature, we are bound by still closer ties to the people of the Confederate States. The Southerners are not only our kinsmen, but they are actuated by a like spirit, and a change of climate has not wrought a change of character. We notice this particularly in their deep-rooted, unaffected, practical piety. The men glibly consigned to everlasting perdition by Mr. Newman Hall and the political faction he worthily represents, are intent upon doing their Master's work with all their strength and at any sacrifice. The veil that concealed them from the rest of the world is now rent, and henceforth no matter how New England slanders and curses, the Christian zeal of the South will be praised in all the Churches.

The subject of this memoir, Dabney Carr Harrison, was born in Virginia in 1830. His parents, the Rev. Peyton Harrison and Jane Cary Carr, were nearly allied to the cause of freedom, being the immediate descendants of two signers of the Declaration of American Independence, and one of them was the author of that celebrated instrument. When their sons in 1861 took up arms they did so because the South was invested "with the great privilege of defending the principles of 1776." Dabney had several brothers, and with them received a liberal education. He was under private tuition until fifteen years of age, when he entered at Princeton College. From that institution he went to the University of Virginia, and there qualified himself for the bar. He then settled at Martinsburg and commenced practice. It is worthy of notice that the Rev. Peyton Harrison had been anxious that one or more of his sons should become ministers of the Gospel; but with admirable good sense and a proper appreciation of his Christian duty, he left them free to elect their own careers. Great would be the gain to the Church of England if parents in this country would pursue the same wise and righteous course.

The highest hopes were entertained of the young lawyer's advancement. Dr. Hoge tells us, "He was well fitted for his profession both by nature and education. His memory was quick, tenacious, and prompt; so that his acquisitions were rapidly made, firmly held, and always at command. His understanding was comprehensive and solid; while his imagination, without being vivid, was graceful and chaste. His perception was keen, his judgment cool, his language clear. He had singular facility in explanation. No one could impart information more pleasantly. He charmed you on towards knowing what he knew, without once making you blush because you did not know it before. His historical and political knowledge was copious and accurate. Having an intrepid intellect he was fond of discussion. Incapable of artifice himself, he was yet not easily entrapped by an opponent." To one so endowed the highest judicial prizes were attainable, and in the United States even more than in England forensic ability was the stepping-stone to political eminence. But Dabney determined to give himself up to the work of the ministry, and to follow the example of his father, who had been a lawyer before he was a clergyman. It was not that the young man lacked ambition, or that he deemed it inconsistent with a religious profession to seek for reputation and influential position. Nor must it be supposed that he acted upon a sudden impulse. From his youth upwards he had been noted for his piety, and in becoming a clergyman he only sought a larger sphere of Christian usefulness. He did not immediately enter upon the ministerial office, but again was a student, first under the guidance of his father and then at Union Seminary. At the end of his first year's residence the Principal of the Seminary died, and from his devotion to Oriental literature and his excellent knowledge of Hebrew Mr. Harrison was chosen to partially supply the vacant place. For two years he continued in this employment, at the same time preaching at the College Church of Hampden, Sydney, and afterwards at the First Presbyterian Church in Lynchburg. He was next chosen for the regular term of two years as chaplain to the University of Virginia, and that six hundred students should be confided to the pastoral care of a young man at the age of twenty-seven is a signal proof of the estimation in which his ability and zeal were held. The Rev. D. McGuffey, Professor of Moral Philosophy, has borne eloquent testimony to his merits as a preacher. He says,—"It was my privilege to

hear the Rev. D. C. Harrison preach almost every Sabbath during two Sessions of the University of Virginia, of nine months each, and I can truly say that I never heard him deliver an indifferent, nor even an ordinary sermon in all that time. . . . In short, I have heard few men whose preaching approached so near to scriptural models, and never have I known any man of higher qualifications for the successful and acceptable discharge of the specific duties of a pastor." As to his personal character and influence another Professor testifies,—"I knew him intimately. Our conversation was as unguarded as brothers; and every sentiment I ever heard him utter was worthy of a gentleman and a Christian. I never knew him to neglect a duty, or to postpone one. He was always faithful to his country, and faithful to his God."

Upon leaving the University, he accepted the pastorate of the Bethlehem Church in Hanover. The main inducement to undertake this charge was the opportunity it afforded of ministering to the negroes. The absorbing interest he felt in the welfare of the coloured race is usual with the Southern clergy, and hence it is, under God's blessing, that so many of the negroes in the Confederate States have become members of the Church of Christ. Dr. Hoge gives expression to this sentiment of sympathy with the negro in the following passage:—

Who that has ever preached to them, especially when gathered in large crowds, has not found his work full of gladness? Their beaming delight in listening to the Gospel warmly presented; their devotion to the person and name of Jesus; their perpetual pleasure in the recital of His miracles, love, sufferings, and gracious offices; the almost electric response from the whole congregation when their fancy is pleased, or some deeper chord in their experience is struck; the fervour, simplicity, and originality of their prayers, often charming the ear by their touching cadences, and melting the heart by their affectionate pathos; the wild modulations and glorious choral swell of their songs; their hearty greetings of him who has warmed them afresh with the love of Christ, as he comes down from the pulpit and offers his hand—it would be a cold nature, indeed, which, amidst such scenes, would not glow with new life, and love, and joy in the Gospel of our Lord!

Mr. Harrison had special services for the negroes. One entire Sabbath each month and half of the others were exclusively theirs, "but they could freely participate in the morning services also, more especially designed for their masters." In the South the negro is not treated as a leper or kept from the house of prayer on account of his colour.

These peaceful labours were soon to be interrupted. The North was bent upon crushing the independence of the South, and the Abolitionists, in furtherance of their scheme, were ready to stir up a servile war, and to change the Christian negro into a savage. At the commencement of hostilities Mr. Harrison was sorely afflicted:—

On the 18th of July, in the battle of Bull Run, he saw the heart's blood of his gentle cousin, Major Carter H. Harrison, drawn by Northern bullets on Virginia soil, and heard the cry of a broken-hearted young widow and her orphaned babes go up to God. In three days more, at Manassas, he saw his native soil wet again by the blood of the only nephews of his mother, the only sons of their mother, Holmes and Tucker Conrad, and by the blood of his own pure and beautiful brother, Lieutenant Peyton Randolph Harrison. These four young men were all faithful servants of God. Their lives were lovely and useful. In His fear they fought. They were sustained by His grace when they fell. The Conrads were shot at the same moment, and falling side by side, lay, as in the sleep of childhood, almost in each other's arms. The younger of them was a student of theology, and was nearly ready with glowing heart to enter on the higher service of his Lord, in the ministry of the Gospel.

He felt these bereavements keenly, and writes to a friend, "My tears lie almost as shallow now as when I was a child." He resolved to take his brother's place. Was he not to aid his country in her hour of trial? Was he not bound to offer up his life for the sake of liberty, order, and civilization? Was he to look on while the battle was being fought for the safety and honour of his countrywomen, for the inviolability of Southern homes, and for saving the negroes whom he tenderly loved from utter ruin? He did not hesitate, but raised a company and entered the military service. A few extracts from a letter written by the Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., the brother of our author, and chaplain to the Camp of Instruction near Richmond, will show that in becoming a soldier he did not cease to labour as a minister of the Gospel. Dr. M. D. Hoge writes:—

In addition to daily visits to the sick in the hospital, I had three appointments each week for preaching in the camp; and whenever I was prevented by any cause from meeting these engagements, he was always ready to take my place; and I had the most abundant evidence of the efficiency of his labours, and of the gratitude of the men for his efforts to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare.

His gentleness and sympathy, his facility in adapting his instructions to the characters and capacities of the sick, and the unction that gave such a charm to his prayers, always rendered him a welcome visitor to the hospital, and made him the instrument both of profit and consolation.

During the summer several thousand troops were sometimes stationed at once in our camp, and Captain Harrison was, of course, brought into contact with a large number of officers. Over these he exercised the most happy influence.

While no man was more inflexible in his adherence to his convictions of duty, or more prompt to rebuke whatever he believed to be wrong in principle or in conduct, yet his manner

was so conciliating; such was the candour and kindness of his disposition; such his scrupulous respect for the rights, and regard for the feeling for others, that he rarely gave offence, even when he attempted to repress what he deemed culpable. The very presence of one so frank and fearless in his bearing, so delicate and refined in his tastes, so pure and elevated in his principles, was ordinarily sufficient to check any exhibitions of profanity or vulgarity. And, withal, he was so genial in his nature, so entertaining in his conversation, and obliging in his disposition, that his presence was never regarded as imposing an irksome restraint, even in a company of the irreligious.

One of the most interesting incidents connected with Captain Harrison's sojourn in our camp, was his success in forming a "Young Men's Christian Association," in the regiment to which his company was attached. The organization was as complete and thorough as that of any similar association in town or city. It had the usual number of officers and committees for conducting prayer-meetings, distributing religious publications, and providing teachers for the Sabbath school and Bible classes. No one, unfamiliar with camp life, can fully appreciate the value of such an association in counteracting the demoralization so common among men exposed to such temptations as soldiers are, and deprived too, of those domestic, social, and religious influences, which, like guardian angels, hovered around them in their own homes. A chaplain, whether at a post or in a regiment, can have no ally comparable to a well-organized and efficiently-managed Christian Association among the men to whom he ministers. It is not only an instrument of incalculable good to the irreligious, but one of the best means of keeping alive the spirituality, and of developing the Christian graces of the pious officers and men who become enlisted in its work as active members.

If others have shown

— "how awful goodness is!" —

it was Dabney Harrison's happy province to show how amiable and attractive it may appear, when thus illustrated in the life of a Christian gentleman and soldier. While he remained in our camp, he moved about as one whose superiority was tacitly acknowledged without exciting ill-will or envy; and when he left us, he was regretted as one whose place was not to be filled again. Since the commencement of this war, my position has brought me in contact with many of the officers in our army, but I have known few equal, and none superior, to my lamented friend, in the possession of those gifts and graces which impart true nobility to the man, and attractive loveliness to the Christian.

To those who desire to learn how heroic he was in battle, how indefatigable in the discharge of his military duties, how cheerful under privations, how greatly he was beloved by his men, with what intense solicitude he sought to prepare them for death and eternity, and how it pleased God to abundantly bless his labours, we commend Dr. Hoge's touching narrative, and we will conclude this notice of an excellent but too brief biography by a few words about the death of the Christian soldier.

On the 10th February, 1862, Captain Harrison wrote a long letter from the camp before Fort Donelson, which he thus closes:—

Oh, how all these adventures, with their perils and deliverances, their privations and blessings, do drive us to our God! I want no other strength than the Lord Jehovah; no other Redeemer than our blessed Saviour; no other Comforter than His Holy Spirit. I believe that when we do our duty, the Lord will fight for us. I feel a constant, bright, and cheery trust in Him. I think of my precious wife and little ones, and long for their society and caresses, but I am satisfied that it is right that I should be here, and I await the development of His will. \* \* \* I think His mercy in making us His children in spite of all our ill-desert, ought to make us willing meekly to bear all that He chooses to lay upon us.

This letter was accompanied by two playful notes to be read to his little daughter and son. From the 10th to the 15th he was engaged in skirmishes with the enemy, and on the last-named day he was mortally wounded in the midst of a hard-fought battle:—

With reverence (says our author) I have taken in my hand the hat he wore in the battle; with tears and a swelling heart I have gazed on it. It is pierced by four balls. Three whistled through and did him no harm. The fourth, partly spent, marred that beautiful brow. But this was as nothing. He calmly fought on. A more deadly aim drove a ball through his right lung. Just when, cannot be told. His face was to the foe, and his step onward, even when, from loss of blood and exhaustion, he sank upon the frozen earth.

There, with his head resting on a log, he lay unattended for an hour and a half, suffering from his wounds, but more from the chill air and his bed of snow. When at length his men were ordered to cease their fire, they hastened to his side. They found him almost numb with the cold. Yet he met them pleasantly, and told them not to mind him; that he must die whatever was done, and that he would rather they would take care of themselves. "We could not have left him then," said one of his faithful men with a burst of honest enthusiasm, "if all the regiments of the enemy had been after us!" They made a litter, and six of them bore him to Dover, a little village hard by the battle field.

On Sunday, the 16th, he wrote as follows in a manuscript book:—

"February 16, 1862.—Sunday.

"I die content and happy; trusting in the merits of my Saviour Jesus; committing my wife and children to their Father and mine.

"DABNEY CARR HARRISON."

After this he slept for a few minutes. "Starting out of his sleep, he sat once more erect, and exclaimed, 'Company K, you have no captain now; but never give up! never surrender,' and then he died in the arms of his attendant." How precious in all time to come will be the Independence bought with the blood of such men as Dabney Carr Harrison, and happily he was but one of a multitude of Christian soldiers in the armies of the Confederate States.

\* Sketch of Dabney Carr Harrison, Minister of the Gospel, and Captain in the Army of the Confederate States of America. By W. J. Hoge, D.D. London: James Nisbet and Co.



## LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, July 18.

THE army of General Lee has been withdrawn to the Virginia side of the Potomac, and is now massed at Martinsburg. We are, of course, utterly ignorant of the reasons which directed this movement, but we know that it was most successfully accomplished. The Northern papers complain that Meade did not intercept our retreat, and admit that Lee has out-generalled all his adversaries. Fifteen hundred of the rear-guard of his army were reported cut off and made prisoners at Williamsport, but the main body made the recrossing in perfect safety, bringing over all their wagon trains and large supplies of food, clothing, and ammunition. During the three weeks that our troops were beyond the Potomac, immense quantities of grain and meat, besides stock, beehives, horses and mules, were brought over from Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the question of feeding the troops during the residue of the summer campaign has been relieved of much of its embarrassment. It is not to be denied that the second attempt at the invasion of the enemy's country has proved a failure, and that the recollection of it will be embittered by the fearful loss of life we sustained in the three days' battle at Gettysburg. Our total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners will probably fall little short of 20,000, and among the killed we have to mourn many of the best and bravest in the land. General Pettigrew, of South Carolina, the gallant soldier, the skilful officer, the cultivated scholar, the noble gentleman, has died of the wounds he received in the fight. On the other hand, the enemy has received a staggering blow, from which it will not soon recover. If the Gettysburg battles are to be set down as a Federal victory, they constitute one of those victories of Pyrrhus, from which Lincoln may devoutly pray to be relieved in future. Two or three more such will utterly destroy his "Army of the Potomac."

The transmission by telegraph of any information relative to the movements of our troops on the Potomac having been expressly interdicted by the authorities, and the postal communication with the army being very slow and uncertain, we are wholly without the means of knowing the chances of the war in that region, but it is thought that many days cannot elapse before another engagement will be fought, as there seems no doubt that Meade has also crossed the river, and seeks an opportunity of repairing the grave error he committed in allowing his antagonist to escape. A despatch was received this morning announcing that a cavalry and artillery fight in heavy force took place yesterday at Shephardstown, between the Federals under General Pleasanton and the Confederates under General Fitzhugh Lee, in which the latter, though greatly outnumbered, succeeded after a protracted and bloody conflict in driving the enemy back in the direction of Harper's Ferry. The news of this fight will probably reach you through the New York papers in the shape of a pan over another glorious triumph of the invincible Union army.

Our advices from Jackson are up to the 16th instant. The fall of Vicksburg on the 4th having been followed by the surrender of Port Hudson on the 9th, the enemy are pushing their successes in that quarter with uncommon energy, in the hope of completing their operations by the entire discomfiture of General Johnston. Immense reinforcements have been sent to General Grant, consisting of the greater part of Burnside's command. It may be that the vast superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy and the great facilities they have for the transportation of heavy ordnance by the river, will enable them to drive General Johnston back. For the present he holds them in check, and has even gained some advantages over them since the attack on Jackson was begun. On Sunday, the 12th instant, a trial of strength was had, in which the Yankees were repulsed with a loss of 500. General Osterhaus, of their army, was killed. The regimental standards of the 28th, 41st, and 53rd Illinois regiments were captured and carried into the town. The latest telegrams represent that the fire of the Yankee siege guns upon Jackson is incessant, that an attack on the right and centre made on the afternoon of the 16th was handsomely met and repelled by the divisions of Loring and Walker, that many buildings had been destroyed by the cannonade, and that an attempt would be made on the part of Grant to cross the Pearl River and take the city by a flank movement. Altogether the intelligence from Jackson is by no means encouraging, but it is not conceded that the Yankees have secured to themselves as yet the uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi, nor will any successes they may achieve in the extreme South avail more than in a hopeless extension of a hopeless undertaking. We are not near the Caudine Forks as yet.

General Beauregard informs the War Department that his troops attacked the Yankees on James Island on the

morning of the 16th, and drove them to the protection of their gunboats in the Stono River with a small loss on both sides. General Beauregard calls for a large number of negroes to work upon new defences which have been rendered necessary by the new modes of attack resolved upon by the enemy, and the Mayor of Charleston has ordered all the non-combatants out of the city. The Yankees, having obtained a foothold, a *pou sto* on Morris Island, are massing their troops there, intending to make the reduction of Fort Wagner a question of mere arithmetic, so much weight of metal, so many tons of powder and iron, and so many days, against the power of resistance to bombardment of an earthwork. If permitted to retain their position and to erect what batteries they please, it is demonstrable that, sooner or later, Fort Wagner must fall, and then Fort Sumter. General Beauregard, who is perfectly cognisant of the relative importance of these defences, will probably not let the Yankees proceed uninterruptedly in their work, and we may, therefore, expect to hear of vigorous operations on Morris Island at any moment. Ninety-nine prisoners taken in the engagement of Friday, the 10th instant, were marched through our streets, on their way from the Southern Railway Station to the Libby prison, yesterday afternoon.

The efforts of the Lincoln Government in "crushing out the rebellion" have met with unexpected and somewhat alarming interruption in New York City. Profiting by the excitement created there by the stirring news of Gettysburg, and being under a pressing necessity for more troops to fill up the awful gaps in their columns made by General Lee's artillery, the authorities undertook to enforce the conscription, and thereupon serious riots broke out, in which the operatives tore down the conscript offices, burned arsenals, shot down the enrolling clerks, murdered the military with stones and bludgeons, and openly defied the law in every way. The disturbance commenced on Monday, the 13th, but the rioters gathered strength the following day, and the *emeute* had not been quelled on Wednesday the 15th, although Governor Seymour had made an official announcement upon the authority of the Government at Washington, that the draft had been stopped in New York City, and thus that the armed resistance to law had proved successful. Lincoln is learning something in "crushing out rebellions." It is amusing as well as highly significant that the enmity of the rioters took the wholesome direction of vengeance upon the authors of the war; and when we read that the office of the *Tribune* was threatened, and that "the Hon. Horace Greeley" was fain to make his escape out of the back window of a chop-house where he had gone to dine, we may indulge a reasonable hope that justice will sooner or later overtake the scoundrels who plunged the country into strife for the extermination of slavery and slaveholders. The "nigger" will yet prove Greeley's Frankenstein, his *bête noire*, the *atra cura* behind his back, the lifelong misery of his existence. The dread of the peace party at the North must be exceedingly great on the part of the Administration for them to yield this matter of the draft at the very first resistance to its enforcement, since their only hope of a continued prosecution of the war lies in the carrying out the Act of Congress. If the conscription is given up in New York City, it surely cannot be enforced in Hartford or Albany. Indeed, the surrender in one point is absolutely fatal to it everywhere. The reluctant patriot of Connecticut or Indiana will not submit to a coercion which his political brother in New York has successfully set at naught. Indeed, the people of the North-West have made up their minds to furnish neither men nor money to Mr. Lincoln. They will not be drafted, nor will they draw on their bankers for the \$300 which is to be accepted in lieu of the new recruit. The work of an enrolling officer has long been about as safe and as pleasant in Indiana as that of the agent of an absentee landlord in Ireland, where "the boys" (if they have not been belied by Mr. Lever and other lively historians), have an infernal way of shooting down the obnoxious representative of a moneyed oppression from behind fences and hayricks; and without fresh levies for their armies, never to be obtained through voluntary enlistments, the cause of the "glorious Union" is hopeless indeed. If Mr. Lincoln cannot get his 300,000 men by compulsion before Christmas, the new year will see the end of the war.

For while these unhappy troubles have been agitating New York city and other parts of the North upon the first attempt to enforce the Conscription, President Davis's Proclamation extending the Confederate Conscription to the age of forty-five years, the extreme limit authorized by law, has been hailed everywhere with approval, and the levy will be raised without difficulty or opposition in any quarter. The Southern people are in no respect more inclined to submit to the exercise of

arbitrary power than the refractory Yankees, nay, not half so much so, but they recognise the necessity of getting an army into the field without delay and without possibility of failure, when the stake is nothing less than their existence. The Northern despotism would drag its citizens from their homes to fight for mere conquest, splendour—our own citizens assist the Government in the execution of a law seemingly oppressive, which was rendered necessary by the very hope of national salvation.

A considerable fleet of Yankee gunboats has been steaming up and down James River, between City Point and Hampton Roads for a week past, shelling the woods on shore, and carrying off negroes from the mansions. They landed a force at Fort Powhatan, some ten or twelve miles below City Point, and destroyed some miserable earthworks thrown up there two years ago by an incompetent engineer. Several transports were in company, from which it was supposed they designed debarking troops for another attack on Richmond, but this purpose has not yet been sufficiently manifested to warrant us in regarding it seriously.

A lady, Northern by birth, but connected by marriage with a family of great wealth and the highest social position in this city, has been detected in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The evidence is quite sufficient to demand the death-penalty, were a man the offender. The discovery has excited considerable surprise and discussion in our social circles.

Major-General D. H. Hill has been raised to the rank of a Lieutenant-General and sent to the army of General Bragg, in place of Lieutenant-General Hardee, who has reported to General Johnston.

The weather has been unusually rainy during the month of June and, so far, in the month of July, and the sun to-day shines feebly out of a wet sky upon as moist a bit of earth just around Richmond as it sees in the daily revolution of the planet. Bridges have been carried off and railway embankments washed away at various points. The day before yesterday there was such a deluge that a wag reported the Quartermaster-General as having made a requisition for pontoons to cross the street from his office to the Treasury Building.

## NEGRO SOLDIERS IN NEW ORLEANS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, July 25.

General Banks's official organ has published what it calls "a partial list of the casualties before Port Hudson." I mail you a copy as a curiosity. This partial list says not a word about the hundreds of ditch-buried negroes who were bayoneted into the trenches during the assaults of May 27 and June 14. Their names, if they had any, are of no consequence. But the list of white Federal soldiers fills six and a half closely-printed solid columns. It may possibly give half the names of the killed and wounded, but it mentions not one of the thousands of sick soldiers who fill the Federal hospitals in this Department.

When Banks's men crossed the Teche, April 11, the advancing column marching to Alexandria numbered about 23,000 men. There are not, this 25th day of July, 10,000 effective Federal soldiers in the Gulf Department.

The "recapture of Brashear City" is thus flamingly announced in the official organ this morning:—

## ANOTHER VICTORY—BRASHEAR CITY RETAKEN.

IT SURRENDERS TO A GUNBOAT.

Official information has been received in this city announcing the recapture of Brashear City.

It surrendered to the gunboat *Sachem*, Captain Johnson, on Tuesday, the 22nd instant.

We have not as yet received the full particulars, but presume that the whole garrison were made prisoners. When the place was taken by the rebels, a number of guns, and considerable stores and ammunition fell into their hands. It is to be hoped that at least some portion of these have been retaken.

The "full particulars not yet received" may be supplied as follows: Weitzel's small army is still forty miles this side of Brashear, wending its way through the deserted Lafourche Country. The "whole garrison" "presumed" to have surrendered is presumed to have consisted of the very few inhabitants, negroes, dogs, cats, and mayhap a mocking-bird or two, left in Brashear City since the Confederates so thoroughly cleaned it out, and conveyed the enormous quantity of Federal military stores left in that place across Berwick Bay into the Confederacy.

There is no other news of importance. The return flag-of-truce paroled prisoner boats from Mobile brought us New York news of the riots (telegraphed from Richmond). The Mobile papers and people continue to feel very badly about the fall of Vicksburg and the surrender of Port Hudson. I inclose an editorial or two from Mobile papers indicating not only the public feeling, but the plan to be pursued to prevent the opening of the



Mississippi from being either profitable or pleasant to the Federals.

The second of the small steamers whose capture off Mobile Bay, July 17th, was noted in my last, is the *James Battle*. The *Bagley* started out with 700 bales, but 124 were thrown overboard during the chase.

We have yet to learn in this city—so far as receipts of supplies are concerned—that the Mississippi is open.

Negro soldiers are not particularly popular in a community where they were slaves not long ago. It is no unusual sight to see a nigger second-lieutenant swelling down Canal-street or St. Charles decked out in full uniform, with shoulder-straps and side arms. A negro in the cast-off coat of his master is apt to put on as many "airs" as does the Gulf breeze when it blows its best. Fancy the negro in a soldier's uniform! Only yesterday a gentleman invited to "appear" at head-quarters was paraded down Carondelet-street, with two musket-bearing negroes beside him and another in the rear, the guards of this white man. Ullmann, for a while brigadier-general of the *corps d'Afrique*, in one of his windy proclamations (called a general order), speaks of accidents occurring from the "improper use of fire-arms." I can conceive of no more improper use of fire-arms than placing them in the hands of negroes, teaching them how to use them, and paying slaves to murder their own masters. The white Federal officers hate their negro fellow-soldiers with a venom worthy of a first-class abolitionist. You know already how the negroes were bayoneted into slaughter at Port Hudson. And why not? A negro in any condition of contact with a superior race is only a substitute for a white man—he is his substitute in labour, his servant, his slave—and the Abolition scheme which proposed to flatter Sambo into the belief that he was a soldier, designed that he should not only murder Southern white men, but that he should stand between Northern troops and Confederate batteries, and be the Federal soldier's "substitute" for death.

There is now and then an amusing incident connected with this negro business which relieves for a moment the enormity of the outrage in arming negroes to murder white men, and the degradation to the Federal army in calling these rifle-carrying slaves "soldiers of the Federal army." Thus, not long ago an old gentleman in this city was addressed near the gate of his residence by two Federal officers, when the following brief dialogue occurred:—

*Officers.*—"These two young ladies, who have just turned in at that side gate, are, we presume your daughters?"

*Old Gentleman* (politely).—"It is presumed so."

*One of the Officers.*—"Well, sir. We are obliged to pass here quite often, and we notice that your daughters, if they see us coming turn back, cross the street, or avoid meeting us. Do they think we will insult them? Let me assure you and them, sir, that the uniform of an officer in the United States' army always covers a gentleman."

"Pardon me, sir," quietly replied the old gentleman, "I am obliged to take your word for that. But those young ladies have seen the uniform you speak of worn by negroes that a few days since were their own slaves. Good morning." And that conversation closed.

There are negroes, no doubt, brought up as house-slaves in respectable families, who are quite as well bred, and perhaps as well educated, as many of their fellow-sergeants, corporals, and lieutenants from New England. They are too well-mannered to walk into private houses, and steal silver pitchers and baby-linen, as Brigadier-General Neal Dow has done; but no given quantity of shoulder-straps and blue cloth can make them "gentlemen" in the sight of the Abolition officers of the Federal army. Sambo is now learning a hard lesson—and to many negroes it comes too late—that the "freedom" given by his Abolition friends from the North means a more terrible slavery than he has yet dreamed of—and "liberty" to die like a dog.

A private letter from London asks the question—"Would it be possible to procure a list of the plantations visited during the progress of the Federal army in Louisiana and an approximate estimate of the damage sustained on each?" Let me give a general answer through your columns. To give the details would be much like estimating the individual losses in Herculaneum and Pompeii. It would be almost as impossible. The Lincoln Government, so boastful of its real and supposed "successes," will carefully conceal from the civilized world as much as may be the wanton outrages, the public and private plunderings, the burnings, the utter ruin and desolation which mark the marauding march of the Federal army through a part of Louisiana. I will endeavor soon, however, to give your readers a general idea of the situation in this respect in the State of Louisiana.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 3.

It is not yet decided when the draft will re-commence in New York, and not positively ascertained that it will re-commence at all. Rumours get abroad every day or two—to be dissipated, and then revived with the same fate—that on a day certain the conscription is to be enforced with rigour, and that it is for that purpose so many Federal troops are concentrated in the city. But all this is guess-work. The reason given out for delay is that there are differences outstanding between the State authorities and Department at Washington concerning the number of troops which New York has furnished, for which credit is to be given in the apportioning of the number to be drawn. There is something in this, and in another branch of the question, that the draft is unequally apportioned, so as to bear heavily, by the caprice of power, on those portions of the city in which the political opponents of the Administration are mostly to be found, with the view of compelling an unfair portion of them into the army. There are, however, well informed men who are persuaded that the Government has no intention of drafting men at all again, at least until the local measures are perfected for relieving the Government of the expense and the odium of taking away unwilling conscripts by force. They reason that the claims of the Administration press for immediate conscription have a financial signification. The Government wants men, but has not the money or the authority to give the large bounties which are required by the waning popularity of the war to induce voluntary service. It will be contented with the men, if the cost will be furnished by others. The excitements which grew out of the first attempt to enforce conscription threw the city authorities and the property-holders into such a state of trepidation, that they are willing to bleed freely in their purses, rather than see a renewal of the dangerous experiment. If this terror be well kept up, there is reason to believe that subscriptions will be spontaneously made, as men pay black mail for the sake of escaping the attentions of a mob, to purchase the service of consenting conscripts or buy substitutes. The Government will thus get the men without extra cost to the Treasury. The terrorism which it employs becomes a cheap way of raising from one part of the community the means of bribing another part with ostentatious bounties, to fill up the armies of which Mr. Seward a few months ago made it a boast in one of his diplomatic despatches for the instruction of foreign governments in the immense popularity of the war, that they contained "not one conscript or involuntary soldier." The enthusiasm has so far subsided that the Government has been constrained to institute an immense and rigid conscription, in order to fill up the wasted ranks of the army, and to confess that soldiers cannot be had "in the day of the Nation's agony for life," unless dragged away from their homes by force, or hired by gratuities unheard of before in military service to affect the patriotism they do not feel.

We hear less of the conflict between the State jurisdiction and the Federal jurisdiction which has been threatened on the contesting of the constitutionality of the Conscription Act. The State functionaries are very willing to avoid the conflict here, where there are so many elements to disturb the regular course of legal proceedings by acts of individual violence, and will smoothe the way for the peaceful completion of the drafting, and of all subsequent proceedings under the act, until a decision is had in the Courts. Cases are made up in other parts of the State where the draft has been proceeded in regularly, to go first to the Supreme Court, which in this State belies its name, being only a district Court, of which there are eight in eight several Supreme Court districts. From a Supreme Court is an appeal to the High Court of Errors and Appeals—the tribunal in the last resort. The language of the Conservatives, who are waiting for this decision, is exceedingly moderate and "loyal," not to say timid, while that of the Administration journals is bold and defiant. The Administration will, probably, in some way, get the men for its present military necessities. It seems to be equally confident that in the conflict of jurisdiction it will ultimately triumph, and establish by its own Courts the theory of political power, asserted for the Federal Government by the Conscription Act and other kindred acts. Such a decision would reverse the whole current of former decisions, and change the character of the Government at Washington from that of a union of States under a limited Constitution, to one of a central consolidated Government, of which the States are dependent provinces. The Administration has some ground for its confidence in a favourable decision in the change of character which is thought to have taken place in the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Lincoln has had the rare fortune to have

the appointment of three of the Justices of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of Justices McLean and Daniels, and the resignation of Justice Campbell. There are good grounds for supposing that partisan considerations prevailed in the choice of their successors, and the friends of the new theory believe they have a majority of the Court secondaries. Some of Mr. Lincoln's judicial appointments have confirmed the suspicion that this was intended. One or two of the new Judges have given decisions only accounted for by extreme partisanship; and the opposition are alarmed with the signs that the Judiciary, too, has become Radical.

Late transactions in Kentucky show with what audacity the Administration is using its military powers to control State elections. The general election takes place in Kentucky to-day, and members of the House of Representatives of the next Congress are to be chosen. These are nearly the closing elections, and thus far, parties are so equally divided that the remaining elections may throw the balance against the Administration. It is very certain that a great majority in Kentucky, if left free to vote, would declare against cardinal points of Mr. Lincoln's policy; to prevent this, the elections have by an order of Major-General Burnside, been taken under the control of the army of the United States. General Burnside is the officer who made himself infamously conspicuous in the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. The following is a copy of this remarkable order:—

CINCINNATI, July 31.

Major-General Burnside has issued an order declaring the State of Kentucky invaded by a rebel force, with the avowed intention of overawing the judges of elections, intimidating loyal voters and keeping them from the polls, and forcing the election of disloyal candidates at the elections on the 3rd proximo.

The military of the Government, the order declares, is the only force that can defeat this attempt, and the State of Kentucky is therefore placed under martial law.

All military officers are commanded to aid the constituted authorities of the State in the support of the laws and the purity of suffrage.

The legally appointed judges at the polls will be held strictly responsible that no disloyal person be allowed to vote, and to this end the military power of the Government is ordered to give them its utmost support.

The allegation that there is a rebel invasion strong enough to affect the political result of the elections—confesses too much to be uttered in earnest. The plain object is to keep away from the polls, by terror, all those who will not vote in favour of the Administration. "Disloyalty" in Kentucky has been already defined in one of the military orders as including all opposition to the carrying on of the war—on the policy of Mr. Lincoln. The judges are threatened with being made "responsible" to the military if they permit any man to vote whom the military pronounce disloyal. The State is therefore to be made to record a vote in favour of the Administration, and to send "representatives" to support it by virtue of the bayonets of General Burnside's army. There will, of course, be a great Union and Administration triumph in Kentucky, and a new example to the world of the manner in which republics are governed in this "great and glorious land." A few weeks ago, Mr. Wolfe, the anti-Administration candidate for Congress, from Louisville district, for addressing the people in his canvas in terms not considered sufficiently polite towards the President and his policy, was arrested and sent to prison under a military order.

The same means for strengthening the Administration vote in the next House of Representatives are to be tried in the States further South, where the Federal armies have any foot-hold. The functions of civil authority in the name of the States are to be conferred on such persons as may profess and swear Unionism; and elections will be ordered for representatives in Congress to be regulated by military superintendence; of course the members appointed will be out-and-out supporters of Mr. Lincoln, and will really represent only the military occupants of the States. The opposition will find itself outvoted in the next Congress by this means, and all branches of the Government will continue to be as devoted to Mr. Lincoln through the remainder of his Administration as now.

## MR. LINCOLN'S ORDER OF "RETALIATION."

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 30.

It is the duty of every Government to give protection to its citizens, of whatever class, colour, or condition, and especially those who are duly organised as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized Powers, permit no distinction as to colour in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his colour, and for no offence against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism and a crime against the civilization of the age.

The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his colour, the offence shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession. It is, therefore, ordered that, for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed, and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labour on the public works, and continued at such labour until the other shall be released, and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



## FROM SHETLAND.

## SYMPATHY FOR STONEWALL JACKSON.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—I cannot resist forwarding to THE INDEX a letter which reached me from the Shetland Islands, accompanied with a Post-office order for £1 5s. 6d., from twenty-seven donors, and a subscription list of their initials, headed by the text,—"His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth for evermore." I am certain that the genuine admiration and affection which the old country feels for Jackson, will, in future and happier days, form a strong bond of sympathy with the good and brave Confederate people. You will be glad to know that subscriptions are coming in apace.

Yours faithfully,

A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.

Bedgebury Park, August 17.

Shetland Islands, Lerwick, August 10.

SIR,—Inclosed I beg to hand you Post-office order for the sum contained in the accompanying list, being an offering from this quarter to the Stonewall Jackson Statue Fund. We Northmen, admiring Stonewall Jackson in life, sorrowing for him in death, desire to aid, though ever so slightly, in commemorating this leader of men.

Honour the brave and bold,  
Long shall the tale be told,  
How he rode onward!

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

ARTHUR LAWRENSON.

A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq.

## PRESIDENT DAVIS'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

After more than two years of a warfare scarcely equalled in the number, magnitude, and fearful carnage of its battles; a warfare in which your courage and fortitude have illustrated your country, and attracted not only gratitude at home, but admiration abroad, your enemies continue a struggle in which our final triumph must be inevitable. Unduly elated with their recent successes, they imagine that temporary reverses can quell your spirit or shake your determination, and they are now gathering heavy masses for a general invasion, in the vain hope that, by a desperate effort, success may at length be reached.

You know too well, my countrymen, what they mean by success. Their malignant rage aims at nothing less than the extermination of yourselves, your wives and children. They seek to destroy what they cannot plunder. They propose as the spoils of victory that your homes shall be partitioned among the wretches whose atrocious cruelties have stamped infamy on their Government. They design to incite servile insurrection and light the fires of incendiarism whenever they can reach your homes, and they debauch the inferior race, hitherto docile and contented, by promising indulgence of the vilest passions, as the price of treachery. Conscious of their inability to prevail by legitimate warfare, not daring to make peace lest they should be hurled from their seats of power, the men who now rule in Washington refuse even to confer on the subject of putting an end to outrages which disgrace our age, or to listen to a suggestion for conducting the war according to the usages of civilization.

Fellow-citizens, no alternative is left you but victory, or subjugation, slavery, and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families, and your country. The victory is within your reach. You need but stretch forth your hands to grasp it. For this and all that is necessary is that those who are called to the field by every motive that can move the human heart, should promptly repair to the post of duty, should stand by their comrades now in front of the foe, and thus so strengthen the armies of the Confederacy as to ensure success. The men now absent from their posts would, if present in the field, suffice to create numerical equality between our force and that of the invaders—and when with any approach to such equality have we failed to be victorious? I believe that but few of those absent are actuated by unwillingness to serve their country, but that many have found it difficult to resist the temptation of a visit to their homes and the loved ones from whom they have been so long separated; that others have left for temporary attention to their affairs, with the intention of returning, and then have shrunk from the consequences of their violation of duty; that others again have left their post from mere restlessness and desire of change, each quieting the upbraidings of his conscience, but persuading himself that his individual services could have no influence on the general result.

These and other causes (although far less disgraceful than the desire to avoid danger, or to escape from the sacrifices required by patriotism) are, nevertheless, grievous faults, and place the cause of our beloved country, and of everything we hold dear, in imminent peril. I repeat that the men who now owe duty to their country, who have been called out and have not yet reported for duty, or who have absented themselves from their posts, are sufficient in number to secure us victory in the struggle now impending.

I call on you, then, my countrymen, to hasten to your camps, in obedience to the dictates of honour and of duty, and summon those who have absented themselves without leave, or who have remained absent beyond the period allowed by their furloughs, to repair without delay to their respective commands, and I do hereby declare that I grant a general pardon and amnesty to all officers and men within the Confederacy, now absent without leave, who shall, with the least possible delay, return to their proper post of duty, but no excuse will be received for any deserter beyond twenty days after the first publication of this proclamation in the State in which the absence may be at the date of the publication. This amnesty and pardon shall extend to all who have been accused, or who have been convicted and are undergoing sentence for absence without leave or desertion, excepting only those who have been twice convicted of desertion.

Finally, I conjure my countrywomen—the wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the Confederacy—to use their all-powerful influence in aid of this call, to add one crowning sacrifice to those which their patriotism has so freely and constantly offered on their country's altar, and to take care that none who owe service in the field shall be sheltered at home

from the disgrace of having deserted their duty to their families, their country, and their God.

Given under my hand, and the Seal of the Confederate States, at Richmond, this first day of August, in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By THE PRESIDENT:

J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State.

## GEORGE III. AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

The Union with the Southern States is ended, and the other States are rapidly drifting into the most fearful despotism the world has ever known. Lincoln is but the cat-paw of the secret aspirants to the dictatorship. Whether it be McClellan, or Grant, or Halleck, or Meade, or Rosecranz, or Banks, or Burnside, no one can tell. It may be reserved for some one almost unknown at the moment; but to this result events are certainly bringing the Northern States. The people, in blind fury, close their eyes to passing events, and their ears to the voice of warning and timely advice. Looking to "honest Abe," and believing he has neither the capacity nor the ambition to be military dictator, they forget the fact that there are other jugglers behind the scenes, whose success depends on keeping all eyes turned on Lincoln. Their forefathers were not so blind in 1776, when, in their declaration of independence, they set forth, "that governments are instituted among men to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Amongst the charges brought against King George III. in that document, they enumerated the following:—

"He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

"He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

"For protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

"For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has plundered our seas and ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun, with circumstances of cruelty scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us; etc."

What a change has taken place in the ideas of popular rights as expressed by the fathers of the republic when compared with what is witnessed in the present day by the slavish submission of its people. There is not one charge here made by the former against King George III. of which President Lincoln has not been guilty. *The Montreal Advertiser*

THE CONDITION OF THE NEGROES IN THE SOUTH.—"An Englishwoman who has lived nearly thirty years in the South," asks us to call the attention of our readers to the following statement:—"There were imported into the British West Indies 4,000,000 negro slaves, and when they were manumitted there were 800,000. Into the Southern States 400,000 were imported, and there were, before the war, 4,000,000. This decrease in the former and increase in the latter are strong facts; the climatic influence is on the side of the West Indies; there must then have been a very different treatment, and the views of the anti-slavery party, probably, based upon their own experience, is false as to ours. Again, accurate research gives the number of white communicants in the Southern States at 1,550,000—one in three of the adult population. Of the coloured people—500,000—one in four of their adults. Surely the blessing of God must be with such a state of things.

DIED at Havannah, June 5th, 1863, George H. Thomas, a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, who, though in feeble health, had devoted his energies to the cause of the South to the day of his death. Mr. Thomas was about thirty-five years of age, and being disqualified by ill health for the field, was actively engaged in sending in supplies through the blockade for the past two years; he leaving many friends to mourn his untimely loss.

## AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, August 19.

The general money and discount markets have not experienced the least alteration. A good demand for ordinary purposes prevails, the trading requirements being slightly on the increase, while the absorption for harvest operations continues considerable. One curious circumstance, however, appears to be that the pressure is not in any degree experienced at the Bank, which for the last three days especially, the applications have been comparatively moderate. Exceptional causes, it is imagined, must prevail to create the out-door exigency alluded to, and it is thought late remittances to Russia, whether some half million sterling has been forwarded, has created part of the late effect. The rate for first-class paper is maintained at 4 per cent., and if one or two transactions have ensued at 3½, they have not been of a character to induce a supposition that lower terms will be currently accepted. There have been no instalments on loans of moment; a few calls on Bank and other shares are in course of payment, which withdraw a little capital, but nothing to signify, and any supplies for current wants can be immediately obtained, the only question being one of price. We shall in all probability remain in our present situation until about October, the period of the distribution of the next dividends, and since there seems little prospect of hostilities between the Western Powers and Russia in relation to the Polish difficulty, a quiet course of affairs may be almost safely predicted.

## BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week has been much less than usual, including £10,000 sent in this afternoon; the total is only £133,000, whilst there has been a withdrawal of £50,000 for transmission to Constantinople. The arrivals

of bullion amount to £516,307, of which £233,712 is from the West Indies, £117,500 from Melbourne, £50,452 from Alexandria, and £109,693 from New York. The only gold ship at present known to be on its way to England is the John Durham from Otago, which will bring £160,000. There is no alteration in the state of the silver market, bars being still quoted 5s. 1d. per oz. Dollars are without change, but there is a considerable parcel on the market, not yet disposed of.

## TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 30,00,000 rupees in Bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were, to Calcutta, 16,80,000 rupees; to Bombay, 12,00,000 rupees; and to Madras, 20,00,000 rupees. The declared minimum price was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay and Madras. The applications within the limits amounted to 254 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta above the minimum will be received in full, to those at the minimum there will be no allotment; on Bombay at minimum about 16 per cent., and on Madras about 80 per cent. will be allotted.

## HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The general characteristic of the market for English Government Securities has been remarkable steadiness in quotations, with a tendency to improvement; but with comparatively very little doing. Consols show an advance as compared with last week of about ½ per cent.; the present price being 93½ to ¼ for money, and 93½ to ¾ for the September account. Exchequer Bills are unchanged, being still at 1s. discount to 2s. premium. In the Foreign Stock Market the chief dealings, both speculative and otherwise, have been in Mexican, but prices exhibit only a fractional variation from last week's quotations. Greek Stock has also been fairly dealt in at steady prices. Turkish and Spanish descriptions have also been in good request, with but little change. This evening's closing quotations were—Mexican, 38½ to ¾; Greek, 33½ to ½; Spanish Passives, 33½ to 34½; and the Certificates, 12½ to 12¾. Turkish Six per Cents, 1854, 92½ to 93, and ditto 1862, 68½.

## THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

This loan has been again much depressed this week, more in consequence of forced sales on the part of adverse operations than from transactions of *bona fide* holders. The news from the seat of war is certainly, on the whole, less unfavourable to the value of the security, but isolated facts, such as the Secretary of the Treasury's letter as to the possible burning of the Government cotton stores in Louisiana and Mississippi, are dwelt upon with a view to shake public confidence still further. With limited transactions here the price has declined at one time to 30, 29, but the Stock closes firmer, at 28½ to 28 dis.

The payment of the dividend on the Bonds due 1st proximo is announced; also that the paid up scrip can be exchanged for bonds on and after the 24th instant.

The *Morning Post* of the 18th says,—In the foreign market the Confederate loan was, notwithstanding the more favourable news for the Confederate cause, quoted 24 22 dis. It is understood that there are agents in London and Liverpool who have directions to sell the Confederate Bonds for Northern account at almost any sacrifice in order to damage Southern credit in Europe; but whether the system will succeed remains to be seen.

## AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The dealings in American Government and Railway Securities continue on a rather extended scale, and in some instances variations in prices to the extent of 3 to 4 per cent. have taken place, but in others, although the transactions have been numerous, there has been comparatively little fluctuation. The dealings comprised Virginia State Six per Cents. at 42 and 41½. United States Five per Cents., 69½ and 69½; Atlantic and Great Western Railway, New York Section, 74; do. Pennsylvania Section, 75½, 76, 76½, and 76; Erie Shares, \$100 all paid, 74½, 75½, 74½, 78, 79, 77½, 77, and 76½; do. Seven per Cent. preference, 73, 72½, 73½, and 72; Erie Seven per Cent. Fifth Mortgage, 73 to 73½; Illinois Central \$100 Shares, \$90 paid, 16, 15, 16, 15, 15½, 13, 12, 12½, 12, 11½, and 12 dis.; do. do. all paid, 76, 75½, 77½, 78½, 78, 79, 79½, 79½, 80, 79½, and 79; New York Central Six per Cents. 73; do. Seven per Cent. Convertible, 1876, 87; do. \$100 Shares, 85, 86½, 86, 87, 86½ and 87.

## RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A moderate business has been transacted in British Railway Shares, and as compared with the prices of this day week there has been an improvement in most of the leading descriptions; South-Eastern showing an advance of about 1½ per cent., Great Eastern and London and North-Western, 1 per cent., Midland, ¾, and Lancashire and Yorkshire, Metropolitan, North-Eastern (Berwick), and ditto (Leeds), ½ per cent. each. But in Caledonian there has been a decline of about ½ per cent. In Foreign Railway Shares business has been less active, but without any material alteration in value. For Colonial descriptions there has also been comparatively little doing, but in the generality of cases prices continue steady.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA DEBENTURES.

The Agents General for the Crown Colonies have just offered to public competition, British Columbia Debentures for £50,000, of which £41,400 were disposed of at prices varying from 104 (the minimum) to 108, the average rate on the whole being £105 1s. 3d. The balance, £8,800, was withdrawn. The money thus raised is to be applied to the opening out of roads between the capital and the gold-fields, a want which is said to be severely felt in the Colonies, and one which when overcome will go far to ensure the rapid development of trade and the prosperity of the mining and agricultural population.

## RAILWAY LOAN FOR MELBOURNE.

Advices just received from Melbourne state that the Government had offered a further portion of the railway loan, amounting to £250,000 sterling. The minimum fixed was 5½ premium, and the whole was taken up except £33,000, which was withdrawn. These securities were subsequently dealt in at 107, or a premium of 1½ per cent. upon the official minimum.

## BANK MEETINGS.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Bank of Australasia, the report, which was of a very satisfactory character, was unanimously adopted. It stated that the directors proposed paying on the 13th of October the same dividend and bonus as for the half-year in April, being together at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum. The directors continue to receive satisfactory reports from the colonies of the progress of business. Arrangements had been made for opening branches in New Zealand. The chairman (Mr. Childers, M.P.), in moving the adoption of the report, stated that everything was going on well in the colonies; 245 of the £10 shares only remained unallotted. During the past six months a larger number of emigrants than



for many years past have left England for Australia. He (the chairman) was of opinion that the war in New Zealand would not very materially affect the southern portion of the island.

MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the first general meeting of the Charing-cross Hotel Company, the report of the directors, which was adopted, stated that a perpetual lease of the site at the railway terminus had been purchased by the company of the railway for £65,000, to be paid for in shares. The architects are Messrs. Banks and Barry, and the construction of the building has been intrusted to Messrs. Lucas, under a contract for £113,000, which includes also £10,000 for the booking-offices of the railway.—At the fourth annual meeting of Bray's Traction Engine Company a report was read which stated that the engine built by the company for her Majesty's Government, and now successfully working in Woolwich Dock-yard, was awarded a prize medal at the late International Exhibition "for practical utility and success;" but the prohibition by the Government of the use of locomotives of any kind on the roads or streets within the Metropolitan districts except between the hours of ten at night and six in the morning, acted as a total prohibition of the business of the company, so far as this country is concerned. The operations of the company were therefore, at present, almost wholly confined to the mining districts and the execution of foreign orders; but the directors express their unabated confidence in the ultimate triumph of the company over all difficulties. The report was adopted, and the directors were authorized to borrow any sum not exceeding £25,000, either by the creation of preference shares, bonds, or mortgages as they might deem expedient.—At the annual meeting of the proprietors of the Eagle Insurance Company, a dividend at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum was declared. From the report it appeared that the income of the company for the year was £389,106, and the charges £338,230, leaving a balance of £50,875. The premiums on insurances newly effected were £21,567. The actual income was somewhat lowered by the application of bonuses in reduction of the annual premiums. The claims and additions amounted to £242,359, being more than those of last year by £35,264, but less than those of the previous year by £13,077. A further investment of about £110,000 had been made in the Government funds.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In American produce a quiet but steady business is passing, and transactions since this day week sum up to about the recent average. Prices, whilst anything but buoyant, are generally well supported. The only exception worth naming is in breadstuffs, which, affected by the increased quantity of home supplies, have again receded in value. Wheat has declined 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and flour 6d. to 1s. per barrel for average qualities, the finer kinds approximating more closely to late rates. Most descriptions of American provisions are in steady request, with quotations tending rather upwards than otherwise. The bulk of the inferior grades of

butter lately offering have now been pretty well cleared off and anything of fair quality coming fresh to hand is saleable without difficulty. Opinion is in favour of higher prices for butters of all kinds. The cheese trade remains without essential alteration. Prices are firm for all good dairies; and on the foreign market New York brands are still the most in favour. Bacon sides move off steadily at the previous currency, and bacon middles, which continue in some demand for export, firmly maintain the late advance. American rough lard brings 38s. to 40s. per cwt., and sales of moderate extent are effected. There has been no revival of demand for petroleum, and to sell in quantity lower terms would have to be taken, but there is no apparent disposition to force business, and general quotations cannot, therefore, be altered. Rosin of all imports continues very firm. For sperm oil a fair inquiry prevails, and the market is firm for both colonial and foreign. Linseed oil moves off slowly at 44s. 6d. to 44s. 9d. per cwt. The weather having retarded the operations of the chandlers, the tallow market has shown increased heaviness, and in common with all other descriptions North American has declined 6d. to 1s. per cwt.; nor are there indications of any immediate recovery. Some moderate contracts have been made for tobacco, upon terms which do not in any case alter previous quotations. American advices, in reference to the destruction of such cotton as was likely to fall into the hands of the Northerners has stimulated this market perceptibly, the inference being that whilst it may be doubted if Federal successes can ever bring peace, it can no longer be doubted that they will never bring cotton. Under these circumstances a good deal of buying, partly speculative, has taken place, and prices are fully ½d. per lb. higher. American oil of peppermint (Hotchkiss) has been sold in quantity at a slight reduction, but there are no further parcels offering under the recent quotation of 16s. New York beeswax is 2s. 6d. to 5s. per cwt. cheaper. Quercitron bark is in fair demand without variation in price. In our export trade with America the tone is very dull, and rates are in some instances easier. Quinine, most kinds of tartar, and Turkey opium are purchasable rather under the full terms recently quoted. Gum Arabic, except Jeddah sorts, are the turn flatter. Kowrie gum is firm, and little to be had under 38s. for coaty, whilst fine scraped is worth 65s. Turmeric is 1s. to 2s. per cwt. dearer. In metals there is no material change.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, August 19.

Our last report closed on a strong market. On Thursday, the tone was decidedly quieter, and 7,000 bales only were sold at previous prices. On Friday the sales reached 6,000 bales, at steady prices for Surats; but in American, which was freely offered out of recent arrivals, a small concession in price was necessary to effect sales.

In Manchester a healthy business has been doing quietly throughout the week at very full prices, which induced the

trade to enter our market more freely; and on Saturday 8,000 bales were sold at steady prices.

The American news to hand on Monday, showing still no prospect of an early settlement, or of the receipt of cotton from the Southern States, further stimulated our market, and 10,000 bales were sold at rather higher prices.

On Tuesday, the receipt of an excellent report of the Manchester market started some speculation, and the sales again reached 10,000 bales at hardening prices.

To-day we have had a very large attendance of the trade who have bought very freely to cover orders, and the business reaches 15,000 bales at ½d. advance in Surats, and ½d. in long-staples, since Friday.

We quote Middling American 22½d., Fair Dholerah, 19d., Fair Sawginned Dharwar, 20½d., and Fair Dholerah, May shipment—to arrive, 18½d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, August 18.

The intelligence by each successive steamer from America during the past week has imparted a firmer tone to our market generally, and an increased amount of business in yarn and cloth has been transacted from day to day.

Notwithstanding the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, we do not hear of any greater quantity of cotton arriving at New Orleans up to the latest dates, than previously, but we learn that all cotton that might be in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Federals would be destroyed by the Confederate military authorities. This, and the daily advance in the price of cotton at New York, also the decrease in exports of cotton from Bombay up to the latest date as compared with the same period of last year, being 130,000 bales, are sure to infuse a better spirit in this market than has been experienced for some time.

Continental yarns are in better request, and an advance of from ½d. to ¾d. per lb. over last week's prices can be obtained. Home-trade yarns are dearer to about the same extent.

India Mules are more inquired for, and the advance realised is fully ¾d. per lb.

Cloths of all kinds participate in the improved feeling, and are better to sell by about 3d. per piece than was the case last week.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Aug. 13, are—

- NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.
- LETTER FROM NEW YORK: THE IMPENDING CONFLICT BETWEEN FEDERAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES.
- TWO YEARS' INVASION AND ITS RESULTS.
- THE EMPIRE OF MEXICO.
- MR. NEWMAN HALL'S EXCOMMUNICATION.
- LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, JULY 4TH AND 11TH.
- CAN INDIA SAVE OUR COTTON TRADE?
- CORRESPONDENCE FROM NEW ORLEANS: THE SITUATION IN LOUISIANA.
- EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS.

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8. History of the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Paris. By M. Paul Broca, Secretary-General.
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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 71.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.  
THE AGGRESSIVE POWER OF THE YANKEES.  
THE THREAT OF WAR.  
CHARLESTON AND NEW YORK.  
AN AMERICAN CAWNPORE.  
ON THE FRONTIER.  
MAGAZINES FOR SEPTEMBER.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

It has been our almost invariable rule to treat with silent contempt the mendacious assertions of the Federal Government and its hired advocates and spies in this country. At the request of some friends we consent to make an exception in reference to the reported defection of North Carolina from the Confederate States. Suffice it to say that the genius of Yankeeedom never forged a more unmitigated falsehood. It is pretended that Governor Vance, despairing of the success of the South, is desirous of reunion. We have before us a letter from Governor Vance to the agent of North Carolina in this country, dated "Raleigh, July 10th, 1863," and from which we are permitted to make the following extracts:—

The resources of our State and the Confederacy have developed in such a degree that we have every assurance of being able to clothe our troops with our own goods, and our vast amount of captures has given us an abundance of arms.

The fall of Vicksburg, though creating some despondency, has not discouraged us.

On the whole our prospects are better than they were this time last year. Our people are adapting themselves to a state of war, our resources are developing wonderfully, our army is becoming veteran and invincible, and our crop prospects, with the harvest already in, almost exceed belief.

That the *Raleigh Standard* can publish the articles ascribed to it must convince the most sceptical that the Confederate press is completely free, and that the Confederate Government must be strong and popular to permit the publication of what the North would call treasonable articles. If Mr. Lincoln granted his subjects equal liberty, his lease of office would not be worth many weeks' purchase.

During the present lull in the war Northern politicians are directing their attention to the prospects of the next congressional campaign. In the elections the administration has been placed in a minority in the House of Representatives. The following table gives the returns according to the Northern press up to the middle of August:—

States.	Administration.	Opposition.
Connecticut .. ..	3	1
Indiana .. ..	4	7
Illinois .. ..	5	9
Iowa .. ..	6	0
Kentucky .. ..	0	9
Kansas .. ..	1	0
Maine .. ..	4	1
Massachusetts .. ..	10	0
Michigan .. ..	5	1
Minnesota .. ..	2	1
Missouri .. ..	3	6
New Hampshire .. ..	2	1
New York .. ..	13	18
New Jersey .. ..	1	4
Ohio .. ..	5	14
Oregon .. ..	1	0
Pennsylvania .. ..	11	13
Rhode Island .. ..	2	0
Wisconsin .. ..	3	3
Total .. ..	81	97

Of the remaining States the estimated returns were—

California	..	..	1	....	2
Delaware	..	..	0	....	1
Maryland	..	..	2	....	3
Vermont	..	..	2	....	0
West Virginia	..	..	2	....	1
			<hr/>		
			7	....	7

The six great States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana have returned thirty-nine members for the Administration and sixty-five members for the Opposition, being a majority of twenty-six against the Government. This is an emphatic protest against the war policy of Mr. Lincoln.

The New York *Tribune* of August 15, after telling an Abolition story about the "mean whites" of the South, adds:—"Such is the infernal, God-defying, man-debasing system which the white labourers of this City are now being goaded by Fernando Wood and Horatio Seymour into treason to uphold and perpetuate—and all because those reckless aspirants believe their own chances of political aggrandizement will thereby be promoted! May the lightnings of Divine Justice blast their fiendish ambition!" The Republican faction is very great in blaspheming and cursing, and, indeed, in these accomplishments is without a rival.

In our leading columns we have referred to the discussion that has ensued from the report of the Federal spies that some iron-clads were building on the Clyde and intended for the Confederate States' service. The discovery of this mare's-nest is a pleasant diversion for the dull season.

General Neal Dow, who was lately captured by the Confederates, told his guards, says the *Atlantic Constitutionalist*, "That he was aware of the outrages committed by Federal troops, but they were contrary to the wishes and orders of the officers; but the army being composed chiefly of the scum of the North—the refuse population of Europe and the United States—they would rob and plunder in spite of their officers." It happens, however, that General Neal Dow has not only been unable to restrain his soldiers from stealing, but he himself has been guilty of that crime. We learn from the *Richmond Dispatch* that when he took possession of Pensacola he compelled the wife and children of Mr. Bachelor, whom he confined in Fort Pickens, to move fifty miles, and seek protection on their negro plantation. "In the meantime General Neal Dow stole Mrs. Bachelor's piano and parlour furniture and sent them to his wife. When the articles were demanded and the matter was investigated, General Dow confessed to the theft, but these articles were never returned nor paid for."

The petition presented by the French residents at New Orleans to the French Vice-Consul, praying for the protection of some French ships of war against the threatened negro insurrection, avers:—

That meetings are held, speeches made, and publications spread abroad, the tendency of all which is to bring about a conflict between the black and white races. That this danger is increased by the condition in which the undersigned are placed by the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of this Department, who has taken away all the arms with which they could defend themselves. That circumstances may at any moment arise, either owing to the departure of the United States troops to encounter the enemy, or the evacuation of this place after some engagement, in which the National Government might be found perfectly unable to afford the protection which the undersigned have a right to demand.

If the white people of New Orleans escape massacre it will not be the fault of the Federal authorities. What more can be done to bring about a rising, than to incite the negroes by speeches, to put arms in the hands of the coloured men, and to disarm the white population?

The Richmond papers announce the speedy appearance of the "The Southern Punch," a weekly journal, to be in general features like "the world-renowned London Punch," so long an acknowledged power in the British Isles in the reformation of public abuses, and the enlightenment of the public mind, flashing as it did with the genius of Hood, of Jerrold, and a host of wits, poets, and philosophic thinkers."

Owing to the presence of a large body of Federal troops and the admonitions of Governor Seymour, the drafting has proceeded without disturbance, but the contest between the State and Federal authorities is apparently only postponed. Governor Seymour, whilst regretting the precipitate action of the Federal Government, appeals to the people to conform to the conscription until it has been declared void by the Courts. At the latest dates from New York, Federal troops were still arriving to maintain public order. If President Lincoln is to maintain his authority, he will have to garrison other Northern cities besides New York.

The Peterhoff is to be purchased at prize value by the Washington Government, and converted into a gunboat, without waiting for the decision of the Supreme Court. It is not, so says the Federals, lawful for the Confederates to recruit their navy by buying ships of British builders; but according to their action in the case of the Peterhoff, it is lawful to steal a British ship and convert it into a war vessel. The *New York Times*, in an article in which it gloats over the alliance between Russia and the United States as a means of humbling this country says:—"It will go hard with America, but England shall have enough of these relations before America has finished." We have already endured enough of insult and wrong from the Federal Government to make England appear contemptible to the people of the North.

There is still a dearth of military news. The Northern papers issue a fresh programme every day as to General Lee's movements. Nothing reliable has transpired about the siege of Charleston. A report that the Federal iron-clads had passed Fort Sumpter was not believed by the Federal Government.

In commenting on the claim made by the Messrs. Upton, of Boston, against the British Government for the loss of their ship the *Nora*, which was captured by the Alabama, the *New York Herald* says it is the first of a "numerous series" of similar claims; and that "Mr. Cobden was quite right when he informed the House of Commons some weeks ago that a record was kept in the United States of all the damages done to their citizens by the corsairs, which Mr. Laird and his co-labourers were sending on the high seas, and that the British Government would be held responsible, even to the point of war, for the amount." No one doubts, or has doubted, that Messrs. Cobden and Bright are well posted as to the policy and intentions of the Federal Government.

It is a breach of neutrality for the West India merchants to supply Confederate steamers with coals, but they may fairly render the same service to the Federals. The *New York Herald* says, that the number of the Federal iron-clads is rapidly increasing, and adds, "Let the West India ports that have been acting as feeders to rebel wants look to it that they keep on hand abundant coal supplies for our war steamers. We intend by-and-bye to make them render us similar services to those they have been so efficiently performing for their rebel friends."

Nothing is left undone that can be done to urge on the people of the North to wage a war with this country.



In a leader on the West Indies the *New York Herald* observes: "These British West India Islands imitate the dishonest policy of their so-called parent Government."

"When Napoleon I. declared that the British were a nation of shopkeepers, he made a very sage and well-merited remark. John Bull's energy is principally confined to the prosperity of his shops; and after that comes another thing with which no man must trifle—the rotund condition of his capacious stomach." The British Government, "meanest of the mean, has carried its mean tendencies to every corner of its dependencies. . . . From Nassau to Jamaica, from Jamaica to Barbadoes, and all along the whole belt of the Antilles, our correspondent sends us undeniable testimony of the demoralisation of the British colonies, the failure of emancipation, and the future misery awaiting the helpless people of the British Isles. . . . We do not want these islands at present; but if ever we do we will take them in spite of England and all her brave colonial soldiers." And yet we are asked to alter our laws so that we may bind the Federals to pursue a particular policy in any future emergency. Every act of subservieny on our part will encourage the North to make war on us.

The *Richmond Whig*, of August 4th, states that the bridge over the Tar River, North Carolina, has been replaced, and that the trains on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad have resumed their regular trips.

The Federal rule in Vicksburg is cruel and oppressive. The families who having means enough to support themselves, did not draw on the Federal rations, had all their provisions seized, and were compelled to subsist on the army commissariat. The *Atlanta Appeal* informs its readers that the lines are closed and that no more citizens are allowed to come out. The unfortunate people of Vicksburg are, in fact, prisoners upon scanty rations. At every place taken by the Federals the people are taught that it is better to die than to fall into the power of the Yankees.

Mr. W. H. S. Taylor, of the Audit Office, Richmond, announces under date of July 28th, that he has received a "series of Yankee returns of our soldiers and citizens, who have been murdered by cold, starvation, and the most cruel and intentional neglect, in the Yankee prisons all over Yankeedom, numbering many thousands. A perusal of these lists is enough, and ought to fire the hearts of every Confederate man, woman, and child with the deepest hatred, fury, and the desire of speedy vengeance. Any one desiring to inspect these lists, comprising the bravest and best soldiers and citizens from all the Confederate States, and of the latter especially from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, can do so by calling at my office." Nothing can exceed the savage brutality with which the Federals treat their prisoners. They maltreat the healthy, neglect the wounded, and torture the dying.

It has been asserted that a large amount of ammunition was lost at Vicksburg. A correspondent of the *Mobil e Register* contradicts this, and says:—"I have the papers to prove to the contrary, which I will show to any person who wishes to see them, and assert that there was not enough for twenty-four hours hard fighting. The Ordnance Department was engaged in making ammunition night and day to supply the consumption for two days before the surrender, and the stock in Vicksburg from the time the first gun was planted has never been enough—certainly never immense."

Although no battles are being fought the Confederates are not inactive. On the 15th August a party of Mosley's corps captured seventeen sutlers, with their waggons, horses, and guards, near Fairfax Court-house. On the evening of the same day a few Confederate cavalry made an incursion into Poolesville, Maryland. They captured the telegraph operator and his instrument, and returned into Virginia with a considerable booty in horses and stores.

The Federal sport of hunting Indians to death and scalping them is being eagerly pursued. The *New York Times*, referring to a proposition that the Indians should be enlisted into the United States' service—the Federals would like to use the Indians as well as the negroes to aid them in demolishing the South—says, "Unless the Minnesota hunters are cheeked in their pastime, there will be few recruits left us when we begin to swear in the red-skins."

A person named R. H. Webster has been arrested at Albany, New York, on the charge of manufacturing United States Treasury Notes. It appears he sent circulars to postmasters and other local officers at small towns, offering to supply imitation notes that defied detection at \$30 per \$100, and to send a specimen note on receipt of \$1. When he had favourable replies he returned a genuine note as a specimen, and this led to further orders

which were not executed. He did not really forge notes, but duped his correspondents. His letters show that he received hundreds of dollars from all parts of the Northern States. So much for the morality and patriotism of the postmasters and local officers.

#### ENGLAND.

Bishop Colenso has been cited to appear on the 17th of November next in the vestry of the Cathedral Church of St. George, Cape Town, to answer certain charges of false, strange, and erroneous doctrine and teaching, preferred against him by the Deau of Cape Town, the Archdeacon of Graham's Town, and the Archdeacon of St. George. The charges are founded on passages from his translation of the Epistle to the Romans, and also from his famous work, "The Pentateuch and the book of Joshua critically examined." The citation bears date the 18th of May, 1863, that is, before the judgment of the Privy Council in the case of "The Bishop of Cape Town v. the Rev. W. Long." That decision makes it extremely doubtful whether the Bishop of Cape Town has the authority of a Metropolitan Bishop over the Bishop of Natal.

Further intelligence has been received of the Zambesi mission. Bishop Tozer, on board the *Orestes*, had arrived. It was reported that Dr. Dickenson had fallen a victim to the fever, but this is not certain. Dr. Livingstone's party had been very short of provisions, and he intended to send down the Pioneer for a supply. Owing to the shallow state of the river the vessel had not arrived at Quillimane. Bishop Tozer was busy making arrangements for forwarding supplies of food and other necessities in canoes for the mission.

Kilkenny has for the second time been visited by the Royal Agricultural Society; and on this occasion the promise of a fine harvest, brighter hopes, and the absence of disaffection, seemed strikingly in contrast with the results of the show held there fifteen years ago, with the discontent then prevalent, and with the existence of martial law at the time of the show. The gold medal for the best bull went to Tipperary, and numerous prizes were secured for Waterford. However, a large number of prizes were absorbed by the English and Scotch exhibitors, against whose capital and industry it is difficult for Irish agriculturists to strive. The results in implements were somewhat similar, the fifty guinea challenge cup given by the *Farmer's Gazette* going to Munster, while the bulk of the prizes found their way into the hands of the great English manufacturers. The Lord-Lieutenant visited Kilkenny, and was entertained by the Mayor and Council, and also by the Society, and in his speech drew attention to the contrast between the scene at Kilkenny—calculated as it was to unite all classes, landlords, tenants, and labourers, in a reciprocity of goodwill and good deeds—and the discord and bloodshed at other times, and still, in other places, resulting from the conflict of those who possess and those who till the soil.

A principle in ship-building, new so far as concerns its application to vessels of war of sea-going qualities, has been tested with extraordinary success during the past week. The turn-screw system had been first tried by Messrs. J. and W. Dudgeon, of Limehouse, last November, with the ship *Flora*, of 400 tons, and afterwards with the *Hebe* and *Kate* vessels of about the same tonnage. The Admiralty have already applied the principle to iron-cased floating batteries; but in those cases the screws were driven by collective power. Now, however, the *Aurora* has been fitted with two screws driven by independent engines. She is an iron vessel 165 feet in length, with a beam of 23 feet, a depth of 13 feet 6 inches; an area of midship section of 150 square feet, and a displacement of 400 tons. Her engines are 120 horse-power; her two screws are three-bladed, 7 feet in diameter, and with a pitch of 14 feet 6 inches. Her draught of water at starting for her trial trip was 7 feet 3 inches aft, and 5 feet 3 inches forward. She started from Tilbury Pier and ran the measured mile in the Lower Hope in 4 minutes 48 seconds; that is at the rate of 14.516 knots. She accomplished the run from Tilbury to the Nore, 20 nautical miles, in 1 hour and 17 minutes; which, if her horse-power, engine, and hull displacement be considered, is almost an unparalleled feat. On her return she accomplished 20 miles in 1 hour and 7 minutes. She was also proved to possess extraordinary facilities in turning both to port and starboard in answer to her rudder and screws. Messrs. Dudgeon have received orders from the Admiralty for the construction of a small vessel on this principle.

The Confederate man-of-war the *Florida* captured on Friday, the 21st August, the ship *Anglo-Saxon*, from Liverpool to New York. The latter vessel was about 30 miles off the Old Head of Kinsale (Ireland), bearing

N.N.W., and becalmed. The Channel pilot was on board. The *Anglo-Saxon* was stripped of all the nautical instruments, books, charts, &c., was then set on fire, and afterwards received three broadsides at 1,000 yards. The captain and crew were landed at Brest. The *Anglo-Saxon* was a ship of 868 tons and was despatched by Duncan and Kendal.

The total exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures amounted in value for the past year to £123,992,264. Goods in a finished state were of the value of £82,364,681, exhibiting a decrease of nine millions on the year 1860, the fall being entirely due to the state of the cotton trade. So also in goods partially manufactured, there is a decline of four millions as compared with 1860, the declared amount for 1862 being £25,513,933. In this particular the decline is mainly in cotton twist and yarn, but to a certain extent in iron and tin. Articles of food, raw produce, and materials of manufacture exhibit a steady increase in value.

The taxation on enjoyments in this country presents some remarkable features. In the year ending March 1863, duty was paid in Great Britain on 343,285 dogs, and on 571,189 horses. The duty on race-horses, being on a different scale, was paid on no less than 1668 animals, and produced £6,442. Private carriages, being 269,443 in number, paid £350,083, while more than £200,000 was paid for keeping livery servants, hair-powder duty producing £1,103.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science has commenced its annual series of meetings, debates, excursions and researches. The favoured spot this year is Newcastle-on-Tyne. On Wednesday, August 26, the proceedings were opened with an address from Sir William Armstrong, in which the progress made within the last twenty-five years in all physical science was most ably sketched, the chief subjects of discussion being the system of railways, electricity, the discovery of the dynamical theory of light, the coal-beds of England, and scientific gunnery, besides the somewhat social questions of stenography, and the merits of the decimal and duodecimal systems. The success attained in geographical researches, the Darwinian theory, and the theory of the antiquity of man were also briefly discussed. On the following day the sectional departments commenced their sittings. They are divided under the heads Mathematical and Physical Sciences, Chemical Sciences, Geography and Ethnology, Geology, Zoology and Botany, Physiology, Economic Science, Statistics and Mechanical Science. In the Geological section the subject of coal mines was warmly discussed, and the opinion of Sir William Armstrong, that the duration of the English mines would be limited to 200 years, most ably controverted by Mr. Nicholas Wood. It was also suggested by Mr. Wood that Sir William had overlooked the extent of coal-beds beneath the sea, which he believed might be worked. In the Chemical section a paper was read on glass manufacture, and the baneful effects of the trades' unions on the blown-glass trade severely criticised. It was even held, that in the absence of legislative interference, the trade would be driven from the country. In the Ethnology department a most interesting debate arose on the "Commixture of Races," a paper being read on the subject by Mr. J. Crawford, F.R.S., who laid down a rule that nations of approximate equality readily commingle, and without deterioration, but that where the disparity of races is extreme there no amalgamation at all takes place, for antipathy is the result. He alluded to the laws of Tennessee and Indiana on the intermarriage of the white man with the negro, and also to the proscriptive enactments of Massachusetts and Oregon. He declared the absolute inferiority of the African race, and their utter incapacity to rise to an equality with the white man of North America. The African race was hotly defended by a man of colour, named Craft, who roundly asserted that whenever the African race had equal opportunities with the whites, they had shown that they possessed considerable intellectual ability, and many of them had risen to a very high position in society. Dr. Hunt agreed with Mr. Crawford in the general conclusion at which he had arrived, but he thought he had not dwelt sufficiently on the great physiological law which was admitted by most observers, that where the intermixture was kept up through succeeding generations the offspring gradually died out, and the race became extinct. He thought that the laws in the Southern States of America against the intermarriage of the negroes with the whites were wise laws. Professor Wilson, of the University of Toronto, was of opinion that the Red Indian and the white race might intermarry with advantage. He thought the same would apply to the negro, though in that case the experiment had not been tried. In the evening of the same day Dr. Hunt read a paper "On the Mental and



Physical Character of the Negro." He treated the subject elaborately, and contended generally that nowhere had the negro shown signs of improvement, except when intermixed with a higher race. The general conclusions of the paper were:—1st, that there is as good reason for classifying the negro as a distinct species from the European as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; 2nd, that the negro is inferior intellectually to the European; 3rd, that the analogies are far more numerous between the negro and apes than between the European and apes. In the discussion which followed Mr. Galton said that among the negroes of Africa there were more frequent instances of an abject and superstitious character, combined with brutal behaviour; than could be paralleled elsewhere in the world. It was a wonder that people like those of Dahomey could mould themselves into any form of society at all, and it was actually found that when the chief of such a tribe died it disintegrated and rapidly disappeared. In short, the tribes of Africa were remarkable for their rapid formation and short continuance. Mr. Craft said he was not of pure African descent, yet he was black enough to say a few words about the paper that had been read, and he referred to several instances, amongst others to that of Mr. Crowder, of negroes manifesting intellectual powers. Mr. Craft said he had lately been to Africa on a visit to the King of Dahomey. The Rev. H. B. Tristram said that the children of free negroes who were engaged in honourable occupations were invariably more intelligent than the children of slaves. Mr. Tristram's experience is totally opposed to the general testimony as to the condition of free negroes. Mr. Carter Blake contended that in nearly every instance of a negro attaining intellectual eminence it had been ascertained that there was an admixture of European blood in his veins. Sir E. Belcher said he had visited many countries of the globe, and had been brought into frequent contact with African races, of which there were several thousand varieties. One native African he had seen he looked upon as the most beautiful model in creation. He had brought from Timbuctoo some of the most elaborate specimens of workmanship. In many of the arts of life the natives of Central Africa had anticipated Europeans in their inventions. Professor Wilson, of Toronto, was of opinion that Sir Charles Lyell and others, who contended that the intellectual progress of the negro stopped at the age of 14, had fallen into the error which a person would who went into a work-house, among the most degraded and wretched of its occupants, to find intellectual culture and capacity, and that if the negro had a fair chance, that is, if he were enfranchised, he would progress as other races have done. The learned Professor does not, in the brief report before us, explain how it happens that, instead of advancing, emancipated negroes have degenerated. In the Economic Science section, the decrease in the agricultural population of England, being at the rate of 3 per cent. in ten years, the great rise in the rate of agricultural wages, and the enclosure of waste tracts of land, amounting in the whole to 300,000 acres since 1851, were ably shown. The Association does not confine itself to debate or lecture. Excursions organised on a vast scale serve to lighten their philosophical toils, and parties have visited the west of Northumberland and the borders, have inspected the magnificent beds of strata exposed along the course of the river Liddell, and have been entertained at Mildar Castle by the Duke of Northumberland, while others have visited Sunderland for the purpose of examining the public works. On Monday Speke and Grant made their appearance, and the latter read a paper on their travels to the sources of the Nile.

Campden House, situated in what is called by Leigh Hunt the "Court Suburb" in Kensington, derived its name from Viscount Campden, its founder, who was advanced to the Peerage under that title by James I., being before his elevation known as Sir Baptist Hicks. The house was built about the year 1612, was of two stories, and contained thirty rooms. At the beginning of the last century it was inhabited by the Princess Anne, and at the beginning of the present century it came into the hands of the Pitt family, by whom the estate was leased to Messrs. Little, and Co., builders. In 1847 a Mr. Woolley resided there, and afterwards, in 1854, he took a lease from the Pitt family for ninety-nine years. The history of Mr. Woolley seems simply to have been, that during the early part of his life he subsisted by the goodness of his friends, having no fortune and no regular occupation, but at the same time not having any objection to turning his hand to any useful art in the houses or for the gratification of his friends, whether he was called upon to help at Raggett's Hotel or to render theatrical services. However this may be, it is certain that in 1847 he was lucky enough to marry a Miss Cope who had a fortune of about £25,000, and who also pos-

sessed a sister with a like property. Mr. Woolley usually resided at Campden House from the date of the lease, with occasional visits to Brighton and Tonbridge Wells, and once let Campden House for a short time to the notorious Colonel Wagh. Mr. Woolley was a man of remarkable tastes, and employed himself entirely in the decoration of his house, sparing for that purpose neither money, time, nor trouble. He would purchase old panels, carvings, pictures, tables, or bedsteads. He gave about £2,000 for a house in Essex, simply for the purpose of getting therefrom the carvings, which were of the time of Henry VIII. The ball-room contained a splendid Florentine glass, the frame of which was of the 16th century, and elaborately carved, twenty-five pictures, several of them of value, and one by Velasquez. The sum of £150 was not considered too extravagant for a dining table, and all the rooms were richly furnished in various ancient styles—Louis Quatorze or Louis Quinze. Substantial repairs had been done to the house at a cost of £8,000. Mr. Woolley had also constructed a theatre in the house, in which plays were acted for charitable purposes, and it was his greatest pleasure to manage these affairs. He also gave splendid entertainments, and was visited extensively by people of rank and fashion. Such outlays must of course have diminished his wife's fortune, and it is worthy of remark that he had borrowed of Miss Cope about £17,000, of which £8,000 was secured on the furniture of Campden House. On Saturday, the 23rd of March, 1862, before three o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in Campden House. The night was wet, but not windy, yet the fire burnt with such rapidity that the premises and contents of the house were demolished in less than half an hour. Mr. Woolley, Crozier the valet, and one Temple, a carpenter, his wife and child, were the only occupants of the house at the time. The furniture, fixtures, and walls were covered up with calico, holland, and paper; drugget and tapestry were suspended at the windows; books were lying open in all directions; the house was undergoing a coating of varnish, and nothing could be more complete than the condition in which the house was, if the purpose had been to secure its speedy destruction. The house and its furniture were insured in various officers for about £29,000 and the usual application for payment having been made, the demands, after much negotiation, were resisted by the companies on the pleas of fraud and misrepresentation as to the value of the property, and also on the amazing plea that Mr. Woolley had set fire to his own house. As the Judge said, it was a charge of arson and of a triple murder. The point seemed to be that Mr. Woolley had ruined himself by extravagance, and his only means of saving his credit was by securing the insurance money. The case occupied five days, and an immense mass of evidence was adduced. On the plea of fraud the company entirely failed, and on that of arson the jury took but ten minutes for consideration, their verdict being for the plaintiff, Mr. Woolley, for the whole of his claim. It will easily be understood that the action was only against one company, and was in respect of about £4,000, but, of course, it virtually decided the issue on the whole amount. It is difficult to imagine that a company would bring such a terrible charge against a man without very strong belief in its truth; but at the same time a perusal of the case amply justifies the verdict of the jury, and proves that the company has so acted.

Not long since we had to record and to remark severely on the fatal results of performances on the high rope in two several instances. Now another victim has been added to the list of the exigencies of modern entertainment. The occasion was a fête in the park of Mr. North, at Basford, near Nottingham, and the particular method of delighting the crowd was a balloon ascent. Mr. Coxwell, the famous aeronaut, was to be the hero of the enterprise. The balloon employed was a new one, and, on trial, found to be incapable of lifting Mr. Coxwell, whose weight is 11 stone 6 lbs. The crowd was of course impatient, and had no idea of being disappointed. They had paid their money, had travelled some distance and were resolved to be compensated. At the critical moment a young man, named Chambers, whose weight was only 9 stone, offered to make the ascent, and on giving an assurance to Mr. Coxwell of his ability to manage the balloon, was permitted to enter the car. It seems that after ascending some distance the balloon passed through a thick cloud into sunshine, whereby the gas expanded rapidly, that the deceased then was overpowered by the gas, and in his insensibility pulled the valve-line to such an extent as to bring down the balloon. He was picked up three miles off, quite dead, probably from suffocation. It seemed that, from his conduct, he was either ignorant of his work, or that he became alarmed and lost his judgment. It is true that Chambers had made ascents before, but

it is equally a fact that he had no grapnel with him and only two bags of sand. However, as Mr. Coxwell assured a by-stander that the mob would cut the balloon in pieces and offer violence to him if there were no ascent, it is probable that there was an incautious readiness to solve the difficulty by permitting Chambers to undertake the task. Balloon ascents may be in the interests of science, but this attempt was a rash exposure of an inexperienced man, and could have no object but the amusement, or rather the conciliation, of a mob.

### THE CONTINENT.

THE Congress, at Frankfurt, which terminated on the 1st instant, has not achieved much towards bringing about a better union between the States that compose the German Confederation, but Austria, whatever may be the result of her project of reform, has gained an increase of influence at the expense of Prussia. Her right to preside at the directorate has been affirmed by a majority of the Congress, and the Emperor has conciliated the goodwill of his colleagues as well as of the people. Petty dynastic jealousies are almost certain to render abortive the Imperial scheme, and if so, the royal Congress will have taught the Germans that their political unity is impossible so long as Germany is parcelled out amongst a number of jealous sovereigns. It is rumoured that the King of Prussia will bring forward counter-propositions. The probable effect of such a proceeding will be to widen the breach between North and South.

There is very little news from Poland. An insurrection has broken out in the Ukraine, and the Poles have been victorious in two cavalry engagements, and also in an engagement that took place at Janow on the 30th August. Seven Polish corps are said to have been engaged in this affair. General Mouravieff is compelling the peasants to sign addresses of loyalty. It is supposed that the Grand Duke Constantine will not return to Warsaw.

The prospect of a pacific settlement of the Polish question is much more hopeful. The Emperor Napoleon, whilst maintaining a firmer attitude, has been indefatigable in his efforts to avert the calamity of an European war, and it is thought he will succeed. The *Courier du Dimanche* says that on the 19th instant M. Drouyn de Lhuys addressed a circular to the French agents abroad, stating that the attitude of Russia had strengthened the good understanding between the Powers. It stated also that the Emperor's Government was convinced that the Polish question was an European one, and would continue to watch events in Poland with the solicitude which it will expect to be also manifested by all the other Powers.

The intelligence from Russia is highly important. It is said that the Emperor has prepared a scheme for a new constitution. According to the proposed plan the parts of the Empire that would enjoy special Constitutions, would be nine in number, viz:—The Grand Duchy of Finland, the Provincial Assembly of which would be held at Helsingfors. Baltic-Russia, comprising the Government of St. Petersburg, properly called Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, the Provincial Assembly of which would have its seat at St. Petersburg. Great Russia, whose Provincial Assembly would meet at Moscow. Little Russia, with a Provincial Assembly at Kiev. Southern Russia, with a Provincial Assembly at Odessa. Western Russia, with a Provincial Assembly at Wilna. The Kingdom of Poland, with a Diet which would be held at Warsaw. Eastern Russia, with a Provincial Assembly at Kazan. Finally, Siberia and the adjacent provinces, with a Provincial Assembly at Irkutsk. As regards the provinces of the Caucasian region and of American Russia, their organization will be ulteriorly considered. The particular institutions for Poland will, it is said, be very extended. Should the Poles decline to send deputies to the Chamber of the Representatives of the Empire, their scruples would be respected, and the special Government of Poland would function under the sole direction of the Diet of Warsaw, towards which the lieutenant of the Emperor would fill the constitutional mission of head of the executive power. This liberal programme is opposed by the court party, but the Emperor is said to be resolved on carrying out his liberal project.

A novel case has been brought before a Paris tribunal, MM. Marcuard and Co., bankers in Paris, recently advanced a sum of 225,000*fr.* on the probable proceeds of 74 bars of silver from the mines of Mexico, which they immediately sent to be assayed by MM. d'Hennin, Lunel, and Co., of the Rue Rambuteau. Some days after they learned that an attachment had been laid on the bars at the instance of Messrs. Frederick Huth and Co., of London, and they now applied for an order to authorise the



sale of the silver, notwithstanding the said attachment. Their counsel stated that the 74 bars had been consigned by Messrs. Fraser, Trenholme, and Co., of Liverpool, to his clients, who received them on the 22nd instant; but Messrs. Huth and Co. claimed the silver as their property, since it had been regularly consigned to them from Mexico, and shipped at Mazatlan, on board the ship B. F. Hoxie, an American merchant vessel belonging to the Federal States, which was burnt at sea in May last by the Confederate steamer Florida, after being stripped of her cargo. The captain of the Florida sent these bars as lawful prize to the agents of the Confederate States at Liverpool, Messrs. Fraser, Trenholme, and Co., who forwarded them to MM. Mareuad for sale. The learned counsel concluded with demanding an order authorising their sale, without awaiting the issue of the actions as to the right of ownership now pending before the English and French tribunals. The counsel for Messrs. Huth and Co. stated that the value of the silver was 525,000*f*. and that his clients did not oppose the immediate sale provided the proceeds were impounded till the right of ownership should be decided. The President accordingly issued an order for the sale of the silver, and directed that the proceeds should be invested in Treasury Bonds at six months till the question of ownership should be duly decided.

The latest French advices from Mexico state that the health of the army is excellent, and that there are continual demonstrations in favour of the Empire. It is reported that Juarez has been deserted by the followers he had collected at San Luis Potosi. The Mexican papers urge the recognition of the Confederate States and it is supposed that President Davis has already sent a commissioner to Mexico to recognise the Empire and to propose a treaty. The Emperor Napoleon has issued a decree for striking a medal commemorative of the Mexican expedition, to be distributed to all who have taken part in the campaign.

The declaration made by Denmark respecting Schleswig has been published. Denmark states that though not in a position to withdraw the proclamation of the 30th of March, she is ready to take into consideration the proposals of the German Confederation, and to carry out in the non-Germanic provinces those resolutions of the Federal Diet compatible with the sovereign and legislative power of the King. Denmark, in conclusion, states that, having recognised the political autonomy of the Duchies, and declared herself ready to enter into negotiations concerning the realisation thereof, she would be compelled to regard a Federal execution as falling under the provisions of international law. Sweden has given notice to several of the Powers that she will side with Denmark in the event of hostilities breaking out between that Power and Germany.

#### THE SOUTH-WEST.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, Aug. 8.

UNTIL within comparatively a quite recent period your advantages in London for receiving news from the North and from New York were almost equal to ours in New Orleans. The occasional exception in our favour was when a Southern paper came by the "grape-vine," "underground," or some of the numerous modes of blockade-running so well known in the South. Once last winter we were twenty-one days without a line of intelligence from the North. Owing to the irregularity in the arrival of steamers at this port, very many of the most important movements connected with the war in America were known to you before the intelligence reached us.

If the fall of Vicksburg and the subsequent surrender of Port Hudson were not first known to you, it is certain that both were believed in London and Paris before the news was fully credited in the South. Indeed, as I have already written you, the announcement of both events was conveyed in such a manner as to throw discredit upon the despatches that purported to be "official," and every effort made to force the news upon the public only increased the public's incredulity. You cannot bully a man into a belief; and long after the negro and office-holders' bow-wow over Vicksburg, in this city very large sums of money were freely bet that the official despatch of Grant was false. The South, too, with the prestige of nearly eighteen months of an almost unbroken series of successes was slow to believe in the sudden and unexpected disasters of July. We have only begun to calculate the consequences of the recent defeats, and to see what future is likely to follow the unfortunate past.

It is thought in some quarters that late in the autumn an attack will, if possible, be made upon Mobile, but the United States is not so rich in ships as one would suppose from reading the *Naval Register*. To make an attack on Mobile, the iron-clads now at Charleston and Port Royal are needed. Farragut has just gone North for sixty days, and nothing will be done till he returns. Ship Island has been cleared of the prisoners, political and military, who have been confined there, and there are conjectures that this indicates that the Island is to be a rendezvous for ships, men, and supplies to operate against Mobile. It is possible, it is true; but the prisoners

have been brought here with a view to their release and exchange; the negroes guarding them are needed by Banks; and there are no superfluous ships or transports to employ constantly in carrying supplies to that Island.

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward placidly inform the world that, in the non-recognition of the right of secession, it is the theory of the United States Government that no State has seceded and that no State is out of the Union. Yet no longer ago than June 19 Mr. Lincoln refused to allow the return of Louisiana to the Union under its existing State Constitution? If Louisiana is not out of the Union, there is surely no necessity for arranging for its re-admission; if it is in the Union, neither Mr. Lincoln, nor any number of Lincolns, including the whole population of this continent, excepting the actual voters in this State, can say what shall or shall not be in the Constitution of Louisiana, so long as its laws do not conflict with the Constitution and laws of the Government of which it forms a part. This is the doctrine of State Rights.

In no part of the South is there so general a belief in Foreign intervention as there is in this State. It obtains widely among the Anglo-Americans as well as with the French and Spanish Creoles, and they look for intervention by France and Spain, and not by England. Of course, there are no organs here expressive of Southern opinion on this subject. The South has warm and earnest advocates, who can use their pens and reach the public better in London, Paris, and at the North than they can here. But there is much thought, much talk, and earnest consultation and comparison of ideas on this and other Confederate topics in the clubs and social coteries of this city. It is believed by several of the advocates of Southern independence that intervention could never come so long as the South successfully resisted the armies of the North. Defeat alone would induce foreign Governments to step in and compel the North to let the South alone.

So far as the Federal lines extend in the Southern States they mark lines of devastation only. In this State, from the mouth of the Mississippi to Port Hudson, from New Orleans to Red River, along the line of Butler's march through Lafourche, and Banks's advance through the Attakapas to Alexandria, the whole country is a ruined waste; the plantations are devastated; the crops destroyed; the horses, mules, and negroes stolen or carried away; everything that could not be removed has been destroyed. It is a literal fulfilment of the Apocalyptic picture of Death in advance, and Hell following after. It has been and will be so wherever the Federal army plants its feet. Yet the pious prater at Washington, the "government" as it is called, which is wholly engaged in schemes for making presidents, and which carries on the war solely for political purposes, to enrich a horde of shoddy contractors, and to fill countless offices, civil and military, with political friends, tells the world that it is engaged in the noble work of restoring the integrity of the Union.

So long ago as May 16, 1861, only a month after Sumter, Mr. W. H. Russell's "Diary North and South," records his view of "Union Principles," which were then, in that early stage of the war for "restoration," "rapidly becoming the mere expression of a desire to destroy life, liberty, property, anything in fact which opposes itself to the consolidation of the Federal Government." The destruction of the South, as well as her institutions, was deliberately premeditated. There is so much cant about the immense amount of civilisation, of Christianity, and of refinement which is to come from the North in place of the "barbarism of slavery," that it is well enough to show how much of this sort of thing—this refining of the South—has already been effected.

After Admiral Farragut had taken New Orleans, and when the presence of his fleet rendered it safe for Butler to approach, this "General," as he has been called—a "General" who was never in but one engagement, and that was when he was kicked into a ditch by a workman whom he insulted, not three months ago, in Lowell, Massachusetts—came to the city and was duly proclaimed by his understrappers, his shoulder-strappers, by sundry Northern papers, and by himself, as "the second Jackson, the Hero of New Orleans." He at once commenced a career which would have put Barabbas to the blush. His proclamations, his promises, his reports to his Government, his statements with regard to what he had done and what he would do for New Orleans, were as false as his lying tongue and pen and heart could make them. He robbed private houses; he robbed planters; he imprisoned men who have lain in Port Jackson and Fort Pickens, who have basked on the barren sands of Ship Island for more than a year past, (and who have just been released by General Banks), without even making a single charge against them; he insulted ladies in the vilest manner; he is reported, in one instance, to have broken open a tomb to see if it secreted money; he stole horses; he stole silver, sugar, cotton, negroes, anything and everything he could lay hands upon; he came here a beggar, and after nine months' residence he went away with a private and stolen fortune that is estimated at from two millions to five millions of dollars.

He is one of the refined, and civilised, and Christian reformers and restorers from the North. His Government knows the entire extent of his villanies in this department. Its estimate of him is sufficiently evident from the fact that this same Butler came very near bullying his Government into appointing him at the head of its list of Major-Generals; and he is one of the favourite candidates of the refined and civilised North for the Presidency of the States that are united enough to hold the next election.

His followers, as a general thing, were like him in a less degree. They were thieves or speculators to a man, almost. There was scarcely an officer, hardly a soldier, who did not think he had a right to plunder the planters, to rob houses in the city, to commit all sorts of outrages; and they generally behaved as uncivilised conquerors in a conquered country. They ceased stealing when there

was nothing more to steal. You can judge something of the peculiar morality they introduced, from what I have already written of the perfectly polluting character of the soldiers' intercourse with the negroes in this department. The city has not materially improved in "morality"—indeed, everything touched by the army of refinement is smitten with corruption.

That Banks's army, which followed and was added to what was left of Butler's, is not quite so bad, is in some respect due to the fact that General Banks himself is a totally different being from Butler. He is a politician, but not a common thief. His followers are lesser thieves than Butler's men, mainly because there is less to steal. But the official commission, the swindles, the outrages committed under so-called confiscations, and the attempt under a pretence of "patriotism" to plunder everything and everyone with whom they come in contact, is the distinguishing feature of this as well as of all the Federal armies. The Gulf army has been the worst, since of all the army corps it had the best field for plunder.

There is a little news; we have had two excitements in the city this week. Last Sunday evening, when the boat came down from Vicksburg with six hundred of the paroled Confederates, as usual, the levee was crowded with the thousands of secessionists who live in this "Union" city. The ladies went down, followed by basket-bearing servants, and carried all sorts of comforts, clothing, food, and so on, to the Confederates on board.

I do not know whether these demonstrations alarmed the Federals or not, but they were anxious and worried enough about it to order out a squadron of cavalry to clear the levee. It was one of those engagements in which the Federal arms are invariably crowned with success. A charge upon the women and children resulted in a complete rout of these formidable foes. It was pleasing, no doubt, to the Federal cavalry to see these panic-stricken women, many of them with children in their arms, flying in terror before the cavalry charge. It was another "battle of the handkerchiefs," another conquest of parasols, and was bravely performed by a portion of the men who were quite reluctant to make a third assault on Port Hudson.

The prisoners brought down on this boat were sent to Mobile and transferred to a Confederate boat near Fort Morgan under a truce-flag. Among the officers who went over were Major-General M. L. Smith and his staff officers—Lieut.-Col. Edward Ivy, Majors John G. Devereux, and J. F. Girault, Captains M. M. McDonald, and E. Hobart, and Lieut. G. Hobart Frost. It is announced that no more sick and wounded men will be brought down from Vicksburg at present. Whether this is because there are no more sick and wounded to bring, no more Mobilians, or because it is desirable to have no more "secessh demonstrations," or cavalry charges upon women and children in this "Union" city, we are not informed.

The boat returning from Mobile Bay brought a few papers and a little later Northern news (telegraphed from Richmond) than we had received by any other route. The Federal blockading fleet off Mobile included the gunboats Ossipee, Colorado, Kennebec, Kanawha, Panola, Arrostook, and Lackawana, and the Mobile newspapers continue to advertise foreign goods received *via* Nassau.

The second excitement was a general gobble of city negroes on Tuesday night. Last winter, a Mr. P. F. Moncosas came to this city under the following circumstances. He was found on board a sloop in Lake Pontchartrain by one of the Federal boats. He claimed to be a deserter from Madisonville. His sloop had been boarded, he said, by two Confederate officers who came out in a boat from shore; but a friendly boom swung round and knocked overboard the two officers. They were drowned. He was considered a suspicious character and was sent to the Custom House prison, where he was confined some weeks. By-and-by, over the lake came a flag-of-truce boat and demanded the delivery of this Moncosas, to be tried for the murder of the two Confederate officers. He was not given up, and for a long time the public has heard nothing of him till suddenly he appears as colonel of one of Banks's new negro regiments. The official Federal organ says that "Colonel Moncosas was the moving spirit" of this "dashing and brilliant raid upon the negroes." For a long while past, negroes already enlisted as officers and soldiers in the United States' army and ranking with their fellow white soldiers, have been employed in negro-catching and in dragging up negroes to the enlistment or conscription offices. Tuesday night, the entire police force was instructed to "gobble niggers." They picked up every stray negro in the streets; if these negroes showed passes from their masters they were laughed at and told to "come along;" the police broke into houses and searched for negro-servants hidden away. They woke up respectable citizens and attempted to search their houses; in the morning they carried away slaves that were going to and returning from market, in some cases dragging them from the sides of their masters, and in more than one instance arresting master and negro, because the master protested against the forcible abduction of his servant. Hundreds of blacks were thus gobbled, to be forced into a nigger army, to be crowded over as our fellow American citizens of African descent, who have nobly "volunteered" in our noble army, to be shoved into some other ditch, and to be slaughtered as they were at Port Hudson. All this by the law and order lovers, in a district expressly "excepted" in Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. But what are presidents, or proclamations, or laws, or rights, when, as General Banks's official organ says, Colonel Moncosas is the "moving spirit" in a negro raid?

I wonder if Gumbo and Sambo are finding out the exact amount of blessings their friends have brought them, and if they are duly thankful for the "liberty" which drags them from comfortable homes and sets them up as targets before Confederate batteries.



There were so many complaints made to General Banks about these outrages, that next night the police were ordered to arrest no negroes, and many of the slaves already gobbled were returned to their masters.

The line of railroad from Algiers to Brashear has been under repair since the Federals have been permitted to reoccupy Lafourche, and will be in running order again next week. The re-establishment of communication makes Banks almost as well off in travelling facilities as he was when he entered upon the command of the department last December.

The military situation in this department is unchanged since I wrote you last. There have been no movements excepting a gobbling expedition sent out from Port Hudson by Andrews. A small expedition consisting of a section of a battery, about 100 of Chickering's "Piano Cavalry," and 100 negroes, went into the country to steal negro "volunteers." They encountered a body of Logan's cavalry, and lost, after a very short skirmish, 50 negroes, about half the piano horsemen, and the two Sawyer guns of the battery. The rest went back to Port Hudson with no negro recruits to atone for the negroes and whites lost in the excursion.

Mr. George C. Lawrason, who has been confined in Fort Pickens fourteen months, has been released, and is informed (as usual in these cases) that there is no charge against him. I believe all the Fort Pickens Butler prisoners have been or will be released, as well as those in Fort Jackson, and the Ship Island prisoners who have been brought to this city. They will all go into the Confederacy or go abroad.

Banks has published Halleck's thanks to him and to his army for the great things done at Port Hudson. It says not a word about the navy, which is utterly ignored by all the so-called military men. Yet were it not for the gunboats that lie in the river, neither General Banks, his staff, his soldiers, nor his niggers could remain in this city over Sunday (to-morrow). In giving Halleck's order of thanks, Banks's organ says that when the army "invested Port Hudson, it was scarcely stronger, numerically, than the force inside the rebel works." This is to smooth over the failure to take the place in two desperate assaults, and to glorify Banks's army. Now the same paper states that at the battle of the Plains which occurred the day before the "investment" (May 21), the exact force inside Port Hudson was 6,113 men. If Banks's force was "scarcely stronger, numerically," as he left Brashear City with more than 20,000 men, he must have lost, according to his own official organ's statement, about 14,000 men before the assaults of May 27 and June 14, when he is reported to have lost four or five thousand more. I should not suppose Banks's losses were so very enormous, but as the official organ says it, it must be true, of course.

Confederate money, which is the subject of more or less private speculation in this city, has advanced 4 per cent. during the week.

Her Majesty's gunboat Styx has arrived at this port to take the place of the Cygnet, which has gone to Havannah.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, September 2.

At a meeting of delegates from the various Southern Associations in Lancashire, a resolution has been unanimously carried in favour of drawing up a memorial to Earl Russell, urging him to make known to the Federal Cabinet the grief, indignation, and horror with which the English Government and people regard the excesses of the Northern soldiery—first, in their murderous attacks upon non-combatants; secondly, in their cruel spoliation and destruction of private property, especially implements of husbandry; and, thirdly, in their more than barbarous treatment of the defenceless women and children of the South. These unparalleled outrages upon civilised warfare will, I believe, be so set forth that there is some reason to hope the Foreign Secretary may not think it inconsistent even with the cold policy of neutrality to found a suitable remonstrance upon them. In any event the delegates will have done their duty to the several towns they represent, and with the Government will rest the responsibility of disregarding an opportunity of speaking a word in season, and of giving timely effect to Mr. Gladstone's promise that our policy, though a policy of neutrality, should also be a policy of watchfulness and observation, and certainly not a policy of heartlessness or indifference. If these words were anything more than a voice—unless when Mr. Gladstone uttered them he meant to keep them only to the ear and break them to the hope—then Lancashire may safely count upon all his influence in the Cabinet in securing for our memorial a favourable acceptance and—please God!—not a wholly unsuccessful issue. Don't let us again be met with the convenient argument of inopportune. That argument can always be stretched so as to seem to fit. But surely all times are seasons for asking mercy for the fatherless and the widow, the more so when England has stayed her hand and bated her breath until one of earth's fairest regions, peopled by our own kith and kin, may be likened to the roll of the prophet, which was "written within and without, and there was written therein lamentations and mourning and woe."

An extremely interesting "evening," which partook rather of the character of an influentially attended conversation than a political gathering, has just been held here, Commander Maury, who is now visiting some friends in the North of England, having accepted an invitation to meet a party of gentlemen in this city. The present position and future prospects of the Confederacy were hopefully and temperately discussed. The only other subject brought prominently under consideration was a statement recently made at a meeting of the Central Relief Committee, by the chairman of the Cotton Supply Association (Mr. E. Ashworth), relative to the probable supply of cotton in 1864. According to Mr. Ashworth's calculations, which the Earl of Derby has cautiously characterised as most important if the data were correct, our next year's supply is to be sufficient to keep all our mills at work four and a half days a week. Our cotton spinners say it would not take much to show that, whatever might have been the intended political value of such a statement, analytically it resolves itself into three parts: conjecture, and the remainder moon-

shine. But even if we give Mr. Ashworth credit for the increase he promises us of 650,000 bales—being an increase at the prodigious rate of upwards of 40 per cent. in one year—it can be proved by the plainest figures, as was argued at the reunion I have referred to, that the result would not average even three days' working a week. And while the grass is thus doubtfully left to make growth, let us take a thought how it is faring with the horse.

Much has been said, and more has been hinted, as to the moral deterioration which two years of enforced idleness and subsistence on alms are producing in the Lancashire character. That this is as yet happily a calumny, so far as the better portion of our unemployed operatives are concerned, others besides optimists may rejoice to believe. But who can deny that the most predisposing cause of what may be called a malady is in pernicious existence, and that the longer it remains the more insidiously will it do its work? That too many have unfortunately succumbed, is only too clear from what is repeatedly passing before our eyes. At the last meeting, for instance, of the Manchester Board of Guardians, a deputation was received from a large body of people who based a claim for an exceptionally liberal scale of relief upon the proposition that they were "exceptionally poor," but, by a curious coincidence, the very spokesman of the memorialists had to admit upon examination that, as times go, he was exceptionally well off. In point of fact, from various sources of relief, he was in receipt of 13s. 3d. a week. It is to be hoped that his exceptional character did not end here, but that the whole man was a highly exceptional representative of his co-memorialists. He stood detected but unabashed; and as it may do the Government some good to chew the cud of what he said in his defence, here it is, in two versions:—

Hart said that when human nature was reduced low by want, morals became low in proportion.—*Manchester Guardian* report, August 21.

Mr. Hart said it was only to be expected from human nature that when the means of subsistence were reduced to the lowest point, morals would sink also.—*Examiner and Times* report, August 21.

A course of culture known as "the Distress" has evidently forced this poor fellow into a sort of unsuccessful begging-letter impostor. His is the moral dishonesty of the scarcely reluctant pauper who, seeing no way out of his pauperism, has been tempted to turn it to "commodity," and, so to speak, eke it out with itself. But take another case—not this time, of a weak man who possibly yielded up his manhood without much of a struggle, but of a band of strong men desperately bent upon bursting their bonds, and sticking at nothing—not even at forgery—to rid themselves at once of their pauperism and of their country. These men, or rather three of them—for only three were arrested, although many others were said to be in the same predicament—were dragged a few days ago from the deck of the Fiery Star, off Queenstown, bound for Queensland, the charge against them being that they had fraudulently procured their passages by forging signatures to certain certificates necessary to render them eligible as emigrants under the auspices of the Emigration Aid Committee. They were brought back to Manchester, and, after a few words of caution and sympathy from the bench, they were discharged.

The magistrates considered that the ends of justice had been met by preventing the men from sailing. It also appeared on the unfortunate fellows' behalf that they had been grossly swindled by the self-constituted secretary of a so-called "Overlookers Emigration Society," to whom, as they said, they had paid over every penny in their possession, and at whose instance the forgeries were committed. One of the prisoners boldly stated in his defence that he thought there was no harm in what had been done, inasmuch as the secretary (who has since absconded) had told him it was a mere matter of form, "and lots of certificates had been signed the same way." It may be added that all the prisoners, who appeared to have borne good characters as people struggling to lead respectable lives, were married men with families, their wives and children being left in Cork, while their baggage is on its way to Brisbane.

While I am yet writing another crop of scandal springs up. A member of one of our relief committees (St. Michael's) has been sent for trial on a charge of plundering the funds, under circumstances which betray a peculiar refinement in villany. According to the evidence already adduced, his offences are legion, but the most hateful are those in perpetrating which he traded upon the sensitiveness of a certain class of recipients of relief, who shrink from accepting aid in the form of a pauper's dole. His story to grocers, butchers, flour-dealers, &c., was, that he had been specially entrusted by the committee to lay in a quantity of stores, to be distributed from time to time among such respectable individuals as, on account of their previous position, might not like to receive money. Upon these highly considerate terms he obtained goods during the last nine months, paying for them in relief cheques, which he failed to account for. He also paid his own workmen—in fact, kept house and carried on business—from the same or similar means of income. A very pretty story this to get away the operatives, who, in all conscience, are sufficiently beset with temptation without the addition of such precepts and such examples! There is one more class of cases to which I had intended to refer, but the following letter read at the last meeting of the City Board will indicate their nature and save space:—

"Dear Sir,—I am writing to you as Chairman of the Board of Guardians respecting a gross case of imposition upon either the relief fund or parochial relief. I engaged three men from Manchester as self-acting minders for my mill here, at 12s. a week, until I could find roving to put them on piece work, when they could have earned from 18s. to 24s. a week. They have been boasting to my old workmen that they have been receiving, and are still getting, 9s. a week in the shape of relief from Manchester, and making money in other ways, so as to make it better worth their while to remain idle in Manchester; and have left the mill to-day in consequence. It is quite time to put a stop to this sort of imposition; and, if they have relief from your Board, I hope you will stop it; if from Chorlton, I shall feel obliged if you will give their names in and hand this letter over to the Guardians.—I am yours truly,

F. S. BATESON.

"I am spinning Egyptian cotton, and the spinning is good. The wages are the same as the Preston list; so that they can have no excuse of low wages or bad spinning."

Although undue stress should not be laid upon these and such other isolated cases of wrongdoing, they are undoubtedly of too frequent occurrence to be wholly disregarded. Whether or not deterioration is wide spread or of any vicious type, we have abundant symptoms of its appearance amongst us. The sentiment may come ill from Hart's mouth, but it is cruel, unless inevitable, to put human nature to such a strain. Small blame possibly to many of those who at length fall! but, alas, the less the blame, the more the pity.

#### THE AGGRESSIVE POWER OF THE YANKEES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Mr. Senior, having conversed during the last month with Americans of both parties (he no doubt means with both Yankees and Southerners), finds them unanimous in asserting that if England permits two vessels now building on the Mersey to "go forth to prey on Federal commerce," their "escape" will produce a war with the North. His Federal friends tell him so; such, they say, will be the indignation of the Northern people, that they will force Messrs. Lincoln and Seward to declare war against us. Moreover, it appears that we have not a moment to lose: the escape of the vessels "is a matter not of months, perhaps not of days, not even of hours." Then war will be certain. England is on the brink of a terrible precipice; Mr. Senior sees the danger, which is so imminent that he will not even wait the return of post from Paris for Mr. Dayton's permission to publish some minutes of a private conversation which he had in May last with that "distinguished Federal statesman," but lays it before the public in the *Times* of Monday last to warn the Government in time, and induce it to telegraph at once to Liverpool to prevent these vessels "escaping," and thereby save England from the otherwise certain onslaught of the terrible Yankees. For are not Mr. Dayton's last words to Mr. Senior these? But before quoting them I beg to express my conviction of Mr. Senior's strict fidelity as a reporter of them. I believe I am as good a judge of a Yankee as any one, and the turn and style of Mr. Dayton, as reported by Mr. Senior, is so true that I would vouch for the accuracy of every word, and I can even fancy the peculiar smile which came over Mr. Dayton's features after the distinguished Britisher had departed.

Here are the words:—

"Your municipal law has not sufficient detective power. Then give it that power. You are not, as we are, bound by a Constitution. Your Parliament is omnipotent. If it is not skilful enough to invent a law which shall enable such atrocities to be detected and prevented, let it copy the law which we passed for that purpose, and which was sufficient. If you refuse to do this, and in consequence of your negligence, or of your self-inflicted impotence, these ironides escape and plunder us, the American people, irritated enough already, will be ungovernable. You have seen enough of them to know that their resentment is not under the control of their interests. They will really become as mad as your French friends call them. They will be quite ready to ruin themselves in order to ruin you."

Here is indeed a horrible prospect. We have Mr. Dayton's assurance that if our Government suffers these vessels to escape, the Yankees will be quite ready to ruin themselves in order to ruin us. Mr. Senior could hardly avoid acquainting his fellow-countrymen with the fearful fact.

Mr. Senior is a political economist of high repute. Political economy, as a science, is as new as that of geology, but the subject-matter of the one is as old as human society, of the other as old as the earth. But political economy is not yet old enough, as a science, to be employed by such statesmen and historians as figure on the European stage at presents as a key to unlock the mysteries of wars and revolutions that have passed, or as a guide to forecast wars and revolutions that are to come. At any rate, I have not remarked in Mr. Senior's writings any indication that he has given much attention to the connection between the political and military condition of nations, and some well-established truths of political economy. He has written learnedly on wages. He sees how dangerous it is, socially, to interfere between operative and employer, but he does not see what political consequences have ensued from violating the principles of political economy in the matter of wages—he does not see that such political power as the Yankees have achieved has been entirely founded upon our having violated those principles, nor what losses and disgraces have ensued to us from the violation in respect to the Yankees. The British marine operative was always as ready to work on board a vessel of war as on a merchantman, but he naturally required as good wages in one employ as the other. It did not suit the statesmanship of our pilots in the last war to pay him at this rate. They preferred robbing him of one-third of his just wages, and for this object they employed the press-gang. I calculate that they may have, apparently, saved about £300,000 per annum during the last war by this statesmanship. They created the Yankee commercial marine in consequence, provoked a war which cost us very many millions more than had been saved in wages, and in which the very men whose personal and pecuniary rights we had despotically outraged, fought against us with the most intense hatred, and inflicted on the British flag all the disgraces that it endured.

I will now invite Mr. Senior to weigh and measure the elements of Yankee power, and when he has made a catalogue of them it might not be amiss if he were to revisit Paris for the purpose of comparing his estimates with Mr. Dayton's. Perhaps at the end of this interview he may find himself less disturbed than on the last occasion, and bring back more comforting information for his fellow-countrymen.

I classify, roughly, the late United States in three divisions, productively. There is the South, producing raw exportable produce in cotton, tobacco, turpentine, &c., &c.; whose market is Europe, and which has no more commercial or financial connection, naturally, with Boston or New York, than with Pekin or Timbuctoo. There is the West, producing raw exportable produce in corn and meat, whose market, as far as its produce is exportable, is Europe; the way to this market lies through Canada and the Mississippi, the carriage of this produce is, as far as the ocean is concerned, naturally on European-owned ships, and, should the South succeed in securing its independence and betake itself again to the cultivation of cotton, the West will once more (but not otherwise) find a market for a portion of its corn and meat in the South. Thirdly (and casting out for reasons which it is too long to give here, the States of Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania), there remains the Yankee division proper, in which I comprehend the States of New York and New Jersey.

Now, the first thing for Mr. Senior to do is to make an accurate list of the nature, quantity, and quality of the various exportable produce which Yankeland naturally produces, and, after having verified it in conference with Mr. Dayton and other Yankees of equal "talents, knowledge, and calmness," (and such persons will not, I think, be very difficult to meet with—at least, I have met with them by the hundred in Yankeland), to lay it before us. This estimate will constitute and be that of one element of Yankee aggressive power (and Mr. Senior will particularly observe that I do not say of Yankee defensive power)—but of that aggressive power of which we now stand, in his alarmed imagination, in such imminent danger. Before passing to any other element, I need hardly remark to Mr. Senior, who is a political economist, that he should be on the watch lest his Yankee friends should



here and there foisted into the list some artificial product of Yankeeism, as if it were one capable of being produced to compete in the open market of the world, while, in reality, it is only exportably producible with a profit under the protective and high tariff system in a forced market. I would not, however, exclude the article of salt fish as a natural Yankee product; and when he has ascertained the quantity of this annually exported from Yankeeism, he will be justified in allowing it all fair weight.

The next element in Mr. Senior's list will be the number of indigenous Yankee sailors (and from this number he will exclude the Marylanders and the Pennsylvanians), and then the whole number of sailors of all nations employed in the Yankee mercantile marine in 1860, and then the number employed at present in that marine and in their ships of war, distinguishing English sailors, whether naturalized or not, and Scandinavian, from the whole aggregate number.

The next element in the list will be the Yankee mercantile marine. What will be the amount of tonnage they will possess when they will not be able to employ any more than will be necessary for the exports of Yankee produce proper, comprehending the produce of their fisheries, and when the Pennsylvanians shall export their own petroleum, and some other of their own peculiar products, in their own ships? This amount of tonnage can only be estimated approximately and conjecturally, but Mr. Senior will be on his guard against the sanguine imaginations of his "calm, talented, and knowing" Yankee friends, no doubt, in all that is conjectural and approximative, and as I have had to negotiate personally with a very great number of Yankees on what was peculiarly approximative and conjectural, perhaps I could myself lend him a little assistance on this point, in judging of the value generally due to their peculiar mode of calculating. For they are a peculiar people, as they admit themselves.

When Mr. Senior shall have measured and weighed these elements of Yankee aggressive power, and have carefully placed the results on paper, I would suggest his taking a hasty survey of the elements that constitute English aggressive power, and then proceeding as rapidly as he can (should there only be time before the Yankees declare war) to Washington for the purpose of comparing notes with Mr. Seward, for he will find that gentleman thoroughly master of the whole subject,—so thoroughly that when he shall have merely cast his eye over Mr. Senior's "Statement of the Elements of Yankee aggressive Power," Mr. Senior will find himself relieved from all fear that Mr. Seward will ever willingly expose the Yankee sham to the shock of the English reality.

Nevertheless, I allow that there is some danger that the thorough ignorance of the general Yankee public as to their own positive and relative aggressive power, fostered as it has been by the contemptible deference that our official men and our public writers have always shown to their self-assertion, combining with their natural brutality and rashness, may lead some Wilkes or Cassius Clay to do some act that must render a war inevitable. We have meanly manifested all the appearance of fearing them, and they have talked themselves into a conviction that we are afraid of them. That is certainly the condition in which they are—they believe us to be both fools and cowards, and judging, us by those rules and motives of action which guide them themselves, they are no doubt justified in this belief. Hence the danger; and I believe there really is some.

This is the way to avert it. The first step is to denounce, by royal proclamation, the impressment tyranny, and to declare it for ever abolished. Some people may think this superfluous, since the present generation of sailors can have no experience, and consequently no fear of it. But such persons know little of the moral effects of tradition on classes of men that are insulated, separated from general society, peculiar, and ignorant. De Tocqueville said that the peasantry near him still bore dislike to the gentry on account of the ancient *droit de seigneur* in respect of dove-cotes, though two whole generations had been called into existence since that right had been exercised. Impressment was a great crime, it ought to be so proclaimed, and it ought morally to be atoned for. It was as great—nay, a greater crime than the African impressment called slavery. The English sailor was a skilled operative of the highest order in a dangerous profession. You robbed him of the just reward of his skill, you seized his person, you doubted his dangers, and you treated him while a prisoner with cruel barbarity. Tradition preserves the remembrance of this injustice and iniquity among the sailors of to-day, and will long preserve it.

The next step is to prepare ourselves thoroughly for immediate action should the Yankees provoke it, and to let it be clearly understood that we are so preparing ourselves.

The third thing is to show that we really know, not merely our own strength, but the reality of Yankee weakness.

These measures will be sufficient, I think, to avert the danger of war as originating from the side of the Yankees.

But I wish to make it as widely known as possible that in the year 1841 that eminent soldier, the late Sir William Napier, proposed two plans, the object of which was to effect the total destruction of the United States as a Power having any military weight among the Powers of the world, and that he sent them both into the War-Office in that year. He showed me the answer from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, acknowledging the receipt of each of them. Sir William greatly preferred his second plan, for several reasons; one among which was that it completely nonplussed the Yankees about Canada. It would have reduced the Yankees in less than two years to a worse predicament than that in which they stand at present, and the application of it is infinitely more easy at present, in consequence of the glorious secession of the South.

As I saw in the handwriting of Lord Fitzroy Somerset that this plan would be carefully preserved in the "archives" (that was his Lordship's expression) of the War-Office, it ought to be accessible now.

JOHN W. COWELL.

41, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park,  
September 1, 1863.

#### HON. WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY.

THE journals announce the death at Montgomery, (Alabama), on the 28th ult., of William L. Yancey, well known as one of the leading spirits in the movements for Southern Independence, and recently in England as one of the first Commissioners of the Southern Confederacy in Europe. He is said to have been born in 1815, and, therefore, to have been at the time of his death about forty-eight years of age. From my own recollections of him I should have taken him to be older. The disease of which he died is not mentioned. He was for a long time subject to periodical attacks of chronic complaints, which several times caused him to withdraw from public life. His earnest and incessant labours in behalf of the South have probably worn him out. He had that heroic, impulsive, and unselfish nature of which martyrs are made.

Mr. Yancey was born in South Carolina, and studied law there, under Daniel E. Huger, a lawyer of great eminence, and in other respects among the ablest men in a State at that time abounding in remarkable men. It was at the period of that memorable struggle between the State of South Carolina and the Federal Government, in the Presidency of General Jackson, in which the State denied the constitutionality of protective laws, and organized resistance on Mr. Calhoun's theory of nullification within the Union. Mr. Huger was a zealous Unionist, and a determined opponent of the theory of State Rights and the remedy of nullification, as taught by Mr. Calhoun. These questions were keenly debated all over the South, but the great body of politicians and orators discouraged all practical agitation of them, in the vague confidence that for the preservation of the Union political parties would always so regulate and restrain the administration of Federal powers that a resort to any unusual measure for State protection would never be necessary. It is a remarkable sign of the rapid and thorough change which a few years effected in this respect, that within twenty-five years thereafter Mr. Yancey, the pupil of Mr. Huger, and every descendant of Mr. Huger himself, had learned to despair of the Union and finally to renounce it. Mr. Yancey died, Senator in the Southern Confederacy; and Mr. Huger's sons, grandsons and kindred are all in the Confederate service, some of them high in the ranks of the Confederate army.

I think it was at Wetumpka, in Antauga county, that Mr. Yancey first settled himself in the practice of the law, in Alabama. In 1843 he had already become prominent as a politician, and edited a weekly Democratic newspaper, which wielded some influence in that district, which had long been represented in Congress by Dixon H. Lewes, a devoted friend of Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun then had a large party in Alabama which desired his nomination for the Presidency, to succeed Mr. Tyler. When Mr. Van Buren succeeded General Jackson in 1837, Mr. Calhoun, with a large portion of Southern supporters, had joined the Democratic party, and supported Mr. Van Buren for re-election, in which he failed. During the succeeding Administration old differences were forgotten, and Mr. Yancey attached himself to that portion of the Democrats who desired the nomination of Mr. Calhoun; but on his taking his name from the list of candidates worked for the election of Mr. Polk. With Mr. Polk as President, William R. King, of Alabama, was elected Vice-President. Mr. Dixon H. Lewes succeeded to Mr. King's seat in the Senate, and Mr. Yancey was elected in place of Mr. Lewes to the House of Representatives, in which he served for the remainder of that term and for a full term of two years afterwards, when he declined a re-election. His course in the House was modelled after that of Mr. Calhoun in the Senate, which during those years was exceedingly Conservative. Mr. Yancey took a very conciliatory course towards England in the Oregon dispute, and spoke and voted against the giving of the notice of the termination of the treaty agreement for joint occupation. He was with Mr. Calhoun, too, in the rational views of that statesman, on the subject of the "Monroe doctrine," which was then paraded as a national pledge to exclude Great Britain from this Continent. Mr. Calhoun had been Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe, and had a right to know, what he asserted to be true, that the celebrated declaration in the message of 1823 was a stroke of policy concerted with Great Britain, Mr. Canning then being Prime Minister, for a temporary purpose, and that it was never intended to have, by possibility, the arrogant and ambitious character which has been assigned to it by demagogues. During his service in the House he was involved in a personal difficulty with Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, which resulted in a bloodless duel. The Penal Code of Alabama makes duelling a criminal offence, for which, in addition to other punishment, the penalty was disfranchisement; and a bill was accordingly introduced

into the Legislature of the State to relieve him from the penalties of the law. The Governor at the time shelved the bill, for various reasons, among the best of which was that Mr. Yancey was not liable to the penalty, the offence having been committed beyond the jurisdiction of the State.

On leaving Congress Mr. Yancey carried home with him a deepened distrust of the good faith of any of the Northern parties towards the South. His efforts were then directed, out of office, to the organizing of the Democratic party of the South—to operate on the national organization of the party—so as to make the recognition and defence of Southern rights, in respect to slavery, an unmistakable article of the party faith. With that object he went to the State Democratic Convention in 1848, and laboured to secure the appointment of delegates to the Baltimore Nominating Convention of that year favourable to the nomination for the Presidency of Judge Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire—a statesman in whom the Southern people had a great deal of confidence. But Mr. Buchanan's friends had a majority in the Convention, and prevented the nomination. Mr. Yancey was sent a delegate to Baltimore, but was outvoted there by his colleagues, who preferred Mr. Buchanan, but acquiesced in the nomination of General Cass. Mr. Yancey was overruled too in the Convention, by the rejection of his resolution denouncing the theory of what has since been called "squatter sovereignty," which asserted the right of the people of a Territory, before organized into a State, to vote slavery out of it. Of this doctrine General Cass was the reputed author. The Convention refused to censure it, in order not to embarrass General Cass's prospects in the North; and his friends argued at the South that he did not hold it. Mr. Yancey was very much discontented, and expressed his discontent in a long and bitter pamphlet, which involved him in controversies with some of his colleagues. It was said at the time that he actually voted for General Taylor, the successful competitor of General Cass; but the better opinion is, that he abstained from voting and took no part in the canvass. He remained in private life, and for a good part of the time in ill-health, until the rapid spread of the anti-slavery manifestations in the North, and the development, in 1856, of the immense hold which the sectional party had gained over nearly the entire North, created a profound sensation all over the South, and stirred up the leading minds there to anxious inquiry for the means of averting the catastrophe with which they were threatened. The conviction was nearly universal that the Presidential election of 1860 would finally test whether the administration of the General Government could be so reformed by constitutional means that the South could remain safely in the Union. It came to be the belief of a great body of the more advanced Southern men, and Mr. Yancey was of them, that no effort would succeed; but very many in the South, as resolute as Mr. Yancey in the determination not to submit unresistingly to the ruin which menaced them, still clung to a lingering hope that a successful presidential contest, by keeping the executive power out of the hands of their enemies, might open a way to a peaceable adjustment within the Union. The North was fairly warned that the South could not live under the dominion which the election of Mr. Lincoln would establish in the Government; and the South was counselled to prepare for self-protection if that evil day should come. The same language in substance was held by the Southern men who went to the Democratic Convention in Charleston, and those who went to the Conservative Convention at Baltimore. There was but one language,—that the time for a final settlement of these controversies, if they were ever to be settled by peaceful means, had come with the election of 1860. In this last effort to save the Union Mr. Yancey was conspicuous, and laboured with as much zeal as though he had hopes. He was of that resolute party who went to the Charleston Convention in 1860 with fair notice of their determination not to be put off with equivocal resolutions or a doubtful candidate. They found the North impracticable; it would concede nothing which offered them any guarantee for the future, and pressed upon them a candidate from whom they shrunk as one whose position was offensive to them, and whose election would weaken them only a little less than that of the Abolition candidate. The Convention was hopelessly split on that point, but the earnest men of the South would not be contented without a plain issue, for a right understanding of their position. They nominated a representative man as their candidate, and Mr. Yancey went on their part to expound throughout the North the Southern purpose, to treat the result of the coming election as decisive of their relations towards the Union. He was heard by immense crowds; they were won to a reluctant applause of his oratory, but his warnings were disbelieved or unheeded. The power of passionate conviction of right with which he defended the cause of the South before its enemies, and the earnestness and fervour with which he pleaded for a Union such as the South could live in without ruin and dishonour, drew cheers of admiration from those



who had come to revile; but all failed to move the stubborn resolve of the Northern people to exercise their numerical superiority in their own way, and risk the consequences. They triumphed, of course, and Mr. Yancey's warning words came to be prophecies, accomplished sooner than they dreamed of. Differences on questions of expediency disappeared in the South, before the reality of the peril. The rapid development of the rancorous purposes which the new party carried into power, speedily swept away every vestige of Southern hopefulness in the relenting of the North, and the Southern mind consolidated itself into the conviction that there was no honour nor chance of safety except in total separation from the North.

They do not read history right who allege that this was the work of Mr. Yancey, and such as he, who by persistent labours educated the people up to the point of disunion. The merit of Mr. Yancey is that he studied the logic of history and read the character of the conflict and the nature of his countrymen so well as to be able to foresee and announce, while they were unheeding, the inevitable effects of the causes he saw at work, and strove unavailingly to remove. When the storm he foretold came upon them, he is not to be chided for having opened the gates for the floods which howled about them, but rather to be held in higher reverence that he had warned them to build up defences for themselves against the evils to come. And so it has been. In less than six months after the election of Mr. Lincoln hundreds of true men who had for years derided his voice as the croaking of an unquiet spirit, wounding the public ear with idle alarms, were ranged around him as their leader, only wiser than they; and hundreds and thousands more are testifying the same recantation with swords in their hands, or in the dungeons of the North.

Under the Confederacy, Mr. Yancey was selected to go abroad with the first commissioners sent to Europe to represent the claims of the new Government to recognition. The failure of that mission is well known, as are the causes. On his return, he took his seat in the Confederate Senate. What figure he made there is not known outside of the Confederacy. Little has been heard of him at all, until this notice of his death.

In this rapid notice of Mr. Yancey's connection with the Southern cause it is not meant to exalt him as a man of great intellectual power or of commanding influence. He was the eloquent advocate rather than the original thinker. It is doubtful whether he had any administrative capacity, or nature ever had destined him to live in peaceful times and take part in the business of government. He was unrivalled as an intellectual partizan, dexterous in debate, imperturbable when under any excitement, and possessed of a natural faculty of eloquence which made him a brilliant speaker, if not in the severe sense of the word an orator. The charm of his speeches lay in that most attractive quality which pervaded his whole character. He was a sincere man, and spoke with the always persuasive tongue of one thoroughly in earnest. His heart and his conscience were wholly in the Southern cause, and his time was given to it without a selfish thought or a moment's repining over the sacrifices it cost him. Simple in his tastes and habits, he struggled all his life with narrow fortunes, the *res angustie domi*; but the temptation of office never swerved him, nor was he ever suspected in the worst days of party violence of having done an act or shaped an opinion with a view to his own personal gain. His public life was that of an honest patriot, and his private life without reproach. He loved his native South with a changeless devotion, and he laid down his life for her as perfectly and as bravely as though he had perished in the trenches at Vicksburg.

#### A DARING ADVENTURE.

The *Mobile Register* of the 24th July publishes the following interesting letter from the father of Lamar Fontaine, author of "All quiet along the Potomac to-night:"—

Lamar is continually in the saddle, and employed in very hazardous enterprises. His last feat of arms was the most daring he has yet performed.

He left my house May 24th, under orders from General Johnston, to bear a verbal despatch to General Pemberton in Vicksburg, and to carry a supply of percussion caps to our troops in that besieged city. I parted with him, hardly hoping ever to see him again alive; for I knew that Vicksburg was closely invested on all sides. The enemy's lines of circumvallation extend from Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo to Warrenton on the Mississippi, and the rivers and their opposite shores are filled and lined with their forces.

He was well mounted, but was burdened with forty pounds of percussion caps, besides his blanket and crutches. He has no use of his broken leg, and cannot walk a step without a crutch; and in mounting his horse he has to lift it over the saddle with his right hand. But he accomplishes this operation with much dexterity, and without assistance. I loaned him a very fine sabre with a wooden scabbard to prevent rattling, and a very reliable revolver, which has never missed fire when loaded by me.

The family were called together for prayer, and we prayed fervently that the God of our fathers would shield him from all danger, and enable him to fulfil his mission to Vicksburg successfully, and give him a safe return to us all. I then exhorted him to remember that if it was the will of God for him to live and serve his country, all the Yankees owned by Lincoln could not kill him; but if it was the Divine will that he should die, he would be in as much danger at home as in Vicksburg, and death would certainly find him, no matter where he might be. I charged him to use his best endeavours to kill every one of the jackals who should attempt to stop his course, or come within the reach of his sword or pistol.

He crossed Big Black river that night, and the next day got between their lines and the division of their army which was at Mechanicsburg. He hid his horse in a ravine, and ensconced himself in a fallen tree, overlooking the road, during that day. From his hiding-place he witnessed the retreat of the Yankees, who passed him in considerable haste and confusion. After their columns had gone by, and the night had made it safe for him to move, he continued his route in the direction of

Snyder's Bluff. As he entered the telegraphic road from Yazoo City to Vicksburg, he was hailed by a picket, but dashed by him. A volley was fired at him by the Yankees. He escaped unhurt, but a Minié ball wounded his horse mortally. The spirited animal, however, carried him safely to the bank of the Yazoo river, where he died, and left him afoot. He lost one of his crutches in making his escape. This was jerked from him by the limb of a tree, and he had no time to pick it up.

With the assistance of one crutch he carried his baggage, and groped along the Yazoo until he providentially discovered a small log canoe, tied by a rope, within his reach. He pressed this into his service, and paddled down the river until he met three Yankee gunboats coming up to Yazoo City. He avoided them by running under some willows overhanging the water, and lying concealed until they passed. Soon afterwards he floated by Snyder's Bluff, which was illuminated, and alive with Yankees and negroes, participating in the amusement of a grand ball of mixed races. He lay flat in his canoe, which was nothing but a hollow log, and could hardly be distinguished from a piece of drift wood, and glided safely through the gunboats, transports, and barges of the amalgamationists. He reached the backwater of the Mississippi before day, and in the darkness missed the outlet of the Yazoo and got into what is called "Old River." After searching in vain for a pass into the Mississippi, day dawned, and he discovered his mistake. He was forced to conceal his boat and himself, and lie by for another day. He had been two days and nights without food, and began to suffer the pangs of hunger.

At night he paddled back into the Yazoo, and descended it to the Mississippi, passing forty or fifty of the Yankee transports. Only one man hailed him, from the stern of a steamboat, and asked him where he was going. He replied that he was going to his fishing lines. In the bend above Vicksburg he floated by the mortar fleet, lying flat in his canoe. The mortars were in full blast, bombarding the city. The next morning he tied a white handkerchief to his paddle, raised himself up in the midst of our picket boats at Vicksburg, and gave a loud huzza for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy, amid the *cries* of our sailors, who gave him a joyful reception, and assisted him to General Pemberton's quarters.

After resting a day and night in the city, he started out with a despatch from General Pemberton to General Johnston. He embarked on his same canoe, and soon reached the enemy's fleet below the city. He avoided their picket boats on both shores, and floated near their gunboats. He passed so near one of those that through an open port-hole he could see men playing cards, and hear them converse. At Diamond Place he landed, and bade adieu to his faithful "dog-out." After hobbling through the bottom to the hills, he reached the residence of a man who had been robbed by the savages of all his mules and horses, except an old, worthless gelding and a half-broken colt. He gave him the choice of them, and he mounted the colt, but found that he travelled badly. Providentially, he came upon a very fine horse in the bottom, tied by a blind bridle, without a saddle. As a basket and an old bag were lying near him, he inferred that a negro had left him there, and that a Yankee camp was not far distant. He exchanged bridles, saddled the horse and mounted him, after turning loose the colt.

After riding so as to avoid the supposed position of the Yankees, he encountered one of the thieves, who was returning to it from a successful plundering excursion. He was loaded with chickens and a bucket of honey. He commenced catechising Lamar in true Yankee style, who concluded it best to satisfy his curiosity by sending him where he could know all that the devil could teach him. With a pistol bullet through his forehead, he left him, with his honey and poultry, lying in the path to excite the conjectures of his fellow-thieves.

He approached with much caution the next settlement. There he hired a guide for fifty dollars to pilot him to Hankerson's Ferry on Big Black River, which he wished to reach near that point without following any road. The fellow he hired proved to be a traitor. When he got near the ferry Lamar sent him ahead to ascertain whether any Yankees were in the vicinity. The conversation and manners of the man had excited his suspicions, and as soon as he left him he concealed himself, but remained where he could watch his return. He remained much longer than he expected, but returned and reported that the way was open, and that no Yankees were near the ferry. After paying him he took the precaution to avoid the ferry, and to approach the river above it, instead of following the guide's directions. By this he flanked a force of the Yankees posted to intercept him; but as he entered the road near the river bank, one of them, who seemed to be on the right flank of a long line of sentinels, suddenly rose up within ten feet of him and ordered him to halt. He replied with a pistol shot, which killed the sentinel dead, and wheeling his horse round, galloped through the bottom up the river, but the Yankees sent a shower of balls after him, two of which wounded his right hand, injuring four of his fingers. One grazed his right leg, cutting two holes through his pantaloons, and another cut through one side of my sword scabbard, spoiling its beauty, but leaving a mark which makes me prize it more highly. Seven bullets struck the horse, which reeled under him, but had strength and speed to bear him a mile from his pursuers before he fell and died. Lamar then divided his clothes and arms into packages, and swam Big Black River safely. He did not walk far before a patriotic lady supplied him with the only horse she had—a stray one, which came to her house after the Yankees had carried off all the animals belonging to the place. On this he reached Raymond at two o'clock in the morning, changed his horse for a fresh one, carried his despatch to Jackson that morning, and rejoined us all by an unexpected visit the same day.

#### IRONCLADS ON THE MERSEY.

Though it is well known that several ironclads are in course of construction in various parts of the kingdom for foreign Governments, and though one has already sailed for Russia and another for Denmark without occasioning surprise, the public suspect that any vessel of war built on the Mersey must be intended for the Confederate Government. For a considerable time past mysterious assertions have been circulated respecting two ironclads building in Messrs. Laird's yard, and the Federal spies have never lost sight of them. A few days ago it was currently reported and believed that one of these vessels had slipped away to sea clandestinely to join company with the Florida, off the Irish coast. That such was not the case a visit to Messrs. Laird's yard made evident. There at present lie the two suspected vessels side by side, with the French flag floating over the one nearest completion. Messrs. Laird make no mystery about El Tousson and El Mounassir, as the ships are named. They are undoubtedly built on French account, and it is understood that

the French Vice-Consul has given the Collector of Customs satisfactory explanations respecting them. El Tousson, which was launched some time ago, will be ready for a trial trip in a month or six weeks. El Mounassir was only launched on Saturday, but already a portion of her machinery is on board. Perhaps there are not two more formidable frigates afloat. They are 230ft. over all, 42ft. beam, with 19ft. 6in. depth of hold. Tonnage, 1,850 o.m.; horse-power 350. They will combine speed with good sea-going qualities. They are very flat-bottomed, with exceedingly fine ends, and will sit low in the water. Their draught when loaded will be about 15 ft.; estimated speed, 11 knots. The stem is so formed that the vessel may be used as a ram, and the stern, which overhangs, affords protection to the screw and rudder from shot or collisions. The rig is that of a bark, the masts, which are telescopic, and the lower yards, being of iron. The armour-plating on the sides of the vessel is 4½ inches thick amidships, and rather less at the ends. The plates, the joining of which together is imperceptible, are fitted into a teak backing of great strength. The deck is of 5in. teak protected with iron. The bulwarks let down in case of action, in order to allow the turret guns to fire over them. They have two cylindrical turrets on Captain Coles' principle—one before and the other abaft the engine-room, heavily plated. These turrets are made for two guns each. The pilot-house is formed of teak and iron. At either end of the vessel, are raised decks, which afford excellent accommodation for the officers and crew. In the captain's cabin provision is made for two heavy stern guns, and heavy guns can be trained from the forecastle deck. These vessels have capacity for 300 tons of coal. All the machinery is below the water line. Several experienced naval officers who have inspected the vessels have expressed opinions most gratifying to their designers.—*The Times*.

#### SACKING A SOUTHERN CITY.

The *Daily Express* (Petersburg, Virginia) of August 5 quotes from the *Atlanta Appeal* the following account of the sacking of Clinton, Louisiana, by the Federals:—

They arrested the citizens and took them to the Masonic Hall, leaving none but the women and children at the houses, and where there was no one the houses and everything in them were broken open and examined, and when anything suited the fancy or taste of the searcher he appropriated it. From some houses they took every suit of gentlemen's clothes, and wherever a gold or silver watch was found it was pocketed. Many ladies' breastpins found their way into the pockets of the Illinois cavalry. Under the pretext of searching for arms, they broke open every store and office in the town, scattering the goods and papers in every direction, and loading some of them in waggon. The windows and show cases were ruthlessly smashed.

Some of the soldiers rode their horses into the stores and into some of the offices. The officers in command could not fail to see this, and knew that their men were pillaging the town. A great many of the men urged the negroes, wherever they met them, to run away, and some they forced to go. They burned the depot and machine shops, and the machinery of the Louisiana penitentiary stationed here.

With pistols in hand, and presented, they demanded the watches and money from some of our citizens.

They visited the residence of Mrs. Lee, and presenting a pistol to her head demanded all the money in the house. They cursed and abused her very much. They put a pistol to the breast of the Rev. Mr. Hamlin, at his residence, and demanded his watch, threatening to shoot him if they did not get it. They did the same with Dr. E. Delong.

A portion of the men who were detailed to guard the citizens saw Captain Hayden with a gold watch; when the citizens were dismissed they followed him to his home, and presenting their pistols forcibly took his watch and chain. On the Monday evening following, five of them went to the residence of A. D. Palmer, about four miles from town, during the night, and inveigled the old man from his house some distance, and then pretending to have an order from General Banks to take him and his papers and box to General Banks, they forced the old man to give them his money box and papers, robbing him of six thousand dollars. A few days since they robbed Mr. Geo. Keller, near Jackson, Louisiana, of fifteen thousand dollars.

These are the men that fight according to the laws of nations and respect private property. Every town they enter they pillage.

THE KENTUCKY ELECTION.—Evidence of the true character of the infamous victory won by the Administration in the late August election in Kentucky is thick in the columns of all our western exchanges. In the town of Bloomfield, when the polls were opened, says a letter to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, an Indiana captain was present, with a squad of twenty-five soldiers, armed with carbines, revolvers, and sabres. The captain declared the town under martial law, announced to the judges of the election that Hon. C. A. Wickliffe, Democratic candidate for governor, is a "disloyal man," and that he would allow no vote to be cast for him. He furnished a list of names—the candidates of the "so-called" Union party—declared them loyal and that votes might be recorded for them. He said that if the judges would indorse other candidates as loyal men votes might be given for them, but that the judges would be held responsible, and that if any man voted for should hereafter be declared disloyal by the military authorities, the judges would be punished, but what the punishment would be he was not authorized to say. In no case would a vote be allowed to be cast for Mr. Wickliffe. The judge, overawed by the military, and no one feeling competent to endorse the loyalty of a long list of candidates personally unknown to them, and not willing to incur a threatened military penalty as yet undefined, allowed votes to be cast only for the ticket furnished them by the aforesaid Indiana captain. After a few unsuccessful efforts to vote for Mr. Wickliffe, the Democrats gave up the contest. In the precinct there are perhaps 150 voters, but only nineteen votes were cast—all for the Bramlette ticket. Old men who have been voting for forty and fifty years were denied the privilege of voting yesterday, while mere youths, just out of their minority, freely voted. Men of character and influence, among whom was an old gospel minister (not a pulpit political wrangler), who had been a legal voter fifty-seven years, was refused the right to vote, while a young man, known to be a thief, cast his vote for Bramlette and Co. Men of large wealth, who pay heavy taxes to support the State and national Governments, were not allowed to vote for a representative in the national Congress or for State and county officers, while "squatters," "spongers," and men from whom the National Government will never receive a dime, and the State Government nothing more than a head tax, voted without let or hindrance.—*The Montreal Commercial Advertiser*.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Paris, to Messrs. PEREIRE and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1863.

*The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—*

J. Bell, Esq. . . . .	£10 0 0
J. G. . . . .	1 1 0

*The Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—*

E. Musson, of New Orleans . . . .	£50 0 0
Through Henry Hotze, Esq. :—	
{ The Marquis of Lothian . . . . .	10 0 0
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## New York and Charleston.

FOR the moment the attention of the Federal Government seems to be mainly divided between two points—New York and Charleston. A force nearly equally strong has been detailed from the main armies to act upon these cities. One of the most important towns in the South, and the richest and most populous community in the North, are alike threatened by Federal arms; and although the resistance offered by the Empire City seems unlikely to be of a very determined character, yet the fact that in the third year of the war it should be necessary to despatch a powerful fleet and army to retain New York within its allegiance to Federal authority, is a striking proof of the extremities to which the Washington Cabinet is already reduced. Nothing is heard of Governor Seymour now that the draft is in operation. He may be organising resistance; he may think that he has done enough for popularity, and that it would be imprudent to risk Mr. Vallandigham's fate, and contents himself with the last resort of timid politicians—a protest. But he has done the South a good turn. Henceforth New York and the Lincoln Administration are at mortal feud. She will provide permanent occupation for a Federal division during the war; and any reverse, any signal exhibition of weakness, will give the citizens of New York an opportunity of which they will not be slow to avail themselves. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the draft will go on. Whether the drafted men will fight is another question. By the time the conscripts have reached the camp, desertion will have sadly diminished their numbers; and President Lincoln will find that his triumph over the Democrats has not been worth its cost; that the 20,000 or 30,000 unwilling soldiers whom he has pressed into the ranks are no compensation for the alienation of the city which has hitherto so freely lavished its treasure and its blood for the war. So far, however, Mr. Lincoln has triumphed in New York. The Federal press is confident that an easy victory also awaits him at Charleston; but, considering how often the speedy downfall of the Palmetto City has been announced in vain, it would be well for the journalists of the North to moderate their expectations. That Fort Sumter will be breached by the Parrot guns on Morris Island is extremely probable. But Fort Sumter is only an outwork of the defences, and, as events have proved, a very weak one. The progress of the siege, if it has proved nothing else, has solved the question of the superiority of modern artillery over stone forts; but the real defences of Charleston are its improvised fortifications, of which Fort Wagner is an example.

After weeks of bombardment by his land and sea forces, General Gilmore has decided that Wagner cannot be taken except by assault. It is by this time far stronger than at the commencement of the attack. Fresh enfilading batteries on James Island would render an assault far more hazardous than the last. So it seems that Fort Wagner is to be left alone, and that, Fort Sumter having been crushed, the Federal iron-clad fleet is to push boldly up the harbour for Charleston itself. But Sumter will only be evacuated when it is untenable. If the Confederates cannot hold it under the fire of the Federal batteries on Morris Island, much less can the Federals do so under the fire of the guns at Cumming's Point and Battery Bee. It can never be used as an offensive work by the besiegers, even if the Confederates abandon it. But if Fort Sumter is the main obstacle to the ingress of the Federal squadrons, what do they expect to do with the sand batteries which at every available point line the shore as far as Charleston itself, and of which Wagner is a specimen? With the torpedoes and other obstructions in the harbour? With the long lines of fortifications which must be actually carried by assault before Charleston is taken? The town may ultimately fall, but at a loss of life far beyond the object gained. It will never be occupied by the invader. It will not avail, as New Orleans has done, for a starting-point for fresh Federal expeditions. It will not offer, as New Orleans did, victims for the brutality of a Butler. The Federal triumph will culminate with a great city ruined, burned, and desolate, a fitting monument of Mr. Lincoln's war policy. Its charred beauty will send a keener pang into every Southern heart, and will quicken the hatred of every Southern patriot, but the Federal triumph will be a barren one. In the meantime, it is satisfactory to see that the blockade of Charleston is more than compensated by the activity of blockade-runners at Wilmington. Within a few weeks, rifles, cannon, powder, and military stores sufficient for an army of 120,000 men have been safely landed. As the season advances, the difficulty of closing up the Southern ports by blockade will increase; so that even the loss of Charleston will be less severely felt. Savannah, Mobile, Wilmington, and Charleston must all be destroyed before the Federals can claim any substantial gain, any real advance towards their ultimate object.

The requirements of New York and Charleston have confessedly so far weakened General Meade's army as to compel him to abandon all aggressive movements and resign himself to an attitude of defence. It seems probable that before many weeks are over General Lee will have resumed the initiative. Notwithstanding the losses of the campaign in Pennsylvania, a distinguished British officer, who left the army of Virginia some days after the battle of Gettysburg, states that it is "as full of fight as ever—much stronger in numbers, and ten times more efficient in every military point of view, than it was when it crossed the Potomac to invade Maryland a year ago." General Lee may reasonably conclude that the Army of the Potomac is a much safer foe to attack now than it will be when the newly-raised levies have raised its strength to 150,000 men. Occupying as he does the Shenandoah Valley, with the mountain passes defending it, he holds a position most favourable for attack, and as soon as the intense heat of the summer has somewhat subsided the threatened advance may be made. It is a settled rule in war that the very best defence consists in taking the offensive when occasion permits. If General Lee sees an opening, we may be sure he will seize it. It would be idle to discuss the programme imputed to him by the Northern press. The Federals see some movements taking place of which they have no certain information, and their pens readily strike out a line of operations for the Confederate General. But as yet there are no signs of immediate action. The reported concentration of a large force under Longstreet in the Shenandoah has a menacing aspect; and we shall not be surprised to hear, if this report is true, that Meade has fallen back from his advanced position on the Rappahannock. A direct attack

upon Lee's army he cannot contemplate; and to follow up the retrograde movements of the Confederate left, with an army of 40,000 under Longstreet in the Shenandoah, would be running a tremendous risk for no apparent object. The choice of a general action thus rests with General Lee. His opponent is in no position to become the assailant; but a movement of Longstreet's forces across the Shenandoah, or one of those skilful flank marches for which the Confederate army is famous, may at any time compel General Meade to leave his intrenchments, and fight a battle to secure his communications with Washington.

A Confederate victory near Port Hudson, a successful guerilla raid into Kansas, in which "Jim Lane" and \$2,000,000 worth of property are reported to have been captured, constitute the only military incidents of the latest news. There is a general inaction in the Federal camps, north, south, east, and west; but the work of death goes on. Typhoid fever of the worst form is making fearful ravages amongst the Federal garrison at Vicksburg, and the besiegers at Charleston have to contend with the same deadly foe. The climate is fighting for the South as effectively as its armies; and that which should have been a season of repose for the worn-out and debilitated armies of Grant and Banks is even more fatal and demoralising than the hardships and exposure of the late protracted campaigns. Is it wonderful that 20,000 soldiers and a fleet of gunboats are needed to enforce the draft at New York?

## The Threat of War.

A LETTER which appeared in the *Times* of Monday last must have caused great surprise to all who know the writer, and great annoyance to all who respect and esteem him. Mr. N. W. Senior is not to be classed with those Americanised Englishmen whose passionate sympathy with the Federal cause blinds them alike to the simple principles of justice and to the honour of England. We have no reason to affirm that he is in any sense a Northern partisan. We do not know that he is not, in common with almost all English gentlemen, a well-wisher of the South. We believe him to be before all things an Englishman, thinking more of the rights and interests of his country than of either party to the war. It is the more astonishing to find him coming forward in the very same manner in which Mr. Cobden, Mr. Forster, or Mr. Bright might do, to urge upon the English Government the necessity of displaying greater zeal in the one-sided enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and strengthening his argument by repeating the wild menaces of instant war or deferred vengeance which have been lavished upon us by American statesmen, demagogues, and journalists ever since the affair of the Trent. Mr. Senior is, as we all know, in the habit of talking very earnestly to all men from whom he thinks that political information is to be gleaned, and of recording the information he elicits in journals, one or two of which have already been published. It seems that he had, at the commencement of this year, held much conversation with his acquaintance on the subject of American feelings towards this country, and that he thought the opinions offered of sufficient importance to quote them to Mr. Dayton, in an interview which he had with that gentleman in May. The Federal Ambassador to Paris took this opportunity, as was only natural, of abusing England for the escape of the Alabama and Florida; and his abuse appears to have made a serious impression upon his hearer, who now, alarmed at floating rumours that more vessels are being built for the Confederates in British dockyards, calls anxiously for instant Government interference to avert a quarrel between this country and the Northern States. We are not a little surprised by this conduct on his part; we cannot but think that his warmest friends will regret it most keenly. We have learned to endure from certain persons who ought to act and feel as Englishmen, the language of menace and denunciation directed against their Sove-



reign and their country; we have heard English-born orators utter the threatenings of American vengeance; and we have listened with indifference, because we expected nothing better from those who so offended. But we did not expect this from Mr. Senior; and we are at a loss to comprehend the motives which could have induced him to publish a letter altogether so unworthy of his reputation.

We should like to inquire a little more closely into his authority for the facts which he so confidently asserts. He is told that Confederate men-of-war are building in the Clyde, and are already built in the Mersey; and, being "told" so, he assumes without further parley the truth of the assertion, and rushes into print to claim for the commerce of New York the protection of Earl Russell. Well, we "are told" a very different story. We are positively assured, by those who ought to know, that there are no vessels whatever built or building for the Confederate Government in British ports; that that Government, disgusted with the course pursued towards the *Alexandra*, has altogether abandoned the attempt to create and equip, at a vast expense, vessels which may not be allowed to get to sea; and that no more vessels will be built on their account either in the Clyde, or in the Mersey, or elsewhere within British jurisdiction. We do not know on what authority Mr. Senior believes the reverse; but we are strongly inclined to suppose that he writes, as he would have the Government act, simply on suspicion; and that he is as ill acquainted with the shipbuilding adventures of the Confederates as Lord Russell with the rules of diplomatic courtesy, or Mr. Adams with the proceedings of Federal recruiting agents in Ireland.

Whatever may be the case, however, as to the question of fact, Mr. Senior's account of his conversation with Mr. Dayton deserves notice as showing that the revilings of England, and the frantic menaces against her, which fill the columns of the Northern journals, are not the mere outbursts of vulgar demagogism or popular excitement, but represent the real feelings and intentions of men thought worthy of being sent "to lie abroad for the good of their country." Talking to a well-informed Englishman, the Ambassador could hardly dare to rant, as Yankees are wont to rant, about the annexation of Canada, the enfranchisement of Ireland, the annihilation of the maritime power of Great Britain. He was forced to admit that a declaration of war would be on the part of his country an act of simple insanity. But he perseveres in the assertion that war is inevitable if England will allow the Confederates to buy ships from her subjects as she allows the Federalists to buy cannon. The Northerners "will ruin themselves in order to ruin England." This may be so. It is probable that this is really the feeling of the lowest and most ignorant rabble of the American cities. They do not know what war with England means. They do not know that England could sweep their flag from the seas, could bombard their seacoast cities, could relieve the Southern ports from blockade, could enforce an effective blockade of the Northern coast, and within six weeks oblige every garrison established within the Confederate States to surrender at discretion. They do not comprehend that war with England means the immediate cession of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland. They half believe the nonsense talked by their demagogues, and are almost willing to add to their present task the tremendous adventure of a war with England. But we can hardly think that their noisy voices would prevail against the determination of the classes who know that war with England means ruin, total and immediate; ruin, commercial, financial, and political; unless, indeed, the mob should be joined by the class to which Mr. Dayton himself belongs—the professional politicians who have staked their fortunes upon the restoration of the Union, and who may possibly imagine that they can withdraw the stakes if they provoke England to interfere. It is, then, not impossible that the North should declare war against us; for it is not impossible that the interest of the band of political adventurers now at the head of affairs may coincide in that

direction with the madness of the mob. But it is certain that war will be the ruin of the North, and therefore that she will not undertake it unless she is mad—driven mad by the fury of her populace and the craft of her Government. And it is certain that when she is fairly in the mood for war it will signify little whether we have or have not given her any provocation; whether more *Alabamas* have gone forth, or more *Alexandras* been arrested. We know that the rage of the North against this country has never been measured by our misdeeds, or what they conceive to be such. It is regulated not by English provocations, but by American circumstances. It breaks out furiously in ill-fortune; it is indulged defiantly when fortune has turned; during the heat of a great struggle it disappears altogether. Just now there has been a peculiarly fierce outbreak of spleen against us, totally unconnected with the *Alabama* or with any other vessel; and one American paper goes so far as to threaten us with the confiscation of the West Indies. Not that we have given them any new provocation, but simply that they are now in a sanguine mood, and, fancying the South subdued, are eager to fall upon an unoffending neutral. With such a people, we cannot prevent war by concessions. They will attack us whenever they dare; so far as we are concerned, it would be as well if they should attack us at once. They are hardly likely to be much weaker, or we to be much better prepared, than at present. We abhor the idea of war; but assuredly we have no reason to fear it. The worst that it could inflict on us would be the destruction of a few Canadian villages, and the raising of the general rate of insurance to a level with that at present paid on vessels trading with neutral ports in Mexico or in the West Indies. It would give us cotton; for it would end at once the blockade which alone keeps cotton from us. It would give us access to the vast and most lucrative market of the South. It would give us an opportunity of securing to ourselves the territory out of which we were so infamously swindled when the frontier line was drawn between Maine and New Brunswick. It would give us a chance of possessing ourselves of a good winter harbour and a constant access to Canada. In a word, the prospect of war is one which, were we, like France, a military, or, like Russia, an encroaching Power, would rejoice our hearts. As it is, we shudder at it, but assuredly not with fear.

But, come war, come peace, it is not for England to guide her course by the threats of foreign Powers; it is most unworthy of an Englishman to allege those threats as a reason why we should adopt or abstain from any action whatever. Above all, when a stronger Power is at war with a weaker, it is simply infamous to ask us to do an injury to the latter in order to avoid the vengeance of the former. Let justice be done though the heavens should fall; if it be our duty, as a matter of international obligation, to stop certain proceedings of the Confederates, let us do it whether or no the Federalists desire it at our hands; if it be not strictly our duty, then let us refuse to do it though all the world should threaten us with war. The probability of war, in a question of this kind, is utterly irrelevant; and those who introduce it must be content to lie under the imputation of a degrading fear of evils far less terrible than the disgrace involved in concessions refused to remonstrance and yielded to menace.

The question with regard to the seizure of vessels supposed to be destined for the Confederate States presents itself in three aspects: as a question of justice, as a question of municipal law, and as a question of international obligation; and it is worth while to examine it briefly under each of these heads.

First, then, it is clearly just that, in regard to matters in which both parties make the same claims upon us, we should grant or deny the same things to each. If one be allowed to buy rifles and powder, to refit in our ports, to obtain coal from our wharves, so must the other. If we grant to one what we refuse to the other, we are guilty of a gross violation alike of equity and neutrality. Secondly, in regard to demands which the one party does make, and the

other, from its situation, does not make, it is plain that we should deal equally with each. If we so interpret our neutrality as to grant what the one party requires, and refuse to the other all of which it has need, we do not indeed cease to be neutral, but we are certainly unjust. Now, our neutrality has hitherto been so interpreted as to give immense advantages to the Federalists. Their harbours are open, and they have a vast commercial marine, therefore they do not need to bring prizes into our harbours, and they have great interest in excluding therefrom the prizes of the Confederates, who, with no commerce and closed harbours, most urgently require that our ports should be open to their men-of-war and captures. Here, for peace sake, we interpreted our neutrality as the Federalists desired it. We have refused recognition to the Confederates; we have recognised an invalid blockade of their harbours; we have allowed their enemy to infringe the neutrality of our own waters. Herein we have given advantages to the Federalists of immense importance to them; it is quite clear that we ought, if possible, to settle this last point so as to make some amends for all this. Again, as a matter of natural justice, it is scandalous that we should supply to the stronger the strength of which he stands in special need—arms and ammunition—yet refuse to the weaker the element of strength in which he is deficient—armed ships. The distinction between cannon and ships is artificial, not natural; a question of law, not of justice; so far as equity is concerned, it is clear that the belligerent who asks us to sell him cannon ought not to complain if we sell ships of war to his adversary.

But the Federals put in a claim on our gratitude. They say that they, during our former wars, refused to allow their citizens to join our enemies or furnish them with armed ships, and therefore we ought to return the favour. This would be just, were the facts as they are stated. But the truth is that, as is proved by incontestable evidence, the United States never have acted a faithful part by us in this respect. They allowed their citizens to join the Canadian rebels, not one by one, but in bands, actually armed with weapons from the Government stores. They allowed a ship sold to the Russian Government to quit their ports in 1855, and she was even protected against search by an American cruiser. With these facts in view, the pretence of former merit set up by Mr. Dayton appears singularly impudent and mendacious.

As a matter of municipal law it is clear that the Foreign Enlistment Act forbids the equipment or arming of ships of war to prey on the commerce of a friendly Power; and it is clear that if ships for the Confederate service are "equipped" or "armed" within British jurisdiction, we have the power and the right to stop them. But no Foreign Government has any rights or claims under this Act, or is entitled, merely on the ground of its existence and apart from questions of international law, to ask us to put it in force. And, of all Powers, that which is systematically recruiting in Ireland for its armies, and which mans its navy with British seamen, in defiance of our Foreign Enlistment Act, is dis-entitled to claim the benefits of the law which it habitually conspires to evade and to violate.

As a matter of international law, it is laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States that armed vessels are lawful merchandise; and that, though they are, of course, contraband of war, there is nothing in the law of nations to prevent the citizens of a neutral country from selling them to either belligerent, whether in their ports or in his. This was decided in the case of an *Alabama* or *Florida* furnished to Buenos Ayres in its struggle with Spain, and manned and commanded by American citizens. We have no means of knowing, when a vessel leaves our ports, whether she is intended to run the blockade of Mobile, or to be armed like the *Alabama* in mid-ocean; and therefore, so far as international law is concerned, it is clear that we cannot be called upon to arrest her departure.

But, above all, it is certain that the conduct of the Government in such a matter ought to remain entirely unaffected by the prospective consequences



of their course. They ought to look only to the law and the justice of the case, irrespective alike of Confederate sympathies and of Federal menaces; and, in trying to terrify them with rumours of impending vengeance, Mr. Dayton is acting a very childish, and Mr. Senior a very imprudent and un-English part.

### An American Cawnpore.

WHATEVER may have been said by the English advocates of the Federal cause, who have never kept scrupulously within the limit of truth nor cared much to preserve any semblance of consistency between their own arguments and assertions and those of their Transatlantic clients, we must do the American Abolitionists the justice to admit that they have never concealed the true purpose which they had in view in calling upon the Government to proclaim freedom and preach insurrection to the Southern slaves. They never pretended to expect 'civilized warfare from revolted negroes; they never professed to intend only to recruit with coloured fugitives the ranks of the Federal army, and to impair the resources of the South by withdrawing from it the services of useful and industrious labourers. They never disguised from their countrymen the true direction of their hopes. They openly declared that they wished so to alarm the Confederate soldiers—not for their communications, not for their supplies, not for the country in their rear, but for the safety of their homes, their women and children,—that they would desert in large numbers in order to hasten to protect their families against the brutalities to be dreaded from insurgent slaves. Mr. Lincoln did not pretend to care for the liberation of the negroes. On the contrary, he manifested a brutal and ostentatious contempt of their interests. He proclaimed emancipation as a military necessity; that is, he avowed that he had failed to conquer the South by force of arms; that she had routed his troops, despised his ravages, and defied his blockade; that all his superiority in numbers, artillery, and naval power had proved unavailing; and that he was forced to invite the aid of the slaves to assist him in his monstrous attempt to reduce to slavery eight millions of freemen. Nor did he affect to expect that their aid would be given in the form of legitimate co-operation in civil war. He invited them to procure their freedom as best they could, and promised that they should not be molested in any means they might adopt for that purpose. He believed, as all the Abolitionists believed—though he knew a little more, and, therefore, felt rather less confidence than they did—that his proclamation would lead to a general servile insurrection; that the negroes on every plantation at a distance from any considerable Confederate force would rise, murder their master's children, burn his house, and commit all those unutterable atrocities of which none are capable but men whom passion has lowered below the level of humanity, and who retain only enough of manhood to intensify and direct their brutal instincts. He knew what had happened in St. Domingo; he knew what had been done in India; and he knew that the negro, as a creature far lower in the scale of being than the Sepoy, would outdo the horrors of Cawnpore or Delhi, if he could once be roused into armed rebellion against his master. He knew all this; he believed that all this would happen in every corner of the South; and with this knowledge and this belief, he deliberately issued his invitation to pillage, outrage, arson, and murder. The Abolitionist pulpits of New England resounded with praises of this unprecedented crime; with prayers and thanksgivings so awfully blasphemous, that Europe shuddered to read the most moderate of them. Preachers, self-styled Christian, men and women bearing the semblance of the English race, and speaking the English tongue, united in giving thanks to God for the prospect of devastation and massacre before them. They gloated over the expected tidings of blood; of infants torn from their mother's arms and dashed against the stones; of children impaled on bayonets and roasted at the ashes of their burning homes; of women sub-

jected to shame unspeakable and inexpiable; of old men slaughtered on the hearthstone, after witnessing the extermination of their household. They foresaw these things; they delighted in them; they gloried in them. Deliberately they proclaimed the extermination of slaveholders as the watchword of the war; "deliberately, calmly, and as Christians" they accepted the declaration that a St. Domingo massacre was a military necessity, and declared that "they would rather see every woman and child in the South perish" than that the South should achieve her independence. Europe heard in incredulous disgust; the little remnant of honest patriots in the North shuddered with shame and horror. Happily the hopes of these Christian congregations and their ministers were disappointed. The divinity to whom such prayers as theirs are addressed was not allowed to work the will of his worshippers; nor, while there is a God in heaven, do we fear to see the work of Satan so awfully triumphant upon earth. The North was spared the guilt of such a massacre as earth had never yet seen; the South escaped the fulfilment of a menace which sounded rather as if uttered by fiends than by men; and Europe, too, escaped the eternal and ineffable shame of standing silently by, and permitting the murder of thousands of white women and children to be wrought by negro hands, directed by the mandates of a government still recognised as an equal by the great and civilised empires of the Old World. The negroes were loyal to their masters, as their masters had deserved that they should be; and Federal influence had not yet spread far enough to corrupt that loyalty, and avail itself of their excitability and ignorance to turn a happy, docile, and contented peasantry into a horde of frantic, lustful, bloodthirsty savages. Yet the guilt of the intention was not the less horrible because the blow missed its aim; the attempt was not the less infamous and dastardly because, made in utter ignorance of the conditions of success, it proved a complete and ignominious failure.

Something the Federalists did accomplish. They recruited their armies with a few thousand negroes, of whom some are now doing congenial duty in Georgia and Florida, burning defenceless towns and destroying deserted plantations, while others, driven like sheep to the slaughter, stood between the men of Massachusetts and the guns of Port Hudson, and died, fighting with teeth and claws, in the manner of wild beasts, by the bayonets of a foe who had made an effort, even at the last moment, to save them from the cruel mercies of their cowardly betrayers. Another band of these unhappy wretches, apparently at the instigation of the white chaplain of their regiment, have recently signalled themselves by a service of the very kind expected of them by their Boston friends. Led by this chaplain, a party of armed and uniformed blacks from Island No. 10 demanded of Mr. Beckham the surrender of one of his slaves, the child of a fugitive woman. The demand was of course refused, and the party retired. But afterwards eighteen of these men, without their chaplain, but apparently with his sanction—inasmuch as one of them carried the reverend gentleman's pistol—returned to the place. They murdered old Mr. Beckham and his son—the first a man of eighty, the second of middle age—and four children of the latter; three girls, the eldest fourteen, and a little boy of two years old. The two men were horribly mangled by stabs, and shots, and blows from musket-butts; the four children were driven into the water at the point of the bayonet, beaten the while with clubbed muskets, and so drowned. "Better that every woman and child in the South should perish, than that the Union should not be restored." This incident is but a just and logical commentary on that text; these miserable negroes have but carried out the teachings of their political patrons and spiritual pastors.

Several of the misguided wretches have been arrested by a body of Federal cavalry; and as they are negroes, for whom there is scant justice and no mercy in the North, they may probably expiate their crime as it deserves; and for aught we know, Mr. Lincoln may take credit to himself, at this cheap rate, for the enforcement of the laws of war and the

maintenance of military discipline. But for Federal judges to order these assassins to execution will only be to redress one murder by another. These negroes have only done what white Federalists have done before them; what those troops did who shot a Missourian citizen in presence of his wife on his own threshold; what those troops did who murdered several citizens of Tennessee because a Federal General was killed in a skirmish in their neighbourhood; what Butler did at New Orleans, and Burnside lately at Sandusky; what Milroy threatened and McNeill executed. Murder is, with Federal troops, a regular mode of warfare. We might suppose that it would be considered a forbidden luxury to negroes if we did not know that the negroes were wanted rather to murder than to fight. These ruffians did only what they were intended to do; only what is expected and ought to be expected of all the debauched slaves who, whether as camp-followers or as so-called soldiers, are retained in the pay and under the influence of the Yankees. Left to himself, the negro will rarely harm any man, most rarely of all, his master or his master's family. But fired by the harangues of the Abolitionist preacher, plied with drink by Abolitionist officers, armed, accoutred, encouraged to violence, robbery, and murder during many months, he becomes a pliant instrument in the hands of his seducers. There is no fear of a negro outbreak at Charleston or Mobile; but no prudent man will venture to say that there may not at any moment be a negro revolt at New Orleans; and if such should occur, every one knows what its watchword will be. The unarmed men and helpless women of New Orleans may then expect the fate which was threatened to the white people of St. Vincent; the fate which befel the Europeans at Meerut, Delhi, and Cawnpore. For what may happen there, as for what has happened at Beckham's Landing, the preachers, generals, statesmen, and above all the President of the Northern States are solely answerable. Not by his own hand, but by his contrivance, and of his malice aforethought, ABRAHAM LINCOLN murdered those unhappy children; and if ever murder were likely to call down on the assassins the execrations of men and the vengeance of Heaven, it is that which the President of the United States has just wrought, by the hands of his negro soldiers, in that desolate home on the banks of the Mississippi.

The perpetration of a crime like this—the prospect of a thousand outrages of equal atrocity—cannot, humanly speaking, affect the issue of the war. No country was ever conquered by dint of assassination; no people was ever reduced to submission by the slaughter of women and children. But one thing will be accomplished by the recurrence of these tragedies. Hitherto the President and the generals of the Confederacy have resolutely refrained from shedding blood except on the field of battle. They have been provoked by every species of outrage; by the deliberate murder of peaceful citizens; by the assassination in cold blood of prisoners of war; by massacres committed by excited soldiers and executions calmly ordered by generals in high command; but hitherto, though they have threatened reprisals, they have never carried them into effect. This cannot go on for ever. No matter how chivalric may be the temper of Lee and Johnston, no matter how intensely abhorrent to Mr. Davis may be the execution of prisoners once admitted to quarter, it will be simply impossible for them to refuse the just demands of the people and the army that blood shall be atoned by blood. If they did resist, the only result would be that on the field itself no quarter would be given by the exasperated soldiery. Another question will be set at rest by the massacre of Mr. Beckham's family. President Lincoln lately had the audacity to demand for negro troops and their officers the privileges of civilised soldiery: and some European observers, perhaps, sympathised with the demand. We shall hear no more of that, at least from any sober and honest reasoners. It is a little too cool to ask the rights of soldiers for men who are, on any view of their case, either traitors or revolted slaves; but no man in his senses will pretend to say that uniformed murderers, such as Mr. Lincoln's negro



mercenaries have now proved themselves, are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war. It is not likely that quarter will ever be given to negro troops; we suspect that English soldiers, under such circumstances, would give none to any Federalist.

#### ON THE FRONTIER.\*

It is certainly matter of regret that the author of "Guy Livingstone" did not succeed in his purpose of making a campaign with the Confederate army in Virginia. We have few writers better qualified to do justice to such a subject; and his narrative of a year's service under General Lee would probably have given us a better idea of the character and conditions of Virginia campaigning than we are likely to gain from the letters, clear and able as they are, of the two gentlemen who are actually present with the Southern armies as correspondents of the two principal English newspapers. We are bound to add, that this book gives us a more pleasant idea of the writer's character than we had derived from his novels. There is too much of what Mr. Kingsley's friends call "muscular Christianity," and his enemies "animal heatheism," about "Guy Livingstone;" he, and his brother heroes, have in their nature a good deal of the blusterer and still more of the bully; there is a brutal insolence in their pride of physical power which savours not of the champions of the lists but of those of the prize-ring, and their valour seems less that of gentlemen than that of athletes. The effect of these books on the reader's mind is certainly not favourable to the author. He would generally be pronounced to resemble Mr. Kingsley and Mr. Hughes too much to be liked as a man or respected as a writer; if he do not share their Pharisaic insolence and their intolerable presumption, and do not, like them, set up as a moral teacher without having learned the first elements of practical ethics, yet he represents himself as a more earnest worshipper of mere brute force, and in a coarser sense, than Mr. Carlyle himself. "Border and Bastille" will go far to remove this unfavourable impression. We find that the author, when he speaks in his own person, speaks with a dignity, temper, and good taste which are wholly lacking in his heroes, and shows himself what he fails to make them appear. The book, it is needless to say, is well and vigorously written; it is also fair, though without the slightest affectation of impartiality. The writer went out a warm Southern sympathiser, willing to risk his life in the Confederate cause; two months of imprisonment endured at the hands of the Federal Government have not softened his dislike to the "Black Republicans," nor cooled his admiration for the countrymen of Stonewall Jackson. But he does full justice to the Yankees; sometimes, as we think, a little more than justice; and we believe that there are few of his statements in regard to the particular faults and dangers of the North which any honest man who knows anything of the country would care to contradict.

He left England in December last, and after a stormy passage across the Atlantic, and a hasty visit to New York and Washington, he reached Baltimore. Provided with excellent introductions, known as a successful novelist, favourably regarded as a volunteer in the good cause, he was received with open arms and exuberant hospitality by the social aristocracy of that charming city. Of his sojourn there he speaks in terms of the warmest gratitude; for the excellence of the Madeira, the social delights of the long evenings and the cheerful ease of the supper—a meal now unknown on this side the Atlantic, but still preserving its existence and its charms in a land where men dine early—for the beauty of the women and the kindness and courtesy of the men of Baltimore, he can find no adequate expression of praise. Many pleasant weeks he spent there, while awaiting a favourable chance of passing the frontier. As he was determined to take with him a horse and the accoutrements of a horseman, he could not go by the lower Potomac, which could only be crossed in a boat, and was obliged to select a more easterly route, and cross the river at a point where it was fordable. This involved some delay and considerable risk; more than one fruitless attempt having to be made. At last, furnished with an experienced guide, who had already piloted to Richmond Lord Hartington and Colonel Leslie, and forwarded from one friendly house to another, he passed the frontier, and was making his way into Virginia, having, as he imagined, passed beyond the outermost pickets of the Federal army, when the party, led by a Virginian well acquainted with the country, were challenged by some "Home Guards." Disregarding the challenge and pressing on, the author had his horse shot under him, and himself received a slight wound in the knee, apparently from the same ball. He

was thus forced to surrender, while the guide made off on foot, only to be captured a few hours later with a mass of dangerous papers in his possession. The captives were sent to Wheeling; and thence the author was forwarded to Baltimore for identification. From Baltimore he was passed on to Washington, and there consigned to prison. Here he seems to have been fortunate. Though his guards stole newspapers and cigars which were sent to him by friends at the Legation, they allowed him, like their other captives, to purchase for himself, at exorbitant prices, both food, and drink, and tobacco; he had only one companion in his room; and although against the rules of the place, he was allowed to keep a light burning in his room all night, or as long as he pleased. Nevertheless he suffered terribly. Irritation, anxiety, ennui, and that hope deferred which makes the heart sick, so preyed upon his spirits that he sank into a state of utter listlessness; while something which seems to have resembled what is called "low fever" gradually reduced his physical powers to that degree that the strong man, capable of sustaining the fatigues of a campaign, and weighing in good condition some fourteen stone, could not climb the prison stairs without pausing, in utter exhaustion, to rest and take breath. His sight was so much impaired that reading became impossible. "Even now, a month after my enfranchisement, though keen Atlantic breezes and home comforts have worked wonders, I cannot write five consecutive sentences without a respite." Others, weaker, and imprisoned for a longer time, must have suffered still more; especially as many of them were subjected for months together to such physical torments as were entirely spared to our author. There were women, and even children, imprisoned in that very place; there have been men, already grown old, confined in crowded dungeons for a twelvemonth or more, by the mere fiat of the Federal Government, without such grounds of reasonable suspicion as existed in the case of a prisoner taken in an actual attempt to pass the lines. Those who are inclined to think lightly of the punishment inflicted on free citizens, for no legal offence, at the pleasure of such ministers as the swindler Cameron or such generals as the courteous Schenck and the heroic Butler, will do well to read the pages in which a man who, when first captured, could rend a broad linen band tied round his arm by bending the biceps muscle, records the sufferings he underwent in eight weeks of imprisonment, pure and simple, without one unnecessary hardship superadded. At the end of that time he was ready enough to accept his release on condition that he should not revisit the United States "during the rebellion," to abandon his schemes, and to return to England.

Some portions of his observations, and especially those which relate to the constitution and defects of the Northern armies, and to the temper and position of the State of Maryland, are well worthy of attention. They are not altogether new; but they come with renewed force from one who puts his views in a clear light, who thinks distinctly, and forms his conclusions with due caution and reserve. The slovenliness of the appearance presented by the Federal soldiery particularly struck the author. Officers and men alike had the slouching, most unsoldierly gait of the Yankee civilian, so well described by a Yankee satirist.

The most of you—this is what strikes all beholders—  
Have a mental and physical stoop in the shoulders.  
Though you call yourselves free as the winds and the waves,

*You've the gait and the manners of runaway slaves.*

The clothing and accoutrements of the soldiers are dirty and rusty, and the general appearance of troops on home duty, with no excuse for dirt and carelessness, is totally devoid of that "smartness" which distinguishes good European and especially English troops. The cavalry are wretched. They are ill-mounted, on miserable animals, dear at the government price of £20, which are so ill-cared for and left so completely ungroomed that no one can wonder at their dying by thousands in the camp. The saddle is good; but the stirrup is heavy and short, and closed like that of a lady's saddle, so that the soldier cannot rise to his height to give force to the blow of his sabre. And the Yankees are never horsemen. Where Englishmen ride, they drive, and drive very well; but the majority of them never learn to sit a horse, and the original vice of bad horsemanship besets their cavalry still. On the other hand, the Southerners are used to ride far and fast and across country. They are born and bred to the saddle, and the South could probably furnish a larger number of first-rate riders than any other civilised country. Hence the vast superiority displayed by the Confederates, whenever the cavalry of the two countries comes into conflict; a superiority which, in some districts, will tell with terrible effect on an enemy entangled in a hostile land and at a distance from his base of operations—which

ought to tell, perhaps, more than it has done in the improvement of a victory once achieved.

Of the moral quality of the Northern forces our author has a very low opinion. The absence of military traditions; the heterogeneous character of the people; their habits of equality and contempt of subordination; their determination to carry into the camp the feelings and privileges of civil life—all help to make the task of disciplining a Northern levy into anything like an effective army exceedingly onerous. In our author's opinion the native Americans have behaved better than the Irish and Germans—a judgment which is, we suspect, somewhat too hasty and general—but they have not behaved well. They will fight energetically when they choose; they skirmish well, and they are not bad at a rush. But they are not steady in line of battle; they totally lack enthusiasm and self-devotion; they think for themselves, and criticise the proceedings of their commanders in an unsparing manner; and above all, they have neither respect for nor confidence in their officers. How should they? Their officers are not, as in France, men trained to soldiership and military skill; nor, as in England, gentlemen of birth and breeding, superior in physique and intellect and position to their men; nor, as in the South, men who have proved their merit either to their comrades at home or to their commander in the field. They are appointed by political favour, and political favour in America belongs not to the best but to the worst classes of the people; especially now, when a republican government has completely realised Byron's definition of democracy as "an aristocracy of blackguards." From this aristocracy are chosen the officers of the Federal army; the best of them such men as Banks, a noted but not disreputable politician, the remnant of that sort of which Butler is the typical representative—often cowards, mostly scoundrels, always incapables. If an exception be found here and there, in which an officer of volunteers is a gentleman and a soldier, he is almost sure to belong to the regular army. With bayonets that think, and swords that dangle where manacles would be more appropriate—with soldiers who can scarcely learn to salute a field-officer, and field-officers that—

Stick a Union mask on to State-prison features,  
it is rather more wonderful that Meade and M'Clellan should have acquitted themselves honourably than that Hooker and Burnside and M'Dowell and Pope should have come to signal shame.

To the loyalty of Maryland these pages bear ample testimony. In Baltimore the writer found the hospitable salons almost emptied of the "prime of manhood." Every family of social rank had sent its sons into the Confederate ranks, rarely and uncertainly to hear of their fate; 12,000 Marylanders had recruited the Southern army, and of 9,000 pressed by the Government at Washington, only 100 remained in its service. Except in the western counties, where the Unionists are strengthened by the influence of the railroad population, and where the secessionists have been somewhat cooled by Southern requisitions, the State is Southern to the core. Whatever her citizens individually could do for the South, they have done; and if they refused to rise when Lee entered the State, they only acted with common prudence and discretion. A large Federal force was among them, ready to repress insurrection before it could gain a head; the Army of the Potomac was between them and their friends; success was hardly to be hoped for, and failure would have involved the whole population—and especially the women and children—in helpless subjection to the furious vengeance of the victors. The retreat of the Confederates fully justified the prudence of the Marylanders. The Federal Government appreciates their temper accurately enough, and maintains among them to this day a tyranny like that of Russia in Poland or Austria in Venice. This volume contains numerous instances of the caprice and meanness of the military rulers of Maryland, which prove alike the conviction they entertain of the inveterate hostility of their subjects, and the deep cause which those subjects have to hate them. The feeling of the more reserved and temperate among them found vent in the address of an Episcopalian clergyman of eminence, when the command went forth that the President should be prayed for:—"My brethren," he said, "we are commanded this day to intercede with the Almighty for the President. Let us pray. May the Lord have mercy on Abraham Lincoln's soul!"

#### MAGAZINES FOR SEPTEMBER.

AN English officer who was present with the Confederate army contributes to *Blackwood* a narrative of the Battle of Gettysburg and the campaign in Pennsylvania, which has the rare merit of being confined to such details as fell under the observation of the author. The description of the difficulties incident to taking part in

\* Border and Bastille. By the Author of "Guy Livingstone." London: Tinsley Brothers, 1863.



that campaign, even as a spectator, reminds the reader that it is not the field of battle only that tests the heroism and endurance of the Southern soldier. No wonder that the Confederates have so often been triumphant over superior numbers. Fighting is the least arduous of their duties, for they go into action hardened by a training such as their lavishly-equipped foes could scarcely bear. Our "English officer," after a miserable ride upon a broken-down hack, came up on the sixth or seventh day with the head-quarters of the army, and was very kindly received, first by General Longstreet and afterwards by General Lee. On his way he had been struck with the cruel ravages of the war. In every direction were to be seen the blackened ruins of farm-houses. There was abundant evidence that the Federals had done what they could to glut their vengeance and to satisfy their barbarous passion for destruction. The house of Mr. Mason, the Confederate Commissioner, had long ago been gutted, but that did not satisfy the insatiate spite of the Yankee. Under the direction of Milroy, whom our author fitly compares to Butler, the very foundation of Mr. Mason's house has been dug up, so that literally not one stone is left standing upon another; the debris has been carted away and only a hole is left to mark the site where the house once stood. During the northward progress of the Southern army the Yankees, relying on the forbearance of the generous foe, indulged in all sorts of petty insults. The Chambersburg ladies laughed derisively at the ragged Texans, and one of them stood at the door of a house with a huge Yankee flag adorning her ample bosom. Several companies passed without taking any notice, but at length a Texan said to her, "Take care Madam, for Hood's boys are great at storming breast-works when the Yankee colours is on them," and upon that the lady withdrew. An illustration of Northern savagery, and an exceedingly characteristic one, is recorded in the article before us. Whilst in Pennsylvania a Southern officer saw a corpse covered with a sheet lying in a verandah. He inquired of the mistress of the house if it was the body of a Confederate or a Yankee, and the woman, who, like the Baltimore virago who tortured a dying Confederate by waving the Federal flag in his face, was an Abolitionist, answered, "If it was a rebel do you think it would be here long?" Beholding everywhere the evidences of such fiendish ferocity, the English officer could but admire, not only the humanity and chivalry of the Confederates, which prevented them from retaliating in kind, but still more the excellent discipline which prevented any retaliation at all, and made the vast Southern army respect private property. The Pennsylvanians were not particularly grateful, but their ingratitude was not the result of their love for the Union. Our author says, "they are the most unpatriotic people I ever saw, and openly state that they don't care which side wins, provided they are left alone. They abuse Lincoln tremendously." On the 1st of July our author witnessed the conclusion of the battle that was fought on that day. Nearly 6,000 prisoners and ten guns were captured, and so far as that particular action was concerned, the Confederate victory was complete. Nor were the Southern generals unprepared for the task that they thought awaited them on the 2nd. General Longstreet, with whom our author supped, told him that he knew the enemy's position was very formidable, and that he would doubtless entrench himself during the night. On the 2nd, victory again inclined to the Confederates, who bivouacked at night on the ground occupied by the enemy in the morning; but on the 3rd the Federals had the advantage, that is to say, the Confederates made the attack and were repulsed. On this day, whilst our author was wending his way through the woods in the direction of Longstreet's head-quarters, he met wounded men coming from the front, many asking in piteous tones the way to a doctor or an ambulance. The less severely wounded were helping their more unfortunate comrades, but not one sound man did the English officer meet who, under the cloak of humanity, had shirked the deadly fight. Soon the number of the wounded increased, until at length they came on like "the crowd in Oxford Street in the middle of the day." When our author came up to General Longstreet, who was seated on a fence at the edge of a wood, he saw a regiment advancing in good order, as he thought, to the attack, and observed, "I would not have missed this for anything." Then Longstreet, who was calm and whose manner betrayed none of the emotion that he must have felt, replied, laughing, "The devil you would? I would like to have missed it very much; we have attacked and been beaten; look there." Our author describes the moment as highly critical; not that there was any danger of the Confederate army being routed, but an attack at that juncture would have caused considerable disaster. It was a time to test generalship and discipline. Longstreet gave

his orders as quietly as if he had been at a review. One officer told him he could not bring up his men again; he bade him sarcastically to let them remain where they were, for the enemy were about to advance and would save him the trouble. General Lee, quite alone, was going about cheering up the men, not denying that a reverse had been sustained, but telling them to rally. At his bidding, even the slightly wounded bound up their wounds and took up a musket. He encouraged the officers that came up to him, by telling them that he alone was to blame. Even trivial matters, at this harassing crisis, did not escape his attention. He said to our author, "This has been a sad day for us, colonel, a sad day; but we cannot expect always to gain victories;" and then advised him to get into some more sheltered position. He observed an officer whipping his horse for shying at the bursting of a shell, and called out, "Don't whip him, Captain, don't whip him. I have got just such another foolish horse myself, and whipping does no good." The result of all this calmness and conduct was that the men were rallied and brought into position with "much less noise, fuss, or confusion of orders than at any ordinary field day." General Lee withdrew, says our author, because he was short of ammunition, and he was not pressed by the enemy, but carried with him into Virginia an enormous booty. We have given a very imperfect sketch of the article, which is full of information and interesting anecdotes. The simple habits and manners of the Confederate generals invest them with a grand antique heroism, and no one can read the narrative before us without feeling still greater respect for such men as Lee, Longstreet, and Ewell.

*Fraser* contains an article entitled, "Our Manufacturing Districts under a Cloud." What an agreeable way of putting a disagreeable matter! A cloud is a temporary inconvenience, and, however black, has a silver lining. When it passes away the crops are heavier than they would have been if the sunshine had been continuous. Those who like to take a pleasant view of affairs had better not read any more of the fourth article in *Fraser* than the title. There is just sufficient revival in Lancashire to make us aware how much our cotton trade has been crippled. Despite the splendid harvest with which we have been blessed, the prospects for the coming winter are gloomy enough. Nor is that the worst. The hope of amelioration waxes fainter and fainter. The stock of cotton goods is everywhere becoming rapidly exhausted, and consequently there are some orders. It is, however, a puny trade. We cannot supply our fabrics so cheaply as formerly. The price of the raw material is excessive, and Surat is a wretched substitute for New Orleans. "The work is proportionately more trying and less remunerative to the operative. It is calculated that in a mill where a decent *Surat* is used, and the machinery is adapted to it, the cloth is about two-thirds of what it would have been with American material." So the operative, the millowner, and the whole trade suffer. We cannot sell a dear fabric in the place of cheap fabric, and we cannot produce a cheap fabric without the aid of the cotton-fields of the Confederate States. The Federals bully us about the Alabama, but surely they have their revenge in the condition and prospects of Lancashire. Our neutrality has cost us more than any war we have waged.—"The Periodical Press of the United States" treats on a subject that is not very well understood in Europe. There are an immense number of papers published—in New York 851 periodicals, of which 72 are daily papers—and this development is not due to the public demand but to the political system. The press in the United States does not represent the public opinion, but the opinions of its proprietors and editors. The most remarkable exception is the *New York Herald*, which has a large circulation, the result of its able management and of representing the passion of the hour. But party papers, though not always commercially successful, have their reward. After the election of Mr. Lincoln "seven of the editorial staff of the *New York Tribune* were selected to fill important appointments." It is not surprising then that the *Tribune* and such papers are so earnest in advocating the extermination of the Southern people. May not the most obscure writer hope to get a share of the imperial booty? It is unnecessary to comment on the peculiarities and character of Northern journals. The Federal organs published in London are fair specimens of their transatlantic contemporaries, except that they are willing to sacrifice their country's welfare for the sake of a foreign power, and that, time-serving as are the Union editors, we know of no instance in which one of them has been brought over to advocate a policy detrimental to the real or supposed interests of the United States.—We cannot agree with "A Plea for the Free Discussion of Theological Difficulties." Every man, no doubt, ought to be at liberty to express his opinion on

all things, and especially on religion; but it does not follow that a clergyman should be free to express opinions that are opposed to the doctrine of the Church. If his views change let him leave the ministry. The liberty claimed by some clergymen is to express individual opinions opposed to the doctrines of the Church, and at the same time to receive ecclesiastical salaries. They desire to be very honest, not at their own, but at the Church's expense.

The *Cornhill* has a very charming, but withal a very pathetic essay, on "Going to the Dogs." We hear very much in this country about self-made men, and England is undoubtedly remarkable for the number of her citizens who attain to fortune and reputation from very humble beginnings; as yet, however, we have not a volume on the lives of men who have unmade themselves—of men who had good starts in life, who were bred in the lap of luxury, and who have spurned Fortune's favours, have been reduced to penury, and who have gone to the dogs. If such a book should be written, it will be found that the essayist in the *Cornhill* is right in ascribing this kind of decay and ruin not so much to profligacy as to that worst of all vices, idleness. The outcast complains that in days gone by he was invited to enjoy the luxuries of the season and that now he vainly begs for a loaf of bread. "The same man who will spend pounds to be genteel wont spare a penny to be generous. Very strange is it not? There is nothing between turtle-soup and starvation." It is very sad that people do not compassionate their former friends in the hour of adversity, but it is not strange. A man has a right, if he chooses, to feast his friends, but it does not follow that he is bound to find them in daily bread if through their own folly they fall into poverty. What poor relations call unkindness and ingratitude is very often nothing more than the refusal of their rich relations to comply with their unjust demands—"The Opera, 1833-1863," points out how, in what is called "grand opera," the music is made subservient to the dramatic action, and gives a very gloomy picture of operatic prospects.—"How we slept at the *Châlet des Chèvres*," shows what toil enthusiasts of mountain climbing make of pleasure, especially when ladies are of the party.—"Richelieu's Shabby Suit," is a very graphic account of the dissolute manners of the age of Louis XVI.—An essay entitled "Anti-Respectability," criticises Mrs. Norton's novel of "Lost and Saved" rather severely in its moral aspect. The writer observes, that it is natural and necessary for society to treat the immoral men leniently, whilst no mercy is shown to immoral women. A man, either lawyer, doctor, banker, or author, may go into society, though his domestic conduct be very blamable, for that is a thing apart, but a woman can never be disassociated from her private life.

The *Churchman's Family Magazine* contains the first part of "Notes on the Anglo-American Church," and we regret that the subject is not treated at greater length. The history of the American Episcopal Church may well encourage those who think the Church of England in danger from the attacks lately made upon her by those who ought to have been her zealous defenders. When Englishmen went to America as colonists they carried their religion with them, but strange to say, they were denied the privilege of a bishop—Virginia and Maryland being included in the See of London—and consequently no one could be ordained without crossing the Atlantic, which was in those days a formidable undertaking; and the baptismal service became a reproach, because it was a palpable absurdity to enjoin sponsors to bring children to the Bishop for confirmation, seeing that there was not a Bishop on the continent. It would not be a fair inference from this that there was a lack of Christian zeal in the Establishment. The missionary work of the clergy in America was severe and trying, yet missionaries were never wanting. But there was about the same jealousy against extending the episcopacy to the New World as there would have been in so extending the Parliament. The bench of Bishops was regarded as a body politic and the special bulwark of the throne. Our profession of faith was catholic but our ecclesiastical system was national, and a hundred years ago the term national did not embrace our colonies. In addition to this grievance, the Episcopalians in America had to suffer a relentless persecution at the hands of the Puritans. Those advocates of liberty of conscience prohibited the use of the Common Prayer, and banished from the colony those who used it. "Not only Churchmen, but Seculars, were punished. To be convicted of being a Quaker was to incur the loss of an ear (by statute); a second conviction and a third involved further mutilation. And the boring through the tongue with a red-hot iron—even death—was inflicted upon many. Anabaptists were whipped and fined; the observance of Saints' days, and, curiously enough, the making of mince-pies, prohibited." Nevertheless, in spite



neglect from England and the persecution of the Puritans, the Anglo-American Church was increasing in numbers at the time of the declaration of Independence, to which period the present article brings us.

"Servitude for Life," (a brief dialogue), by Mr. J. M. Ludlow, appears in *Macmillan*, and is, we suppose, intended as a reply to Mr. Carlyle's American Iliad. "Thou mayst make a great noise, but thy braying will never be like the roaring of the lion." Mr. Ludlow is vain enough to suppose that he can reply to T. C. in T. C.'s peculiar style. A reference to page 389 of *Macmillan* will show that Mr. Ludlow's vanity is infinitely greater than his ability.

Besides the continuation of Mr. Ainsworth's romance and the second part of a story entitled "Six Weeks at Hunsdon Manor," there are several pleasant contributions in *Bentley*. There is a smart chapter on the incredibility of history, but we incline to think that the present historical scepticism is more ridiculous than our former credulity. It is better to have the gold, even if we cannot get it quite free from dross.

*London Society* continues its sketches of "London Editors and Reporters," including in the present number a notice of Woodfall and Perry, the pioneers of our system of parliamentary reporting. Perry was first engaged on the *Advertiser*, and to that journal he devoted all his time and talents for a guinea a week. *London Society* is good, considering the season, but like all its contemporaries is palpably affected by the prevailing dullness.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, July 25.

THE week has been singularly quiet. In no quarter of the Confederacy, so far as we know, has there been any serious shock of arms. Perfect quietude has reigned in the Capital, unbroken by even so much as a startling rumour. The pause in stirring events affords us the opportunity of reading the detailed accounts of those sanguinary operations, the announcement of which by telegraph so excited the public mind during the previous fortnight.

The fighting at Gettysburg on Friday the 3rd of July was the bloodiest that the war, so full of gory conflicts, has yet witnessed. Our loss was certainly greater on that day than we have anywhere before experienced. It is admitted that the attempt to dislodge the enemy from the formidable position they occupied beyond the town was a mistake, and yet there is little doubt that had Pickett's division been properly supported in its final charge, or had it embraced all the brigades which belong to it, the result would have been different. Two of these brigades, that of General Corse and that of General Jenkins, were on other services. Otherwise, the battle of Gettysburg might have been decisive of the war. Lee might have dictated terms of peace in Washington or Baltimore, and the reverses of the South-West would have given us as little concern at this moment as last year's clouds. But the discussion of the "might have been" is as idle in warfare as in love. We have only to look to actual results, and consider the future as they bear upon it. Calmly regarded, there is nothing in the failure of General Lee's plans in the recent invasion of Yankee territory to dispirit the Confederate people. It was neither a defeat nor a disaster. It resembled rather one of Paul Morphy's *tours de force* on the chess-board, in which his attack has been foiled, but which has left him in good heart and with pieces enough to bring his adversary ultimately to checkmate. General Lee just escaped achieving a success that would have been conclusive of the whole struggle. As it is, we have lost many gallant spirits, but the noble army which the enemy so much dreads is intact, crowned with the *éclat* of imperishable deeds, and ready to strike the blow which shall annihilate the foe whenever that foe shall engage it in the open field. To this moral advantage must be added large material advantages of the invasion. A wagon-train, thirty-five miles in length, was safely brought across the Potomac. Immense droves of cattle, and several thousand horses were driven over at the same time. For three weeks, General Lee subsisted his army upon the enemy, and the troops themselves, throwing off the listlessness of the camp, gained in health and animal spirits by active campaigning in a cultivated, breezy, and salubrious region of country.

Jackson, having been evacuated by General Johnston, and occupied by the army of General Grant, has in turn been abandoned by the enemy. The great body of Grant's troops are on their way northward, and it is supposed that the purpose now is to assail Richmond with an overpowering force from the south side, while a simultaneous attack is attempted upon the often tried route of Manassas. It seems probable now that Mobile will not be invested, and Richmond is the only other point for the employment of this North-western army. Three weeks will determine whether this conjecture is well founded.

The assault upon Battery Wagner made on Saturday, the 18th inst., was boldly conceived and daringly adventured. From daybreak until eight o'clock, P.M., a terrible cannonade had been kept up by the fleet of iron-clads upon the fortification, with little damage to the works or the garrison, our loss being only four men killed and fourteen wounded. Four monitors, two mortar-boats, and the ironclads united in this bombardment, and the fire was so tremendous as to shake the windows of the houses in Charleston. Scarcely ten seconds in-

tervened throughout the day without some deafening discharge, and as the evening shadows gathered over the bay, a circle of flame might be seen around the end of Morris Island. The enemy's calculation had been that this furious incessant thundering maintained for so many hours, if it did not make serious breaches in the outer wall of the fort, would so dishearten and demoralise the garrison, that they would make but feeble resistance to the storming party to be sent against it at nightfall. But they soon discovered their mistake, when, advancing in the dusk of evening, they received from the line of the parapet a hail of bullets which carried death through their ranks and strewed the sand with the corpses of the foremost assailants. Again and again the heavy columns came forward only to be swept down by the well-directed volleys of General Taliaferro's unflinching marksmen, until at last a considerable body of the Yankees, who had escaped the bullets, ascended the wall and engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter with the defenders of the stronghold. The struggle was desperate but momentary. In two minutes' time, the last of the storming party had been hurled into the ditch below, and the columns that had advanced half an hour before, with such insolent confidence of assured victory, were flying through the darkness in terror and confusion. Our loss during this weary Saturday was twenty-four killed and seventy wounded. The loss of the enemy was probably not far from 2,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. 800 bodies were buried by our troops under flag of truce. There are 300 wounded prisoners in the hospitals at Charleston. 94 privates and 6 officers belonging to white regiments, and 20 negroes belonging to Colonel Shaw's famous black regiment have been sent to the military prisons in this city. Colonel Putnam, of New Hampshire, formerly of the Topographical Engineers in the old United States army, acting as brigadier-general, and Colonel Robert G. Shaw, of Boston, commanding the negroes, were killed in the attack. In lamenting the dead who fell in the Fort and in exchanging congratulations upon the glorious result, the Carolinians indulge a sentiment of deep regret, shared by their brethren throughout the Confederacy, that the gallant and gifted Langdon Cheves, who constructed the works at Fort Wagner, could not have lived to witness the noble and successful defence of them. He was killed several days previously by the explosion of the first shell thrown from the enemy's fleet.

Since this disastrous repulse, no second attempt has been made to carry Fort Wagner by storm. The fire of the Monitors has been kept up continuously from day to day, but without effecting any decided injury to the defences. It is asserted by our engineers and now admitted by the enemy that the reduction of Fort Wagner would not, as was at first supposed, render the reduction of Sumter an easy undertaking. A concentrated fire of 150 heavy guns could be brought to bear upon Fort Wagner from Charleston harbour—a fire quite sufficient to prevent the Yankees from erecting other works or placing other guns in position at that point.

On Saturday, the 18th instant, a cavalry raid of the enemy was made upon Wytheville, on the line of the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, by a force 1,000 strong, under command of one Colonel Toland, of Ohio, the same who, eighteen months ago, paid \$500 out of his own pocket for a horse to be presented to himself by his friends for gallantry, &c., as a means of obtaining for himself a commission as brigadier-general, and caused his photographic likeness, in the style of the *carte de visite*, to be printed on his official envelopes and at the top of his regimental orders. The worthy Toland had calculated on meeting with no resistance in Wytheville, and thought to destroy the property there, with the railroad depots, &c., without rebel molestation. His surprise may be imagined when his first charge through the streets was met by a shower of musket balls, which sent his horsemen flying in precipitation the other way. The Confederate force did not exceed 120 men, and was wholly made up of militia and citizens. Toland was killed in the first fusillade, and will never be brigadier of Lincoln's; another colonel and a major also fell at the same moment. The fight was maintained obstinately from street to street for two hours, when the superior numbers of the Yankees enabled them, acting as infantry, to overcome the militia and compel them to retire. During the night the raiders burned the county gaol and the offices of the commissary and quartermaster, and in the morning they departed. Their loss was ten killed and twenty-five wounded, the latter being prisoners in our hands. The spirited defence of Wytheville will have a highly salutary effect in teaching the Yankee cavalry in Virginia a lesson of prudence. Since the fight there, we have learned that the whole of Toland's force has been captured at a point north-west of Wytheville.

A much more serious and successful raid was made by a smaller body of Yankee troopers on the 20th of July upon Rocky Mount, a station on the line of the Weldon and Wilmington railroad. They tore up the track for a considerable distance, burned the railroad bridge over the Tar River, destroyed a large cotton factory and its valuable machinery, and took 5,000 bales of cotton, which, being unable to carry it off, they reduced to ashes. Besides this they captured a train on the Tarboro' branch of the Wilmington road, in which they found two carloads of ammunition and 30,000 lbs. of bacon. This they also destroyed. There being no military of ours within striking distance at the time of these outrages to prevent or punish their commission, the Yankees, who were about 600 in number, went back safely, after accomplishing their purpose, to the sea-coast, whence they came.

The Lincoln Government threatens that in the event of the execution of Captains Sawyer and Flynn, now under sentence of death in the Libby prison in this city, as a measure of retaliation for the hanging of two Confederate recruiting officers in Ohio by General Burnside, General W. H. Fitzhugh Lee (son of the Confederate Commander-in-Chief) and Captain Winder (son of General Winder, commanding Department of Henrico in this city), shall

share the same fate. General Lee and Captain Winder are now in close confinement in Fortress Monroe. This menace has excited much feeling here, where our brave unfortunate officers are much beloved. I am wholly ignorant of the purpose of the Administration here in this delicate and solemn matter. I am sure that President Davis was most reluctant to resort to measures of retaliation in the beginning, and that he will not take the lives of Captains Sawyer and Flynn without an earnest attempt to save them by an understanding with the Lincoln Government upon the whole subject of unmilitary outrages and palpable violations of the usages of civilized warfare. The visit of Vice-President Stephens to Fortress Monroe, which would have been extended to Washington, but for the prohibition of the Federal authorities, was designed, as you know, to effect this purpose. But I am equally sure that no threats of the Yankee President will move President Davis one hair's breadth from what he conceives to be the line of his duty, and were his own son in a Federal fortress, he would none the less execute the two officers who have been allotted to the gallows should he consider the public interest demanded it. Upon the enemy, who have set at defiance all the restraints of humanity and of civilization in their treatment of Confederate prisoners and non-combatants, rests the responsibility, should the strife become one of merciless destruction to "all ages, sexes, and conditions." The New York *Tribune* boasts in a recent issue that "thirty-two splendid mansions" were lately burned to the ground by black and white regiments in South Carolina, and a Washington correspondent of the New York press telegraphs from the Federal capital that "thousands of rebel wounded (from Gettysburg), are yet unprovided with shelter or surgical treatment." Let the intelligent Englishman decide which belligerent will be to blame should the black flag be raised, and the struggle in America become one of unparalleled horrors!

General Kemper was not killed at Gettysburg, but lies dangerously wounded in the hands of the enemy. General Armistead is reported as having died of his wounds in the neighbourhood of the town a few days after the battle. General Pettigrew was not hurt on the field, but was killed, almost instantly, in a skirmish on the Potomac, while guarding the rear of Lee's columns on their return. His remains have been sent to South Carolina.

Mrs. Reagan, the estimable wife of the Postmaster-General, died in this city on the 22nd instant.

The weather is excessively warm, but the general health of the country is good, and little fever has appeared in the army.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 1.

THE report that Mr. Seward had protested in the name of the Northern States of the late American Union against the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, is somewhat strengthened by a series of articles which have appeared in all the papers on this subject. As far as I have been able to learn, no formal document has been presented by Mr. Dayton, but the substance of an official conversation at Washington has been forwarded by the French Minister there. On Saturday the *Patrie* had an article on the Monroe doctrine and Mexico, which was followed next morning by a leader in the *Constitutionnel*, from the pen of M. Limayrac, which may be regarded as the expression of official opinions. Everyone knows how carefully M. Limayrac avoids language which could be interpreted to say more than is wished. Speaking of the circular of the 3rd of March, sent by Mr. Seward to the Northern agents in Europe, he says:—

The Secretary of State at Washington bases his reasoning on a strange confusion of ideas. According to him American society is *one*, entirely *one*, and Mexico must, therefore of necessity feel the same vocation for Republican Government that the United States do. There are here as many errors as words. Unity is far from existing on the American continent, and there are to be found there as many different tendencies as there are different races. Mr. Seward should have shown that the political mind of Mexico was the same as that of the United States, by proving first that the Anglo-Saxon has the same habits of thought and feeling as the Latin race. Even then all would not have been proved, for he must next have explained how the Republican form of Government has produced prosperity in the United States and ruin in Mexico.

A little reflection will lead to a more logical conclusion. By what right can a country where the people is sovereign, the *land par excellence* of self-government, object to leave a neighbouring people free to choose the government that suits it? Are not the United States on friendly terms with the Empire of Brazil? Why then should they fear the establishment of a second empire which would open to their commerce and manufactures a new market? Such feelings would be contrary to their principles and interests, and we have too good an opinion of the cleverness and liberality of the United States to doubt that when the first surprise is got over, they will acknowledge that France has done her duty in this matter, and that Mexico has the right to do in it as she pleases.

The *Siecle* and other papers of the same colour of course think it only "natural" that the Republican Government of Washington is alarmed at the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, the more so, if it be true that one of the first acts of this Government will be to recognise the South."

There seems no doubt that there is great want of cordiality in the present attitude of the French and North American Governments, and everything tends to show that it is not likely to improve. The Emperor has



taken the first opportunity to communicate officially with the Government at Richmond in sending his formal thanks for assistance rendered to a French man-of-war by the Confederate authorities, and the proverb says that the first step is the most difficult. It has been taken very adroitly and in a way which rendered no communications with allies necessary, while it lost none of its significance. The dearth of cotton which is daily more and more felt in France, while for the first time for many years Europe is independent of the agricultural produce of the North, may soon lead to fresh communications. The Congress of the Princes at Frankfurt has also produced an incident which shows an ominous readiness to give and take offence. The American consul hoisted the Mexican flag by the side of the stars and stripes during the gala days. The French Minister, when his remonstrances were unlistened to, lodged a protest against the usurpation with the local Government.

The Polish question, although the newspapers continue to devote a large space to telegrams and letters professing to come from the seat of the insurrection, is decidedly put aside for the present. The *Patrie* of last night announces in large type that Russia has sent fresh instructions to the Ambassador in Paris, that a constitution is about to be given to the whole Russian empire, and that Poland is to receive more extensive privileges than the notes of the three Powers demanded. The presence of the Prince of Hohenzollern at Chalons is said to be connected with this new phase of things. In a second note the *Patrie* declines the responsibility of this news, but adds that the delay in the publication of the last French note in the *Moniteur* gives some confirmation of its truth. The solution thus given to a difficulty which a month ago seemed to threaten a general war will, no doubt, be satisfactory to public opinion in Europe, but it will not satisfy the radical party, which has done so much to stir up popular passion, and if one-half of the news published as coming from Poland be true, we may doubt whether these or any other concessions will suffice to disarm the insurgents. As a practical answer to the accusations of cruelty brought against the Russian authorities, the *Nord*, the Russian organ here, publishes a long list of men and women hanged or tortured by the insurgents. The only thing that seems certain in the news from Poland is, that the direction of the movement has passed from the hands of the aristocratic to those of the democratic party.

The Emperor returned to St. Cloud last Wednesday, and has presided at the Cabinet Councils. Of course nothing positive is known of the subjects deliberated on, but rumour points to Mexico and America as having furnished the matter in debate. This much is probably true, but there is little likelihood that anything was settled regarding the time for recognising the independence of the Southern Confederacy. Public opinion has long been prepared for this step, but the exigencies of diplomacy which have so long delayed it may still retard the action of France. From information I have just received, I am inclined to think there is truth in the report that the new Government in Mexico will be the first to recognise its neighbour. The French Government perhaps considers this the most eligible way of introducing the new Power to the notice of diplomatic Europe.

The *Presse* of this evening expresses itself as follows on the Monroe doctrine:—

No one is more opposed than ourselves to political intervention; but we are consequent and do not limit the application of our principles to one hemisphere. Had President Monroe raised himself to a higher sphere of thought, free from petty covetousness and narrow ambition, had he thought, not of America only, but of all humanity; had he invoked, not a privilege, but a right; had he claimed non-intervention in the name of a principle, in general terms, we should be the first to applaud him. But to base a principle on egotism, privilege, and isolation, this is what we cannot understand. Why should America be excepted from intervention more than Asia, or Africa? And why does America, which throws in our teeth this declaration, show herself so ready to contradict it in practice with her military expeditions to Japan, China, and elsewhere? The events of the last years have unfortunately proved that the Monroe doctrine was far from being absolutely disinterested. In proclaiming it, the United States were animated by a secret covetousness, demonstrated by repeated annexations, or attempts at them. American liberty inspires us with sympathy; but this cannot blind us to such contradictions in practice. When truth speaks, sympathy must be silent. It is because we love the liberty of the transatlantic Republics that we grieve to see it disfigured by such stains.

The *France*, after explaining that the Monroe doctrine, under cover of claiming "America for the Americans," in fact means America for the North Americans, goes on:—

There are many things wanting to this theory before it can become part of the law of nations. It wants the acquiescence of the States of the Old World and the approbation of the people of the New one.

"It is a brave thing to stick a pole in the middle of a road, with notice of 'No Passage this way,' but you must make sure that the passengers will obey your injunctions, unless you are strong enough to enforce submission. But Europe has never accepted the Monroe doctrine, or even done it the honour of discussing it.

As to the population of America, especially those of South America, as the Monroe doctrine in its application to them is simply a pretext for invasion or absorption by the United States, and as they neither wish to be invaded nor absorbed, they have put little store by the political maxims which are in such favour at Washington.

"America for the Americans" is a very good cry so long as it pleases the people of America to be governed by men of the New World. But by what right can the United States pretend to impose their institutions and Government in Mexico, Brazil, La Plata, Peru, Canada, if these countries wish for other institutions and other governors? The principle of national independence will ever rise superior to this tyrannical Monroe doctrine.

It is an insult to modern civilisation. The Chinese walls of exclusiveness are falling in the extreme East amid the applause of all enlightened nations, and the American Demo-

cracy seeks to rebuild them in the New World! And whilst the spirit of liberty and progress tends to bind together and unify modern societies, the American republicans seek to segregate them in savage isolation.

It might have been the policy of the red-skins and ancient savages of the New world, but that it should be proclaimed by that enormous mass of Europeans who have invaded America, and have nothing American but the name, would be madness, if it were anything but fantastical eccentricity.

And yet the American newspapers write gravely about the Monroe doctrine in connection with recent events in Mexico.

The *Pays*, which is considered to be M. Drouyn de Lhuys' organ, in the article signed "Villars," has the following on the reported Russo-American treaty.

Among the many rumours which have circulated in the last few days, we must remark that of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and the United States.

We may first observe that the newspapers which have contributed to spread the report, have no other grounds for the story than mere rumour. No authentic document has been brought forward in support of their allegations.

Let us for the sake of argument admit that such a treaty has been planned. Which of the two Powers would it serve? What effect could it have?

If Russia were engaged in a continental war, what assistance could it receive from America? What forces could the United States place at its disposal, and how could they be brought into the field?

If, on the other hand, the United States had declared war against France and England, could a Russian fleet force the Sound, guarded as it would be by French and English fleets? If Russia even had the hope of accomplishing this, would she weaken Cronstadt and uncover her ports and shores, to send her forces to the succour of her allies in the Atlantic?

Nothing, on the one hand, indicates that the treaty in question exists, or has ever existed or been thought of; on the other, if signed, could be of no practical use.

In fine, the facts we have elsewhere referred to, (an understanding on the subject of Poland between Russia, Prussia, and France), and which seems to alter the respective positions of Russia and France, render unimportant the rumours of a treaty concluded between the former power and the United States. It is enough that we have stated what value we attach to these reports. We should scruple to take up our reader's time by saying more about them.

## AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, September 3.

Notwithstanding the Bank returns are becoming weekly more favourable, the rate of money continues so well supported, within a fraction of the official minimum, that it is questioned whether the Directors will possess sufficient courage to reduce the terms of discount. The tendency is undoubtedly in that direction; and some few sanguine parties think the alteration is not far off, and, if a change is likely to take place throughout the next month or six weeks, that it will in all probability be almost immediately effected. Should a variation be deferred to the date of the October dividends, the Directors will have been induced to stay their hands because they decline to be instrumental in encouraging speculation, which for the instant seems destined to revive, particularly in the foreign stock department. The absorption of capital for harvest operations has been considerable the last four or five weeks, but in addition it is now generally admitted that business in Manchester and Liverpool has been pushed forward vigorously, leading to the use of a largely increased proportion of accommodation. The Board of Trade returns indicate a steady improvement in most branches, and with the end of the year the comparison of our mercantile progress will not be discouraging. New Loans are talked of for Turkey, Portugal, and some other countries; there will also be an endeavour to launch fresh projects associated with banking and miscellaneous adventures, but the great object will be to regulate these affairs in such a manner as not to interfere with the already augmented condition of the stock and share markets, otherwise a disturbance will be induced, which cannot fail to end in embarrassment. The terms for the negotiation of first-class paper are, 3½ to 4 per cent.; the Joint Stock Banks do not make advances under 3½ per cent., but it is nevertheless at the same time admitted that the bankers and brokers are not short of capital, being altogether, on the average, well supplied.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

Gold continues to be sent into the Bank to a large extent, the amount taken this week, including £65,000 to-day, being £425,000. On the other hand, there have not been any withdrawals. The arrivals of bullion have also been large—viz., £576,909; of this only £68,846 is from America, the remainder being from the West Indies and the Brazils. Of that from the West Indies £202,994 was in gold, and £261,579 silver. There has been a fair demand for bar silver for transmission to the East, and the price remains steady at 5s. 6d. per ounce. There have been more inquiries for Mexican dollars, a quantity having been required for China, and the price has consequently advanced to 5s. 3½d. per ounce. There is still only one gold ship at present reported to be on its way from Australia—viz., the *Anglesea*, with £145,000. The *Ripon* steamer, which sailed to-night, takes out £113,181 for India and China.

### TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 40,00,000 rupees in Bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were—to Calcutta, 22,70,000 rupees, to Bombay, 16,00,000 rupees, and to Madras, 1,30,000 rupees. The declared minimum price was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay and Madras. The applications within the limits amounted to 295 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 41 per cent.; on Bombay at 1s. 11½d. about 85 per cent. All above these prices and all tenders on Madras will receive in full.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The market for English Securities has been exceedingly buoyant, although there has not been any particular activity as regards dealings. The more favourable aspect of the Polish question, with greater confidence on the Paris Bourse, and the satisfactory results of the harvest, all combine to keep up prices. Consols closed this evening at an improvement of ¼ per cent. as compared with this day week, being at 93½ to 94 for both money and account. There is, however, not the slightest variation in Exchequer Bills, the price remaining at 1s. 10d. to 2s. prem. In Foreign Securities a rather considerable business has been transacted, with a general tendency towards a further improvement in values. Greek Stock has been largely dealt in, the accounts from Athens being looked

upon as more satisfactory, consequently quotations have advanced between 2 and 3 per cent. The dealings in Mexican have also been to a considerable extent, a speculative movement having again become apparent in consequence of the report of a new loan being in contemplation, in which France, it is said, will take an interest. The Emperor of the French, it is also reported, is acting in perfect accord with the Government of this country, and has arranged for the organisation of the civil service in Mexico to protect the revenue and regulate its distribution. There has consequently been a further advance in the stock of from 1 to 1½ per cent. Spanish Stocks remain comparatively steady, but with a tendency to improve, and in most descriptions of Turkish an advance has been established. The latest quotations were—Greek, 36½ to 37; Mexican, 39½ to 40; Spanish Passives, 34½ to 35½, and the Certificates, 13½ to 13¾; Turkish Old Six per Cents., 93½ to 94½, and the New do., 70 to 70½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

Again there has been a very large business transacted in American Government and Railway Securities, but the variation in prices has not been to any great extent—the chief alterations having occurred on the arrival of the respective mails from New York, and the rise or fall has been according to the reading of the news, whether favourable or otherwise. The only exception has been in the case of Erie Shares, which had oscillated between 75½ and 84. The following are the dealings recorded:—United States Six per Cents., 76½, 76½, and 76½. Do. Five per Cents., 69. Virginia State Six per Cents., 41½. Atlantic and Great Western Railway (New York Section), 75. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 75, 75½, 76½, 75½, 76, 76½, 76½, 76½, 76½, 77, 76½, and 77½. Erie Shares, \$100 all paid, 73½, 76½, 77, 84, 83, 82½, 82, 84, 84½, and 83½. Do. Seven per Cent. Preference, 74½. Illinois Central Seven per Cent., 81½ and 81. Do. \$100 Shares, \$90 paid 10½, 10½, 8, 9, 8½, 9, 8½, 9, 8½, and 8 dis. Do., do., all paid, 79½, 80, 80½, 80, 81½, 82, 80½, 81½, 80½, 81½, and 81½. Michigan, Seven per Cent. (Sinking Fund), 81½. New York Central, Six per Cent., 74. Do. do. Seven per Cent., 65. Do. do., \$100 Shares, 87½, 88, 87½, 89½, 90, 89½, 90, 89, 89½, and 90. Pennsylvania, \$50 Shares, 44, 44½, and 44½. Do., Six per Cents., 73½, and Philadelphia and Reading, \$50 Shares, 40.

### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

Soon after our last issue, a renewal of bear sales caused a decline in the value of this loan. It was, however, of short duration, and the gradual absorption of the stock by the public in moderate amounts is exercising the natural influence of steadying prices. On the 1st inst. the dividend of £3 10s. 1d. became due; and the stock has been since dealt in at 26 to 25 dis. ex div. To-day the market has ruled dull, and the closing price is 28 to 27 dis. ex div. On the 1st September an instalment of 15 per cent. on the dividend was paid. On the 1st October the last instalment of 15 per cent. becomes due.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Business in the Railway Share Market has not been particularly active during the week, and the fluctuations in prices have not been to any material extent. There was a great want of animation in the early part of the week, which is to be in some measure accounted for by the half-monthly settlement then in progress. There has since been rather more doing, but nothing of a speculative movement is apparent. The only alterations of any moment have been an advance in Caledonian, Midland, and North British of about 1 per cent.; of ½ per cent. in Chatham and Dover and South-Western, and in Great Western and Sheffield, of about ½ per cent. But in Great Eastern and Lancashire and Yorkshire there has been a decline of ½ per cent. In Foreign Railway Shares, although there has not been a great deal doing, the general tone of business is good, and prices are fairly supported. In the Shares of British Possessions the demand has been tolerably good, at steady quotations for nearly all descriptions.

### BANKING AMALGAMATION.

An announcement has just been made that the Union Bank of England and France are about to amalgamate with the English, Belgian, and Netherlands Bank, which possesses a powerful directorate, and an influential connexion in Holland and Belgium. The amalgamation will not only consolidate the various interests, but will put an end to any anticipated rivalry, and also raised the united capital to £2,000,000 sterling. The first ordinary meeting of the Union Bank of England and France will take place on the 14th inst., when it is expected the details will be made public.

### THE GENERAL CREDIT COMPANY.

It is announced that a combination has been entered into between the General Credit Company of London and the Credit Anstalt of Austria, the latter company having already been established between six and seven years, with a paid-up capital amounting to about £6,000,000 sterling. It is provided that each company is to have the option of subscribing for one-fifth share in whatever undertaking the other may introduce and they are to act as agents for each other, the one throughout the Austrian dominions and the other throughout Great Britain, her colonies and dependencies.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The only Joint Stock undertaking brought forward this week has been Martin's Patent Anchor Company, which is established to manufacture and provide anchors of a novel description, patented some time since by a Mr. Martin, and for which he obtained a medal at the recent International Exhibition. Its chief improvements over the anchors in present use are, that it takes hold instantly, and with a holding power 100 per cent. greater than ordinary anchors; it can neither foul nor become fouled, and is also much lighter and cheaper. The required capital is £50,000, to be raised in 10,000 shares of £5 each.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the general half-yearly meeting of the Victoria (London) Dock Company, Mr. C. Morrison in the chair, the report of the directors was adopted, but there was no dividend declared. It appeared from the report that during the past half-year 1,417 ships, measuring 503,775 tons, entered the docks, showing a decrease of 130 ships and 48,489 tons as compared with the corresponding six months of last year. The falling off is accounted for by the decrease in colliers and coasting vessels, amounting to 171 and measuring 68,014 tons. The question of compensation with regard to the steelyard premises had been referred to arbitration, and the directors of the Charing Cross Railway Company, in consideration of having immediate possession thereof, had paid a deposit of £25,000. They had finished the improvements for increasing their security against fire.—At the half-yearly meeting to-day of the Canada Agency Association an *ad-interim* dividend at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum was declared.—At the half-yearly meeting of the Railway Passengers Assurance Company, also



held to-day, a very satisfactory report was presented and accepted, and a dividend at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum declared.

MERCANTILE SUSPENSIONS.

The suspension was announced on Monday of Messrs. Jonathan Brandon and Co., engaged in the Brazilian trade. Their liabilities are expected to reach about £50,000.—The suspension of Messrs. Long and Ralte, of Mining-lane, was made known yesterday by a circular transmitted to their creditors, in which they say that "in consequence of our late partner, Mr. Robert Thomas Wallace, having fraudulently accepted and in combination with other parties circulated a number of bills of exchange, in the name of our former partnership of Long, Wallace, and Ralte, and as we are ignorant of the full amount of such bills now in circulation we regret we are obliged to suspend payment."

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In the Produce Markets the variations have been trifling since our last, but the general tendency has been in the direction of increased dullness. Meanwhile the clearances, both for consumption and export, are of sufficient magnitude to indicate a healthy undercurrent of trade, and to promise a speedy recovery of the demand to its recent moderate proportions. The only exception to the present quiet tone is in the Cotton Market, which, influenced still by the progressive improvement in the manufacturing departments, is continuously active, with prices again 1d. to 1d. per lb. higher. The weather having become less favourable for harvesting, the depression in our corn trade has ceased, and American wheat and flour, in common with other descriptions, are firmer at the currency of last week. The Provision markets have become dull throughout. Beef is firmly held, stocks being light. In bacon scarcely anything is doing. Most kinds of foreign butter have fallen considerably, the rains having favoured production. The nominal quotations of American are accordingly reduced 2s. per cwt. Petroleum continues in demand, and is again the turn dealer, refined Pennsylvania bringing 2s. 4½d. on the spot, and 2s. 5½d. for winter delivery. Sperm oil is unsaleable, except at 20s. per ton decline. There is not, however, any great pressure to realise, the improvement in our cotton manufacturing trades being in favour of consumption. Lined oil is also the turn cheaper. With continued heaviness in the tallow trade, North American imports of common qualities are 3d. to 6d. lower. American lard at the moment attracts very little attention. Tobacco is still firmly held, although purchased only for absolute and pressing orders. The present high rates for American are, however, regarded with less confidence, as they are causing traders to fill up their orders as far as possible from other descriptions. American spirits of turpentine are quoted 98s. to 100s.; but with French offering at 64s. these figures are quite nominal. Fine American rosin is firm at 30s., to 37s., and common at 23s. to 31s. per cwt. Gums of all kinds maintain their value. A parcel of Gedda has been brought on offer this week, but being held above market rates is still undisposed of. Drugs generally meet a fair demand, several additional orders having, it is said, come to hand from Russia. Camphor has risen to £7 12s. 6d. per cwt. for China. Turkey opium is also rather dearer. American oil of peppermint remains without essential change, and meets a moderate inquiry. In chemicals a fair demand has prevailed for all the preparations of soda. Iodine maintains the recent advance. Dyes are in steady request, with prices of most descriptions firm. Turmeric has again risen considerably, as much as 40s. per cwt. having been paid for Bengal; but the market is now quieter, and the closing rate is 2s. under the highest point. The periodical sales of cochineal have passed off with considerable spirit; good Honduras silvers making 1d., and blacks 1d. to 2d. per lb. advances. For iron the demand is well sustained, and the exports are in excess of last year. Tin is dull of sale, and English is offering at £2 under the rates officially quoted.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0 1 9	0 2 2	0 1 7	0 2 2
Chemicals—				
Tartaric crystal, lb.	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 8	0 1 8
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 6
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 7	0 0 8
Hydrochloric, lb.	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 5	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 9	0 8 0
Drugs—				
Alces, Cape, cwt.	1 5 0	2 6 0	1 0 0	2 3 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 1	0 1 4	0 1 5
Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 2
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 8 0	0 11 0
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 2 0	5 10 0	5 12 0	5 15 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 16 0	0 7 6	0 13 0
" Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 6
" Orange, lb.	0 5 0	0 6 8	0 5 0	0 7 0
" Citronelle, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 9	0 19 0	1 1 0	0 0 3
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3
" Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 8	0 0 3	0 0 6
Smacrot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 2 9
Spermace, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
DYES, cwt.—				
Safflower	3 15 0	7 5 0	3 3 0	6 15 0
Turmeric, Bengal	1 18 0	1 18 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
" Madras	1 12 0	1 18 0	6 0 0	6 10 0
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 5 0	6 0 0	6 10 0
GUMS, cwt.—				
Animi, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gedda	1 11 0	1 13 0	1 6 0	1 8 0
Kowie	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 3 0	1 5 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	98 0 0	100 0 0	98 0 0	100 0 0
Iron, Scotch, Pig	2 14 1	2 14 3	2 15 0	2 15 0
Tin, English	115 0 0	115 0 0	111 0 0	111 0 0
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	80 0 0	80 0 0	84 0 0	84 0 0
Lined—	44 0 0	44 5 0	41 0 0	41 0 0
Rock Oil, Crude	19 0 0	19 10 0	13 0 0	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	3 12 0	4 2 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine	2 4 0	2 16 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 10 0	2 8 0	1 14 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	2 0 6	2 1 6	2 7 0	2 8 3
South do.	2 2 0	2 2 6	2 8 0	2 8 3
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
Tobacco, lb.—				
Maryland	0 0 3	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 9
Virginia	0 0 0	0 1 2	0 0 3	0 1 0
Kentucky	0 0 6	0 1 7	0 0 4	0 1 1

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 2.

A very large demand for cotton has again prevailed at Liverpool during the past week. All classes of buyers have continued to purchase heavily, and apparently with greater confidence than for some time previously, but the chief elements of strength have been the very favourable accounts with regard to the state of business at Manchester, and the equally satisfactory reports with regard to the issue of the harvest. The arrivals during the week have been very large, and the excitement amongst buyers has been considerable, owing in some measure to the low ebb to which the manufactured article has now come, not only at home, but in nearly all the foreign markets; consequently prices have had a strong advancing tendency on all descriptions. The latest official returns make the arrivals as follows:—From the East Indies 19,370 bales, of which 16,321 were from Bombay; from the East 8,189 bales; from Nassau 1,868 bales—this, of course, is American, the

produce of the numerous fleet of blockade-runners, now running between the Confederate ports and Nassau, and from Lisbon 141 bales, making a total of 29,568 bales. Since this return, however, was made up, there have been additional arrivals, but of which no official account is yet given. The sales during the week have reached 59,000 bales, of which 27,000 were taken on speculation, and for export. The total sales this year have been 1,511,990 bales, against 2,111,340 bales in the corresponding period of last year; the total imports this year 990,072 bales, and 660,997 last year; there having been exported down to the present time this year 290,350 bales, and to the same period in 1862 300,183 bales, whilst there were taken for consumption 841,600 bales and 920,300 bales respectively. The computed stocks are about 247,450 bales, against 63,410 bales at the corresponding period last year. The latest closing quotations were—for American descriptions, 21½d. to 23d. Surat, 13½d. to 22d. Egyptian, 23d. to 24d. Pernambuco, 23½d. to 24½d. and Maranhão, 24d. to 24½d. The accounts just received from the Levant report the appearance of the cotton crops in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli to be very favourable.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 1.

Our market during the past week has been very excited, and a large amount of business has been transacted in almost all kinds of yarns and cloths, and in many cases, spinners and manufacturers are well under contract at the extreme rates paid by buyers. To-day business has been rather quiet as compared with the previous portion of the week; but this is owing to the almost independent position that producers have been placed in for a time, by the reduction of stocks during the past few days, and the contracts in hand, for future delivery. Much more business would have resulted had sellers been in a position to deliver in something like reasonable time. The advices from all our foreign markets are such as lead us to believe that a good demand will be kept up for some time.

(From Mr. Sam Mendel's Prices Current, September 1.)

MANCHESTER, September 1.

In America the war continues with unabated bitterness, and the end appears to be still far off; in the meantime the Federal operations do not appear to have released a supply of cotton, and we must evidently continue to depend on shipments from other sources, and it will be well if the result prove equal to the anticipations recently put forth as to the increase we are to have after the close of this year. After making allowances for the increased waste on Indian as compared with American staple, it will be evident that three days' working does not amount to half production, or this extent of wages for the operatives, and we can only anticipate the coming winter with apprehension of serious distress in this district; therefore, it is desirable to see preparation made in good time to meet the calamity, if required, and which there is too much ground to apprehend.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Aug. 27, are—

- NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.
- LETTER FROM OUR NEW ORLEANS CORRESPONDENT.
- THE NORTH AT A STANDSTILL.
- THE WAR OF EXTENSION.
- THE NORTHERN REVOLUTION.
- DEATH OF THE HON. J. J. CRITTENDEN.
- A SOUTHERNER'S VIEW OF PARTIES AT THE NORTH.
- THE SOUTHERN TOPICS.
- THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.
- THE NEGRO AT THE NORTH.
- FEDERAL PILLAGE AND BARBARY.
- FEDERALISM.
- AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

DIED.—At Kamesburg, Bute, on the 19th inst., Mary Eliza, infant daughter of Mr. Eben. Macmillan, of Charleston, South Carolina.

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**SOUTHERN RELIEF FUND OF EUROPE.**

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT ENDING AUGUST 10, 1863.

RECEIPTS.		DISBURSEMENTS.	
Subscriptions to date, as per Statement annexed	£2,983 16 5	Remitted to Northern States, as per Vouchers	£2,393 0 0
		Remitted to Southern States	339 0 0
		Disbursed by Ch. Atkinson	76 0 0
		Relief to Confederates in Europe	156 17 11
		Paid Sundry Bills	15 1 3
			£2,971 19 2
		Balance on hand	16 17 3
			£2,983 16 5

The following contributions have been received since the 10th inst., viz.:

Messrs. Fraser, Trenholm, and Co., Liverpool	£100 0 0	Anonymous, L. H. F.	£20 0 0
J. R. Armstrong, Esq., Liverpool	10 0 0	C. M.	1 0 0
Joseph Aspinall, Esq.	50 0 0	Miss Prieau	24 0 0
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J. P. Stead, Esq.	10 0 0	Major Finley	5 0 0
A. J. Hackett	10 0 0	Captain Bullock	5 0 0
J. H. Werry	5 0 0	James M. Calder, Esq.	20 0 0
Stephen Watson, Junr., Esq.	5 0 0	Messrs. Rogers and Calder	10 0 0
C. M. Morris, Esq.	5 0 0	R. Hutchison, Esq.	25 0 0
Wm. Waddell, Esq.	5 0 0	G. B. Tennent, Esq.	5 0 0
Wm. H. Trapman, Esq.	10 0 0	Wm. Patrick, Esq.	5 0 0

Southern Club, Liverpool, August 26, 1863.

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Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence

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N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III.—No. 72.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 10, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
THE UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.  
ARMING THE NEGROES.  
THE TRADE BETWEEN NEW YORK AND NASSAU.  
THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.  
"LA FRANCE, LE MEXIQUE ET LES ÉTATS CONFÉDÉRÉS."  
GREEK FEDERALISM.  
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF STONEWALL JACKSON.  
THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENTS.  
PARTIAL LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT GETTYSBURG, VICKSBURG, AND FORT HUDSON.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

BATTERY Wagner taught us that earthworks are an effectual defence against modern artillery. The fate of Fort Sumter proves that masonry, even when faced with cotton-bales and backed with sand-bags, is powerless to resist the attack of guns now in use, and it must be remembered that we have not yet arrived at perfection in heavy ordnance. At a distance of 2½ miles, 4,500 shots were fired at Sumter from a battery of Parrott guns, of which 2,623 took effect. At the latest advices, however, Sumter had not surrendered or been captured, and Colonel Rhett, with a few soldiers, kept the Confederate flag flying over the ruins. But though Sumter was destroyed, the Confederate fire was not slackened. Forts Moultrie, Gregg, and Johnson; the batteries on James' Island, whither the guns from Sumter have been moved; the battery on Sullivan's Island; and the Battery Wagner were continually belching forth shot and shell. All these must be silenced and taken before the Federals can claim the victory. On the 21st, General Gilmore shelled the city without giving due notice for the removal of the women and children. General Beauregard and the foreign consuls protested against this, and demanded more time. The City was shelled again on the 23rd.

Little is said about the Federal losses. Commander Rogers and Paymaster Woodbury were killed in the Catskill, but the total mortality in the fleet is carefully concealed. The land forces are suffering severely from sickness and from the Confederate fire. Whilst the draft is being enforced it is necessary to suppress such unpleasant details. The Federals may succeed in capturing the ruins of Charleston, but they will have to pay a terrible price for their triumph.

There is great dissatisfaction in the North at the slowness of the operations of the fleet, which consists altogether of forty vessels. How this fleet has been kept at bay we may gather from the fact that on the 23rd of August two blockade-runners entered Charleston.

Civilised nations have long discarded the maxim that all things are fair in war, and act upon the principle that only those deeds are lawful which injure the military power of the enemy. According to this rule, the shelling of Charleston was an act of wanton barbarity, for the destruction of that city could not in any way conduce to the capture of its defences. With equal right General Lee might have destroyed every town and hamlet in Pennsylvania through which his army passed. Then again, the use of "Greek fire"—that is, throwing shells filled with liquid and unquenchable fire—has been avoided by all civilised nations. The *New York Daily News* observes, "It has been left for this Administration, which claims to be waging war in the cause of philanthropy, to conjure up this liquid demon as a fit ally to their purpose of extermination." Can we wonder that throughout the South there is an outcry for retaliation, and that the Confederate soldiers are somewhat

dissatisfied that they are not allowed to avenge themselves on the ruthless foe?

General Rosecrans attacked Chattanooga on the 21st August. Two steamers lying at the wharf were destroyed but the Confederate defences were uninjured. General Joseph Johnston was in command of the Confederates. We have no Southern account of the affair, but the Northerners admit the failure of the assault, and we expect that the oft-repeated story of "none killed and one wounded" is not quite correct.

It is stated that President Davis, after consulting with the Governors of the States, has called for 500,000 negro troops; the negroes to receive for their services their freedom and fifty acres of land at the end of the war. If this is true the numerical superiority is shifted to the side of the Confederates. The negroes, who hate and despise the Yankees almost as virulently as the Yankees hate and despise them, will fight bravely and zealously under the leadership of their masters. The negroes are at this juncture incensed at the brutal conduct of the Federal commanders to their coloured soldiers, and particularly with the barbarous neglect of negro families who have been left to starve and die. The Nashville correspondent of the *New York Times* says: "Women, old men and children, are in a sad condition; disease and disorder prevailing, and the poor creatures dying by the hundred." The negro-roasting in New York is not forgotten, and if President Davis gives the word, the coloured race will not be slow to avenge their wrongs.

A late private letter from Virginia contains the gratifying intelligence, that a very painful question is likely to have an unhopied for solution. It will be remembered that two Federal captains are held in Richmond under sentence of death, in retaliation for the two Confederate officers hung by Burnside in Kentucky, on the charge of recruiting in Federal territory. To prevent their execution, the Federals, by a sudden raid, succeeded in capturing two hostages: the wounded son of General Lee and also a son of General Winder. As it was not doubted that they would execute their threat of wreaking vengeance on these two officers, the President's duty, though clear, became peculiarly painful. It appears, however, according to the writer, that in the meantime two Federals have been captured in the act of recruiting on Confederate territory, precisely the same offence unjustly charged against Burnside's victims, and have been summarily executed. It is hoped, therefore, that the ends of justice will be considered as sufficiently obtained, and that the two officers in Richmond will be released from the doom overhanging them.

The Federal operations against New York are satisfactorily progressing. No wonder the drafting has hitherto proceeded without disturbance. Mr. Lincoln has sent a sufficient force to awe, at least for the moment, his "rebellious" subjects in the Empire City. The land forces at New York are estimated at 30,000 men, and to co-operate with the army there is a small but efficient fleet of gun-boats. No pains are spared by the Federal Government to provoke a conflict, and sooner or later it will succeed in so doing. Practically, New York is as completely under martial law and as subject to military authority as is New Orleans or Vicksburg.

The drafted Germans have held a meeting in New York, and denounced the conscription as inhuman. A committee was appointed to confer with Governor Seymour, and to take measures for testing the legality of the Act. Forcibly conscripting mercenaries is a novel measure. Does it ever occur to the Federal authorities that

though a horse may be forced to the water he cannot be compelled to drink?

The Northern press is busily engaged in inventing recipes for cooking the hare of Southern "rebellion," quite unmindful of the well-known caution of the cookery-book, that the hare should first be caught. The *New York World*, the least rabid of the Northern papers, devotes its entire impression to lengthy essays on "The Conditions of Restoration," "Can the United States Treat with the Southern Confederacy for its Dissolution?" "Can the President release himself from the Emancipation Proclamation?" &c. Among other modes of settlement it suggests one which is the least foolish we have yet seen from a Northern source, viz., that the Southern war debt should be assumed by the Union, by exchanging the Confederate scrip at its market value for United States' Bonds; and it hints that this measure, "by its tendency to produce good feeling, would save an equivalent expense in maintaining troops in the South." All the other papers think the best way to weld together the fragments, when re-united, is by a foreign war, for which France or England, or both, would furnish the occasion ready made.

A strange story is current about four Confederate war vessels entering Wilmington during the last six weeks. The Federals have given the South a large fleet of phantom ships. One reason is, that the Federal navy can better contend with such vessels than with the Alabama and Florida; and watching phantom ships is a good excuse for safe inactivity.

We trust for the credit of human nature that the report of the horrid atrocities at Lawrence, Kansas, is at least a gross exaggeration. That it comes entirely from Northern sources makes it more than doubtful. If such crimes have been committed, the perpetrators were not Confederate officers or Confederate soldiers. That is not the way in which the South wages war.

Mr. Seward has addressed a very long circular to the United States consuls in Europe. The gist of it is, that the Federal arms are everywhere victorious; that the rebellion is nearly crushed out; and that the one thing needful for the restoration of peace is for foreign nations to withdraw their support and favour from the Confederates. Mr. Seward repeats his former letters with just a few changes of expression. There is, however, a trifling discrepancy between the present effusion and his reply to the French proposal of mediation. In February last, he described the "rebellion" as "an insurrectionary party which is located, and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico;" on the 12th of August, six months later, he observes that "no great progress has been made by our arms in the East," but that in the West "50,000 square miles have been reclaimed from the possession of the insurgents." The *insurrectionary party* must have been rather extensive.

According to the *Morning Post* of Tuesday, Earl Russell has "caved in" to Federal bullying, and is determined to detain the steam rams, upon the suspicion that the French firm for whom they are built may possibly sell them to the Confederates. Mr. Senior says, the Confederates want a war between England and the United States. If so, they ought to be particularly grateful to Earl Russell, for this "caving in" is sure to precipitate hostilities.

Some of the discharged volunteers are complaining of the treatment of the Federal War Department. They were, to suit the convenience of the Government, mustered out of service at periods varying from one to five weeks previous to the expiration of their term. Upon



applying for their bounties they are told none are due, because they did not complete their term of service. This must be the blunder of some minor official. There is no reason why the Federal Government should swindle its volunteers. Greenbacks cost nothing.

The Federal Government, so says the *New York Herald*, "has selected an agent or agents to go to Europe to operate largely to augment the present tremendous volume of emigration hither." The word "additional" is wanting in this notice, for the Federal Government already has several active recruiting agents in Europe.

Governor Letcher has called an extra session of the Virginia Assembly for the 7th September, for the purpose of increasing the force of the militia and for, if possible, devising some remedy for the deterioration of the currency. In his proclamation, the Governor expresses his confidence in the patriotism and power of the people to repel the invader.

In the North the demand for war with France is becoming louder every day. The most insulting articles appear in the press about French institutions, French policy, and the French nation.

The Florida is still in Brest repairing damages. Neither threats nor insults can induce France to evince a warm neutrality for the North.

A steamer being loaded with ammunition at Vicksburg was blown up, owing to a negro letting fall a percussion shell. Out of 160 men on board only five escaped. As substitutes are rather scarce, and a man is worth from \$300 to \$500 in the North, the accident is regretted.

#### ENGLAND.

At a meeting held last week of the Mansion-house Committee, a letter was read from Dr. Lees, the Mayor of Ashton-under-Lyne, and Chairman of the Central Relief Committee, in reference to the condition of the operatives in that town. The letter stated that the committee had been compelled to curtail relief in a manner which produced great hardship and suffering to some hundreds of poor distressed operatives, who had previously had a share of the Mansion-house Fund. The men who had been connected with the classes until about two months ago were in extreme distress, and on applying to the Board of Guardians had been offered the workhouse, or oakum to pick as a labour test. Others who had never received parish relief were actually starving, and the committee had no means to relieve them. The harvest work would soon cease, and there was every prospect of increasing distress in Ashton. The public works would not employ 5 per cent. of the people wanting bread. Many manufacturers and owners of property were so reduced that compulsion would have to be resorted to for the payment of poor-rates. The shopkeepers were equally reduced, and the owners of cottages were paying rates by mortgages.

During the month of August, the emigrants conveyed in ships sailing under the Passengers' Act from Liverpool to the United States, numbered 493 cabin, and 6,477 steerage passengers; and in ships not sailing under the Act, there were 743 persons. The total number of emigrants during the present year up to the end of August, was 93,904, against 5,493 up to the same period of last year.

The colleague, and, as is usually supposed, the partner of Mr. Bright, in sentiments, in triumph, and in disaster, has turned out a defaulter. Member for the same borough of Birmingham, brought up as it were at the very feet of the Apostle of Republicanism in its wildest and most frantic form, of Northern Abolitionism, despotism, and avarice, Mr. Scholefield has avowed opinions diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Bright. He has been entertained at the Birmingham Retail Brewers' Protection Society, and has made a speech in which he has declared that the principal point on which he and his colleague differed was with respect to the American civil war. Mr. Bright looked upon it as a war for the emancipation of the slaves; he (Mr. Scholefield) thought that when an impartial history came to be written on the conflict, it must be stated to be, on the part of the North as against the South, the most cruel and causeless war that was ever waged by a powerful against a weaker nation. He believed that when men talked of emancipating the slaves by force of arms they talked of that which was the most difficult measure of emancipation that could possibly be. He hated slavery, but he believed from the bottom of his heart that slavery was not to be abolished by force of arms. It must be abolished by the same means which we, in this country, employed in our own colonies—by remonstrance, and by putting our hands in our pockets to compensate those whom we had

induced by our own laws to consider slaves as their property.

The review season at Aldershot has come to a close, the last field-day having taken place on Thursday, the 3rd September. All those who are interested in the welfare of the English soldier will learn with pleasure that the Aldershot Mission-hall and Soldiers' Institute is finished. The first stone was laid in February last, by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The building is extremely handsome, in the early Anglo-Gothic style, and is furnished with a reading-room, smoking-room, library, coffee-bar, and other offices, together with a lecture-hall capable of accommodating 500 persons. The object of the Mission-hall is to furnish the soldier with methods of recreation calculated to prove more attractive than the vitiating temptations of the camp.

After the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon by the Confederate man-of-war, the Florida, her Majesty's paddle-sloop Geyser, Captain Pechell, proceeded to the coast of Ireland, to protect British interests in that direction. She cruised near Queenstown and the south-western coast, but saw nothing of the Florida, nor received any information concerning her. She has, therefore, returned to Davenport. The Florida is now lying in Brest Harbour repairing damages, and a notification has appeared in the *Moniteur* that the French Government has decided that the Florida shall be permitted to procure all necessities for placing her in a navigable state, but not munitions of war.

The sporting world has been entertained and the respectable world considerably shocked by a prize-fight between Mace, the ex-champion, and Goss of Wolverhampton. The fight was for the enormous sum of £1,000. It was fixed to take place at Wootton-Basset, in Wiltshire, and the company assembled for the special train at Paddington Station between two and four o'clock in the morning of Tuesday the 1st of September. A scene of lawless violence, disgraceful to a civilized country, took place at the railway station. A narrow lane for the ticket-holders was formed and guarded by an organised gang of pugilistic special constables. The fourteen carriages of the train were speedily filled with their 500 occupants who had secured places. In addition to these an enormous crowd of vagabonds was congregated about but outside the platform, and was kept in check by the pugilistic guard. These fellows, who had come partly to witness the departure and partly for more lucrative purposes, seized every person who entered the station and plundered him of his money and jewellery, using the utmost violence and shouting with derisive laughter. When the train was full the pugilistic guard was called off to take their places, and on their withdrawal a furious rush was made by the poorer ruffians to reach the train, and an attempt was made to burst the barricade. As the train drew off some twenty men jumped on the foot-boards and clung to the carriages. Soon after the ring had been formed at Wootton-Basset, and before the fight had commenced in earnest, the police appeared, and the company beat a retreat to the railway, returned to London, and proceeded by ordinary train to Purfleet. About five o'clock in the afternoon the ring was again formed, and the fight commenced. Nineteen rounds were necessary to decide the contest, and in the last round Goss was knocked into a state of insensibility.

A lady, a native of London and the wife of an English gentleman and afterwards of the Count de Silly, died in October last, and in her will made a bequest in these words:—"I give and bequeath to Her Majesty the Queen of England a sum of 100,000*l.*, to be employed for the benefit of the London poor." The Queen decided to accept the legacy, and thereupon the general legatees required the signature of Her Majesty to be affixed to a formal document and summoned her to appear. The case came before the Tribunal of the Seine. The general legatees argued that the legacy must be paid to the Queen personally, and that she must become the almoner of the sum left at her disposal. Consequently, the Queen ought to sign a special procuration; on the other side it was argued that the money should be paid to the Ambassador, and a case was cited in which a legacy to the Pope had been paid to the Nuncio. The President of the Tribunal, M. de Beniost-Champy, decided in favour of Her Majesty, declaring that an ambassador represented his sovereign in a supreme degree, and that all he said and did was substantially said and done by his sovereign.

It seems that the want of a Church Parliament, in the most ample sense of the words, is making itself felt in England. The Houses of Convocation are insufficient for the purpose. They can scarcely be said to represent the general body of the clergy or the laity in any manner. In view of this defect in the Church system it has been

decided to hold a congress of clergy and laity under the auspices of the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Marlborough, Lords Ebury and Lyttelton, Lord John Manners, M.P., Mr. Bazley, M.P., Mr. C. Buxton, M.P., Mr. Hubbard, M.P., the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Oxford and Manchester, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The congress will meet at Manchester in the course of the month of October. A service in the Cathedral, to be held on Tuesday, the 13th of October, will precede and inaugurate the meetings, which are to take place in the Free-Trade Hall. Papers will be read and discussions held on such subjects as Church-extension, Supply and Training of Ministers, Lay Co-operation, the Church in Ireland, the Law of the Colonial Church and the Supply of Native Ministers, and Day and Sunday Schools. Papers will also be read and discussed in sections, on Free and open Churches, Clergy Discipline, Modes of augmenting Small Livings and Tithe Redemption, Rural Decanal Meetings, and Diocesan Synods and Convocation.

The seventh annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science will commence at Edinburgh on the 7th October. The presidencies of the departments are filled up, Lord Curriehill being over that of Jurisprudence, and Mr. Nassau Senior over that of Education. The remaining departments are those of Punishment and Reformation, Public Health, Social Economy, and Trade and International Law. The system of convict discipline and the question of belligerent rights will be fully discussed. Immense preparations are being made for the hospitable reception of the visitors. It may be mentioned that a society is in process of formation for the purpose of advancing pharmaceutical chemistry. Its labours will, it is hoped, result in raising a great body of persons engaged in the art of preparing medicines after the prescription of the physician, into the truly responsible position which their duties require. At present the position of the pharmaceutical chemist in England is far below that occupied by persons of the same profession in many parts of the Continent.

The British Association continued its labours through last week and brought them to a close on the 4th September. On Tuesday, 1st September, after an amusing account from Captain Grant of his doings with the Royal personages dwelling on the line of his travels, a paper on Iron Ship Building was read by Mr. C. M. Palmer in the Mechanical section, and a paper in the Physical Science Department by Mr. Glaisher, on the vexed question of Temperature, and its regular diminution in high altitudes. A general meeting of the committee was held; and, on the motion of Sir R. Murchison, it was decided that Bath should be honoured with a visit in 1864. Sir Charles Lyell was appointed President, and Lord Portman, the Marquis of Bath, Mr. William Tite, M.P., Lord Nelson, and three other gentlemen were nominated Vice-Presidents. On the following day an interesting discussion arose in the Geology and Ethnology department, a paper being read by Lord Lovaine, describing certain Lacustrine habitations recently discovered in Wigtonshire. Professor Wilson, of Toronto, and Sir Charles Lyell made a few remarks on the subject, but the more interesting debate arose on a paper by Mr. Wallace, on the Varieties of Man in the Indian Archipelago. Mr. Jukes held that the human race had existed for at least 100,000 years, and Dr. James Hunt alluded to a recent German work on anthropology, in which the author stated that man had existed for no less than 35,000 years, and that there was every reason to believe that he had existed for some millions of years. In "Mechanics" some light was thrown on a method of defence which has been used more than once in the American war. Captain Douglas Galton drew attention to Mr. Chalmer's target, which has the metal placed in a form suited to resistance, and a cushion of wool interposed between the target and the ship. It consists of, first, a thick front plate, as the top flange of a beam; second, of ribs to support it, as the web of a beam; and, third, of a plate of iron to hold up the ribs, as the bottom flange of a beam; and the ribs are supported laterally by timber to prevent their lateral deflection. Between this and the side of the ship a cushion of timber is interposed. Mr. James Nasmyth thought that for armour plates to answer the end for which they are designed, they must be backed by some elastic substance, and in his opinion the substance best adapted to give the requisite elasticity was compressed wool. Captain Maury held that in America cotton bales had failed in resisting cannon balls, though at the outset much reliance had been placed on them. It seemed, however, to be admitted that there might be a wide difference between cotton and wool. On the 2nd of September an enormous party journeyed to Whitley Sands to see the practice of the Armstrong guns. Those used on this occasion in shell practice were both 12-pounders, one a breech-loader and



one a muzzle-loader, but rifled on the shunt principle. The targets were placed at a distance of 16,000 yards, and the object was to illustrate the murderous effects of the Armstrong segment shell among troops lying under the cover of hills, out of sight, and apparently out of the reach of artillery. About eighteen rounds were fired, and on inspection it was found that there was scarcely a spot the size of a man's hand in which the fragments of the shell were not imbedded, or through which some of its segments had not been forced. It was clear that companies of troops exposed to such a fire must have been literally torn to pieces. The practice of the shunt muzzle-loading gun was the best, the shell from the breech-loader often falling short. Two other excursions equally well attended were made on the last day of the meeting—one to the iron district of Cleveland and another to the lead mines at Allenhead. The former party, 300 in number, was entertained at a banquet at Middlesborough, under the presidency of the Mayor, and the latter, 200 in number, was entertained by Mr. Beaumont.

Her Majesty the Queen of England has been residing at Rosenau, Coburg, for upwards of three weeks. She has constantly visited and been visited by the Duke and Duchess of Coburg and the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse. Last week the King of Prussia paid a visit to Her Majesty and remained with her two hours. The Queen returned to England this week, having crossed the Channel from Antwerp.

### THE CONTINENT.

A PAMPHLET entitled "France, Mexico, and the Confederate States," of which we elsewhere give a notice, has been published in Paris by Dentu. It has been received very favourably. The Emperor has gone to Biarritz, and is expected to return to Paris about the end of September. The only item of political news in Paris is a proposed Mexican Loan. The Mexican General Marquez has been made a Commander of the Legion of Honour.

The King of Prussia has once more dissolved the Chambers. The reason given for this proceeding is that the King found the Chambers unyielding; and that at the present moment, when there is a tendency on the part of the German Confederation to reduce Prussia from the position she has hitherto occupied, it is necessary that she should be united. It does not seem to occur to King William or M. Bismarck that the decadence of Prussian influence in the German Confederation is due to their illiberal policy. The King and his adviser also forget that a union between the Crown and the people may be readily effected by giving up antiquated notions of prerogative and accepting the Constitution as the basis of government. The new Chambers are to be convoked so as to discuss the budget within the current year. No one supposes that the coming elections will result more favourably for the Court.

The balance of military success is, according to this week's telegrams, rather against the Poles. [Sokolowski defeated the Russian General Kostanda at Kalisch on the 29th of August. On the other hand the Poles were defeated on the same day at Kruszya, and on the 3rd inst. at Oleszow. Sympathy for the Poles is as active as ever. In Rome the Cardinal Vicar announces it to be the desire of the Pope that special prayers shall be offered up for unhappy Poland, which his Holiness observes with grief to have now become the scene of sanguinary massacres. Poland, always Catholic and a bulwark against the invasion of error, deserves that the Almighty should be implored to deliver her from the evils by which she is afflicted. Petitions should be put up that, while retaining her character, she may remain faithful to the mission God has given her, and may maintain the Catholic banner thoroughly intact.

The Emperor of Austria entered Vienna on the 4th instant. His reception was enthusiastic, and it is evident that his subjects cordially endorse his project of reform.

The International Statistical Congress met on the 6th instant at Berlin. It was opened by an address from the Minister of the Interior. The members were received on the 7th by the King.

The Emperor of Russia has issued a decree that from the 13th instant the peasants of the Ukraine shall be proprietors of their lands, paying a certain amount as purchase-money to the State.

An interesting political trial has just been concluded at Naples. The Princess Sciarra Barberini and Cavaliere Quattromani, who is perfectly blind, were charged with conducting a treasonable correspondence with the ex-King of Naples. According to the act of accusation

the Princess arrived in Naples December 29, 1862. During her stay she received several visits which awakened or confirmed suspicions of her Bourbonist tendencies. On her leaving for Rome, on the 9th of January, the Questura appointed two delegates of police to follow her, in consequence of information that she would be the bearer of a clandestine correspondence. On arriving at the frontier town, Isoletta, the Princess was invited to leave the carriage, as her passport was not *en règle*, and to give up all papers whatever that she might have with her. One letter, which she carried in the pocket of her dress, was directed to the ex-Ré Francisco and signed by Michele Roberti. It was full of expressions of devotion and of entreaties to continue the enterprise in which the ex-King was already engaged, invoking on it the blessing of Heaven. The delegates determined, on reading this letter, to interrupt the journey of the Princess, who returned, and arrived in Naples on the same evening. Roberti, who had been Councillor of State up to 1860, and for many years the preceptor of Francisco, had been selected by the Princess during her residence in Naples as her legal adviser. On the eve of her leaving for Rome, Roberti requested that she would take a letter for him to the ex-King, and as Roberti, in answer to the demand of the Princess, assured her that it was merely a congratulatory letter on the beginning of the new year, she consented. In a carpet-bag was found a packet of letters entrusted to the Princess by friends and acquaintances, and one in particular by her friend, Cavaliere Quattromani, the other prisoner, directed to the Duke Caracciolo di Brienza; inside this were several other letters, two of which were of special interest, one to Monsignor Gaetano di Ruggiero, and another to Padre Clarence di Viterbo, "nel Convento di Ara-Caeli, Roma." Both those letters were written for the most part in cipher, and the Duke of Brienza was requested by Quattromani to distribute the letters enclosed. In addition to those letters, Quattromani declares he gave the Princess another directed to a person called Chardar, of which letter or name no traces have been found. After the lapse of some days the letters in cipher were intercepted, and found to refer to money sent to the ex-King, with the names of the contributors. A "council" is spoken of, and the admission of many "brothers" on the morning on which the letter was written. The defence of the Princess was that she was unacquainted with the contents of the letters. After a three days' trial she was acquitted, but the Cavaliere Quattromani was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and a fine of 500 francs.

### EGYPT.

THERE has been a massacre of the whites on the White Nile. Several boats-full of traders were set upon by the blacks and slaughtered. These traders are charged with crimes which justified the vengeance of the natives. According to the testimony of Captains Speke and Grant and other travellers, armed bands are sent out from Khartoum, who murder unoffending villagers, make slaves of the women and children and steal the cattle. It is to be hoped that this occurrence will induce the Egyptian Government to take effective measures for repressing the atrocious practices of the white traders.

### INDIA.

It appears that we are drifting into a war in India. There is in Afghanistan a dispute between three parties in reference to the succession, or rather to the division of the authority of the late Ameer, which will inevitably lead to hostilities in Cabul. It is announced that a camp of exercise will assemble at Lahore, and an army of observation at Peshawur, and that these British forces will, in all probability, have something to do. Why we should take any part in the disputes of the Khans is an inscrutable mystery, as it is no interest to us who wins or who loses.

The accounts of the cotton crop in India are very discouraging to those who believed that that country could supply the place of the Confederate States. In Mysore Territory the laudable efforts of the Government have, we are told, ended in disappointment. The cotton crops in Agra have been destroyed by excessive and continuous rain. In Berar, where the prospects of cotton are favourable, the grain crops are not sufficient for local consumption, and the misery and loss attendant upon this will do much, hereafter, to discourage the increased cultivation of cotton.

### NEW ZEALAND.

THE natives of Waitara, or Waikato, have declared war, and take the field 5,000 strong. General Cameron has withdrawn his troops for the defence of Auckland.

### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 7.

THE sudden rise of all the French funds and stocks during the last week vouches sufficiently for the universal belief that all risk of war is for the present at an end. Even in England an improvement of 1 per cent. in the Three per Cents. within a week would be a great rise, but here it is even more significant of public confidence in the continuance of peace. The Three per Cents. are not the object of the speculation on which everybody, from the steps of the throne down to the *chiffonier* who seeks his fortune in the gutter, builds his hope of wealth. It is only when some change of policy produces a heavy fall or a sudden rise that those who are in the secret beforehand secure golden wind-falls in this stock, because it is generally held for investment, and its daily fluctuations are consequently restricted in ordinary times to narrow limits. It is, therefore, the more significant that it has risen so rapidly, and has been followed with more than equal steps by all the other forms of securities, as they are called in the jargon of the market. The *Credit Mobilier*, the great speculative stock, whose merits are about to be tested in England, has advanced upwards of 1 per cent. in the last few days, and there are bets that it will be worth 1 per cent. more at the end of the month. But this is little when compared to the *Credit Colonial*, a new stock only authorised on the 31st of last month. Yesterday, the shares (£5 paid up) were worth £38, having advanced £5 in one day, with every probability of a further rise. Notwithstanding this optimistic position taken by the Bourse, it is still very uncertain whether the Franco-Prusso-Russian alliance, as the more than sesquipedalian language of the day calls it, will come to anything. Even the *France*, which first announced the good tidings, begins to fear that the "party of resistance" has the upper hand in the councils of St. Petersburg. The report, if it have done nothing else, has had the effect of giving an impulse to the money market, which had long been stagnant. The solution of the Polish difficulties may be as distant as ever, but the more distant it is believed to be the better for the bulls. At all events, all chance of war is deferred to next spring, and next spring, to the understanding of speculators, is as distant as next century,—there may be so many ups and downs in the interval.

The Polish question being thus satisfactorily disposed of—for the present, at least—public attention is again directed to Mexico and the American war. A pamphlet, having for title "France, Mexico, and the Confederate States," was published here last Friday, and, advocating as it does an immediate recognition of the Confederate States, it created a great sensation. It was received as the anonymous indication of the intentions of Government, and the sensation, though not the result of any dissentiment with its conclusions, seems to have been greater than was desired. The *Pays* of Saturday was, therefore, "authorised to deny its official inspiration," and the *Mémorial Diplomatique* endorsed this statement next day. Public opinion—but this reminds me of a story which is beginning to go the rounds of the papers. A costermonger plying his vocation in one of the Paris streets had a "difficulty" with his donkey. The donkey would not go, and he, perhaps ignorant of the wisp of straw or carrot theory, instead of gently enticing it to follow him, applied the *argumentum baculinum* with a stick, to which its hide was probably no stranger. A humane or zealous *sergent de ville*, the policeman of Paris, coming up, commiserated the donkey, and remembering the authority invested in him by the *Gramont Act* (for the protection of animals) warned the costermonger to stay his hand. He only hit the more loudly; the *sergent de ville* threatened; the other, incredulous of *Gramont Acts*, only redoubled his blows. His donkey remained stationary, but he was arrested and conducted to the station-house, which was close at hand. "And my cart," said he. "Be easy," said the minion of justice, "I will take it home for you." "All right," said the prisoner, "and let me have news of you." Leaving him in safe custody the *sergent* returned to perform his promise. "Gee hoop," said he to the donkey. Donkey said nothing, but did not stir. Then he took him by the bit, thinking to pull him forward. Donkey advanced his forelegs at an angle which plainly showed that he had studied the theory of greatest resistance. His protector began to get impatient, and admonished him with his cane, accompanied with some oburgations which would look ill in print. Donkey changed not his attitude, and like a wise donkey turned deaf ears to insults which it was better not to hear. In the end the humane *sergent* lost his temper, doubtless heated by his own unheeded observations, and followed them up with blows applied with so good a will and in such unaccustomed places, that discovering at length how he had changed masters, poor Donkey made up his mind to move on. Two hours afterwards the *sergent de ville*, both hot and sorry, appeared before the *commissaire* to excuse and plead for his prisoner.

I was saying that public opinion is obstinate, and the *Epoca* of Madrid arrives with an article written before the pamphlet we have been speaking of could have reached there, which seems to confirm the first impression it had caused:—

In our opinion the recognition of the Confederate States by France and probably by England is close at hand. The movement will, perhaps, be thought opportune when a Government offering some chance of duration is established in Mexico. For our part we have always thought that the Emperor Napoleon's views in Mexico were not confined to the setting up a strong Government there, but were a part of a project to oppose a barrier to the encroaching policy of the United States.

It is possible that the recognition by France will be preceded by that of the new government of the Central State or *vice versa*, in either case it must lead to a formal rupture on the part of the Cabinet of Washington with France and afterwards



with Mexico. We should be prepared for the important events which seem likely to bring Europe and America into collision.

The *Mémorial Diplomatique*, which has now entered the fifth month of its existence, has in this short time acquired considerable authority on all questions in which Austria and France are concerned. It this week has a second article on the re-establishment of monarchy in Mexico, in which it is stated that this contingency was the subject of diplomatic communications even previous to the signing of the short-lived alliance with England and Spain, and that an Austrian prince was then pointed to as the most eligible candidate for the new throne. There is no reason to believe that the King of the Belgians has discouraged the acceptance of the crown by his son-in-law; on the contrary, says the *Mémorial*, his advice has been that he should raise no unnecessary difficulties in the way of an offer so freely made and which promises so brilliant a career of usefulness. The sole conditions which the Archduke has appended to his acceptance are, the confirmation of the vote of the Notables by the people and the moral and material aid of the Western Powers. In fulfilment of this second stipulation negotiations are already almost concluded for a loan, which, it is said, will be for twenty-four millions sterling, secured on the mines of Sonora. With this, all outstanding obligations to foreigners will be settled, a part of the French war indemnity will be paid, and there will still remain enough to defray the cost of reorganising the public services. The regency is already busy in raising an army of 30,000 men, the accoutrements for which have been furnished by the French Government.

The *Mémorial* gives also the first part of a very long report presented by a commission to the Assembly of Notables, on the form of Government in Mexico. It fills nearly eleven closely printed columns of small type, and passes in review the whole history of the last forty-two years. Nor does the commission confine itself to Mexico, or even to contemporary events. The grandiloquent exordium reminds one of that of the advocate in the *Plaideurs*,—"Avant la création du monde." With a strange jumble of natural theology and modern instances, it shows that in the chain of nature a mite has some connection with the imperturbable course of the sidereal revolutions, and that the fall of Louis Philippe and the creation of the French Empire were destined in the order of Providence to arrest the erratic course of those of Mexico. Of these it proceeds to give an account, showing that the first proclamation of a republic in 1822 was the result of youthful inexperience and passion, and that their subsequent history is but a series of scandalous revolutions and shameful seditions. The conclusion of the report, so far as it is yet published, touches on the inaptitude of the Latin races to flourish under republican institutions, and the end will, no doubt, insist on the restoration of monarchy.

You will see that the American war is closely connected in the ideas of the French public with that of Mexico, and accordingly the newspapers have in the last few days contained more constant references to the events of the war and the question of recognition, than had been the case for some time previously. The *Patrie* published last week an interesting article on the exploits of the Confederate Navy, which contained, indeed, no new facts, but presented them in a compact narrative. The *France* gives a sketch of the military organisation of the South, showing the number and relative rank of the general officers. The President, an old West-Pointer, is commander-in-chief. There are five generals with rank corresponding to that of marshal of France: Cooper, J. E. Johnston, Lee, Beauregard, and Bragg. There are also eight lieutenant-generals, forty major-generals, corresponding to generals of divisions, and 178 brigadier-generals, among whom is one Frenchman, the Prince de Polignac.

The *Pays* contradicts the report that the United States Minister here has either remonstrated against the hospitality shown the Florida, or threatened to hand in a protest against the occupation of Mexico. It adds that the Minister of Foreign Affairs might have reminded Mr. Dayton that the treaty of 1778 between France and the United States authorises in time of war the admission of French privateers into the American ports, and of Americans into the French ones. The *France* announces the departure of sixty-five of the Florida's crew from Brest to man a new vessel which is about to sail from England. This is probably a *canard*, for the captain of the Florida is not in the habit of announcing his movements beforehand; but it is another proof of the sympathy with which the cause is regarded here. M. de Montholon, lately French consul-general at New York, sails in the next steamer as minister to Mexico.

## THE UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, Sept. 9.

THERE is a society here whose howl is for Union and Emancipation. Union, avowedly, by means of fire and sword; and Emancipation, it would seem, by any process, if it be only summary enough—a simple condition, which, I need scarcely remark, beautifully includes the rope and lamp-post variety. An association with this kind of a platform cannot well help being rather a phenomenon. Alike the creature and catpaw of the Washington officials, its fawnings, its trucklings, its falsehoods and its pliant capacity for dirty work in general have from time to time fetched a sympathetic snort, half of gratitude and half of contempt, from that no doubt remarkable personage whom the Rev. J. R. Balme in his moments of finer frenzy apostrophises as "The War-house of Liberty," though matter-of-fact mortals may fail to identify any such "fearful wild-fowl" in Mr. Seward. Whether or not, poetically, our cute Yankee attorney may like any beast in particular, in or out of the Book of Job, there can be little doubt that in his own everyday

likeness he is himself alone, as a dealer in statesmanlike utterances in American prose. In this latter character he has recently favoured us with another of his peculiar manifestoes, which, in this instance, sets in a tolerably strong light the relations between the Cabinet at Washington and the Union and Emancipation Society in Manchester, and which will therefore very well serve my turn in inviting the last-named of that singular pair of institutions to take a little public airing with me. Mr. Seward begins his message by thanking in a general sort of way his familiars in England for the zeal with which, under the anti-slavery cloak, they are trying to do their spitting in the Federal cause. But seeing that Northern Abolitionism cannot be made a trump card in this country, and that evidently the Broughams and the Buxtons have all along had an eye upon the attempted cheat, Mr. Seward does not hesitate to hint that he holds a much stronger hand in something else, and that really he means to win with quite another suit. Of course he does not forbid our local Emancipationists to continue to placard our walls with monstrous negroes, although he doubts we are rather of Trinculo's mind about having such "tricks put upon us with savages and men of Inde." What he stipulates for is—but here is his letter:—

Department of State, Washington,

July 25, 1863.

THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, Esq., Manchester, England.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive from the Rev. Dr. Massie and the Rev. Dr. Rylance your address, &c. . . . The parties in these proceedings will readily understand that the attempted revolution in the United States sensibly affects this Government, and American society itself, in many ways which it has not fallen within the province of these parties to examine. While the interests thus naturally, and not improperly, overlooked in Europe, furnish the strongest possible motives to the people of the United States for suppressing the insurrection and maintaining the constitutional government received at the hands of their fathers, the President readily accepts and avows, as an additional and irresistible motive, the suggestion made by the friends of our country in Europe—that the success of the insurrection would result in the establishment, for the first time in the history of the human race, of a State based upon the exclusive foundations of African slavery. —I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Now, gentlemen of the Union and Emancipation Society, what say you to this? You have it within the four corners of that letter that our sable friend of the noble aspect and the exoriated back, with whose life-size portrait you have been illustrating our mural literature for the last three weeks, is not only not favoured with any serious share of Mr. Seward's kindly consideration, but is absolutely sniffed at by that Bucephalus of human freedom. Possibly, when Mr. Seward sat down to write to you, he had but newly escaped from a railway car with a man and a brother in it, and, pah! there was perhaps no civet at hand to sweeten the philanthropist's imagination. Whatever the cause, the champion of the liberties of our multi-coloured species was evidently in no mood for regarding the intelligent contraband as anything just then but a very "black cuss" indeed, who, in the bloody game at Washington for a stake vastly different from the so-called redemption of a race, will have to take his chance of being promiscuously emancipated or not, either by being bayoneted into a nice warm place in the front during an assault, or strung up to the first Abolitionist-looking lamp-post at the next outbreak in New York. Thus, gentlemen aforesaid, you see it is of no use to go on telling Mr. Seward that he is snuffing the battle near or far off, in the interest of the slave. Your Bayard among the chargers tells you point-blank that he is doing no such thing. And he tells you a good deal more. Presuming, as he well may, upon your un-English John Brightism, and knowing as he well does that there is not one of you who would not cough at drinking the honest Yorkshireman's toast of "The Land we live in, and them as doesn't like it, dang 'em, let 'em leave it,"—Mr. Seward, I say, knowing what manner of men you are, first pats you on the back, and then whispers confidentially in your ear that you are naturally and not improperly overlooking the real objects of the war; which, if put in so many words, are, first, taxation of the South and of the English exports consumed by the South, in the interest of Northern manufacturers; secondly, the acquisition of unlimited power; so that, thirdly, the United States, after annexing Mexico on the South and Canada on the North, may be in a position to offer insult and injury to every nation of the earth, and especially to this our country—which begs you to accept, gentlemen, the assurance of its highest consideration for graciously conspiring to establish your Union and Emancipation Society here.

And now, gentlemen, since Mr. Seward has been good enough to let the cat out of the bag, by in some sort turning Queen's evidence against you, let me condole with you in reviewing the to-be-repented past. Your President (Mr. T. B. Potter) helped to set you going, they say, with £500. Well, that was a good round sum, though not over-much, if the political bookmaker—who has visions of succeeding Mr. Bazley as M.P. for Manchester—had only laid it on the right bird. But, you see, the anti-slavery cock won't fight; and to heel Mr. Seward's Union bird with English spurs would be to come it rather too unpatriotic. So, on the whole, Mr. Potter might as well have thrown his money down the gutter. Well, and then there was that Free Trade Hall meeting on last new year's eve, with the Mayor of Manchester in the chair. After rising from the perusal of Mr. Seward's note, what you must chiefly regret in reflecting upon that meeting is, the display you made (alas! in vain) of that little bit of theatrical clap-trap about the negro, to whom you assigned a conspicuous post of vantage in the middle of the platform. The contraband's get-up was intelligent to a fault, and he walked upon the stage like any other important dramatic personage,—say Hamlet in the first court scene after a sufficient interval; and when all the rest of you had taken

your places, his going brusquely up to the Mayor, and robustiously shaking hands with his worship, and subsequently (in New York English), "with quite a number of other prominent citizens," was a highly effective touch of unpremeditated naturalness, although cynical people might set it down as a pre-rehearsed piece of not very genteel comedy. All this was very fine and very Northern—so far as it went. But you see, gentlemen, to have carried the thing to Mr. Seward's length, your first duty would have been to have kicked the contraband bodily off the platform. That perhaps would have been—though strictly above-board—not quite an English proceeding; but it would at least have saved the scandal of a respectable member of the British House of Commons, a man of Mr. Bazley's position both in the House and out of it, lending his face to such a contemptible piece of stage play as the other performance amounted to. Whatever was the political influence you brought to bear upon the honourable gentleman for that night only, it does him credit that you have not been able successfully to put the same screw upon him since. As that was his first, so his friends hope it will be his last appearance in such a character. The Mayor, too, got a pretty sharp wiggling from the *Guardian* next morning, and I am glad to see that his worship has from that time forth given you and your doings a decently wide berth, never having betrayed the city's trust by taking any more Union and Emancipation chairs, whether as Mayor of Manchester, or, as he styled himself on last year's eve, plain Abel Heywood.

Your next public attempt to flinch an expression of un-English feeling was a dodge every way worthy of you and your employers; and, no doubt, it quite squared with your notion of English honour to fix for the day of its perpetration the wedding-day of the Prince of Wales. But the attempt signally fell through. Somehow or other the people, hungry though they were, got it into their heads that you were about to humbug them through their bellies. They suspected a trick in the pains you took to set out that model of the Federal ship George Griswold. The companion model of the Confederate war-steamer Alabama, with the black flag run up, and the death's-head and cross-bones thrown in by way of sensation, thickened the suspicion. The ominous coincidence of the presence of the "relief ship's" chaplain clinched the whole business, and no wonder Stephenson Square broke out into flat rebellion. In vain the bewildered parson prayed aloud until he perspired; equally in vain did he bethink himself to ask Lancashire men to join him in a "little hymn." Prayers and proposals about hymns, big or little, were borne frustrate on the wings of the rising storm. The position held by the bakers' vans, with their contents of 16,000 loaves, was carried by assault, and for two mortal hours the Federal flour, which you thought to have thrown like dust in our people's eyes, was indignantly tossed about before your own, poetical justice being amply satisfied with a well-aimed volley of substantial quartern loaves delivered at the platform itself. Before dismissing this painful subject there is just one question, gentlemen, which I should like to ask—Was that bread really made of George Griswold flour? People do say that that flour was duly placed in the keeping of the Central Relief Committee, and if so, I am slow to believe that a body of English gentlemen, with Earl Derby at their head, could have wittingly given you a grain of it for purposes of base political huckstering on the day the Prince of Wales was married. If the bread was not *bona fide* Griswold, say so. If, on the other hand, it was made from the spurious Union and Emancipation article, and paid for partly out of Mr. Potter's £500, say so. Repentance is idle without confession. Besides, when a thing is a swindle in its essence and its object, it can't be made much worse by being owned a swindle in substance and form.

Your subsequent demonstrations and what came of them may possibly form the subject of future condolences as occasion may seem to serve.

## EL TOUSSON AND EL MONASTIR.

The first exploit of these two vessels of war, which have now almost arrived at completion in Mr. Laird's building yard, will be to run the home blockade of legal difficulties before they are allowed to proceed on their destined career, whatever that may be. Whether they can successfully navigate the channel beset with shoals and rocks through which the Alexandra was steered, remains to be seen. There is now, we believe, little doubt that, under the terms of the Foreign Enlistment Act, they are to be detained by Government. The allegation against them is, that they are fitted out for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against the United States. On the other hand, it is contended that they were built by order of a French house for the late Pasha of Egypt, who gave the firm a commission for the coining of a large sum of money in France, and for the construction of two steam-rans in England. The money was duly coined, and received in Egypt. The vessels were in course of construction when the Pasha died, and his successor repudiated that part of the contract. What the French house intends to do with them is not known. The accusation is, that they are destined for war with a friendly Power. They will consequently be detained, and a court of law will determine whether, under the terms of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the detention is legal, or whether the owners can recover them from the hands of the Government.—*The Morning Post*.

If there were "evidence of the fact" that these vessels are actually destined for the use of the Confederate States, and also a certainty, or a reasonable amount of probability, that this would bring the adventure within the scope of the Foreign Enlistment Act, nobody can deny that Lord Russell might "exercise his power of detention" and forbid the ships to leave the port. But, unfortunately, neither of these conditions can be easily satisfied. That there is not, or was not, sufficient evidence of the fact we know from the avowal of Lord Russell himself; and that there is nothing positive in the applicability of the Foreign Enlistment Act to the case must be inevitably inferred from the experiment tried upon the Alexandra.—*The Times*.



## SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

(From the Church and State Review.)

There are some subjects upon which we cannot enter but with a reluctance amounting almost to pain. Just such a question is that now before us. If there be a name more abhorrent than another to our English ear, it is that of "slave." There needs no eloquence of denunciation, no artful painting of individual horrors, to rouse against it our warmest and strongest feelings. But the truth has to be spoken, and we must needs give the subject, painful as it is, a fair and patient investigation.

Let us then at once admit that, whatever may be the reality of American slavery, our preconceived notions of it have proved as yet very far from the truth. It was, indeed, almost inevitable that it should be so. A matter of which we could have no personal knowledge, and of which, therefore, our ideas must necessarily be taken only at second-hand, could hardly fail to be misunderstood; whilst, in this instance, misconception was undoubtedly aggravated by the directly hostile nature of the only source from which even this second-hand information was derived. How serious this misconception has been the events of the last few years have, in some measure, shown; and we shall do well, before entering into the question, to consider briefly the nature and extent of the error thus proved in the outset against our calculations.

If there was, then, a point on which all, whether here or in the United States, had confidently reckoned, it was on the hostility of the slaves to their masters. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Were one tithe of the statements currently reported of their condition but founded upon truth, this hostility was as inevitable as oppression and cruel wrong could make it. Yet what has the event shown? The armies of the North have marched and counter-marched over many hundred miles of Southern soil; but the negroes, instead of welcoming them, have, for the most part, fled at their approach. The proclamation of freedom has been boldly reprinted in Southern newspapers, and circulated from white to black and from black to white throughout the Confederacy, but not a plantation has risen to claim the boon. The planters have fearlessly entrusted their dearest interests to the slaves whose vengeance they were supposed so abjectly to dread. The negroes, thirsting to wash out in their master's blood the memory of their wrongs, have tilled his fields, and watched over his home and tended his wife and little ones while he was far away fighting against the friends who were to set them free. Is all this natural—is it even credible? If the relation of master and slave in the Southern States were really as we have deemed it, is the negro nature so angelic—nay, so Divine—as to repay such evil with such good? We would gladly think it, even at the cost of an enforced tribute of admiration for a system that could nurture such a frame of mind. But we know it is not so; that it is not our deduction, but our premises, that have been at fault. The position of the slave is not as we have pictured it. He is not a struggling and down-trodden serf, writhing under the lash of a cruel task-master, stretching chained hands to Heaven in agonized prayers for deliverance. Rather is he a simple-hearted, docile, affectionate child; impatient often, like other children, of constraint, and yet more impatient of work; needing guidance, and even correction, and conscious of his need; capable, no doubt, of being trained to a higher and nobler life, but, for the present at least, best and happiest, and, in truth, most contented, as he is.

Nor, if thus mistaken in our estimate of the slave, have we been much nearer the truth in our portrait of his master. The two errors have, indeed, gone hand in hand. The hideous cruelty which oppressed the one must needs, as we rightly supposed, have "demoralized" the other. A bully is inevitably a ruffian and a coward, and such we confidently and reasonably expected the "Southern chivalry" to prove. On this point, at least, our misapprehensions have been effectually cleared away; and, whatever may yet be our knowledge of the institution itself, we have learnt something of the real character of its supporters. Nor of theirs alone. We have no unkindly feeling towards the North—no wish to exaggerate her defects, or gloat over her difficulties. Far from it. It is in very sadness that we are compelled to point the moral of Southern gallantry and chivalrous devotion by contrast with the sordid meanness, the uncivilized barbarity, the bitter, bloodthirsty unchristianity of the Abolition party at the North. If the tree may indeed be known by its fruit—if the test of results in character and conduct may indeed be followed as confidently as it was applied—we have here a lesson which, however sorely against the grain, it would ill become us any longer to neglect.

Yet, while thus constrained to avow our conviction that the slavery of the South is very far from the unmixed evil of our early prejudices, let us not be supposed to hold it up to admiration as by any means an unmixed good. Very far otherwise. At the best it is but a thing to be tolerated as the lesser evil for a while, and, even thus, there is in it much—very much—that requires prompt amendment. They are points but too well known to us all. The separation of families; the stern prohibition of education of any kind; the invalidity of the marriage tie; the law that subjects the child to the condition of the mother, with all the manifold evils that follow in its train—no one can deny that these are faults which cry loudly for a remedy. Our error has been, not in considering them as faults, but in confounding them too closely with the system itself with which they have in truth no necessary connection. Nor was this all; experience proves that we have erred perhaps yet more dangerously in giving to these incidental defects a prominence to which practically they are not entitled. As our acquaintance with the truth extends, we know more of the real condition of the slave in these respects, and find what the analogy of our own customs might have earlier taught us to expect from a kindred race. We see laws harsh and cruel, as in too many respects they undoubtedly are, rendered comparatively mild and harmless by the higher law of public opinion. We see especially the enactments against education, necessitated by the reckless agitation of Northern Abolitionists, in practice so generally disregarded that the Southern Church can boast of no less than half a million negro communicants. We see that, though legally ignored, the marriage tie is as a rule practically held sacred; and that to separate families, or even, without some good and pressing reason, to sell his slaves at all, is for the planter a stigma and a reproach. And most of all we find, what most of all we should have done well and charitably to presuppose, that whatever these evils may be, we are not alone in our recognition of them; that with the slave-owners themselves these questions are matters of deep and wide-spread anxiety; and that among their leaders at least there is a very general desire to mitigate and remove the evils which they, no less than we, feel as a reproach to their institutions and to themselves. In this respect, too, we are apt to judge somewhat over-harshly of the South. We must not too

promptly seize on every doubtful word. In times like these, it is the hottest spirits that rush to the front, and much is said that can have no claim to be regarded as a general utterance, and that in calmer moments the speakers themselves would certainly modify, and probably retract. Much, too, must be allowed to men who, by bitter and unjust reproach, may have been led to look with too favourable an eye upon the very faults and weaknesses of the cause they are defending against such cruel odds. But with the upper classes, at least, such men are the exception, not the rule. We firmly believe that the slave-owners of the South, as they are undoubtedly the parties most deeply interested in remedying the defects and amending the errors of their institutions, so are they, above all others, most truly anxious so to do.

What, then, is our duty as freemen and as Englishmen in the face of this tremendous question? It is surely plain. If we really seek the welfare and happiness of the negro; if we even suspect that the men on whom his fate depends are not wholly the selfish monsters we have deemed them; above all, if we realise our position, and rightly measure our own power and our own impotence for good alike and evil in this respect, we shall not find it difficult to see our way. We shall know then that really to benefit the slave we must work with his master, not against him; that hard thoughts and hard words are powerless to shake the master's hold, omnipotent to clench it till it becomes indeed as galling as our fancy pictured it long ago. On us in this "old country" rests, in truth, a terrible responsibility. Those who best know the South know best also the power over the Southern mind of English opinion. Much of this power has, indeed, been lost by the manner in which we have withheld from them in their desperate struggle the recognition so earnestly coveted, so justly due, and so freely given to many without the hundredth portion of their claim. But for this the South would, ere now, have been free, and England might have won from her gratitude those ameliorations of her institutions which she is already more than half disposed to grant as a measure of justice to herself. This chance has unhappily gone by, and with it has gone much of our influence for good. Something, however, may even yet be done. By gentleness and justice; by recognising the good as frankly as we condemn the evil; by acknowledging at once the difficulties of the Southern position, and the real and sterling good that, in spite of it, has even now been so largely achieved; in a word, by doing a Christian work in a Christian spirit, we may as surely contribute to procure for the negro those ameliorations of his lot most truly calculated to promote his happiness and welfare, and finally lead him to a real and valuable freedom, as by a blind persistence in injustice and calumny, and a reckless pursuit, by any means, of a ruinous and impracticable end, we assuredly shall at once rivet the chains of the slave, and add bitterness to his bondage.

## CONDITION OF JACKSON.

The Morton (Miss.) correspondent of the *Atlanta Appeal* thus describes the damage done to Jackson by the Federal forces:—

Jackson has a deplorable appearance. The block or square in which the Appeal-office was situated, and the one south of it on the other side of Capitol and fronting on State and Pascagoula streets, comprising, since the last conflagration, the main business houses in the city, are in ashes. These two blocks include the Episcopal Church (a neat and comfortable edifice), and the buildings from there to the Concert Hall on State-street, the Post-Office, Julian's book store, sweeping round to Spangler Row, and down to Mrs. McMaster's, including the Post Surgeon's office, Medical Director's office, and office of Commander of the Post. On the opposite side of the street the fiery destruction began with McMurray's livery stable, consuming the whole mass of buildings to Straus's store, thence to Angelle's Saloon, Griffin's Bankhouse, and thence to Leany's store, thence down to Pascagoula-street, eating out the entire block.

The next block running along State, and south in succession of the one just named, being already a pile of ruins, having been burned by the Federals during their first visit, the house-burners ceased their destruction in this part of the city. Mrs. Clifton's house is said to have been burned, but of this my informant was not certain. The Capitol was not injured, nor was the Governor's mansion, telegrams to the contrary notwithstanding. No act of wanton insult to ladies is reported to have been committed by the enemy, but houses were freely entered and sacked. The suburbs of Jackson, recently so beautiful, are all scorched, withered, and destroyed. The city itself, once so proud of its neat, cheerful, and in some places elegant appearance, is a wreck—a ruin—a blasting evidence of the savage brutality of our hated and despised foe. Attila, styled "Curse of God," could not have visited a captured town with more ruthless vengeance. Let them burn! our time will come yet! "The mills of the gods grind slowly."

The same correspondent, writing a day later, gives the following additional particulars:—

Dr. Bailey arrived here yesterday from Jackson. The half has not been told touching the vandalism of the enemy while in occupation of that ill-fated city. Every house in the place that was unoccupied, and nearly all of those whose owners remained to protect them, were sacked and gutted. Officers as high as colonels were seen to enter and steal articles of value and virtue, and carry them away. Some of these officers were heard to say, "Well, I have never stolen anything before, but I will take this." Mahogany and rosewood bedsteads, with mattresses, mosquito bars, and all the appendages of a complete and elegant couch, with bedsteads set up and the whole standing as if in a bedchamber, together with rosewood, marble-slabbbed dressing-cases, bureaux, chairs, sofas, fine tables, pianos, ottomans, mirrors, and all the costly furniture of the citizens were scattered all along the intrenchments from the southern bend of the Pearl river to the extreme northern line of the works.

On these beds the Yankees slept, and carried on their hellish debaucheries with the negro wenches of the town; played cards and gambled, ate and drank on the tables, and amused themselves among this stolen plunder during their drunken carousals in their own refined and elegant way, and at their departure broke them into a thousand pieces. One general, said to be a General Logan, carried off two fine parlour chairs from Mr. Helm's residence, telling Mr. Helm that he would return them, but he failed to perform his promise. The fine State library, in the capitol building, they hauled off in waggon, took what books they desired, and destroyed the rest. This library was one of the most select and costly in the Confederacy. Its destruction is not only a loss to Mississippi, but to mankind, and cannot be replaced.

In Mr. Hobson's residence, they cut his family portraits, mutilated everything they could not carry off; cut large square places from the centre of his carpets, and wrote vulgar and obscene sentences upon the walls. But these things seem to have been their peculiar mission in every house; for, in addition to the pillage, destruction, and mutilation of private property, the slime of their wretchedly low and libidinous language can be traced on every wall, the witnesses at once of their vulgarity, barbarism, and crime; the blasting and deformed, but still full and ample evidence that they are Yankees.

A number of private residences in the suburbs of the city are reported as burned down, but I could not learn the names of the owners. Near the business portion of the city that was destroyed, Mrs. Saunders and Mrs. Laughlin's boarding houses, and Morey's drug store, are about all that are left standing.

THE NEGRO IN AFRICA AND IN THE SOUTH.—It is clear that the negro in his native savage African state is the most brutal specimen of the human race. He has no sense of justice, no conscience, and a horrible and wild appetite for blood. Nothing can be more hideous than negro life in Dahomey, which state or kingdom is a sort of enlarged butcher's shop, where man is both the butcher and the meat. Society seems to exist for the purpose of great periodical slaughters, which are the national holidays, constituting both the amusement and religion of the people. Human nature lights up with a singular glare of ferocity in African nature, and there are a profuseness and sensuality in its sanguinary propensities which we do not see in other aboriginal tempers. Captain Grant does not describe a much better state of things in Uganda. "The lives of men and women are taken for the most trifling offences . . . and the king never looks bright and no business is done unless the day has commenced with a few being led to execution. A miserable young girl or handsome woman from the palace gates might be seen walking down the road perfectly unheeded by passers by, wailing in the most bitter, agonising tones, perhaps bleeding from a spear wound, and mournfully following a single palace guard to the place of execution. Others would have a whip-cord round the wrist and follow the man like a dog, while others pull against the cord, screaming most violently." Slavery is certainly an improvement upon such a state of society as this, because, whatever the evils of it may be, it is not simply the reign of the law of blood. Nothing can justify the slave trade, and yet, when we contemplate the mysterious history of a race of whose career in the world we have only yet a fragment before us, we may acknowledge that a Providence which brings good even out of evil has used the lawlessness of man in this instance as an engine for the ultimate improvement of the negro. Whatever American slavery may be, the negro under it is a more moral being than ever he was in Africa; he has ideas, and feelings, and sentiments which he never had before. He is no longer a brute; he knows right from wrong. He has some acquaintance with the rules of civilised life; he has been placed in contact with the European mind, and has received a sort of engrafting. All this could not, humanly speaking, have been given him in Africa. Transplantation is the condition, however shocking an one, upon which he partakes of civilisation. This has not, perhaps, been sufficiently taken into account in our estimate of slavery. It is bad enough, but let us look at it in comparison with the native savage state of the negro, from which it is a change. It is an improvement upon that state. Those who look forward to the ultimate enfranchisement of the African and his complete incorporation in civilised society, may still acknowledge a law working in the intermediate dispensation, as it may be called, of slavery. Nor can it fairly be doubted that the negro, as a general rule, has been happier as a slave than he was as a native savage. There may be particular estates on which extraordinary cruelties have been practised, but his general treatment from the planter has been far kinder than the treatment he received from his native chief, and life upon a plantation has been much more comfortable than life in the African desert and jungle. He has been better fed and better housed, he has led a regular, methodical day, and his life has approached the European domestic standard much nearer than it did in his wild state. It is quite true that his comforts and physical condition have been attended to more than his moral and religious improvement; this, of course, would depend upon the character of the owner. The great tendency has been to regard the slaves as instruments of cotton-growing. Yet even the accounts which are most unfavourable to slavery show that, somehow or other, a wild and rude but still strong form of Christian belief has planted itself in the negro mind.—*Times*, Sept. 5.

PRESIDENT DAVIS has no such difficulties in this way to contend with as harassed Washington when, in 1776, his whole means of resistance to the British consisted of a miserably ill-clad, ill-fed army of 3,000 dispirited men. Even if we look upon this war as a mere struggle for conquest, the North cannot be successful while there remains only a resolute minority in the Southern States determined to fight to the last. But, though faint hearts in the South may despair, they are not likely to pardon the invaders who have forced them to humiliation. Every victory that the North exults over deepens and extends the hatred which they have created in the Southern people. Fort Sumter destroyed, and the favourite city of the South bombarded and ruined, are not spectacles which will win back the revolted States into the Union. Every captured city will absorb a Northern army, and every Northern army of occupation will be a constant source of renewed hatred and enmity to the "Yankees." The Federals may go on in their career of conquest, and the cities of the Southern coast may fall into their hands one by one; but every victory adds fuel to the original flame of Secession. When two nations go to war upon some definite ground of quarrel the battles and sieges are fair trials of strength; the side which finds itself the weakest may consent to a compromise, and the two nations, which have no further disagreement, may unite again in honourable friendship. But when a nation like the South is fighting for bare existence, all terms of submission are impossible. The invader may cut deep into the country, but the soul of the national life escapes his sword, and his cruelties only quicken the pulse of the heart of Independence. The Federals may gain point after point, but they cannot conquer the hatred which they have raised and enflamed themselves. Not the least hopeless feature of the struggle, too, is the furious passion for war which it seems to be rousing in the Northern mind. The insatiable rage of conquest grows by what it feeds upon, and every capture of a city or defeat of an army only rouses an appetite for further destruction and fresh victories. So long as the Federals can fight, and get the means of fighting, so long they will be willing and eager to fight, and, beyond question, so long they will have to fight.—*Times*, Sept. 7.



## LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following are partial lists of the Confederate Casualties at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson, and in the army of the West:—

## RODES' BRIGADE.

## 3RD ALABAMA REGIMENT (Colonel C. A. Battle, commanding.)

Major R. M. Sand, wounded slightly, leg.  
Company A—(Lieut. W. N. Ledyard commanding).—Killed: Private James McLelland. Wounded: Lieut. W. N. Ledyard, leg amputated; Sergeant N. Weeks, flesh wound, leg; Private John Beroujon, arm, flesh wound; C. Dunn, head, slight; Corporal S. Sprague, arm, flesh wound; H. L. Lowman, hand.

Company B—(2nd Lieut. E. T. Toomer, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant R. P. Sheffield. Wounded: 1st Lieut. Daniel Partridge, neck, slightly, while acting aid to brigade commander; Private A. K. Alvarez, hip, severe; H. W. Hughes, arm, flesh wound; W. H. Monk, arm, slight; E. H. Lethwaite, hand. Missing: S. C. Anderson, S. S. Goddard, T. H. Melville, J. F. Randall, H. W. Ronde, P. A. Weaver.

Company C—(Captain W. T. Bilbro, commanding).—Killed: A. Ellis. Wounded: 1st Lieut. T. A. Etheridge, side, serious; Sergeant Charles Cachet, flesh wound both thighs; Sergeant Walter Ransom, through hip; Sergeant W. B. Burdine, leg, flesh wound; Private T. J. Cloud, thigh bone shattered; John McBride, leg, flesh wound; C. E. Smith, hand, slight; Edward Varner, hand; J. W. Taylor, arm and leg; A. A. Read, breast and arm; H. C. Penn, side, severe; Philip Fitzpatrick, side, slight. Missing: Corporal W. H. Drakeford, Corporal S. H. Pou.

Company D—(Lieut. John R. McGowan commanding).—Killed: Private William Farr. Wounded: Private M. L. Simson, hip, severe; G. W. Loveless, face. Missing: Privates F. M. Henderson, John Eddy.

Company E—(Captain J. W. Chester, commanding).—Killed: Thomas W. Coker. Wounded: Corporal Robert Hopkins, W. Dean, slight, shoulder; M. A. Coleman, arm; J. Connell, flesh wound, leg; Charles Hill, ankle, slight; J. J. Sherwood, thigh, flesh wound. Missing: James E. Childres, John S. Rutherford.

Company F—(1st Lieutenant Wade A. McBryde, commanding).—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieut. W. A. Taylor, leg, flesh wound; Sergeant Samuel P. Lowe, left arm amputated; Private Robert Bellinger, foot; R. A. Carroll, leg, flesh wound; James L. Martin, hand; David Lookler, head; J. C. Oliver, arm, slight; W. L. Prescott, leg, flesh wound; A. S. Sayre, arm, flesh.

Company G—(Captain M. F. Bonham, commanding).—Killed: W. J. Meadows, Daniel Johnson, E. Williamson. Wounded: Captain M. F. Bonham, arm, flesh wound; Sergeants N. M. Ruff, hand; W. A. Beckham, arm amputated; Private W. W. Cimm, hand; G. W. Falk, groin and shoulder, severe. Missing: T. Lundy.

Company H—(Captain C. Robinson, junior, commanding).—Wounded: Sergeant J. A. Crocherson, thigh, flesh wound; H. P. Caffey, arm amputated; G. L. Hadley, ankle; H. W. Hardy, hand; B. F. McQueen, thigh; C. Miller, leg; J. W. Rast, leg, flesh wound; W. Wilson, arm, flesh wound. Missing: P. T. Oliver.

Company I—(2nd Lieut. B. K. F. Melton, commanding).—Killed: Corporal F. K. Jones, private William M. Coleman. Wounded: Private James Goodson, side, severe; R. S. Lewis, leg, slight; Jno. A. Rogers, thigh, serious; Richard Wright, leg, slight; Charles Walker, slight; Jno. S. Lynch, serious, left on field; Sergeant William M. Teague, mouth, severe; Sergeant J. B. Stamps, leg; William Leak, hand; Wm. Gunnell, slight.

Company K—(1st Lieut. W. H. Gardner, commanding).—Killed: Private J. M. Kerrell, D. M. McLean. Wounded: Lieut. W. H. Gardner, severe, in leg; Sergeant Donaldson, severe, neck; C. C. Collier, leg, flesh wound; James Hoyt, hand, slight; W. J. Hogan, head, slight; H. G. Mauldin, head slight; James Newman, side; T. M. Smith, foot, slight; J. W. Weaver, heel, slight; James Walker, arm, flesh. Missing: J. J. Yeates.

Company L—(1st Lieut. F. M. Germany).—Wounded: Lieut. F. M. Germany, severe, in groin; Sergeant J. S. McClellan, hip; Corporal J. L. Childs, thigh; C. R. Olive, hip; R. M. Harrison, leg; J. W. McLoud, in leg, flesh wound; T. Bryan, arm, flesh wound; Z. Herron, arm; J. A. Devore, abdomen. Missing: H. J. Baggett.

## 26TH ALABAMA REGIMENT (Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Goodgame, 12th Alabama Regiment, commanding.)

Company A—Wounded: Sergeant J. E. Ayers, Corporal J. J. Nellmons; Privates R. A. Crosby, W. R. Oringo. Missing: Lieutenants J. A. Lindsey and W. A. Hyde; Privates G. W. Cotton, S. J. Enis, J. A. Edmonds, Alexander Ray, F. M. Black, James Townsend.

Company B—Killed: Private J. A. Shelton. Wounded: Sergeants J. T. Bishop, J. W. Herald, C. C. Camp, and S. W. Adams; Privates D. O. Streator, J. J. Rye, J. Sturky, W. J. Mills. Missing: Captain John T. Caldwell, Privates W. A. Kemp, C. M. C. Craft, J. H. Franks, J. R. Helvingston, D. P. Panel, A. C. Simes.

Company C—Killed: Lieut. John Fowler. Wounded: Corporal D. P. May; Privates H. O. M. Garrison, C. M. Smith, S. Stevens. Missing: Sergeants W. G. Fowler, and J. Philier, privates T. P. Garrison, S. Harris, C. M. Beauchamp.

Company D—Wounded: W. A. Jackson. Missing: Sergeant W. A. Wright, Corporal J. T. Harrison; Privates C. A. Taylor, P. Ray, J. W. Clark.

Company E—Killed: B. M. Hankins. Wounded: S. B. Bayly; Privates J. Corbal, W. W. Mind, W. M. Mosley, H. B. Dadds. Missing: Sergeant J. W. Dodson, Corporal J. W. Brock.

Company F—Killed: Sergeant R. L. Young. Wounded: Sergeant S. J. Young. Missing: Corporal J. T. Moreland, privates William Howell, William Mize.

Company G—Wounded: Captain Burchfield, Lieut. J. H. McFerrin, Corporal G. Harris; Privates G. W. Burchfield, C. C. Sharp. Missing: Sergeant M. Burchfield, Corporal J. Parsons; Privates J. H. Parsons, L. A. Patton, W. J. Crowder, J. H. Crowder, J. W. Sharp.

Company H—Wounded: Lieut. M. J. Taylor, Sergeant H. L. Hughes, Corporal A. J. Watkins; Privates R. L. Clark, G. S. McRay, A. Sandlin; Sergeant W. J. Martin, Corporal J. B. Franks; Privates R. D. Logan, J. A. Howard, P. G. Westbrooks. Missing: Privates H. C. Underwood, M. M. Frasier, S. Harris, J. N. Mosley, W. R. Reel, H. L. Tucker.

Company I—Killed: Privates F. M. Wade, J. G. Arnold. Wounded: Privates M. D. Killingsworth, A. Gorn, A. B. Ausburn, T. B. Reynolds, A. M. Gum, W. H. McCullough, N. Davis, J. T. Walden. Missing: Lieut. F. Haily, Sergeant

P. J. Gilpin, Corporal A. Morris; Privates J. Alander, J. Blackney, J. T. Davis, S. C. Foster, A. J. Jones, T. J. Wright. Company K—Killed: Lieut. W. L. Branyon, Corporal E. C. Leech, Sergeant D. E. Melom, Sergeant J. E. Tomblin, Corporal M. Miller; Privates J. H. Carmichael, J. H. Bobet, J. N. Camp, J. N. Nobin, R. T. Ponder, A. F. Story. Wounded: A. J. Dunn, B. H. Carmichael, R. A. Fleming, S. S. Odom, W. H. Reed, J. H. Reed, M. E. Stillman, W. H. Stillman. Missing: Private W. H. Sanders, J. M. Shelton, S. B. Shelton, W. C. Smith.

## 12TH ALABAMA REGIMENT, (Colonel S. B. Pickens, commanding.)

Company A—Killed: Private B. Riley. Wounded: Sergeant F. Marshall, Sergeant T. Gebhart; Privates Thos. Macon, James Stake, James Clark, E. Loos.

Company B—Killed: Private McElrath. Wounded: Lieut. J. C. Bridgers, Privates H. C. Thomas, L. Barnett, J. J. Bailey, J. Bridgers, N. T. Jacobs, T. S. Measles, T. S. Smith, E. Spivey.

Company C—Wounded: C. Toomey, C. Herbert.

Company D—Killed: Captain J. T. Davis. Wounded: Corporal F. W. Boobit, Private C. W. Reeves. Missing: Sergeant W. Scisson.

Company E—Killed: Private J. M. Walker. Wounded: Corporal R. S. Hulgen, Privates J. W. Ivins, P. A. Branden, J. M. Sutherland.

Company F—Killed: Private J. Preskit. Wounded: Lieut. R. E. Park, Lieut. George Wright, Corporal Eason, Privates T. Folk, J. H. Ingham, H. Lamar, F. Lester, E. Rogers, W. F. Moore, W. A. Williams. Missing: W. W. Graves, straggled on last day.

Company G—Killed: Lieut. J. M. Fletcher, Privates A. S. Wright, S. T. Kennemore. Wounded: Captain P. D. Ross, Sergeant J. B. Hodges, Sergeant R. M. Ivins, Corporal T. M. Maples, Corporal W. W. McMillan, Privates F. D. Stephens, W. D. Neighbors, W. J. Naples, James Province.

Company H—Killed: Corporal E. D. Ryan. Wounded: Captain A. E. Hewlett, Lieut. J. S. Brittan, Privates A. A. Bishop, J. H. Burt, J. H. Box, J. S. Jenkins, J. McCain D. R. Prady, A. Posey, B. Thompson, S. A. Herring.

Company I—Killed: Sergeant Porter Myers, Private J. Lyons. Wounded: Privates D. Kirby, E. W. Pettis, A. Tachior.

Company K—Killed: Privates J. M. Winslet, A. Scott. Wounded: Sergeant C. W. Abercrombie, Privates S. M. Adams, W. M. Bennett, J. W. Harrol, W. M. Johnson, B. F. Smith. Missing: O. Adams, L. Simms.

## 6TH ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff.—Colonel J. N. Lightfoot, wounded in shoulder; Major J. Culver, wounded through arm.

Company A—Killed: Privates G. W. Hall, E. Skinner, J. W. Williams. Wounded: Sergeant M. J. Solomon, Sergeant J. F. Henderson; Privates R. Boyd, M. Bowie, L. R. Johnson, J. R. Howard. Missing: Corporal S. Jackson, J. J. Howard, J. C. Evens, A. J. Jones.

Company B—Killed: Corporal H. W. J. McMath. Wounded, slight: Captain T. R. Lightfoot, Sergeant J. N. Murphy, Corporal William M. Jackson; Privates S. S. Kirkland, severely; Joseph Baxley, severely; Wade Armstrong, slight; George J. Trawick, mortally; W. J. Gamble, slight; D. S. Meadows, slight; R. Stricklin, slight; William Jones, slight; Alexander Balkum, slight; J. D. Lovern, severely. Missing: J. L. Potter.

Company C—Killed: Privates B. S. Long, Tom C. Grice, David D. Myers. Wounded severely: Privates J. B. Clark N'Beasley, Ben. F. Downing, J. B. Free, C. W. Lockheart, J. B. Gregory, Hardy Graves, J. F. Walker. Missing: John Sekrooy, J. T. Moore.

Company D—Wounded: Sergeant Cobb, slight; Corporal Bennet, slight; Privates Shoat, Botts, Kersey, severely; Privates Suits, Lewis—slightly. Missing: Privates Palmer, Price, Winters, Wilson, Gross.

Company E—(Independent Rifles). Killed: Private W. J. Stagers. Wounded: Captain J. W. Burton, slightly; Sergeants D. R. Caldwell, G. C. Clisby, C. W. Garrett, severely; Privates Henry Dickey, John Dickey, Soles, severely. Missing: J. W. Garrard, T. J. Pritchett.

Company F—Killed: Private T. J. Fuller, L. Mayner. Wounded: Sergeant J. D. Madder, seriously; Sergeant T. D. White, seriously; Sergeant T. C. Bowers, seriously; Corporal J. D. Duncan, mortally; Privates T. A. Tucker, seriously; T. J. Davis, seriously; W. M. Riddle, slightly; T. E. Roberts, slightly; E. D. Price, severely; Berry Crow, mortally; J. C. Raynolds, seriously. Missing: H. J. Sharp and W. A. Lamb.

Company G—Killed: Private J. B. Colquitt. Wounded: Sergeant J. B. Reid, slightly; Corporal C. H. Goldson, severely; Privates R. H. Caver, slightly; W. Graham, slightly; J. W. Monroe, seriously; J. Myrick, do.; A. J. Turner, do.; J. M. Tyers, do.; N. M. Stoudenmier, slightly; J. L. Shockley, slightly. Missing: W. R. Roy, J. F. Howell.

Company H—Wounded: Lieut. J. J. Kane, mortally; Lieut. P. E. Maher, mortally; Sergeant J. E. Haley, slightly; Privates J. E. Dorris, severely; W. W. Dorris, slightly; B. W. Shaver, seriously; R. C. Peake, do.; Robert Evens, slightly.

Company I—Killed: Private John Thomas. Wounded: Sergeant J. N. Callahan, slightly; Sergeant J. B. Halmon, seriously; Corporal J. L. Hicks, slightly; Private Alexander Dewitt, do.; S. D. Hughes, do.; N. A. Lyons, seriously; James Lester, slightly; W. E. McKenney, severely. Missing: Sergeant W. S. Treadwell; Privates J. C. Campbell, Thomas Jordan.

Company K—Killed: Private Pat Tooney. Wounded: Captain W. B. Hunt, seriously; Lieut. B. S. Span, do.; Sergeant John Featherston, do.; Sergeant D. A. Newson, do.; Corporal Joseph Thomas, do.; Privates Thomas Cagle, do.; J. N. Benton, do.; Joseph Gelford, severely; Sergeant J. J. Bowin, do.; Privates A. J. Jinks, seriously; J. P. Blyth, slightly. Missing: George Heringdon, H. E. Chitty, Thomas Westmoreland.

Co. L—Killed: Killed: Sergeant W. H. English, Privates L. H. Eady, J. H. Glen. Wounded: Captain W. S. Rowe, seriously; Sergeant J. S. Johnston, slightly; Sergeant D. C. Armstrong, slightly; Privates N. O. Roberts, severely; J. Trumble, slightly; L. H. Hayes, do.; J. L. Stroud, do.; E. M. Davis, do.; H. E. Dowty, do.; K. J. Harris, do.; W. R. Johnson, do.

Company M—Killed: Privates M. N. Carter, S. W. C. Weston. Wounded: Lieut. R. Key, seriously; Sergeant D. C. Kennedy, severely; Corporal L. C. Myers, slightly; Privates R. Autry, severely; Urinous Autry, severely; L. B. Boutwell, do.; V. T. Hawkins, do.; R. P. Moore, do.; William Moss, do.; G. P. Shanks, slightly; John Snellgrove, severely; J. Todd, seriously; G. W. Walker, do.; W. Watson, slightly.

Field and Staff.—Colonel J. G. Lightfoot, wounded through shoulder. Major J. E. Culver, wounded through arm.

## 5TH ALABAMA REGIMENT (Colonel J. M. Hall, commanding.)

Company A—Killed: Sergeant Wm. Tucker, Private J. L. Helms. Wounded: Lieut. G. A. Thomas, shoulder; Lieut. J. H. Fryer, breast; Sergeant J. M. Bell, breast; Corporal K. T. Spence, breast; Privates George Fouch, hand; D. Jay, thigh; J. Jay, breast; N. W. Merett, bowels and thigh; R. Morris, arm; S. B. Segars, arm; W. J. Smith, leg; James Swamer, severely; Thomas Taylor, slightly; W. McCrary, mortally. Missing: Sergeant A. J. Warren, Corporal J. L. Bostick, Private John Butler.

Company B—Killed: Sergeant Swiegood, Private J. R. Wright. Wounded: Sergeant G. A. Shaw, leg; Corporal Ballard, breast; Corporal J. M. FWright, breast; Corporal S. G. Strickland, severely; Privates J. J. Baker, hip; J. M. Calwell, severely; G. W. Golden, leg; J. T. Horn, thigh; R. Leadbetter, arm; A. Oquin, head; B. Riddle, bowels; R. W. Vaughan, hand; W. T. Vaughan, thigh. Missing: Privates J. L. McCain, Wm. Estelle, Thomas Baker, W. Ledbetter.

Company C—Killed: Private W. J. Davidson. Wounded: Captain T. M. Riley, slightly; Sergeant J. E. DuBoe, severely; Sergeant D. C. Mims, abdomen; Privates W. F. Andress, knee; L. S. Watts, thigh; S. Rikard, finger; W. B. Rogers, above the eye; D. A. Rankin, arm. Missing: Corporal C. C. Nettles, Corporal F. Metts, Privates W. E. Cren, L. J. Dunn, C. F. Goodman, C. S. Hattis, J. A. Hall, W. E. Leslie, A. C. Minnis, L. Sawyer, J. F. Watson, J. Watson, A. H. Watson, C. Williams, A. J. Ward, W. J. Yarbrough.

Company D—Killed: Private George Nutting. Wounded: Privates J. M. Brown, leg; J. L. Wright, shoulder; Wm. Stokes, leg; W. A. Lanier, hand; P. H. Lavender, leg. Missing: Privates J. T. Knowlen, James Burton, J. C. Ray.

Company E—Killed: Privates R. Boyd, T. Morgan. Wounded: Sergeant Arrington, slight; Sergeant Moore, Sergeant Colgin, seriously; Corporal Armstrong, slight; Privates L. B. Allen, J. C. Atkins, leg; A. Atkins, seriously; J. Byars, seriously; William Bishop, slight; E. J. Brown, Lewis Driskell, slight; Thomas Golden, leg; R. Goldsby, arm; C. Hamilton, slight; W. J. Macdonald, slight; W. Pearson, slight; Joshua Rutledge, J. M. Thomas, seriously; J. M. Vail, slight. Missing: Lieut. J. A. Watts, Sergeant J. S. Moore, Privates R. Gilly, L. Jackson, P. Lowry, S. M. Ursey, J. M. Vail, J. W. Vail, J. C. Vail.

Company F—Killed: Lieut. A. J. Wilcox, Privates S. L. Haggard, William P. Marrow, Walter Roark. Wounded: Captain E. B. Mucley, arm; Lieut. D. L. Ethridge, thigh and ankle; Sergeant J. N. Andrews, leg; A. B. Pope, arm; D. N. Hitt, shoulder; C. B. Sturdivant, thigh; A. P. Campbell, both legs; W. H. Capps, slightly; H. C. Jordan, thigh; H. C. Swan, arm and thigh; A. H. Odell. Missing: Private James Bassett.

Company G—Killed: Sergeant J. T. Kennedy, Private A. H. Dalman. Wounded: Corporal W. R. Thomas; Privates H. M. Davis, leg; M. V. Davis, head; Q. J. Cockrell, groin; H. Martin, hand; C. Duffy. Missing: Private W. W. Drummond.

Company H—Killed: Privates W. A. Brownlea, W. W. Harold. Wounded: Sergeant A. Burgin, leg; Sergeant R. M. Noland, arm; Corporal E. M. Hood, neck; Privates S. Hood, arm; M. J. Jones, slightly; John Gates, thigh; Frank Jones, arm; George Prude, hand; M'Gafferty, thigh. Missing: Lieut. S. P. Doss, Sergeant R. M. Noland, Corporal Hawthorn, Private Burgin.

Company I—Killed: T. J. Jackson, G. L. Cox. Wounded: Lieut. B. C. Foster, shoulder; Privates T. W. Bagley, left side; A. J. Saunders, side, back, and hand; J. A. Spinks, arm; J. C. Mott, breast; S. B. Nugent, leg; J. W. Lancaster, arm; B. Pope, shoulder; R. N. Henderson, heel; D. M. Drury, head; J. J. McClure, both legs and arm; J. A. Bishop, thigh; J. T. Daugherty, knee and ankle; E. G. White, leg; Sergeant G. W. Hudson. Missing: Corporal W. F. Woodard; Privates D. C. Harper, L. W. Eady, B. F. Hudson, R. O. England, William Caster, S. P. Noble, A. J. Roberts.

Company K—Killed: Privates D. R. Graves, J. E. Ellis. Wounded: Lieut. G. Cook, leg; Privates W. H. McCall, shoulder; Thomas Light, leg and shoulder; R. S. Savage, thigh; G. W. Sessions, leg amputated; F. D. Meadows, in the body; John Conner, thigh; Lieut. A. N. Herbert, Private T. G. Prather.

S. H. MOORE,  
A. A. A. G., Rodes' Brigade.

## THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

## 35TH MISSISSIPPI.

Company A—Killed: Privates C. C. Warren, Malcolm Smith, Jesse Reid, James Burke, D. R. Clark. Wounded: Privates R. Locklayer, slightly; J. S. Tisdale, slightly; W. S. Bruton, severely; J. R. Weston, slightly; John Butler, slightly; Peter M'Mahon, slightly; Marion Smith, slightly; H. G. Tinsley, slightly; John White, slightly; A. J. Creed, slightly; Lieut. H. Hudnall, slightly.

Company B—Killed: Private Lott Ballard. Wounded: Privates Joseph Grace, slightly; David Treadaway, slightly; C. H. Thomas, slightly; J. A. Grace, slightly; R. S. Stokes, slightly.

Company C—Killed: Privates J. H. Kennedy, J. H. Hartsfield, T. B. Bruce. Wounded: A. C. Montgomery, slightly; J. G. Hayes, slightly; T. G. Smith, severely; T. G.illard, slightly; Dennis Davis, slightly; T. B. Harmon, severely; John Gibson, severely; J. A. Cox, slightly.

Company D—Killed: Privates V. D. Nabers, John Gillis, James Wallace. Wounded: Privates T. G. M'Gee, severely; W. F. M. Tate, severely; Thomas Tate, severely; John Rickles, slightly; G. T. Smith, severely.

Company E—Killed: Captain H. M. Walsh, Private A. J. Clark. Wounded: Privates W. R. Reeves, severely; Wm. Simmons, severely; E. J. Threatt, slightly; J. A. Stewart, slightly.

Company F—Killed: Lieut. J. Moody; Privates R. B. Goulsby, J. C. Harness, J. A. Witt, A. Phillips, J. A. Wilson, Andrew Kinard, Robert Harrell, B. F. Norwood, E. Knox. Wounded: Lieuts. W. B. Owens and W. B. Brach, slightly; Sergeant W. A. Harris, slightly; privates John Griffin, slightly; W. S. Blackwell, severely; C. H. Moore, severely; C. T. Mitchell, slightly; Robert Gregory, slightly; S. Johnson, slightly.

Company G—Killed: Captain S. R. Coopwood; Privates J. Gideon, J. M. Bates. Wounded: Privates R. Reid, slightly; N. Lamb, severely; Titus Coggins, slightly; B. M. Tuch, severely.

Company H—Killed: Sergeant J. W. Cook. Wounded: Privates E. Sluder, slightly; Junius Moore, slightly; Robert Kyle, slightly; Thomas Tolson, slightly.

Company I—Killed: Sergeant Simeon Watson; Private G. W. Watson. Wounded: Lieut. F. Woodward, slightly; Privates James McMillan, slightly; George Buair, slightly; J. P. Adcock, slightly; W. J. Hudspeeth, slightly; D. D. Colter, slightly; W. Immon, severely; J. Pee, severely; M. Clark, severely; F. M. Ishey, severely.



Company K—Killed: Privates James McCarter, James Clark, T. D. Morgan. Wounded: Sergeant J. N. Brownlee, slightly; Privates P. B. Green, severely; Paul Harrington, slightly; H. Stidmon, slightly; J. J. Kolb, slightly; A. P. Leach, slightly; R. W. Newman, slightly; M. D. Farrell, slightly; J. M. Gammill, slightly; R. Kindball, slightly.

28th LOUISIANA REGIMENT.—(Colonel Allen Thomas). Company A—Killed: Corporal Joseph Cormier. Wounded: Privates Louis Cousin, Villomont Sellers (since died), William Full, Octave Diaville (since died), David B. Whatley, A. G. Fontonot, Corporal J. R. Edolin; Privates Onille Deville (since died), J. D. Richard.

Company B—Killed: 1st Lieut. J. G. Sims, Sergeant G. C. Manuel, Sergeant Elisha Parker, Privates C. Freeland, S. H. Waldrop. Wounded: 2nd Lieut. T. J. Jackson, junior, 2nd Lieut. J. B. Odom (since died), Corporal James A. Wren, Privates C. R. Primm (since died), W. W. Woods, D. Booker, (since died), B. M. Baker (since died), A. Pardu, Willis Hicks (leg cut off), Corporal J. B. Bass.

Company C—Killed: Private William Mayers. Wounded: Corporal A. E. Albagnas (since died); Privates Gustave Frederick, Francis Craig (since died).

Company D—Wounded: Private William Keary (since died).

Company E—Wounded: Sergeant L. Numa Gaudin, Privates Louis Chretine, Maville Post, Alphonse Garreau (since died), Louis Guidry.

Company F—Wounded: 2nd Lieut. B. F. Willet (since died); Privates Timothy Norton, Howell Myers, Patrick Meighan.

Company G—Killed: Private A. Salis, Sergeant L. Stymer. Wounded: Captain Francis Neuman, (since died), Corporal A. Ronquillo; Privates, Inez Ruis, Michael Malone, Frank Williams, Patrick Kavanaugh.

Company H—Killed: Privates Polite Moncon, J. B. Le Blanc. Wounded: Privates, Victorin Hebert, Adrien Guillaud, Felix Aucoin, Valline Riet, M. Giroir.

Company I—Killed: Privates E. P. Vige, Rene Fontenot. Wounded: Corporal I. B. Mitchell, Privates Thomas J. Montgomery, Carantin David, Severin Langley, Corporal Benjamin Lyons.

Company K—Killed: Privates J. B. D. Guillery, Arvillien Dupluchain. Wounded: 2nd Lieut. Octave Fontenot, (arm off), Sergeant H. A. Coreil, Corporal F. Dussman, Privates Moses Landry, Michelle Johnson, Charles Gauthreau, Alexandre Landas, Simon Gonor, Lastie Bergerou.

GEORGE O. EHUS,  
Adjutant 28th Louisiana Volunteers.  
40th ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Field, Staff, and Band.—Killed: H. F. D. Gilbert, musician. Wounded: J. J. Angler, leg, severely, amputated; F. M. Bradley, hand, severely.

Company A—(Lieut. James Cobbs, commanding detachment).—Wounded: Private Samuel Wix, mortally, since dead.

Company B—(Captain E. D. Willet, commanding).—Killed: Privates J. L. Keerr, Jno. L. Pratt. Died of wounds: Corporal G. W. Belk, Private B. F. Mullins. Wounded: Privates G. W. Acker, arm broken; Thomas Cameron, leg, severely; Jno. Jones, arm broken and amputated; Jno. Weens, arm, severely; P. J. Williams, arm broken.

Company C—Captain W. A. C. Jones, commanding).—Killed: Private S. F. Lacy. Died of wounds: Privates R. M. Eads, James L. Freeman. Wounded: Private J. P. Monette, shoulder, slightly.

Company D—(Lieut. F. Blakeney, commanding detachment).—Killed: Private Berry Sims. Died of wounds: Private James Bonner. Wounded: Sergeant A. T. Barfield, shoulder, slightly.

Company E—(Captain E. Marsh, commanding).—Killed: Private A. T. Fallon. Died of wounds: Private J. E. Hall. Wounded: Lieut. W. E. Yancey, neck, severely; Private J. Cockran, foot, severely.

Company F—(Captain Thomas W. Coleman commanding).—Killed: Privates Joseph W. Delchamps, W. H. H. Griffin, J. J. Wright. Wounded: Privates Joseph Caddy, side, slightly; John Shields, leg, severely.

Company G—(Lieut. J. A. Pickens, commanding).—Killed: Corporal W. A. Colvin, Privates William Cother, J. A. Davis. Died of wounds: Private H. B. Brown. Wounded: Private Robert Lancaster, shoulder, slightly; David Lynch, hip, severely; H. J. Nason, shoulder, slightly.

Company H—(Captain Charles C. Crowe, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant H. G. Perry, Private T. J. Houston. Died of wounds: Privates J. P. Hill, N. D. Foreman. Wounded: Privates R. R. Bennett, leg, slightly; James Cole, leg broken; L. A. Leamy, leg amputated; Corporal John Murph, thigh, severely; Private H. Leverett, leg, slightly; Orderly Sergeant J. P. Rogers, leg broken; Privates J. W. Smith, arm, slightly; J. Saunders, shoulder, slightly.

Company K—(Captain A. M. Moore, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant A. J. Jenkins, Private B. Cain. Died of wounds: Corporal A. O. Walker. Wounded: Privates A. M. Harden, neck, severely; J. R. McElroy, heel, slightly; A. R. Peavy, arm, slightly; J. Riley, hip, slightly; A. A. Thompson, leg, severely; G. W. Wiggins, head, slightly.

Died of Diseases in Hospitals: Company A—Private J. N. Shaw, consumption. Company C—Private William Culpepper. Company E—J. W. W. White. Company G—J. H. Mustin. Company I—M. E. Hart. Company K—Lieut. J. E. Patten, typhus fever; Payne.

(Official) CLARENCE H. ELLERBE,  
Adjutant 40th Alabama Regiment.

# PORT HUDSON.

## 1st ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Field and Staff—Wounded: Lieut.-Colonel M. B. Locke, slightly; Adjutant S. D. Steedman.

Company A—(Lieut. Haddon, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant Hammond; Privates Thomas Carlisle, K. G. Rush. Wounded: Sergeants Boon and Gray; Privates J. M. Bruer, S. S. Clark, E. S. Howell, D. Ray, S. R. Ray, R. H. Scott, J. H. Shanks, J. M. Vickers, V. F. Crowl.

Company B—(Capt. D. W. Rumsey, commanding).—Killed: Baley, Evans, Grymes, Ben. Sanders, Thomas Galliarh.

Company C—(Capt. J. F. Stubbs, commanding).—Wounded: Captain J. F. Stubbs, Robert W. Garera, Wm. B. Ritchie, D. M. Farr, J. A. Nichols.

Company D—(R. H. Isbell, commanding).—Killed: J. F. Albright, J. H. Watkins. Wounded: Sergeant Crompton, W. M. Donahoe, J. Pitman, A. J. Mutson, J. M. Edwards, James Summers.

Company E—(Lieutenant J. J. Owens, commanding).—Killed: Privates Hurly, Nolen, Slurlings. Wounded: Sergeant Ridley, Rives, Stewart.

Company F—(Captain R. Williams, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant J. S. Haley, Corporal A. G. Allen, Privates Thomas

Berryhill, Daniel McNair, James E. Hardy, John Jones, Thomas L. Hughes, William McKinnon. Wounded: Sergeants G. D. Jones, J. R. Rawlins, Privates George Bradley, L. Hinson, D. Soma, — Crymes.

Company G—(Capt. R. H. Ryley, commanding).—Killed: Privates E. Mindith, J. B. Market, R. E. Vance, B. Brooks. Wounded: J. E. Sluckey, John Rives, William Smith, S. Barefoot, Mike Brogan.

Company H—(Captain C. C. Knowles, commanding).—Killed: Samuel Higgins, Robert Bayley. Wounded: W. Tompson.

Company I—(Lieut. J. E. Bruitt, commanding).—Killed: James Grantham. Wounded: Ben Whitehead, William Wasden.

Company K—(Capt. J. F. Whitfield, commanding).—Killed: Lieutenant John Frank, Corporal J. A. Ferguson, Private E. A. Winslett. Wounded: Privates Smith and Clark.

## 46th GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Company A—Killed: Privates N. S. Black, C. Rogers. Wounded: Job Ferguson, right shoulder, severely (reported dead), Horace Simmons, right thigh, slightly, Thomas Pearce, right jaw, slightly. Prisoners: Lieutenant J. A. Dunham, Sergeant J. J. Martin, Corporal J. W. Irvin, Privates W. Garratt, J. F. Brown, T. H. Brown, J. W. Brown, J. Daniel, J. Cumber, J. B. Howell, J. M. Howell, A. M. Arlington, A. J. Williams.

Company B—Killed: Privates T. J. Stephens, F. Tilson. Wounded: W. J. Gill, left hand. Prisoners: Privates W. H. Chapman, J. M. L. Singletary, John B. Green.

Company C—(Muscookee Volunteers).—Missing, supposed to be killed: E. J. Horne. Wounded: W. J. Champion, right shoulder, severely; Wm. Wilkerson, right leg, severely; J. H. B. Shippey, breast and arm, severely. Prisoners: B. F. McCrary, Henry Long.

Company D—Killed: A. M. Gunn. Wounded: Lieut. L. D. Monroe, since dead; Sergeant G. W. King, left shoulder, flesh wound; Corporal J. L. Pollard, left thumb; Privates I. P. Lamford, right leg, severely; J. A. Lawson, right side, slightly. Prisoners: Privates A. James Monroe, Thomas Guly.

Company E—Killed: Orderly Sergeant J. L. Middlebrook, Private W. S. Sterling. Wounded: Private W. H. Cooper, severely, in right arm; Jacob Land, left hip, severely; F. M. Hall, buttock, severely; L. H. Smith, left side, paralyzed by a shell. Prisoners: Corporal L. P. Hopkins, Privates I. B. Walker, A. E. Richardson, E. Milligan.

## 13th GEORGIA REGIMENT.

Killed: B. F. M. Williamson, Company A; R. Barney, company E; B. McLean, Company G. Wounded: Lieut. B. F. Cartwright, rib fractured, Company K; J. H. Griffin, both legs, Company I; B. Wise, arm and thigh, Company I; Josiah Wood, wrist, Company A; H. C. Hock, thigh, Company G; 1st Sergeant E. A. Martin, hand and thigh, Company E; J. W. Bradshaw, thigh amputated, Company G; W. M. Carey, hand, Company H; G. U. Ward, elbow, Company I.

## 20th TENNESSEE REGIMENT.

Killed: Major Fred. Claybrooke, Adjutant James Thomas, Captain Pettigru, Sergeant M. L. Covington, J. P. Buchanan, Ben. Ferger, Company D; Jno. Taylor, Wm. Harris, Company G; James Callender, Company C. Missing, and supposed to be killed: T. J. Bigley, Company C; H. Perry, Company E. Wounded: Sergeant S. A. Castleman, Corporal M. F. Senter, Company K; W. A. Crutcher, A. B. Gee, W. J. Pinkston, T. J. Scruggs, J. P. Watson, Company D; Corporal W. H. Hulme, Corporal James D. Castleman, T. H. Byrd, John W. Ivy, T. H. Knight, Wesley Mangrum, Benjamin Givens, Company H; John Hart, Wm. Byrd, Sergeant N. C. Nivens, J. W. Dickson, J. W. Langley, John Cuff, L. W. Dean, Company G; F. Covington, B. A. Elder, S. M. Jameison, T. N. Jones, Company E. Missing: J. A. Campbell, Company H; H. Davis, George Edmonson, Company E; Edward Saunders, Company C. Total, 42.

## THE WATSON BATTERY.

Killed: Sergeant-Major H. L. Nichols, Sergeant G. Meilieur, Corporals E. Brelet and W. C. Evans; Privates H. Dubourg, F. Chenet, S. Schexnaildre, Frazer. Wounded: Lieut. Morris, arm, slightly; Sergeant F. Schexnaildre, face, badly; Sergeant T. Hemm, arm and thigh, badly; Corporal J. A. Lafaye, knee, slightly; Privates A. Bourgeois, side, slightly; J. Bourgeois, leg, badly; T. Bourgeois, leg, slightly; T. Brignac, thigh, slightly; G. Blake, arm, slightly; W. Brennan, arm, slightly; J. F. Clabby, hand and head, slightly; P. Deverges, hand and head, slightly; C. Flechbain, leg, slightly; O. Rousseau, arm amputated; A. A. Roland, hand and face, badly; C. S. Reynolds, shoulder, slightly; W. Soery, hips, slightly; Wm. Stienman, arm broken; L. F. Tureaud, neck, slightly; W. J. Whiteside, hand, slightly.

## THE ARMY OF THE WEST.

The italic letters affixed to the names denote the following particulars: *L*, sent to Lockhart; *J*, left in hospital at Jackson; *r*, returned to duty; *d*, died. Those left at Jackson were too severely wounded to be moved. A sufficient number of officers, attendants and supplies were left with them, Surgeon Hincley, of General Breckinridge's Division, being placed in charge.

All not designated as above, were sent to Lauderdale. All whose rank is not designated are privates.

## FRENCH'S DIVISION—MAXEY'S BRIGADE.

4th Louisiana Regiment.—Company A—William D. Lee, *d*. Company H—Corporal Theodore Doiron. Company I—Augustus Carter, *r*. Company K—Ripley D. Slocum, *J*.

30th Louisiana Regiment.—Company A—Captain A. Piccola, *L*. Company G—Lieut. A. D. Bougere, *J*. Fenner's Louisiana Battery.—Alexander B. Sparks, *J*.

## BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION—ADAMS'S BRIGADE.

13th and 20th Louisiana Regiments.—Company E—P. Sullivan.

16th and 25th Louisiana Regiments.—Company A—Sergeant J. T. Mase, W. O. Pearce, James Hoggart, J. G. Turnage, W. H. King, J. C. J. Holden, J. J. Spiller, T. Brown. Company B—Orderly Sergeant A. C. Humble, *J*. Company D—W. E. Laniers, *J*. Company E—W. B. Davis, William Moore, *J*. Company F—William Peavy, William Mericle, Company H—J. O'Sullivan, E. J. Muller. Company K—Corporal V. B. Brindley.

19th Louisiana Regiment.—Company A—Lieut. C. C. Braden, *d*, Sergeant H. Clark, *J*. Company K—William Arnold.

Austin's Louisiana Battalion.—Company A—Henry Bernard, Wm. Curry, *J*.

32nd Alabama Regiment.—Lieut.-Colonel H. Maury, *L*. Company B—Sergeant C. C. Allen, *J*.

1st Texas Battalion.—Company A—S. L. Brown, *d*, P. A. Kinan. Company B—Corporals S. M. Holloway, arm amputated, *J*, A. P. Hart, *J*. Company C—W. T. Popejoy. Company D—J. C. Garner, *r*. Company K—D. W. Fuller, *J*.

35th Tennessee Regiment.—Lieut.-Colonel R. A. Owens, *L*. 42nd Tennessee Regiment.—Company H—Lieut. W. P. McCollum, *L*.

49th Tennessee Regiment.—Company A—J. G. Hoskins, *J*. Company C—Isaac Blazier, *J*. Company I—M. A. Hatley. Company K—Sergeant Wm. Murf, Sergeant J. W. Maxey, R. N. Felts, *J*.

55th Tennessee Regiment.—Company D—O. S. Bryant, O. Daniel.

## M'NAIR'S BRIGADE.

1st Arkansas Regiment.—Company A—Captain J. M. Connell, *L*, Charles B. Wilson, *d*. Company E—J. W. Oldham, Company H—G. H. Perry, Matthew Williams. Company I—Corporal E. P. Nicholson. Company K—James Carter, James Staupil.

2nd Arkansas Regiment.—Company A—Lieut. C. W. Cottrah, *L*, T. J. Wright, J. G. Weisinger. Company C—Chas. Davis, *d*, Samuel M. Townsend. Company H—Corporal Joseph C. Nance.

4th Arkansas Regiment.—Company B—G. D. R. East, *d*. A. D. Watson. Company E—Reuben Anderson, *J*, John H. Morris, *d*, Henry J. Strange. Company K—Corporal Wm. M. Avery, sent with waggon train, James W. Wade, *d*, T. J. Cawlder.

25th Arkansas Regiment.—Company C—W. D. Ward.

31st Arkansas Regiment.—Wm. Gillam.

## EVANS'S BRIGADE.

17th South Carolina Regiment.—Company A—John J. Edwards, *r*. Company B—W. H. Macon. Company E—J. G. Farris, *J*. A. Meadows. Company F—Sergeant Franklin Haperfield, *r*, Corporal L. Meek, Hope, *J*, Philip Sepaugh.

18th South Carolina Regiment.—Company B—J. M. Robinson. Company C—N. Sparks, Miles Nix. Company D—J. T. Tevis, *J*. T. Stone. Company E—W. S. E. Robinson, Columbus C. Young, T. C. Layton, *d*. Company F—Captain Goodman Jeffries, *L*, Corporal Hiram Lipscomb. Company G—2nd Lieut. Isaac N. Davis, *L*, Amos D. Burrus, York Huff. Company H—E. Adams, *r*, Thomas M. Boyd. Company I—A. D. Stokes, *J*.

22nd South Carolina Regiment.—Company C—2nd Lieut. Edward Dean, *r*. Company D—C. Dunn, James H. Putnam, J. H. Hitchcock. Company E—Sergeant S. J. Bowers, W. J. Phillips. Company F—L. Doymam, *J*, Eldridge F. Norris. Company I—John W. Ready. Company K—George T. Treadway.

23rd South Carolina Regiment.—Company A—Sergeant T. M. Kinloch. Company G—2nd Lieut. Silas Spears, *L*, Hugh McClawson, John Stogner, S. S. McCall. Company I—J. R. Jones, Holbrook Elwell, arm amputated, *J*, W. S. Johnson.

25th South Carolina Regiment.—Company B—P. W. Massey. Company D—W. Sweatt.

26th South Carolina Regiment.—Company A—G. Cooper, leg amputated, *J*. Company B—W. J. Rivers, *J*. Company C—Corporal S. Haseldon, Wm. Rogers, Robert De Berry. Company D—E. W. Barrentine. Company E—Captain E. Bostick, *L*, Jacob Knight, *d*, Thomas A. Wilson. Company F—Sergeant Ransour Crawley, Duncan Clark. Company H—W. G. Pickett, E. P. Truluck. Company I—J. J. Coker. Company K—W. J. Granger.

Holecomb's Legion.—Company A—Leander Bruton. Company D—George Philpot. Company F—Corporal Thomas H. Adams, Augustus Osborne, James B. Owens. Company H—Sergeant W. S. Harmon, Samuel Speelhy, H. W. Dominick, John A. Eulow, G. A. Beadenberg. Company I—Lewis S. Westmoreland. Company K—M. C. Blackwell.

## BRECKENRIDGE'S DIVISION.—HELM'S BRIGADE.

41st Alabama Regiment.—Company H—James Foster.

2nd Kentucky Regiment.—Company C—E. S. Brown.

4th Kentucky Regiment.—Company I—E. H. Whittington. Company H—John Lawrence, *J*.

9th Kentucky Regiment.—Company B—W. F. Poole. Company H—Peter Fritz.

Cobb's Kentucky Battery.—Lieut. E. A. James, *L*, Sergeant A. Ruddick, *J*, Corporal L. B. Pierce, *J*, Corporal M. Rull, B. A. Dudley, *J*, F. J. Crider, L. D. Brinsley, G. B. Moore, *r*.

## STOVALL'S BRIGADE.

3rd Florida Regiment.—Company H—Lieut. T. J. Russ, *L*, J. M. Kyle, T. L. Pettus, *d*.

4th Florida Regiment.—Company G—T. W. Carleton.

47th Georgia Regiment.—Company D—Sergeant J. G. Thompson, arm amputated, *J*.

60th North Carolina Regiment.—Company E—James Parker, arm amputated, *J*. Company K—Moses Hall, *J*.

## LORING'S DIVISION.

3rd Mississippi Regiment.—Company A—F. Fontaine. Company C—M. A. Bowering, *J*. Company K—Richard Sykes.

6th Mississippi Regiment.—Acting Assistant Surgeon Edward Coward, *L*. Company C—J. H. Barrett. Company H—William C. Jackson.

14th Mississippi Regiment.—Company C—B. S. Bedus, hand amputated. Company F—Captain P. D. Dugan, *L*.

15th Mississippi Regiment.—Company B—W. H. Duren, *J*. Company I—H. McHan, *J*.

20th Mississippi Regiment.—Company A—William P. Smith. Company C—W. D. Allen, P. H. Gargant. Company E—J. W. Liddell, *J*. Company F—J. A. Harroldson. Company I—Sergeant A. J. Sloan, *J*. Company K—T. J. Ritchens, *J*.

22nd Mississippi Regiment.—Company B—Corporal John R. Russell, *L*, 3rd Sergeant J. D. Masterson, G. C. Heard, leg amputated, *J*, Benjamin F. Bowen. Company D—John W. Guren, W. H. Garretson, *r*. Company E—Sergeant G. N. Shaw, *J*, W. Diekey.

23rd Mississippi Regiment.—Company E—E. H. Vandover, *L*, L. A. Puckett, hand amputated. Company F—W. F. Clarks. Company G—H. Sharkley, *J*. Company K—J. W. Crutchfield.

36th Mississippi Regiment.—Company B—H. Johnston, *r*. Company C—2nd Lieut. T. J. Taylor, *L*, W. H. Stevens. Company D—J. H. Conner, F. M. McClelland. Company E—W. J. Hunter, *J*.

31st Mississippi Regiment.—Major Harvey Topp, *L*. Company C—W. T. Bates. Company E—Sergeant James Hester, *J*, Allen Mullers. Company F—John Walker.

GEORGE III. AND ABRAHAM I.—Our revolutionary fathers made the following statement of grievances against the British king:—He taxed tea. He had a stamp tax. He excited the negro to insurrection. He made the military above the civil power. He sent men into banishment and exile without the authority of law. He paid no respect to our constitutions and laws. He was a tyrant generally. Those grievances read singularly now, in view of the action of the present Republican Administration.—*American Paper*.



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# THE INDEX.

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1863.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

"A Lady" .. .. .	£5	0	0
G. E. Street, Esq. .. .. .	5	0	0
James Gow, Esq. .. .. .	5	0	0
W. Forbes, Esq. .. .. .	1	0	0

The Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Montgeron, près Paris (100 francs) ..	£4	0	0
Leech, Harrison, and Forward ..	10	0	0
Through Henry Hotze, Esq. —			
The Marchioness of Bath .. .. .	5	0	0

**The Siege of Charleston.**

BEFORE these remarks can reach the eye of the public it is not unlikely that the fate of the capital of South Carolina may have been decided, and that either the Federal fleet is anchored close to a city of smoking ruins, or the attempt to force a passage by the iron-clads has been made and repulsed. It would be obviously idle to attempt here, thousands of miles away from the scene of action, to forecast the future, and to predict the result of the terrific struggle on which the attention of half the civilised world is fixed. But we may, by pointing out the position of besiegers and besieged, by narrating the progress of the siege, and by mapping out the different localities which have been or are likely to be the chief points of conflict, materially aid our readers in forming their own conclusions as to the future chances of the combatants and the prospects of the defence. It would be useless to deny that the destruction of Fort Sumter is a substantial gain to the Federals. Two years ago the fall of Fort Sumter would have been universally regarded as equivalent to the fall of Charleston. But the development of the defence has within that period so completely changed the aspect of the port, that what was once the chief and only defence is now only one link, and by no means the strongest, in the chain of the seaward batteries protecting Charleston; so much so, that, even although Sumter is a mass of ruins, the Southern press maintains its confident tone, and still asserts that the city is secure. It is worth while to examine the grounds on which this confidence is based. A glance at the map will show that the natural defences of Charleston Harbour are Sullivan's and Morris islands. The main ship channel runs almost equidistant between these two islands, and every vessel passing into Charleston Harbour is exposed to a cross-fire from the batteries erected thereon. But at the apex of an obtuse-angled triangle of which a line drawn from the nearest points of the two islands would be the base, is a shoal or mud bank, on which stands Fort Sumter. This fortress, which two years ago would have been declared impregnable, was raised on an artificial foundation of refuse stone from quarries in the neighbourhood, and was intended to carry three tiers of guns, two tiers casemated, and the upper one *en barbette*. It commanded the northern and southern channels, and was supposed effectually to block the passage into the harbour. But Fort Sumter was built to defend Charleston against a naval force; and its inability to hold out against

land batteries on Sullivan's and Morris Islands was strikingly demonstrated by its speedy surrender in 1861 to the Confederates. In conjunction with these batteries it subsequently became the outer line of defence, and it was found, as was expected, superior to any attack that could be made by a purely naval force. With Forts Wagner and Gregg on Morris Island, with Forts Moultrie and Battery Bee on Sullivan's Island, all of them dominating Fort Sumter, and subjecting every vessel that attempted the passage into Charleston Harbour to a cross-fire of some 100 guns of heavy calibre, it was natural that the inhabitants of the city should feel themselves secure. But the failure of the first attempt of the Monitors to force a passage increased their sense of security and threw them off their guard. The Federal commanders were not slow to perceive this. They saw that Fort Sumter, the key to the outer line of defence, if not to be reduced by their iron-clads was at the mercy of land batteries of sufficient calibre, and they formed their plans accordingly. General Gilmore gradually accumulated troops on Folly Island, a mere sand-bank running along the eastern extremity of Morris Island, and on a day when the Confederates least expected it landed a large body of troops on Morris Island, and, aided by a powerful force of gunboats, succeeded in carrying two or three Confederate batteries, the seaward defences of the island. He failed in an attempt to storm Fort Wagner. But he had gained a firm foothold. His men set to work with the spade, and in twenty-four hours he had secured a position as strong as Fort Wagner. After some days spent in bombardment and the construction of approaches, another assault was tried, but with equal ill-success. General Gilmore knew that the fall of Fort Wagner would ensure the destruction of Sumter, and spared no pains to accomplish it. But Fort Wagner held out, and in despair the Federal commander determined to destroy Fort Sumter by land batteries, leaving to time the capture of Fort Wagner. He built formidable batteries on Morris Island, within easy range of Fort Wagner, armed them with the heaviest Parrott guns, and Fort Sumter was at his mercy. On the 17th ult. he opened fire with his land batteries and his ironclads. For six days and nights the bombardment continued almost incessantly from the land batteries, the Monitors confining their attention mainly to Forts Wagner and Gregg. In two days it was evident that Fort Sumter was overpowered; on the sixth day Fort Sumter was a heap of ruins. The shell from the Federal batteries on Morris Island swept through and through; the south-east face was irreparably destroyed, and every shot told upon the opposite wall. The Confederates had foreseen their danger and withdrew the greater number of the guns and the larger body of the garrison. A sort of forlorn hope are left amidst the ruins to hoist the Confederate flag in proud defiance of the enemy, and tell the world that the brave defenders of Sumter had not surrendered. But on the 23rd, Fort Sumter, as a defence of Charleston, had ceased to exist. The news was received with pardonable exultation in the North. It seemed that Charleston was about to meet her fate, and that the harbour was open to the Federal fleet; that the Federals had only "to go in and win." But let us look at the Confederate side of the picture. Fort Sumter is after all only one of the defences of the outer line. That line can hardly be said to be pierced so long as Sullivan's and Morris Islands are held by Confederate troops. It is not enough for the Federals to destroy Fort Sumter. To turn it to advantage they must be able to hold it. But to effect a lodgment on Fort Sumter, and to make it a Federal work, they must first take Fort Wagner and Fort Gregg, and they must reduce Battery Bee and Fort Moultrie. Fort Sumter is at present untenable. The only advantage gained by the Federals is that, in the event of their naval forces making a dash at the harbour, the guns of Fort Sumter will not be in their way. Apparently the iron-clads are in no hurry. The land forces of the Federals are already loud in their expressions of disgust at the tardiness of the navy, but Admiral Dahlgren has learnt

the inequality of his Monitors to the land batteries of the Confederates, and rightly abstains from crippling his strength. In the last bombardment it was repeatedly shown that whenever the iron-clads came within 600 yards of the Confederate batteries they were quickly compelled to retire with damage; and the loss of Commodore Rogers, one of the most gallant and reputed officers of the United States navy, has doubtless formed a salutary warning. The questions immediately at issue are, whether the Federals can occupy Forts Wagner and Gregg, and whether their fleet can run the gauntlet of the batteries which line the shores of Charleston Harbour, find its way through the torpedoes and other obstacles which block up the inner channel, and anchor abreast of the quays of Charleston. The press of the Palmetto City speaks emphatically on this point—assuredly with some reason. Supposing Fort Wagner occupied and Fort Gregg safely turned, there are Forts Johnson and Ripley, which command a still narrower passage. One, if not both of these forts, has, we believe, been cased with iron, and if opposed to the fleet alone they will probably beat it off. Behind them is Castle Pinckney, and behind Castle Pinckney the batteries of Charleston itself. We do not wonder now that the Charleston people still boast their beautiful city will never be taken.

But it may be burnt. General Gilmore has ascertained that fact, and by this time Charleston may be in ashes. On the 21st, after three days' bombardment, the gallant general, finding Sumter still defiant and Fort Wagner still troublesome, threw shells charged with Greek fire into the midst of a defenceless population from a distance of 3¼ miles. There is no possible excuse or palliation of this wanton barbarity. It may delight New York and gladden the hearts of the extreme Abolitionists, but it is a scandalous outrage on humanity, and one which will justly place General Gilmore on a par with Butler and Turchin, and the other miscreants who have disgraced the warfare of the United States' army. Happily, the population can save itself, and General Gilmore's fiery missiles will only consume property. But the fact of the distant bombardment of a population only shows that the Federal general is not sanguine in reducing the defences. The real work has to be done by tedious siege operations and bloody assault. The Greek fire is but a feeble and cowardly attempt at intimidation, and will not subdue the batteries of Wagner and Cumming's Point. The next mail will probably bring us some conclusive intelligence. The Federals have no time to lose. Already the equinoctial gales are sweeping the Atlantic coast and retarding their operations; and in a week or two the siege will be left principally to the land forces. We may expect, therefore, that the bombardment of Sumter has been followed up by vigorous attacks upon Wagner and Gregg, and that virtually the issue of the battle is decided. Whichever way victory may incline, the siege of Charleston will be for ages memorable in military history, and the gallantry of the defence will hereafter prove one of the brightest pages in the annals of the Palmetto City.

### Arming the Negroes.

WITHOUT placing absolute credence in the startling intelligence brought by the Hibernian, it is safe to speculate upon it, if not as an actual fact, at least as an event which has recently entered into the range of immediate probabilities. We have, in the various rumours that preceded this last direct announcement, so many indications that the question of arming the slave population has been under careful and serious consideration in the Confederate counsels. It is also certain that the same subject has been frequently discussed by the Confederates and their friends in Europe within the last few months. The Southern mind, therefore, on both sides of the ocean, has been ripening for this step, and, if not already taken, is prepared to take it.

Intelligent observers of the struggle have long been aware that as a last resort the South possessed an element of latent strength which, whenever



called forth, would at once shift the numerical superiority to the side which has heretofore been the weaker, and thus end the conflict. Those who knew the temper of the Southern people knew that, if the alternative were fairly presented between independence and the maintenance of negro slavery, it would not hesitate an instant to sacrifice the latter to the former. The choice made, it is not in the Southern character to resort to halfway measures. If the measure became expedient, it would be carried out thoroughly and without delay. If negroes were to be armed, the arming would be *en masse*. The chief obstacle lay not in any fear of the use the negroes might make of their arms: on that subject, except in the few localities where the negro has been corrupted by long contact with the Yankees, no Southern man ever entertained a doubt. The difficulty was in the repugnance which a proud nation, regarding the bearing of arms as a privilege and an honour, must necessarily feel in extending that privilege and that honour to a servile race. But at the call of patriotism the Southerners would sacrifice this repugnance, as they have sacrificed property and life, without hesitation and without vain regrets. Our only reason for doubt, then, is, that we do not believe the stress of military necessity so great as to warrant the use of this last, though infallible, reserve. At the same time it must be remembered that the South is led by men who will not wait until driven by necessity to resort to a measure which they foresee that the public safety may require.

The force which the South can thus suddenly throw into the scale, ensuring prompt success, is easily available. Five hundred thousand would indeed comprise nearly the whole number of able-bodied negroes within the jurisdiction of the Confederacy, but these could be spared with less detriment to agricultural pursuits than any equal proportion of any other labouring population. The South has abandoned all its usual staples. Nothing now is asked from the soil but food. For the production of this, black female labour will suffice, and in health, hardiness, and strength the females of the African race far exceed the peasant women of Continental Europe. The rich lands of the cotton region are easily tilled, and the young and aged who cannot fight can grow corn and tend cattle. Nor is there any serious difficulty in organizing this force. In the South, unlike the North, the relations between the white man and the black are well defined, and are accepted by both without question; they rest upon a reciprocal confidence and a perfect understanding of each other's character. The white man, therefore, will not feel degraded or in an anomalous position in commanding negro troops. If the discipline of the plantation is less rigorous than that of the camp, it is nevertheless an admirable preparation for the latter, and has moreover the merit of furnishing, ready to hand, a class of efficient noncommissioned officers, accustomed to the exercise of delegated authority over those of their own colour, and to the responsibility for their good behaviour. Even the scarcity of arms is no insuperable obstacle. There are, probably, enough of fire-arms for a select corps of negroes, already familiar with their use; and as for the others, it may be doubted whether they would not be more effective in the field with the more primitive weapons which the blacksmith's shop on every plantation could readily forge out of the implements of husbandry. A hundred thousand negro pikemen or scythemen would probably be a more formidable body for immediate service than the same number of raw recruits entrusted with unwonted weapons. There is no doubt, also, that the greater portion of the negro levies would be quickly thrown across the Northern border, where at worst they would have to meet foes no better armed or drilled than themselves. As for the negro's courage, when supported and led by his master, not against him, we have never entertained a doubt. The Confederate negro troops will be as much superior in steadiness and effectiveness to the black levies of the North, as the Sepoys under European officers were to the mutinous hordes of Nana Sahib. Besides, what the negro lacks in that

intelligence which characterises the white American volunteer, he more than supplies by implicit obedience and insensibility to danger, and he thus possesses the very qualities which professional officers are prone to consider the highest of the soldier.

If the military importance of such an enormous accession to the numerical strength of the Confederacy is almost beyond adequate comprehension, the political and social aspects of the measure assume even more gigantic proportions. It is the most complete scheme of emancipation that visionary ever dreamt of, and, though we cannot disguise the terrible danger of thus subverting at one blow the whole social fabric of a great country, it is undeniable that the experiment, if it has to be tried, is tried in this form with immensely superior practical prospects, and under fewer disadvantages. The liberated slave is spared the demoralisation of a violent change of authority and a disruption of natural ties; he does not learn the duties of freedom by those lessons of domestic treachery, of murder and arson, which the North undertook to teach him; he graduates, so to speak, into liberty, under the same guidance and protection around which the best feelings of his nature have wound themselves from his childhood. What the Yankees promised him as the reward of treason, he receives as the guerdon of honourable service; where they would have implanted corroding hatred, there grow the wholesome fruits of genuine gratitude; where they would have made him the irreconcilable enemy of the Southern white man, under whose care he has advanced from African barbarism to civilisation and Christianity, he continues, what he has always been, an humble but confiding friend, yet with titles to respect from the superior race which he never before, or by any other means, could have enjoyed.

The general belief which the mere rumour that such a step was meditated by the South has received, and the dread which it has inspired in the North, are in themselves the most conclusive refutations of the slanders which have been so industriously propagated in regard to the treatment of the slaves by their masters. Surely, if there were a tithe of that repressed antagonism which Abolitionist fictions describe as the relation between a cruelly oppressed race and their oppressors, this act of the South would be the maddest of suicides. If the inventors of these fictions really were so self-deluded as to believe them, they must scout the simple mention of such an act with ridicule. That they accept it as possible and even probable is a confession that they know the South's trust in the negro, and its reasons for that trust. If the South makes this great sacrifice we shall not be without fears for the future consequences upon its industry, but we shall have the consolation that at last this brave and self-devoted nation stands before a prejudiced world in its true light. The most bigoted partisan of the North will then no longer be able to shut his eyes to the only issues involved in this American struggle—a nation, occupying half of a continent, rising as one man, old and young, male and female, master and serf, in self-defence against a foreign yoke. Whether or no the gift of freedom be a boon to the negro, time and experience alone can show; but the only flag under which he can earn that dangerous boon will then be the cross on the white field, the emblem of hope and faith, and not the polluted and dishonoured stars and stripes, the symbol of dominion and tyranny. It will then be seen whether the professed sympathy for the slave is a genuine feeling, or only a cloak to conceal envy of the master. The hypocrisy of the North which makes the freeing of the slaves a pretext for enslaving the free man, will no longer find any so lost to shame on this side of the Atlantic as to defend it. Among the nations of the earth the Confederate States will stand distinguished for the most courageous experiment of emancipation on record, an experiment on so unprecedented a scale that the boasted self-sacrifices of other nations in distant colonial possessions sink beside it into utter insignificance. And if ever a nation gave proofs of earnestness of purpose and of a character of heroic

mould, it will have been that nation which battled for years against a vastly superior foe, and which did not account wealth, dominion, cherished prejudices, both present and future prosperity—nay, its entire social fabric—too dear a price to pay for independence.

### The Trade between New York and Nassau.

THE tone assumed by the Federal Government in regard to neutral trade with the Confederate States is so utterly at variance both with the simplest and most universally admitted rules of international law and with the language invariably held in former times by the Americans as a neutral nation, that one is almost tempted to accuse Mr. Seward of utter and absolute ignorance both of law and history—to suppose that he never opened even an elementary treatise on international law, or read a line of the history of his own country. It is more probable, however, that his ignorance is in great measure affected; or rather that, like all American statesmen, he expresses not his own opinions, but the feelings of his master, the mob. Mobs, we all know, care little for law, and an American mob, in particular, recognises no law that conflicts with the pursuit of American interests or the gratification of American passions. An unfortunate want of scholarship, or an accidental bias, has led American teachers to turn the attention of their pupils rather to Roman than to Greek history; and American orators and statesmen seem to pride themselves on imitating Rome in all her worst and meanest qualities; and especially in that outrageous arrogance which treated all opposition to the will of Rome as criminal, and refused to acknowledge in any foreign Power the enjoyment of equality and the possession of equal rights. The language employed by the present Government at Washington towards countries whose naval and military strength is infinitely superior to its own is ludicrously Roman. France and England are lectured in terms which might have found a fitting place in the exhortations of the Roman Senate to Achaia or Ætolia in the days of Hellenic degeneration and Roman ascendancy; and the whole tone of Mr. Seward's diplomatic correspondence is that of a man who conceives himself at liberty to dictate rather than to reason; entitled rather to lay down the law to the world than to submit to the rules imposed by the general consent of civilized Powers, and abide by the conditions of war and peace which were firmly established throughout Christendom while as yet the United States were dependencies of the British Crown. No other attitude would suit a man who is resolved on treating all neutral trade with his enemy as an offence against his own Government, and dealing with foreigners engaged in that trade as criminals, to be caught when and where they may be found, and to be punished upon evidence, not that they have violated any principle of international law, but that they have intended to furnish supplies, whether of arms or food, clothing or medicine, to the enemies of the United States. It is hardly necessary to say that this is a flagrant outrage on public law and on the rights of neutrals; an outrage which commercial powers might righteously punish with the utmost severity of war. The right of a belligerent to interfere with neutral trade is a wholly exceptional right, narrowly limited, and to be interpreted with all possible strictness. Generally, neutral trade is free. Every nation has a right to trade freely with every other; and the fact of war can only affect the nations actually engaged in it. An exception is made in favour of belligerents in special cases. They are allowed, if they can, to intercept goods of a certain class, called contraband of war, on their way to an enemy's port by sea; they are allowed to blockade an enemy's port, and, after notice given, to seize every vessel attempting to break that blockade. But this is all. A belligerent cannot extend these rights, or even define for himself their application. He has no right to make anything contraband of war which



is not contraband by the general usage of civilized nations. He has no right to declare a port blockaded except under certain settled conditions; and his right in these limited cases to intercept does not deprive the neutral of his right to trade. Trade between Nassau and Charleston is perfectly legitimate; a British subject engaged in it commits no crime, is liable to no punishment either by British or American law; cannot even be detained as a prisoner of war; only, for the protection of the belligerent, he is allowed, if he can, to intercept vessels bound on such a voyage, and confiscate them with their cargoes; and he may compel the attendance of such persons found on board as may be required to give evidence before the Prize Court summoned to decide whether the destination of the vessel were or were not for a blockaded port. Subject to this unpleasant liability, neutrals have a right to carry on their trade during war as during peace. Mr. Seward writes and acts on the principle that such trade is a crime. He complains that British subjects sell arms and ammunition to the Confederates. He allows Mr. Adams to call our trade with the South "fraudulent," at the very time that he is licensing and giving protection to a precisely similar trade with a Mexican party carrying on war against France. He directs the attention of Lord Russell to the vast increase of our exports to the West Indies, and calls this "suspicious:" the word being used to imply suspicion of criminality, giving the Federal cruisers a right to watch and harass that trade. To this the answer of course is plain and simple: "Hitherto our trade with the Southern States was wont to pass through New York; you, by your own act, have closed that channel against it. We are not bound to lose our trade, which is as legitimate in time of war as in time of peace. We have found another channel for it, and naturally our trade with the great entrepot in this channel is as vastly increased as our trade with New York is diminished. In all this you have no cause for complaint. You may, if you can, intercept the trade between Nassau and Charleston; that is your right as belligerents; but it is a right which, like all privileges in restriction of freedom, must be construed strictly. We cannot listen to any complaints against our lawful trade, nor submit to any extension of belligerent rights, which you, in your days of neutrality, were the most anxious to curtail."

It is unfortunate that this answer was not given, in plain and peremptory language, on the first encroachment or the first remonstrance of the Federal Government. It would have prevented the robbery of our merchants, the outrages on our flag, the blockade of our ports, the insults to our shores offered by scores since the appointment of Captain Wilkes to the command of the West Indian squadron. For, emboldened by our tolerance, the Federal Government carried out its unwarrantable pretension to treat neutral trade with the Confederates as criminal and fraudulent in the most violent manner; arrested British ships on their way to a neutral port, and caused them to be condemned, not on any evidence that their real destination was to a blockaded port, but on proof that their cargoes were probably destined for the use of the Confederates. This is openly and avowedly the ground on which the Peterhoff has been condemned; and a more insolent and flagrant violation of international law could hardly be imagined. It was on this principle that Mr. Seward pretended to justify the systematic interruption of our trade with Nassau, and the attempt to suppress by vexation and menace our trade with Matamoros. It is on the same principle that, in a correspondence which has lasted for more than a year, he defends the measures which have been taken to intercept the trade from New York to the Bahamas.

By international law and by special treaty British subjects are entitled to freedom of trade within the jurisdiction of the United States; and in reliance on that right a commerce has sprung up, of which New York is the channel, between our home and colonial ports. Take for instance the Cunard line: this has a terminus in the Empire City and a branch line thence to Nassau, and goods are consigned to the

company's care at Liverpool, to be delivered at the latter place. But it pleased Congress to pass an Act under which the treasury department entrusted the collector of customs at New York with very vague and extensive powers of preventing the export of goods which he supposed to be destined for the "insurgents;" and in the exercise of the discretion thus confided in him, the collector thought fit to take measures amounting to a virtual inhibition of all trade with Nassau. He required that no goods contraband of war should be exported thither under any circumstances; and he further required that all exporters should give bonds to an enormous amount that their goods should not pass into the hands of enemies of the United States. Now it is probably lawful for a government to forbid altogether the export of certain classes of goods to certain foreign ports: at all events this is a power which, under special circumstances, we ourselves have exercised; but then the government should declare by its own authority what goods fall within its definitions, and not leave merchants at the mercy of its revenue officers. Perhaps, also, a government may lawfully exact from exporters a bond that their goods shall actually be carried to the port of their nominal destination. But it can clearly make no stipulations as to the ultimate disposal of the goods. This would be to assume jurisdiction on neutral territory, in violation of international law, and to fetter the freedom of neutral trade. The exaction of these bonds, therefore, was illegal. It was also either irrational or oppressive: irrational, if it was intended *bond fide*; for what merchant, still more, what skipper,—who is only entrusted to deliver the goods at a particular port, and who then loses all knowledge of them—can pretend to pledge himself as to the use to which a future purchaser may put his wares? oppressive, if it were meant, as seems more likely, to suppress the trade between New York and Nassau altogether, or to throw it wholly into the hands of Northern partisans. At all events this was its actual effect. Shippers refused to give the bonds demanded, and their goods were detained. This would have been an injustice, and a violation of treaty, if it had been confined to the prevention of the export of American goods. But it operated also to prevent the transfer of British goods sent to New York only as a station on the way to Nassau. Ship-owners in charge of such goods were compelled to land them, and to break their contract with the merchants. For above a year this wrong has been the subject of a correspondence, which closes, in August last, with instructions addressed to Lord Lyons to present a fresh remonstrance to the Federal Government. It is clear that, as Lord Russell says, the latter is endeavouring to make the violation of neutral rights a substitute for an effective blockade of the enemy's ports; and we fear that it is also evident that until Lord Russell shows some disposition to enforce his remonstrances by arguments more weighty than any he has yet used, the Federal Government will persevere in its wrong-doing, utterly deaf to all verbal protests, and blind to the clearest demonstration of the unlawfulness of its proceedings which is not illuminated by the flash of artillery. "They manage these things better in France." Foreign statesmen, however partial to the Federal Government, marvel at and generally censure our forbearance. No one imagines that it can last; all see that Federal encroachments must eventually force us to resistance; and most believe that resistance ought to have commenced long ago.

The partisans of the North excuse its conduct on the ground of "provocation." They bid us remember how exasperating it must be to the Federalists to see the Confederates supplied with arms and clothing from British ports, and their blockade neutralized by the skill and enterprise of British seamen. They would have us enter into the feelings of a Yankee who sees us filling the warehouses of Nassau with stores which he knows to be destined for his enemy; who sees vessels clear from his own ports laden with goods destined, in however circuitous a method, to comfort the homes and relieve the sick and wounded of the Confederate States.

We grant the provocation; we admit that to men of malignant tempers the knowledge that coffee and medicines and calicoes find their way in his despite to relieve his enemy's sufferings and cheer the loneliness of his enemy's families, must be almost as exasperating, as to an honest merchant the tidings that his ship, with a cargo on board which might have brought him 300 per cent. has been captured by a blockading squadron, or to a manufacturer the sight of his mill standing still and his people starving for want of the cotton which is kept from him by that squadron's presence. And if the malignity of the Yankee were confined to words—if it exhausted itself in cursing, threatening, and blaspheming—we might allow the sufficiency of the plea of provocation. If our merchants and manufacturers were men of an American temper, they would probably do likewise. But we cannot allow the plea in bar of our claim for redress, when international law has been violated and neutral rights set at naught by Yankee "exasperation." We keep the law now that we are neutrals, as we kept it when we were belligerents; and as we forbore to exceed it then, so we have a right to insist that others shall abide by it now.

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENTS.

The following is a copy of the correspondence between the Confederate authorities and those of the French Government relative to the assistance lately rendered at Charleston on the despatch ship *Renaudin*:—

Consulate of France at Richmond,  
Richmond, 29th July.

Sir,—On the happening of an accident on the 23rd of last February, in Sullivan's Pass, which caused damage to the steam despatch ship *Renaudin*, belonging to the Imperial Navy, the Confederate authorities hastened to tender to the commander of that vessel the gratuitous use of the floating dock at Charleston, and he was thus enabled to make the necessary repairs and continue his voyage.

The Government of the Emperor having been informed of this circumstance, desires, sir, that the expression of his very warm thanks should be transmitted to your Government, as well as to the authorities at Charleston.

I have the honour of enclosing to you a copy of the despatch just addressed to me by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on this subject. I am happy to be thus made the interpreter of the sentiments of my Government upon the present occasion, which affords fresh evidence of the friendly disposition and courteous spirit of which the Confederate authorities had previously given us so many proofs.

Conformably to the instructions of the Department of Foreign Affairs, as you will perceive in the enclosed copy of its despatch, I appeal to your obliging favour, sir, for the transmission to the Charleston authorities of the expression of the thanks due to them, and of the assurance that the Emperor is deeply sensible of their generous conduct, which enabled the despatch steamer *Renaudin* to complete its repairs.

I pray you, Sir, to accept the assurances, &c.

ALFRED PAUL,

To the Hon. J. P. BENJAMIN, Sec. etary of State,  
Department of State.

[Copy enclosed in foregoing.]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Bureau,  
Paris, June 10th.

Sir,—On the 23rd of February last his Imperial Majesty's despatch steamer *Renaudin*, which had received the order to touch at Charleston, got aground at Sullivan's Pass, and only succeeded in escaping from this critical condition by the aid of the *Milan*, and of the English sloop of war *Petrel*. On the happening of the accident the Confederate authorities were kind enough to tender to the captain of the *Renaudin* the gratuitous use of the floating dock at Charleston; and he was thus enabled to make repairs that were indispensable to the continuance of his voyage. I desire, sir, that you inform the Government at Richmond how sensible we have been of the kind conduct of the authorities at Charleston, and that you pray it to transmit to those authorities the expression of our lively thanks.

Receive, Sir, the assurance, &c.,

DROUYN DE L'HUYS.

Confederate States of America, Dep. of State,  
Richmond, July 31.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 29th instant, enclosing copy of a communication addressed to you by M. Drouyn de L'Huys, in which you are desired to convey to this Government the assurance that the Government of his Imperial Majesty is deeply sensible of the service rendered by the Confederate authorities in placing the use of the floating dock in Charleston at the gratuitous disposal of the despatch steamer *Renaudin*, belonging to the Imperial navy, when that vessel was damaged by grounding in Sullivan Pass. You further request me to be the medium of transmitting to the authorities at Charleston the warm thanks of his Majesty's Government for their generous conduct on the occasion.

The Confederate Government is much gratified, sir, at



having had an opportunity of testifying to his Imperial Majesty the sentiments of cordial regard entertained by it for him and for the French people, and the President desires me to say that he fully appreciates the promptness which the Emperor has displayed in responding to the manifestation of these feelings.

I will very cheerfully communicate to the authorities at Charleston the message for them transmitted by your Government, and I receive with pleasure your own acknowledgment of the friendly courtesy which has always been displayed by this Government towards that of his Imperial Majesty.

I am, with great respect, your obed't servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

M. ALFRED PAUL, Consul of France,  
Richmond, Virginia.

# "LA FRANCE, LE MEXIQUE, ET LES ÉTATS CONFÉDÉRÉS."

A PAMPHLET bearing the above title has just been published in Paris by Dentu, which, though anonymous, is generally understood to propound the views of the French Foreign Office. It is divided into four short chapters very much like the leaders of a newspaper, and its mode of composition proves abundantly that it comes from the practised hand of a writer for the press, probably of a contributor to the *Patrie*.

Beginning with the old commonplaces—how the French are men of action, careless of filthy lucre, who look, in distant expeditions, only to glory or at most to political influence, and whose generosity and disinterestedness contrast so favourably with the calculating and commercial genius of England!—the writer, in the first part, shows that France has only sought in this expedition to oppose the absorption of South America by the North. She has also in view to prevent the subjugation of the Latin races on the other side of the Atlantic, and to protect her own West Indian colonies.

The same interest which inclines the sympathies of France to the Secessionist States, has planted our standard on the walls of Mexico. The recognition of the Southern States will be the consequence of our intervention in Mexico; or rather, our intervention there has prepared, facilitated, and rendered possible the diplomatic act which will consecrate the final separation, the secession, of a part of the United States.

The great object of the Emperor has been to regenerate our transatlantic commerce, to restore to it, or to create for it, abundant markets.

This is the subject of the second division of the pamphlet. It describes the native wealth, agricultural and mineral, of Mexico: a soil which only asks for immigration; immigration not of mere men, but of capital and intellect. "Such an immigration has given the United States of America industry, wealth, and courage, and, we may add, it has given tranquillity to England."

Whoever has lived long in Great Britain returns struck with the flagrant contradiction between the individual genius of Englishmen, ever ready for adventures whether naval, commercial, or industrial, and the political genius of the nation, which rejects without examination all revolutionary ideas; for even admitting the superiority of its representative system of government, one cannot help acknowledging that its habits and social laws, especially those which affect property, are far from perfect.

The corollary of this argument is not drawn, but it is left for the sagacity of the reader to infer that all the wild spirits who would have introduced revolutionary ideas, and improved our laws, have been sent for their country's good to America, or the colonies.

In France the spirit of commercial enterprise is, however, awakening, and Mexico offers a wide field for it. "Whether the Archduke accept or refuse the proffered throne, or another Prince take it, or an anonymous government be established under the wings of our eagles, French interest will continue paramount."

The French army, "the purest expression of modern democracy," is there, and with it the four things which are wanting to Mexico: cohesion, order, industry, and force. "The empire which has disciplined and utilised socialism, which has conquered anarchy in France, will do as much for Mexico."

But it can only do these things after the recognition of the Confederate States.

We have sketched the first two chapters shortly to show not only the views of the French Government as expounded by this writer, but also to let English readers see the light by which the French people are taught to read the history of contemporary events. There is much sound sense in many of the views put forward. The third chapter is more interesting to readers of all classes, for the subject admits of few rhetorical flourishes, and there can be little doubt that it faithfully represents the intentions of the Imperial Government. We shall extract largely from it:—

Europe would not even now be alive to the dangers with which the preponderance of the United States threatens it, but for the war between the Northern and Southern States. Europe, tributary to the New World, had taken no precaution to prevent a crisis which she had not foreseen, and which still weighs upon her. We have learned to our cost how pre-

carious is a trade which depends for the production of raw material of the manufacture on which it subsists, on a single market, to whose exigencies it must submit and whose vicissitudes it must share. It is to France that the separation of the Confederate States is eminently favourable, for England has no longer any interest in the cessation of hostilities, and in the constitution of a powerful State intermediary between the Federals and the Spanish-American continent. She fears for Canada, the field in which the North—once the present war brought to a close—may seek a compensation for its losses. Her trade by sea is profiting by the disturbance produced in American commerce; she sees with satisfaction the North and South weakening each other; she furnishes both parties with arms; and while the South has ceased to send her cotton, she is actively promoting its cultivation in India. England will, therefore, never take the initiative in recognising the Confederate States, and the reception which she has twice given to our proposals for a friendly intervention prevents any illusion on that score.

France, on the contrary, can look only to the South for the cotton necessary to her manufactures. . . . No cotton in the world, for price and quality, approaches that of the South. The Federals are so well aware of this, that the war they wage is for them, above all things, a war of interest. The agricultural South was preyed upon commercially by the North, which seeks at any price to retain its best customer. Emancipation is but a pretext dexterously put forward to enlist the sympathies of the unwary liberals of Europe. The Northerners, if successful, would be chary of applying the axe to the tree of slavery. They would hesitate, once masters of the negroes, to do anything which might endanger the cultivation of the cotton, for the sake of which they are waging so obstinately an unjust war. They would soon perceive that the economic condition of a country cannot be changed by a battle or a stroke of the pen. The abolition of slavery, as understood in the North, which means making the negroes food for gunpowder, or transporting them to some distant region to die of hunger, has been judged as it deserves in Europe. These ferocious exaggerations of the love of liberty are as repugnant to our ideas of philanthropy as to our habits. Enlightened men of good faith are not caught with such chaff, and Mr. Lincoln's abolition-cry no longer finds any echo among us. If we could for a moment doubt its value it would be enough that we call to mind the summary justice in which the Northerners delight, the Indian-hunts which are the fashion among them, and that recent proclamation of the Governor of Minnesota offering a reward of \$25 for every Indian scalp brought in. . . .

But the first European Power which recognises the Confederacy will be in a position to secure for the negroes much more than the Federals would give if they succeeded in their attempt to restore the Union by force. And as that first Power would be France we may be sure that the cause of civilization, humanity, and progress would not be forgotten. What was difficult, nay, impossible, during the struggle, will become easy in the coming calm. The emancipation of the negroes, the entire abolition of slavery, can only be effected by peace and time; and this great social renovation, which England has in vain sought for with her right of search, will spring from our alliance with the South.

But slavery can in no case be a serious argument against recognition. France and England live in harmony with Spain and Brazil; they protect Turkey and Egypt, yet these countries seem in no wise inclined to abolish slavery. France will use her influence to arrive at a gradual abolition of slavery, but certainly she will not make it a cause of non-recognition.

The States of the North foresaw assuredly these results, and the celebrated Monroe doctrine is after all only an insurance against civilisation.

Northern pride will never humble itself so far as to acknowledge the superiority of the Southrons, yet they have given the Union her best statesmen and the majority of her presidents. Northern pride will yield only to necessity, because it has not kept pace with the age. For twenty years the Northerners have stood aloof from the concert of nations; they understand but the narrowest principles of trade, mere buyers and sellers as they are, and in their fear lest the intellect of the South destroy the ramparts they have raised against European ideas, they seek to annihilate the Confederate States.

The American war, from which we have suffered in France more than the English have done, can only be useful to us if the separation of the North and South be definitely settled, because:—

1. The Confederate States will be our allies, and will guarantee us against attacks from the North.

2. Mexico, fertilised by our efforts and safe from the attacks of the North, will answer all our expectations.

3. Our manufactories will be assured the supplies which are absolutely necessary for them.

If the American war were to end otherwise all the adventurers disbanded at the peace would have no resource but to flock to Mexico, and the harvest which we have sown would be gathered by the Northerners.

The fourth and shortest chapter goes to prove that "the American question is not one of those whose solution can be deferred."

No peace is possible with a reconstruction of the Union.

The elements are too entirely sundered to admit of re-union. The North has been proved impotent in ideas, arms, and production, and cannot absorb the South.

Therefore neither peace nor absorption, nor conquest being possible, there is only secession at the end of the war.

It is proved that the States of the South have a Government which they are able to defend and willing to obey, and that they will no longer consent to serve the commercial interests of the North; and the interests of France coinciding with theirs, France gives them her sympathies, and as a consequence will recognise their independence. Recognised by France they will be recognised by all the world. The Northerners will not then persevere in a hopeless struggle. They will take a hint, which the French navy might enforce.

Such is an analysis of a pamphlet which has already excited considerable attention, with the conclusion of which, as well as with many of its arguments, we agree. If it be, as many think, a pilot balloon thrown up to judge of the popular mind, it is unquestionably a production of considerable importance and although English-

men may smile at the occasional onesidedness of its reasoning, they will not deny the truth of its deductions. Mr. Canning had to call the New World into political existence to redress the balance of the Old: it is now time for the Old to lend a hand in saving the equilibrium of the New.

## GREEK FEDERALISM.\*

MR GROTE's thoughtful and philosophic History of Greece lays great emphasis on that peculiar tendency of Hellenic policy which he calls "the instinct of city-autonomy;" the tone of thought and habit of action which referred all patriotic feeling, duty, and allegiance to the civic commonwealth, which made that the country or fatherland (*πατρίς*) of the citizen, and maintained between city and city a thoroughly national isolation, and not unfrequently actual national antipathy. Everywhere in Greece the city was the political unit, rarely enlarged beyond the boundaries of a single town, with the lands belonging to its inhabitants, and never extending so far that the whole people of the State—the whole body entitled to civic and political rights—could not meet together in the *agora* to discuss the affairs of their country and give their votes thereon in person. But both Mr. Grote and those who have succeeded him are for the most part content to mark this "instinct" as an existing fact in the political system of Greece, without directly pointing out the peculiarities of the national history out of which it probably arose, and which led the most civilised nation of the ancient world to adopt an organisation so widely different from that which in modern times prevails among those races which have assumed the hegemony of mankind. The emp-

of modern Europe have for the most part arisen out of the conquests made by warlike tribes, to whom industry was distasteful, and who were habituated to a monarchical form of government. Their personal tastes induced them to spread themselves over a large extent of country as the masters of a vassal race; they had too little cultivation and too few civilised tastes to love the life of cities, and too much pride and self-confidence to collect within fortified towns for protection. At the same time the gradual establishment of feudal monarchy created just that kind of loose and elastic bond which was suited to their character and condition, and without imposing on them a yoke felt to be oppressive, preserved national unity in a manner which would have been impossible under republican institutions at a period when a journey from the extremities of the kingdom to its capital must have occupied weeks or months. But nevertheless "free cities," bearing a good deal of resemblance to those of the ancient world, grew up here and there during the middle ages; grew up, that is to say, wherever the hold of the monarch on his vassals became loosened to such a degree as to embolden knights and nobles to assume the privileges of petty sovereigns, to wage war on each other, and plunder their peaceful neighbours. It is probable that perils of a somewhat similar kind created the city organisation of ancient Greece. In many cases, we may believe, the germ of the city was a fortified refuge for an agricultural population in times of war; in others, as we know, it was the natural form assumed by a colony of conquerors planted in the centre of a hostile population. The cities could not well be united in a common allegiance, without some such tie as that afforded by feudalism; and nothing of the kind ever existed in Greece. The rapid development of commerce and civilisation tended more and more to increase the importance of cities, at the expense of the rural districts around them; while the spread of republican institutions, and the varied form which they assumed in different towns, confirmed their isolation, first by making union impossible—seeing that republican institutions can only prevail over a large country by means either of representation or of federalism, neither of which forms of government were dreamt of by the earlier law-givers of Greece—and secondly, by creating antipathy between the different cities which was easily ripened by border warfare into strong mutual hostility. The greater cities gradually extended their territory, either by absorption or by conquest; either by admitting the neighbouring villages and small towns to a full share in their own political being, or by reducing them to a condition of dependence. The two greatest city commonwealths of Greece present to us examples of these two processes, each on a scale immensely extensive. Sparta had extended her empire over a large portion of Peloponnesus. In the earliest ages of history, we find her ruling over subject towns and villages in Laconia, whose people—traditionally supposed to belong to a subject race—served

\* History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the Achaean League to the Disruption of the United States. By E. A. Freeman, M.A. Vol. I., General Introduction—History of the Greek Federations, Macmillan, 1863.



in the Spartan armies and enjoyed civil privileges, but were politically the vassals of the Spartan people. The Pericæi were freemen; they, like the Spartan citizen, might own land and slaves; they appear to have felt as Spartans, and no disposition to revolt is traceable in their history; but they were subjects and not citizens. Conquest, within the period of historical memory, reduced Messene to the same condition; but the Messenians were always disaffected subjects. Sparta, however, as a city, remained without expansion; she was a sovereign or tyrant State ruling over an empire more or less loyal, not the capital and centre of an extended commonwealth. Athens, on the other hand, before the period of historical memory, had absorbed the whole of Attica; and every Attican had become a citizen of Athens. Athens had no subject population; she had a multitude of slaves, and a crowd of denizens, often born within her walls, and the children parents born there, but debarred by their alien blood from citizenship; but every man of Athenian blood within the boundaries of Attica was a full Athenian citizen. Athens, therefore, was by far the largest "city" in Greece; for her political walls enclosed not a town only, but a province. It would seem that a majority at least of the Dorian States had, like Sparta, their Pericæi, whose origin was traced by tradition to an alien and a conquered race; Athens is almost the only Greek city of whom we know positively that she had none; and it is worthy of remark that Athens was to the last the city that clung most obstinately to its isolated autonomy.

Mr. Freeman lays much more stress than we are disposed to do upon traces of Federalism existing in the semi-Hellenic districts of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. Here, as in Phokis, we know positively that national union existed in some form; but we are by no means so certain that that form was properly Federal; and far too little is known concerning the internal history of any of these nations to make their example useful to the historian of Greek Federalism. There are three cases of quasi-Federal organization, two of which are very lightly passed over in this volume, which, as it seems to us, would have better repaid a careful study.

The early history of the Boeotian League is unknown to us; but Mr. Freeman clearly establishes two points: first, that it had originally a Federal form, under which certain important but definite privileges were enjoyed by Thebes, as the seat of government and the most powerful of the Confederate cities; and secondly, that it was eventually converted, by gradual encroachments, into a Theban empire. It is possible that Thebes may have claimed to be the Boeotian metropolis, and to exercise over her confederates that sort of qualified sovereignty to which colonies were theoretically expected to submit, and the rejection of which gave rise to that quarrel between Corcyra and her "mother-country," Corinth, which was the immediate occasion of the Peloponnesian war. It is memorable that, as against this League, Athens appears as the earliest champion of State rights; interposing to protect Plataea against the aggression of Thebes, supporting her secession from the League, and admitting her into a close and affectionate alliance, which lasted until the destruction of the dependent city in the Peloponnesian war.

We may remark also that there seems to have existed in Greece, from the first, a species of Federal tie, rather sentimental than legal, but nevertheless possessing an important influence over the national destiny. It is quite clear that all Greek cities were supposed to be in some way under a common obligation to resist the Persian invaders; that the Medism of Thebes incurred the reproach not merely of folly and selfishness, but of treason; and that the union of the Hellenic race was sufficiently definite to have at least an honorary permanent president in Sparta. It seems clear, also, that Sparta looked upon the Confederation of the Ægean under Athenian primacy, with considerable jealousy and displeasure; regarding it, if not as a secession, yet as a Sonderbund. The bitter hostility with which she regarded all Greek federations probably rested upon the same ground. She considered herself as the chief or hegemon of a general Confederation of all Hellenic cities for defence against the Barbarian; and all separate Confederations appeared to her as infractions of this general bond, prohibited by its spirit, as separate unions among Cantons or States are forbidden by the laws of strict Confederacies. Even after the secession of Athens and her allies Sparta remained at the head of a powerful Confederation, certainly as closely united as the present German Bund. The opening book of Thucydides, which describes the proceedings taken on the complaint of the Corinthians against Athens—the debate in the Spartan assembly, the vote for war, and the submission of that vote to a Congress of the Confederates—reveals the existence, not of a temporary alliance, but of a regular, however loose, Federal bond among the Dorian

States. They could, independently, make war and peace on their own account; but they had, nevertheless, a regular form of consultation on matters of common interest, and a permanent chief; and when war had once been resolved on, it seems that the principles on which it was to be conducted, the direction of operations, and the management of any negotiation for peace, would rest exclusively with the Executive of the League—the Government of Sparta.

The Athenian alliance, in its original form, appears to have been a Confederation of a very much more definite character. Its object was to deliver the Ægean sea from pirates and its coasts from Persia. It had a common treasury and common deliberations. Each State furnished a regular contingent of ships and men, sometimes commuted for money. And it was this money commutation which mainly contributed to change the League into an Athenian Empire. Athens was the Federal Executive and President of the League, possessing in that capacity the right of directing its forces and executing its decrees. On her it devolved to furnish ships and men in place of those contingents for which pecuniary compensation had been accepted. Her duty it was to compel defaulting members to pay up their arrears and fulfil their obligations. The gradual increase of her power, by the substitution of Athenian ships and crews for the contingents of cities which preferred a money tribute, and the reduction of defaulters to a state of dependence, eventually reduced the League to something like the state of an empire exercised by a sovereign State over tributaries in great part disarmed; but its original character was certainly Federal.

After the close of the Peloponnesian war, we find no more permanent and successful confederations of any kind in Greece until the Achæan cities, among whom some sort of union had in early times subsisted, came together during the wars of the successors of Alexander, and established a league which gradually drew one city after another within its influence until its rule was established over the greater part of the Peloponnesus. In its best days all adhesions were voluntary; and admission to the league was regarded as an unmixed gain even by such cities as Corinth, Argos, and Megalopolis. It secured them alike against foreign foes and against domestic tyrants. The decay of the League began with the successes of Cleomenes, king of Sparta—that city appearing, as in all her previous history, "resolved to ruin or to rule" the Hellenic race. Aratus, the all-powerful president of the league, was driven to call in the aid of Macedonia; and to promise, as a guerdon, the citadel of Corinth. This treacherous violation of every essential principle of Federalism well-nigh dissolved the league; and after this it existed, though with extended territory, with diminished vitality and coherence, more or less dependent, first on Macedonia and then on Rome, until it sank gradually into abject subjection to the latter.

As distinguished from the lax Confederacies which had preceded it, the League was certainly a strict and solid Confederacy. Towards foreign powers it was a single State; internally it was a republic composed of republics, each having equal privileges and an equal vote in the Federal Government. It had no President-city; for some time the Federal assemblies were held at the town of Aigium, the chief of the ten Achæan cities of the original union, but not comparable in power to Sicyon, Corinth, Argos, or Megalopolis; afterwards in each city of the League in turn. The Federal Government did not interfere with municipal institutions, though we may be certain that no other form of government than a democracy could practically have existed in any of the confederate cities. The city government, again, could not interfere in foreign affairs; and were expressly forbidden to send or receive ambassadors without permission of the Federal Assembly. This Assembly, held twice a-year, was the sovereign power of Achæa; it legislated, elected magistrates, voted taxes, and made war and peace. It was open to all citizens; but each city had a single vote. Thus, if there were present ten citizens from Sicyon, fifty from Corinth, and a hundred from Argos, at an Assembly held in Megalopolis, the votes of six Sicyonians would determine the vote of Sicyon, which would countervail the contrary vote of perhaps every Argive present; while a majority of fifty Corinthians would balance the vote of a majority of the Megalopolitans present, perhaps, five or ten thousand. This was the nearest approach ever made in Greece to the modern principle of representation—at least, in political affairs. The Assembly chose a general, a deputy-general, a general of cavalry, (the duties of the two last officers seem to have been purely military,) ten ministers, who presided in the Assembly, and advised the general, and a secretary of state. The general was the chief magistrate of the State, elected for one year, and re-eligible only in alternate years. Except while the

Assembly was sitting—that is, for 359 days in the year—he possessed a power virtually dictatorial; though, like the Governor-General of India, his acts required the concurrence of a majority of the ministers, which, however, he seldom or never failed to obtain. Except in the union of military and civil duties, which was the universal practice of Greece, this system worked admirably. It gave Achæa a strong executive government, while it effectually secured her against executive usurpations; it rendered city jealousy impossible, by giving equal power to all the cities; and it established a Federal assembly essentially, though accidentally, aristocratic; inasmuch as the votes of a great majority of cities—the more distant from the place of meeting—must always have been held by rich men. Poor men could not spare the time to attend an assembly sitting twenty, fifty, or a hundred miles from their homes for three days at a time. Hence the actual direction of affairs was in the hands of the rich and educated; while these, having to meet their fellow-citizens on equal terms at home, must always have acted with a due regard to the current of popular opinion. The result was a policy at once dignified and liberal, which, in its general features, bore a closer analogy to that of England than to that of America.

We cannot follow Mr. Freeman through his masterly analysis of the Achæan constitution. We can only recommend it to the careful attention of our readers; agreeing with nearly all the author's views, and only recording our protest against the doctrine which denies all connection and analogy between the confederations under Athenian and Spartan primacy, and the perfect, equal, and definitely organised Confederacy of Achæa. It would be too much to regard the latter as a development of the principles on which the former were founded; but we can hardly doubt that the framers of the Federal constitution of Achæa had the history of those confederations before their minds, and learned from that history both what perils they had to avoid, and what degree of stringency must be given to the Federal bond in order to secure its permanence and its efficacy.

#### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF STONEWALL JACKSON.\*

This unpretending sketch is the best biography that has appeared of the illustrious Southern soldier whose name has become a household word in Europe as well as America. It will no doubt disappoint the majority of readers that only eighteen pages are devoted to the career of Stonewall Jackson before he was engaged in the War of Independence. It would, however, be unfair to find fault with the authoress on this account. So unostentatious was Jackson in his habits that his private life affords no materials for biography, and his earlier services, though creditable, gave so little promise of future greatness, that his own countrymen and his professional comrades were astonished at the dazzling display of military genius that entitles him to rank with the most celebrated captains of ancient or modern times.

Thomas Jefferson Jackson was born at Clarksburg, Virginia, in 1824. His ancestors, both paternal and maternal, were English; but though his family was highly respectable, his parents were comparatively poor and died during his boyhood. He did not receive a liberal education, but he was soon recognised as steady and trustworthy, and when sixteen years old held office as a county constable. He was not devoid of ambition, and desired to enter the army. At the age of nineteen the member for Congress for his section of Virginia had a presentation to West Point, and he was determined to ask for, and, if possible, obtain it. His relatives and friends sought to dissuade him by pointing out the deficiencies of his education and that he was nearly three years beyond the usual age of admission. But Jackson was not to be turned from his purpose. He obtained an introduction to the member of Congress, and carrying his wardrobe in his hand he journeyed to Washington, partly by stage and partly on foot, and that during the muddy season, was introduced to the Secretary of War, who gave him the desired presentation, and complimented him on his ambition and perseverance. He entered West Point, inferior to all his classmates in intellectual attainments, was one of those plodders whom tutors delight to honour, and after four years residence graduated No. 17 in a class of sixty. His fellow-students say that if the years of study had been ten instead of four, he would have been at the head of the whole class. As is often the case, the youthful judgment was correct. When the opportunity came, he showed that the academy of West Point had never turned out an abler soldier. In 1846 he went to Mexico as second lieutenant, where he fought first under General Taylor, and afterwards under General

\* Stonewall Jackson, late General of the Confederate States' Army. A Biographical Sketch, and an Outline of his Virginian Campaigns. By the Author of "Life in the South." London: Chapman and Hall.



Scott. He was distinguished for his daring and firmness. He literally led his men into action, and manifested that pluck—we know not a better word—which always raises the morale of an army. Nor did he hesitate to rebuke the timidity, politely called over-caution, of his superior officers:—

On one occasion, when attached to Pillow's division of Magruder's battery, he was ordered by the former to withdraw his company, which occupied a very exposed position. Jackson gave no heed to this over-cautious general's command. On the contrary, he advanced his position one hundred yards and maintained it, doing great execution.

His promotion was gradual, until in 1852 he was made a brevet-major; and in that year, his health being impaired he resigned his commission, and became Professor of Chemistry and Natural Science at the Military College of Lexington. He was zealous in the discharge of his duties, and, perhaps by reason of his conscientious zeal, was not very popular with the students. A youth whom he had expelled for misconduct resolved to revenge himself by shooting him on his way from College to his home:—

He was apprised of his danger by a friend, who met him walking quickly towards the place where the reckless youth lay concealed, and entreated him to retrace his steps. Without being aware that the boy was within hearing, he exclaimed, "Let him shoot me if he will!" and proceeded along the path. But the youth was abashed and slunk away, and the Professor's life was saved.

Besides attending to the work of his professorship he was an indefatigable assistant in the Presbyterian church, of which he was an elder. He taught in the Sunday school, he visited the sick, and as is usual with Southern Christians, took a lively interest in the spiritual welfare of the negroes. Every Sunday he expounded the Scriptures to a class of negro children, and though in all things else modest and retiring, his voice was heard and his influence exerted to the utmost in all questions that related to the moral and spiritual progress of the coloured race. His labours were interrupted by a visit to Europe, which he made subsequent to the death of his first wife. Shortly after his return to America he married again, his second wife being the daughter of the Rev. George Morrison, of North Carolina, and the sister of the wife of General D. H. Hill. He resumed his former mode of life, attending to his professorship and to the duties incident to his position in the church. He abstained from any political action, though he must have watched with keen anxiety the violent agitation which resulted in the disruption of the Union. Directly his State seceded and it appeared that the liberty of the Confederacy had to be defended by the sword he entered on active service. Governor Letcher gave him a commission as colonel of a volunteer regiment, and he soon afterwards joined the Confederate army, being attached to the command of General Joseph E. Johnston.

So well does our authoress tell the marvellous story of Stonewall Jackson's memorable campaigns in Virginia, that we at once refer our readers to her volume. Wisely eschewing all technicalities, she writes a plain narrative, carefully and intelligently compiled from official and newspaper reports, and the result is that her non-military readers will have a clear view of what her hero accomplished. We may be assumed to be tolerably familiar with Jackson's achievements, yet as we perused the little book before us we could not but wonder anew that so many deeds, each of which was sufficient to make a reputation, were crowded into so brief a space. In this respect, Stonewall Jackson is without a compeer. At Manassas he gave token of his consummate ability, and he may claim a large share of the laurels that the Southern army won on that bravely-contested field. Then came his masterly defence of the Valley. By his activity, his foresight, and his skilful strategy, his little force was more than a match for the numerically superior enemy. He marched with a rapidity that confounded the Federal generals and enabled him to beat them over and over again, preventing a junction of the Northern troops and at length driving them from the Valley. In the seven days' battle that resulted in raising the siege of Richmond and crushing General McClellan's army, he played an important part; and it is not too much to say that the glorious victory was due to his conduct as well as to the strategy of the Confederate commander. By this time "Old Stonewall" was the pet of the Southern army; but though his career was nearly over he was yet to do more than enough to glorify a long life-time. He defeated Pope, he captured Harper's Ferry, he did splendid work in the Maryland campaign, he was the hero of Fredericksburg, and General Lee will testify that to his prowess was due the triumph of Chancellorsville. And then, in the flush of victory, full of honours though young in years, Stonewall Jackson met his death by a deplorable accident. He died, to the inexpressible grief of the South, and to the regret of the civilised world. It

was natural the Federal press should be glad that their dread opponent was no more; but it is but fair to add that they spoke of his death in a respectful, creditable manner. The only journal that was dastardly enough to fling a stone at the dead hero was the *English* organ of Messrs. Lincoln and Bright.

#### LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, August 15.

By the opening of railway communication once more to Brashear from this city, we learn something about affairs on the Lafourche and across the Bay. The road has been unused till this week, since the destruction of the bridges across the bayous by General Dick Taylor's men after they took possession of Brashear City. We know now the full extent of the damage done. It has cost \$25,000 to rebuild the bridges over Bayou des Allemands, Lafourche, Boeuf, and the smaller bridges. The repairs of track and replacing the rolling stock destroyed at Brashear, will cost probably \$30,000 more. The negroes on the "Government" plantations (as they are called) have been carried away, and the cane crops are choked with weeds. The railway-station buildings, excepting those at Tigerville, were burned to the ground. Everything portable at Brashear City in the way of military stores, was carried away. It was a clean sweep. The Confederates had five small steamboats and nearly thirty days in which to carry away the property. They kept the cars to run up and down the road through Lafourche to the last day, and burned the train just as they abandoned Brashear.

The left wing of Weitzel's brigade, two regiments, is at Brashear City. Two Federal gunboats, the Clifton and the Sachem, lie in the Bay. The rest of Weitzel's brigade is in summer quarters, camped two miles above Thibodeaux, and General Weitzel occupies Mr. John Williams's house (formerly Bishop Polk's) as his headquarters.

Opposite Brashear, on the Berwick side, is the Confederate advance, under command of Colonel Jim Major, who has 4,000 men at Camp Bislard, six miles from the Bay. The place has been strongly fortified and there and at New Iberia there are fifty mounted guns. Along the Teche there are now not less than 15,000 encamped Confederates. General Mouton commands the lower division near Berwick, and General Taylor the upper division at New Iberia. General Kirby Smith is at Shreveport in command of the Louisiana army. Price's and Holmes's men from Arkansas are joining him, and by autumn there will be an army of at least 50,000 men in Northern and Western Louisiana. Do you think Opelousas and the Attakapas are in danger from another Federal invasion? It does not look like it.

There are no indications whatever of a movement across Berwick Bay. It is more probable that the invasion will be from that quarter. Indeed, Major is reported to have notified the Federal commandant of the port at Brashear that if he would fill his depot again with commissary stores he would come and carry the whole away.

Mrs. General Gardner came over Wednesday under a flag of truce, and is now in this city with her father, ex-governor Mouton. She brought a young daughter with her, and visits her husband, of course, daily.

General Wickliffe has been permitted to go to his plantation at Bayou Sara; that is, he has received a pass from General Banks for that purpose. Major Monroe has been released from Fort Pickets and was sent into the Confederacy *via* Pascagoula. He was not permitted to come to this city.

A release was sent down by the last boat for all the prisoners in Port Pickets, and in some cases the conditions require them to go into the Confederacy, and do not permit them to go abroad.

Port Hudson is "ours," you know; but last Wednesday two Federal steamboats went to a plantation on the west bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite Port Hudson, to bring away 500 bales of cotton. They tied up at the levee, and began loading, when a party of General Taylor's men came down and fired on the boats, killing one man and wounding a cotton speculator whose name was Denny. The boats cut their lines and steamed out into the river, while the Confederates set fire to the cotton and destroyed it. Nevertheless, the Mississippi is open!

A slave belonging to Mr. E. L. Jenkins was shot dead in the street near his master's residence in this city Wednesday night, while trying to escape from the armed negroes who go about the city at night to steal and sell their fellow negroes into the slavery of the Federal army. The negro refused to enlist, and attempted to escape to his master's house, when five bullets were fired into his back and shoulders, and he fell dead on the banquette. This is the civilization which the North proposes to introduce in place of the "barbarism of slavery." This is the "liberty" promised to the negro. That is, he can go into the army and be shot in the ditches by the Confederates, or he can refuse to enlist and be shot in the streets by his "friends" the Federals.

A Federal soldier was shot near the Vicksburg cotton press on the Levee yesterday, for killing a major of the 28th Maine Regiment at Donaldsonville, July 5. The soldier was an Irishman, 30 years old, named Francis Scott. He had been five years in the United States' regular service, and then joined the Louisiana Heavy Artillery. He was in Fort Jackson and was taken prisoner. He afterwards took the oath and joined Banks's army. In his dying speech he said that Major Bullen drew a revolver to kill him, that he shot him in self-defence, and that he would do the same thing again. He died very bravely. The whole division was paraded to see him shot.

The camps above New Orleans, at Carrollton and on

the other side above Algiers, are lively since the arrival of Ord's corps. There are no indications of an immediate movement upon Mobile. The gunboat Monongahela went over yesterday to join the blockading squadron off Mobile Bay.

Dow has been brought to Mobile under an escort of police. He will probably be tried as a common thief. He is not entitled to exchange as a general, any more than Butler would be if he should fall into the hands of the Confederates.

Day before yesterday, in military court, a soldier belonging to the 91st New York was on trial for going with a squad of armed negroes to different plantations in Lafourche and stealing whatever he liked. He "visited" the places of Mrs. Regan, Mrs. Lessaigne, Mrs. Nelson, and Mr. Le Day, and carried away horses, mules, furniture, chickens, and other property. When arrested, he had in his possession thirty-five horses and mules and a wagon-load of furniture stolen from Mrs. Regan. It was in evidence that Mrs. Regan was so alarmed at the armed negro raid upon her premises, that she lay at the point of death. For all this, in a city where negroes are shot dead for refusing to "volunteer," this scoundrelly soldier was sent to the parish prison for a term of only six months' imprisonment.

Two white officers, a colonel and an adjutant, of different negro regiments, have been summarily dismissed from the Federal service for grossly insulting a naval officer.

Night before last we had a highway robbery soon after sundown on the new shell-road near the city. A hack, with two soldiers and two women in it, was stopped by three men in Federal artillery uniform, who demanded money, at the same time presenting their revolvers. They stripped the pockets of the men and women and then took possession of the carriage. They were pursued by a Federal lieutenant and a sutler, and were ordered to stop. They did so, and immediately fired at their pursuers, wounding them both badly. Two men have since been arrested upon suspicion.

Altogether we are having a very nice time under the benign influences of the new Northern Abolition "civilization and refinement."

The "grape-vine route" brought to the city last evening Mobile papers of August 6. There is no news of importance. The fear of a Federal invasion seems to have subsided, and preparations are making to meet it when it comes. The *Tribune* (6th inst.) says that Mr. Soule is in Richmond.

August 12.

The Federal 13th Army Corps, commanded at Vicksburg by McClellan, who was suddenly removed by Grant for an objectionable paragraph in a congratulatory address to the corps, was handed over to Major-General Ord, and has been assigned to duty in this department. The men were brought down in transports from Vicksburg to Port Hudson, and to-day they are coming down the river to Camp Parapet at Carrollton, six miles above New Orleans. It is probable that the order will be published here to-day or to-morrow, announcing that General Franklin has succeeded to the command of the 19th Army Corps—General Banks retaining the command of the department. The military situation here to-day, then, is this: the 13th and 19th Corps form the Army of the Gulf Department; General Herron's division is still near Port Hudson, in camp; a few negro companies garrison that post; Weitzel's division is in camp above Thibodeaux on the Lafourche, a few miles from the old camping ground; two regiments are at Brashear; a few Federals hold the posts at the forts below this city, here, at Donaldsonville, and Baton Rouge above, and elsewhere near New Orleans wherever a few men are needed.

The sudden reinforcement of Banks leads many persons to suppose that an important military movement will soon be made. The addition, however, of the whole 13th Corps hardly replaces the men Banks has lost by the recent campaign, by sickness, and by the expiration of the term of service of his nine-months men. Nor can the new corps, which has been through the campaign at Vicksburg, be very formidable, since a dozen transports brought the whole force down the river.

The very large army employed by Grant in the reduction of Vicksburg can now be used in other places, leaving a force sufficiently large to hold the position on the river. It is reported that besides the men sent here—Ord's corps, and Herron's division—a force is moving towards Montgomery with the design of advancing by the Alabama River to Mobile. The troops supposed to be thus engaged may possibly be marching to reinforce Rosecrans in Tennessee. As I wrote in my last letter, there does not seem to be an immediate intention of an expedition against Mobile. The 19th Army Corps, after its protracted siege of Port Hudson, needs rest and recuperation. The weather just now is very warm and weakening to Northern men. The camps of the corps are in comparatively healthy sections and seem located for the summer. Telegraph lines have been completed for communication between the posts; and bringing the 13th Army Corps near this city is only because it is healthier here than at Port Hudson, and more convenient for furnishing supplies at less expense of transportation. I still think the Mobile movement will be delayed till Charleston and Savannah have been reduced. The navy must play a very important part in securing the Federal foothold in Alabama; Farragut must return from the North; the iron-clads must come round to the Gulf from the Atlantic coast; and the whole movement, from its magnitude and importance, must be preceded by more significant preparations than are manifested in this department now. It is reasonable to suppose, in spite of the concentration of forces here, that no important Federal movement will be made till cooler weather.

Meanwhile, the military efforts here will be mainly directed to the business of enlisting negroes.



I fear your readers will tire of Port Hudson. The 19th Army Corps was sick of the very sight of it for weeks before it succumbed to starvation; but there is something almost daily new and interesting to us in New Orleans about the late siege—some reminiscence, the stories of both Confederate and Federal officers and soldiers—all adding to the history of a siege and resistance that will form one of the most interesting chapters of the war when it is written. A Confederate officer, one of the paroled, has been writing an interior view, which is published in one of the city journals. Of course, it is careful enough, in respect of the restrictions under which all newspaper matter is given to the public now that martial law obtains in New Orleans. Still, the writer, in giving an account of the assault of May 27, tells the story of the valour of the much-praised negro troops boldly, as follows:—

This was the battle of the 27th of May. A demonstration had, indeed, been made upon our extreme left, but it did not amount to a charge. A couple of negro regiments, with a line of white troops behind them, came up through a growth of young willow trees to the edge of the clearing, a distance of between six and seven hundred feet from a rifle pit we had dug along the bluff which came out at that place. They were fired into by a small party of skirmishers in the woods on their flank end from the thinly-lined rifle pit in their front, with a couple of small mountain howitzers which we had there. They broke at our fire and clustered behind the willow trees, apparently too panic-stricken either to advance or run. Our shots tore the fragile willows into fragments, and the splinters were probably as dangerous as our fire, so that they were stricken down with great havoc.

On account of the line of white troops behind them, they probably had some difficulty in getting away, but in fifteen minutes after they first appeared none of them were to be seen except the dead and those who were too badly wounded to crawl off, and these, some 250 in number, could be plainly seen, through a spyglass, among the willows. The nearest of their dead to our rifle pits were 200 yards distant. This was the last we saw of negro troops at Port Hudson.

The Federal official organ gives a whole column of editorial, not to disprove but simply to deny this statement. The commanding general (Banks), in his official report of this assault, devotes much space to the conspicuous part taken by the negro regiments. This was at a time when the *Corps d'Afrique* was in process of formation, and all the fulsome flattery of the negroes was for the purpose of inducing other blacks to take the places of those that were slaughtered at Port Hudson, and to join the army of martyrs in the black brigade.

— This African adulation, this slinging of Sambo with a saliva of sweet-sounding words to induce him to enlist, is very different from the Abolitionists' outspoken views among themselves. I find in a Boston Abolition sheet a report of an address by the "Rev. Horace James, Chaplain of the Massachusetts Twenty-fifth Regiment." He is talking to a white audience, in the town of Roxbury, in favour of negro enlistments:—

Remember that every black soldier who is put into the field may intercept the bullet that would otherwise pierce the breast of a white man. How can any individual, with one speck of human feeling, look coldly on an experiment, the object of which is to save the lives of our own young men, as well as to elevate and interest an oppressed, but tractable and courageous race?

It is difficult to conceive how the "experiment" as this clerical individual calls it, is to "elevate" an "oppressed, but tractable and courageous race;" it is easy to fancy that a cold-blooded proposition to use Sambo to "intercept the bullet that would otherwise pierce the breast of a white man," would be a matter of sufficient "interest" to the negro to induce him to decline this use of his person. That they have been so used is sufficiently evident from the reports of every Federal engagement where "American citizens of African descent" have been in the field. They are merely food for powder—black breastworks for white soldiers; and it is creditable to this Abolition clergyman that he is candid enough to acknowledge the fact.

The Federal Marshal in this department has published in the official organ his "monitions" respecting the property of J. B. Benjamin, Confederate States' Secretary of State; General Beauregard; Thomas J. Semmes, senator; Messrs. Duncan F. Kenner, and Charles M. Conrad, representatives; Colonels Marshal J. Smith and I. Szymanski; Lieut.-Colonel W. B. Kountze; Brigadier-Generals Daniel W. Adams and Harry J. Hays, of the Confederate Army; and Maurice Grivot, Adjutant-General of Louisiana. It is supposed these notices are intended to inform the public that this confiscated "rebel" property is to be sold to the highest bidder. It is, however, nothing but a "scare." The Confiscation Act of the Federal Government does not authorise the transfer of real estate by title; the State laws are wholly inoperative in Federal hands; and no one will bid at a sale of property of this kind, unless some Federal is veridant enough to think he can hold the same "during the life of the traitor;" for the Confiscation Act cannot destroy the rights of the so-called "traitor's" heirs. The sale, if it occurs at all, will be a farce. The same monitions include the small steamer Bagaley, lately captured while coming with cotton from Mobile.

The Federals have ceased sending sick and wounded men from Vicksburg to this city for transportation to Mobile, and we are consequently without news or papers from that place for several days. The Vicksburg men who are in the hospitals here receive every care and attention that can be bestowed upon them by their friends. Faithful, loving, warm-hearted women are constantly by their bedsides, and many ladies have volunteered as hospital nurses for the sake of giving their whole time and attention to sick and wounded Confederates. There is only one advantage the Federal sufferers have over the Confederates. If anyone is sufficiently interested in a special case, the patient can be removed from the hospital to a private house, where the chances of recovery are greatly increased by special and exclu-

sive care and nursing. Every Confederate would be so treated; but he must first take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government. Some of the Union ladies, who are anxious to make proselytes, hover around the beds of dying Confederates, and assure them if they will "only" take the oath, they shall be conveyed to a private house and receive every care and attention. Now and then one of them is told he is dying, and that he had better renounce his errors and swear allegiance to the "United" States. While a few of these tempted men have yielded, I am assured that at least fifty Confederates have died in one hospital, all of whom had the chance of recovery (if private nursing would have effected it), if they would "only" take the oath. They literally "died first."

A schooner to convey "registered enemies"—the first advertised in many weeks—will sail for Pascagoula next Friday.

Confederate money has advanced 1 per cent. more, and Creole-Frenchmen are buying it in small quantities. They claim to have received important letters by the last mail from Paris.

The peremptory order requiring orchestras to begin all public entertainments with "Hail Columbia" and to close with "Yankee Doodle" (the last is facetiously called a national air!) has effectually killed amusements in this city. The Federal authorities have thereupon provided for the public playing of these airs in the squares and streets of the city, two or three evenings in the week. This is done to force the objectionable airs upon the public, just as the coffee-houses and dram-shops are compelled to fly the stars and stripes over their doors, or lose their licenses. Such "loyalty" is not worth much in this boasted "Union city," where crowds of secession-sympathizing women are dispersed on the Levee by cavalry charges. Yet, the registered enemies are supposed to be gone away, and the Northern papers are boasting that Louisiana is crying to be restored to the Union. It may be conquered, but there is nothing to indicate that the planters, the people, will ever return to the "United States." It is too late.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, September 9.  
The rate of discount is still supported as nearly as possible at the Bank minimum of 4 per cent.; and it is only in rare instances that the price of 3½ per cent. is quoted. At present no indications of a reduction by the authorities of Threadneedle-street are furnished, and it may be questioned, looking at the general situation of things, if any change will take place before the payment of the October dividends. The number of floating engagements is large, the absorption of capital in the provinces continues increasing, and there is little expectation of the return of the latter money before the next four or five weeks. At the same time also the tendency of the public to operate in speculative foreign securities will create a certain degree of caution, and prevent the directors from precipitately lowering the terms of accommodation, which if the change were made would assist to encourage this doubtful kind of business. The advances from Paris are not favourable to the position of finance there, and should it be necessary to raise further supplies, this, with a contemplated enormous transaction for Mexico, would temporarily disturb the whole of the European money markets. We do not look for any severity of pressure throughout the remainder of the year, unless adverse foreign political causes arise; but nevertheless we are quite prepared, even should a reduction in the rate take place in October, when the dividends are paid, to 3½ per cent., to experience shortly afterwards a rebound, leaving the quotations ruling between 4 and 4½ per cent. in the latter part of the winter or the beginning of the spring. On the Stock Exchange the terms for short loans have from 2 and 2½ per cent. advanced to 3 and 3½, and in the course of yesterday transactions actually occurred at 4 per cent.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week has been £161,000, against a withdrawal of £100,000 for transmission to Brazil. The arrivals of specie have not been so large as for some weeks past, being only £247,940, the whole of which is from America. The silver market has been rather more busy, but at a slight advance in prices. The bar silver brought by the last West India mail, and some considerable parcels from the Continent, have been sold at 5s. 1½d. per oz., being ½d. above the price obtained for the supply by the previous packet. The present supplies have been taken chiefly for transmission to Bombay by the steamer on Saturday, which is expected to take in all a large total, the demand for that quarter, chiefly to pay for cotton, having increased. The Mexican dollars brought by the Shannon have not yet been disposed of. Advances from Melbourne report the shipment for England, during the month, of £531,000 in gold. This makes the total on the way hither £676,000, including £145,000 by the Anglesea, announced by the previous mail. The Magdalena steamer for the Brazils will take out £149,680 in gold.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

Business on the Stock Exchange has been of a very animated character throughout the week, particularly in the foreign department. In the Home Securities operations have been rather interfered with through the settlement of the account, and a slight retrograde movement in prices is apparent, in consequence of a larger delivery of stock than was expected, otherwise nothing has occurred either as regards foreign or home politics to cause a downward tendency. The closing price of Consols this evening was 93½ to 3 for money, and 93½ to 3 for the account, which is a decline of about ½ per cent. as compared with this day week. Exchequer Bills are slightly firmer, being up to par to 3s. prem. The Foreign Stock Market has been exceedingly animated, but the great feature has been in Mexican, which have advanced from 2½ to nearly 3 per cent. in consequence of a rumour that France proposes a fresh loan of £28,000,000; of which it is said £8,000,000 will at once be deducted for her war expenditure, leaving £20,000,000 to adjust all claims which may be made on Mexico, including the existing foreign debt. The scheme if carried out is looked upon favourably, and it is thought that the stock will yet be still higher. Greek Stock has also been largely dealt in, but the highest point touched was not sustained at the close of the market. The rise in these securities has been chiefly in anticipation of the arrival of the King in this country, and the prospect of a speedy and satisfactory marriage arrangement being concluded. Turkish

Securities have been again much looked after, and prices have improved from 1 to 1½ per cent. Spanish have been rather quieter, but values continue remarkably good. The closing quotations were, Greek Five per Cents. 37½; Mexican 42½; Spanish Passives 35½ to 36; and the Certificates 13 to 13½; Turkish Six per Cents. (1854) 94½ to 25, and ditto (1862) 71½ to 71½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

A large and active business continues to be transacted in American Government and Railway Securities, the recent advances from the other side of the Atlantic having induced an enlarged speculative movement, particularly in those stocks more immediately connected with the Northern States. The transactions of the week have been as follows:—United States Five per Cents., 70, 71, and 70; Virginia State Six per Cents., 42½. Atlantic and Great Western Railway (Pennsylvania Section), 77, 78, 77½, 78. Erie Shares, \$100 all paid, 84, 85, 84½, 84½, 85, 84½, 85½, 85½, and 85. Do. Seven per Cent. Preference, 74, 75, and 74. Illinois Central Six per Cents., 85. Do. Do. Seven per Cents., 81, 82, and 81. Do. \$100 Shares, \$20 paid, 8, 7½, 8½, 7½, 5, 4½, 5½, 5½, 4½, 5, and 5½ dis. Do. do., all paid, 81½, 80½, 81, 84½, 83, 84, 83½, 84½, 81½, 84½, 83½, and 83. Michigan, North and South Indiana, \$100 Shares, 73. New York Central, Six per Cents., 72½. Do. do., \$100 Shares, 90, 90½, 90, 91½, 92½, 91, 94, 92 93½, 94½, 93, 94, and 94. Pennsylvania Central Bonds, first mortgage, 73½. Do. do., Second Mortgage, 88, and do. do. \$50 Shares, 44½.

### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

There has been little doing in this stock since our last issue. The news of the destruction of Fort Sumter, and the confident expectations of the Federals that the city of Charleston will shortly be in their hands, depressed the value momentarily to 33 discount; from this there was a speedy rally to 30 to 28 discount. To-day there is little doing, and the quotation is marked 31 to 29 discount,—at the close 30 to 28—more doing, and, as it is said, on French account.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A rather extensive amount of business has been transacted in English railway shares, but prices have undergone less fluctuation than usual, though the tendency is towards greater firmness. The chief operations have been in the heavier descriptions of shares. The only alterations of importance since last week have been an improvement of ½ per cent. in South-Eastern, ½ per cent. in Metropolitan, ½ per cent. in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and ½ per cent. in East Anglian. On the other hand, there has been a decline of ½ per cent. in Great Western, and of ½ per cent. in London and South-Western and North Bristol. A fair business has also been done in Foreign Railway Shares, but without any material alteration in values. With regard to the shares of railways in the British possessions, a rather more limited business has been transacted, but nevertheless prices are well supported.

The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada have given notice that the half-yearly interest due on the Atlantic and St. Lawrence sterling shares will be paid on and after the 15th instant.

### THE NEW VENEZUELAN LOAN.

A meeting of the members of the Stock Exchange interested in the Venezuelan Loan, brought forward in June last, was held at the Exchange on Monday, for the purpose of memorialising the contractors to return the deposits, the Venezuelan Government having declined to ratify the loan. A resolution to the above effect was about being considered, when Mr. Mullens read a communication he had just received from Messrs. Matheson and Co., the contractors, announcing that the deposits would be immediately returned to those subscribers who should lodge the scrip certificates with them by three o'clock on Wednesday (this day). It was stated in the course of conversation that the Venezuelan Government had refused to ratify the loan, considering the amount, £1,000,000, to be too small for the purposes required, and that some of the conditions attached could not be accepted. The announcement of the decision of Messrs. Matheson was received with satisfaction, and consequently the proposed resolution was not offered to the meeting.

### THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY.

A period of seven years having elapsed since the winding-up of the South Sea Company was agreed upon, it is now proposed to make the final distribution out of the remaining assets, which will produce to each proprietor about £1 5s. per cent. When the winding-up took place, a sum of £44,000 was set aside to meet any contingent claims, and it is the remainder of this sum from which the division will be made.

### THE ITALIAN IRRIGATION COMPANY.

The last instalment of the one million of bonds issued by the Italian Irrigation Company was paid on the 1st instant. The whole have now been subscribed for, and the bonds, duly executed by the representatives of the Italian Government, are now ready to be issued in exchange for the scrip. The bonds are for £100 each, and bear interest at 6 per cent. payable in England, and are redeemable at par in 6½ years.

### LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY PREFERENCE STOCK.

Tenders are asked for by the London and North-Western Railway Company, for £2,197,666 perpetual 5 per cent. preference stock, with dividend from the 1st October next. The adjudication will be made on the 18th instant.

### BANK MEETINGS.

A general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank of British Columbia was held to-day, when a dividend at the rate of 5 per cent., free of income-tax for the nine months the bank had been in operation was declared. The report, which was unanimously adopted, stated that the accounts to the 30th June last showed a profit of £7,101. The chairman (Mr. T. W. Maclean), stated the Directors had fully discharged 20 per cent. of the preliminary expenses; that a new branch had been opened at Freshfield, in British Columbia, near the gold mines, and that a new postal service was to be established in a few months with Vancouver's Island by a line of steamers between that place and Panama, touching at San Francisco.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Lambeth Bridge Company, a dividend at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum for the past six months was agreed to. The report stated that the balance in hand applicable to the dividend was £1,865, after payment of which there would remain a balance of £540. The chairman (Lord Torrington), in moving the adoption of the report, said the amount of the dividend was of itself sufficient to prove that the business of the company had been conducted in a proper manner—that the bridge had been constructed on the most economic principles, and that the structure was a most satisfactory one, and was in every way in thorough condition.—At the half-yearly meeting yesterday of the London General Omnibus Company a dividend was declared for the past six months at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. The



report stated that the debts and liabilities on the 30th June amounted to £57,500, being £49,519 less than the amount at which they stood at the time of the first general meeting of the company after its English registration. The total reserve fund stands at £14,722. The gross receipts during the half-year amounted to £298,428, and the gross expenditure to £273,079, leaving a net profit for the half-year of £25,349, out of which, after paying the dividend, there remained £4,713 to be carried to the current half-year's account.—At the annual meeting of the Manchester Cotton Company it was stated that the receipts from the formation of the Company in February, 1861, to March 31, 1863, had been £54,968, whilst the total payments had amounted to £49,404, showing a balance at the Company's bankers of £5,564. The cost of working and establishing the Company had been—homo account, £5,517; India account, £3,896; making a total of £9,413.

PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The prospectus of another new Hotel Company has just been issued, for which a capital of £50,000 is required, and it is proposed to raise it by the issue of 5,000 shares of £10 each. The title of it is The Buxton Hotel Company (Limited), and the intention is to erect a first-class hotel at Buxton, Derbyshire, now one of the most fashionable places of resort for visitors and tourists in the United Kingdom. The site of the proposed building is on a piece of land of four acres extent, on the estate of the Duke of Devonshire, for the purchase of which a provisional contract has been entered into, and is contiguous to two railway stations.—The Tobacco, Cigar, and Snuff Company is another new undertaking just announced, with a proposed capital of £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each, but of which only one-half will be issued in the first instance. The object of the company is to combine in one large establishment the business of importers, manufacturers, and exporters, and with that view a conditional purchase has been made of an old-established manufactory. Substantial advantages are offered to large purchasers and to persons already in the trade, and the directors pledge themselves to supply the best articles free from adulteration.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In some descriptions of American produce, the dealings have rather extended, and prices have shown a greater degree of firmness, but generally the variations are not important. The activity in the cotton market continues, stimulated by the favourable accounts from consuming markets as well as decreasing stocks, and quotations have again advanced fully 1d. per lb. The weather being still unpropitious, harvest work is retarded, and the steadier tone of the grain markets noticed in our last has grown into a slight amount of buoyancy. As yet, however, the rise in prices has been confined to English produce, American wheat and flour remaining without quotable change, but at the same time exhibiting an upward tendency. The provision trade is dull, and where even a trifling extension of business has occurred, it has been at easier prices. American butters are merely nominal, there being so little here. Some small sales of bacon middle continue to be made for export upon moderate terms. The fine qualities of lard also meet some inquiry, without, however, leading to any important operations. A further movement has taken place in the petroleum market, the advance of the season favouring the demand for consumption. The price of crude Pennsylvania has risen £2 per ton, £21 to £22 being the present quotation. American refined is 2d. per gallon dearer. Holders now ask 2s. 7d. on the spot, and for winter delivery 2s. 8d. has been paid. American sperm oil is dull at the recent decline, which has not as yet induced any perceptible increase of demand. Our tallow market has fluctuated a good deal since this day week. At one period quotations were depressed 1s. to 1s. 6d. per cwt., increasing stocks and limited consumption having kept up a protracted heaviness, which at length had the effect of bringing specula-

tive sellers on the market. The depression has, however, given place to some amount of activity, prices being by many considered already too low to be regarded as unsafe, and to-day we have had, with some brisk purchases, a rebound of 1s. per cwt. Our quotations, therefore, close about the same as they stood before, and the future course of the market is not viewed with any great want of confidence. The tobacco trade has not presented any new feature, but that previously noticed is becoming more developed, and the dealings have been principally in other descriptions than American, owing to the difference in price. The sales of turpentine are still confined to French, which is rather dearer, but still considerably under the price of American. In resin there is no change worth naming. In drugs the only alteration is an advance of 3s. per cwt. in Cape aloes, but a steady business is passing in most descriptions. Dyes generally are firm, but turmeric is 4s. lower. All kinds of iron are dearer, owing partly to the increased cost of production, from the higher rates of wages paid to operatives. Other metals remain stationary, with only limited transactions.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	1863.				1862.			
	£	s.	d.	q.	£	s.	d.	q.
COTTON, per lb.	0	1	1	1	0	1	7	0
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0	1	1	1	0	1	7	0
CHEMICALS—								
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0	1	5	0	0	1	8	0
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0	15	0	0	0	17	6	0
Iodine, oz.	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0	0	8	0	0	0	7	0
Hydriodate, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	0
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0	6	0	6	0	7	9	0
DRUGS—								
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1	10	0	2	1	0	0	2
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	0
Peru, lb.	0	4	9	0	0	5	0	5
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0	7	0	9	0	8	0	11
Quinine, lb.	0	3	0	3	0	3	9	4
Castor Oil, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	0
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5	5	0	0	5	12	0	5
Brown, cwt.	4	5	0	4	5	0	5	10
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0	9	0	16	0	7	6	13
Lemon-grass, oz.	0	0	8	0	0	0	4	0
Orange, lb.	0	5	0	6	0	5	0	7
Citrullus, oz.	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	0
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0	18	9	0	1	0	0	0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Alexandria, lb.	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0
Snakeroot, lb.	0	2	9	0	0	2	6	0
Spermaceiti, lb.	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
DYES, cwt.								
Safflower	3	15	0	7	3	3	0	6
Turmeric, Bengal	1	13	0	1	1	8	6	0
Madras	1	14	0	1	1	4	0	15
Yellow Berries	1	15	0	4	1	6	0	6
GUMS, cwt.								
Anisi, medium	7	10	0	9	8	10	0	9
Gedda	1	11	0	1	1	6	0	1
Kowie	1	18	0	0	1	3	0	1
METALS, per ton—								
Copper, American	98	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Iron, Scotch, Pig	2	16	6	0	2	11	0	0
Tin, English	115	0	0	0	111	0	0	0
OILS, per ton—								
Sperm, American	80	0	0	0	84	0	0	0
Linsed	44	0	0	0	41	0	0	0
Rock Oil, Crude	21	0	0	22	0	13	0	14
PROVISIONS, cwt.—								
Butter, American, fine	3	12	0	4	3	14	0	4
Cheese, do., fine	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2
Bacon Sides	1	10	0	2	1	14	0	2
TALLOW, per cwt.—								
North American	2	0	6	2	2	7	0	2
South do.	2	2	0	2	2	7	0	2
Wax do.	8	10	0	5	8	10	0	0
TOBACCO, lb.—								
Maryland	0	0	5	0	0	0	4	0
Virginia	0	0	10	0	0	0	5	0
Kentucky	0	0	8	0	0	0	4	0

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 9.

Although there was at one period during the week a tendency to a slight falling off in the demand of cotton at Liverpool, a fresh impetus has since been given to business through the recent advices from America, and prices are once more rapidly advancing, and there seems little, if any, abatement in the confidence lately manifested. In addition to purchases on the spot, large transactions have taken place in cotton to arrive at enhanced rates. The sales this week have been exceedingly heavy, being 108,000 bales, of which 55,000 have been taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 1,558,970 bales, against 2,173,530 bales to the corresponding period last year. The total imports have been 1,020,812 bales this year, against 675,670 bales in 1862. The exports this year have reached 303,860, and for the same period in 1862 312,106 bales. Taken for consumption this year, 866,600 bales; same period last year, 927,900 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 336,060 bales; last year, 865,770 bales. Computed stocks at the present time, 240,000 bales; and for the same period in 1862, 58,590 bales. At the beginning of the week Brazilian advanced 1d. to 1d. per lb., and a further advance to the same extent has since taken place. In Egyptian there has been more steadiness, but still sales have taken place to a fair extent. For East India and Surats the demand has not been quite so great. Chinas are more steady, the trade having been free buyers. American descriptions have been most in demand, at advancing prices. Owing to the scarcity of fair qualities of American, it has been decided not to give quotations for this kind, but to substitute the middling, for which the prices are as follows:—Uplands, 23½d. to 24½d. Mobile, 24d. to 24½d. Orleans, 24d. to 24½d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 8.

Since our last report there has been a very good business done in both yarn and cloth, at steadily advancing prices, and the reports from foreign markets are such as to impart a belief of a steady and legitimate demand being kept up for some time to come.

The Germans, who have kept aloof from buying for some time back, are now coming into the market again, and making offers for considerable quantities of yarn, both in bundle and warp. The demand for India mules continues good, and spinners of this latter description are, as a rule, well under contract. Home trade yarns sell readily at extreme prices.

Manufacturers of goods suitable for export are, as a rule, well engaged, and looms are being set to work which have been standing idle for some months past.

Yarns have advanced during the week fully 1d. per pound in numbers up to 60s., and in finer counts, 1½d. per pound has been obtained.

Cloth has advanced almost to the same extent.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Sept. 3, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

PARIS TOPICS.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

THE AGGRESSIVE POWER OF THE YANKEES.

THE THREAT OF WAR.

CHARLESTON AND NEW YORK.

AN AMERICAN CAWPORE.

ON THE FUGITIVE.

MAGAZINES FOR SEPTEMBER.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTHIRE.

DIED.—In Virginia, on the 4th of June, of wounds received in the battle of Chancellorsville, William Walker Rayne, of New Orleans, Louisiana. Aged 19 years, 3 months.

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It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

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The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COUTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathise with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

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# THE INDEX

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## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS, AND THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF MEXICO  
DROPPING THE MASK.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

HISTORICUS AGAIN.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD'S LETTER ON THE BOMBARDMENT OF  
CHARLESTON.

TIT-BITS OF THE ANGLO-YANKEE PRESS.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

MR. LINCOLN has issued a political manifesto, of which we publish the text in another part of our impression. Mr. Lincoln declares that the South must be conquered or the Union given up, and that "any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union" is now impossible. All the world knew this, but why should Mr. Lincoln make such an avowal? That his party may be confident that he will not consent to a constitutional reconstruction of the Union, which would of course be the ruin of the Republican faction; and that his supporters may be assured that the South is to be conquered (if possible), and then, to quote the *not* attributed to Mr. Seward, "the fatted calf to be killed and eaten." Mr. Lincoln backs up his assertion with a cogent argument. He divides the South into two parties: the non-combatants, who desire reunion, and the army, that will not have reunion. He will not offer terms to those who wish to make terms because it is no use, but when those who will not make terms do make terms, why he will not reject them. Mr. Lincoln then dashes into the negro question, and makes a desperate attempt at pleasing all parties. With genuine West-country humour, he observes, "I certainly wish that all men *could* be free; while you, I suppose, do not." He goes on to explain that the emancipation proclamation is a sham. He tells those who are opposed to it, "I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, *provided you are for the Union*." Two or three paragraphs later this is explained with wonderful candour:—"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem to be willing to fight for you; but no matter, fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. *I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare that you will not fight to free negroes.*" That is, "Conquer the South with the aid of the negroes, if you can, and repudiate the Emancipation Proclamation afterwards, if you like." Mr. Lincoln encourages his mercenaries by licensing them to plunder and devastate, "Armies, the world over," he says, "destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it." We are under the impression that General Lee did not act upon this principle when in Pennsylvania. He comforts that influential class—the contractors—by giving the *quidus* to Mr. Seward's promise of a speedy peace. "Let us not," he says, "be over-sanguine of a speedy, final triumph." He winds up with an effusion about "the Father of Waters" going "unvexed to the sea," and with an admonition to his friends not to get drunk. Read as the utterance of the Chief Magistrate of the United States, Mr. Lincoln's letter is incomprehensible; regarded as the electioneering address of a candidate for the Presidency,

it is intelligible. Verily Mr. Lincoln is honest. He plays his game so openly that a child can detect his tricks.

A private letter from a well-informed source, dated Richmond, 15th August, says: "You may depend upon it that the Government has finally determined upon the step of soon withdrawing its representative from England, and that, unless a change occurs in the present hostile attitude of the British Ministry towards us, the order of recall will go out before Congress meets in December. This measure arises from no unfriendly feeling towards the people of England, whose sympathy, as evinced on the death of Stonewall Jackson and in the tone of their respectable presses, is fully appreciated here. It was strongly urged upon the Administration as a necessary vindication of self-respect, from the moment it became known, through the published diplomatic correspondence, that Earl Russell, in compliance with the threat of Mr. Adams, had engaged himself to hold no intercourse, even though unofficial, with our Commissioner, and, as appeared from his subsequent refusals of an interview on the most urgent occasions, was determined to adhere to this pledge, and construe it in the most literal manner. This conduct of the British Foreign Secretary, so insulting to our self-respect as a nation, is in striking contrast with that pursued by the French Government. Not only has Mr. Slidell always had free access to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, even when M. Thouvenel was minister, who has never been suspected of undue partiality toward us, but he has had repeated interviews with the Emperor himself. Mr. Dayton protested in Paris just as Mr. Adams did in London. We are more surprised than angry that English pride should permit a minister of State to be deterred by any threats whatever, but least of all by Yankee threats, from extending to our representative those ordinary courtesies which do not commit the Government, and which are not refused even to private bearers of important communications. As we cannot ascribe Earl Russell's course to fear of the Yankees we can only construe it as a studied insult, and if Mr. Mason is once withdrawn, however sincerely anxious we are to have amicable relations with your country, we shall not be the first, at least under your present Administration, to renew diplomatic intercourse. If you have anything to say to us thereafter you will have to send to Richmond."

Charleston is making a gallant and illustrious defence. Fort Sumter, instead of being surrendered, has been partially repaired with the aid of sand-bags and cotton bales, and has received some new guns. An assault made on Fort Wagner on the 26th of August was repulsed. On the 31st of August Fort Moultrie was attacked by the Monitors without effect, and on the 1st inst. the Monitors withdrew. General Gilmore, after having shelled the city without warning, made a virtue of necessity, and promised two days for the removal of the non-combatants; but for ten days the bombardment had not been renewed. The latest intelligence from Charleston is to the 4th of September, at which time the Confederate flag was waving triumphantly over Fort Sumter.

Much has been said about the wonderful artillery employed by the Federals in the siege of Charleston, but it appears that there is also a reverse side to the medal. An unprecedented number of explosions have happened during the bombardment. The monster Parrott gun, a 300-pounder, which threw liquid fire from Morris Island even into the City of Charleston, exploded after the seventh fire, which compelled General Gilmore to abstain from his humane amusement. The Mahaska, iron-clad, exploded one of her formidable guns. Both of the principal guns of the Naval Battery also exploded within a

short time of each other. The problem of long-ranged artillery of enormous calibre remains, therefore, still unsolved.

The Federal reports of military movements are just now more than usually unreliable. They are manufactured expressly to restore confidence in Wall-street. We must wait for Southern accounts before we give any credit to the assertion that the Confederates have evacuated Eastern Tennessee. The rumour about a great expedition preparing to act against Mobile is not very likely to be true, but under any circumstances Mobile is ready to offer a stout resistance to the enemy. General Lee still refuses to divulge his plans to Federal newsmongers, and the North is scared by daily reports of another invasion of Pennsylvania or of an attack upon Washington.

The slow progress of the siege of Charleston, the suspension of the draft in the Western States, the few recruits obtained from the draft in New York, and various causes, military, political, and commercial, have produced a panic in Wall Street; stocks fell heavily, and the price of gold advanced 10 per cent. in two days. No one is surprised at this, but rather that the inevitable final collapse in the North is so long delayed. Very likely greenbacks will rally again, for at this juncture the Government, and particularly Mr. Chase, who is a candidate for the Presidency, will endeavour to keep up the Government paper at any sacrifice. It is easy enough to see why, since the commencement of the war, the nominal value of Northern stocks has advanced on an average 300 per cent. Before the war the circulation of the Union, North and South, was \$350,000,000. After the separation it should have been \$200,000,000; but instead of that it is \$600,000,000. The wonder is, not that prices should advance, but that the difference in value of greenbacks and gold should be so comparatively small. For this result great credit is due to Mr. Chase. He has played his game with skill, and when the smash comes it will be found that he has not stopped payment whilst the estate was worth a shilling in the pound. He has kept the public in blissful ignorance of the real condition of affairs, not by publishing false reports that any one could expose, but by omitting to issue the weekly statement that the law demands. Mr. Lincoln says, the people object to be taxed to buy negroes; but the truth is, they object to being taxed for any purpose whatever, and Mr. Chase has not attempted to enforce such an odious measure. He has done nothing to disturb the confidence of the people, whilst, by the agency of banks and contractors, he has been exchanging his new greenbacks for their old coin. Not only so, but during the war the Government is the greatest employer of labour, and an enormous quantity of greenbacks are readily floated as wages for Government labour within as well as out of the army. With excellent foresight, Mr. Chase has been indefatigable in collecting and keeping a store of gold at his command, so that he has been able to stimulate the market when it has shown any signs of weakness. But all this would have failed had it not been for fortuitous circumstances which Mr. Chase could not command. The North has been able to pay for all its purchases in Europe by its exports, and even by this means to slightly replenish its coffers. If the Southern commerce had been equally free—if she, during the last three years, could have supplied the European markets with her produce, her currency might have maintained its normal condition. However, the resources of Mr. Chase are rapidly diminishing. His stock of gold is getting less, and the demand for it is increasing.



The abundant harvest in Europe is a terrible blow to Northern finance, and may even put an end to the delusion that the war is an unmixed good and is continually adding to the wealth of the country.

Commander Maffitt of the Florida has addressed a letter to the *Patrie*, dated Brest, 12th September, in which he denies that the Florida has been seized on the demand of certain persons who pretend to have claims against her. Commander Maffitt contradicts the report of the Florida sinking a French ship. He also notices the absurd custom of the Northerners calling the Florida a privateer. She is not a privateer according to the definition of public writers, that is, "a vessel armed by private individuals with the authorization of the government;" but she was built and armed by the Confederate Government, carries the national flag and the pennant carried by ships of war, receives her instructions from the Confederate Minister of Marine, and her officers hold their commissions direct from the Confederate Government. All this the Federal organs knew before: but it is their business to write what is acceptable in Washington, and that is, certainly, not the truth. The *Moniteur*, in announcing the arrival of the Florida at Brest, accidentally used the term privateer, but as will be seen in our Continental Notes, that journal has officially corrected the error.

It is reported from Brest, that Captain Maffitt, C.S.N., has, on his own application, been relieved from the command of the Confederate States steamer Florida. Lieutenant Barney will probably take the command of the celebrated cruiser. Extreme ill-health and the necessity of repose are supposed to be the cause of Captain Maffitt's temporary retirement from active service, which it is hoped will be brief.

The prospect of recruiting the Federal army is anything but encouraging to the Administration. In Ohio and in other Western States the draft has been suspended because Mr. Lincoln has no troops by the aid of which he can enforce it. In New York, where he has an army of 35,000 men, he has obtained, so it is stated, not more than 2,000 conscripts, at the cost of \$4,000 each; but in place of soldiers, that he greatly needs, he has had to put up with greenbacks, which are worth no more to Mr. Lincoln than the paper on which they are printed. The drafted Germans have organised themselves into a society for testing the constitutionality of the conscription. The office of the British Consul is daily thronged with men, accompanied by their wives and families, claiming exemption on the ground of being aliens, and imploring the protection of the British Government. Nine out of ten of these men are Irish, and, perhaps, their unhappy plight may impede the labours of the Federal recruiting agents in Ireland. Mr. Lincoln said on a late occasion, that he understood that in the South conscripts were driven into the army as butchers drive bullocks into a slaughter-pen. When he wrote this, he knew it was false, but now, at all events, he thoroughly understands how difficult it is to drive Northern conscripts into that huge slaughter-pen—the Federal army. If he had been in New York lately he might have seen, so we learn from the *New York Argus*, his unwilling subjects manacled to a chain, as the only means of insuring their arrival at camp. Mercenaries, no doubt, may fight well, but we question whether mercenaries forced into a hated service, and who know that at any moment the money in which their wages are paid may become as worthless as autumn leaves, will make very good soldiers.

The letter written by General Beauregard to General Gilmore in reference to the bombardment of the city of Charleston, and which we elsewhere publish, covers the Federal commander with infamy. That he poured Greek fire upon Charleston, though the destruction of the city could in no way aid his military operations, is the smallest part of his offence. Suddenly, in the dead of night, he turned his guns "against the old men, the women and children, and the hospitals of a sleeping city." At fifteen minutes before eleven o'clock P.M. of the 21st August, a communication was received at General Beauregard's headquarters demanding the evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter, and threatening that if the request was not complied with in four hours, or at least assented to, fire would be opened on the city of Charleston. It hardly adds to the barbarity of this proceeding, that night, when the aged, the women and children, and the sick, were sleeping, was the season fixed upon for four hours' notice of removal. In the history of civilised warfare there is no precedent for such an atrocity. The letter to General Beauregard was not signed! Was this by design, to ensure no answer being returned? Or was the four hours' warning such a mere matter of form that Gilmore did not read over the despatch? The result we know. A quarter of an

hour before the four hours had elapsed—at half-past one o'clock—Charleston was shelled. At nine o'clock in the morning—seven and a half hours after the sleeping city had been bombarded—the demand for surrender, duly signed, was received at the Confederate head-quarters. General Beauregard is right. This conduct of General Gilmore will gain him "a bad name in history—even in the history of this war." General Gilmore has replied to General Beauregard. He does not deny the facts, and no ingenuity can palliate his conduct.

Nothing exposes the weakness of a cause so much as inconsistency, and the Federal advocates would do better for their clients if they sometimes met in consultation. Last week a French merchant threatened to detain the Florida and to prevent her leaving Brest until a claim he had against her was satisfied. It was reported that Captain Maffitt had signified his intention of referring the claimant to his Government for compensation of any injury that he may have sustained. Upon this the Federal-French press declared that the reference could not be allowed, because the Confederate Government was not recognised. On the same day "Historicus" wrote a letter to the *Times*, the sum of which was that we should hold the Confederate Government responsible for a breach of our municipal law, and that if the steam-rans now in the Mersey should find their way into the Southern navy we should make war upon the Confederates; and he repudiated the idea of the non-recognition of the Confederacy being any bar to such a proceeding. So the Confederate States are to enjoy none of the privileges of a recognised Power, but on the other hand, they are to be subject to all the responsibilities of a recognised Power. This is a fair specimen of Federal fair play. With regard to the rumoured detention of the Florida, we need hardly say that there is nothing in it. When the Florida is ready she will leave Brest unopposed by, and with the best wishes of, the French.

The Gibraltar, late the Sumter, is reported as having run the blockade at Wilmington. She entered that port under sail, her machinery having become disabled. Among her cargo was some rifled ordnance of the heaviest calibre ever made, which doubtless ere this has done good service at Charleston.

The Richmond papers announce the arrival in that city, on the 30th July, *via* the blockade, of the Hon. Pierre Soulé, recently confined at the North as a prisoner of State. He was serenaded on the evening of his arrival.

John Buchanan Floyd, Secretary of War under President Buchanan, and lately brigadier-general in the Confederate army, died on the 26th ult. The deceased gentleman was born in Virginia in 1805, graduated at South Carolina College in 1826, studied the law, was called to the bar in 1828, removed to Arkansas in 1836, returned to his native State, and in 1847 was elected a member of the lower branch of the Virginia Assembly. He was chosen Governor of the State for the term ending January 1st, 1853. As a Presidential Elector, in 1856, he voted for Buchanan, and in March, 1857, was made Secretary of War. After such a career it was but natural that he should be a zealous defender of Southern rights; as soon as his State seceded he took an active part in the war; and his labours were continued until he was disabled by the sickness that ended in his death.

We should be dishonouring the memory of a staunch patriot and an upright man, if we condescended to refute the slanders of the Yankees with regard to the conduct of the late General John B. Floyd; but there is one so often repeated, and which wears such an air of probability, that it is perhaps proper we should answer it. General Floyd is charged with having taken advantage of his position as Secretary of War to furnish the South with arms. Now, if he thought war imminent, he was the only man of his party who did so; for, as we know, the South was totally unprepared for hostilities. The accusation is altogether false. It was customary to distribute arms to the several States at specified intervals, but the matter was not regarded as of much importance, and when Mr. Floyd succeeded to office there was an accumulation of warlike stores to be disposed of. Accordingly, arms were sent to the Southern as well as to the Eastern and Western States, yet when the war broke out the South had not received her full quota. The Secretary of War, then, only fulfilled a duty incident to his office, and it is more than probable that he had no personal concern in the distribution, but that the business was left to his subordinates. Happily, the breath of Northern slander can tarnish no man's reputation.

The Legislature of Alabama assembled on the 19th of August in extra session. The Governor in his message proposed a reform in the organisation of the militia, so that the requisition of the President for 7,000 additional troops for the Confederate army might be met without

difficulty, and that the defence of the State might be placed on a better footing. The Governor declares that if every man in the State were embodied in the militia, Alabama would present an impassable barrier to incursions. After paying an eloquent tribute to the memory of Senator Yancey, the Governor says that Alabama will cheerfully make any sacrifice to drive back the invader, and he exhorts the people not to give way to false security, but to nerve themselves for a long and undying resistance. The Senate passed a series of resolutions on the war. Without impeaching the loyalty or patriotism of Generals Holmes and Pemberton, they recommended that there should be a change in the commands of those Generals. They also resolved:

That the people of Alabama and the State hereby pledge the entire resources of the State, to the last dollar and the last man, to a successful prosecution of the war now being waged by the North for the subjugation of the people of the Confederate States, and that we will never yield the contest until the achievement of the acknowledgment of our Independence as a separate people.

The Governor was instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to President Davis, and to the members of the Confederate Congress.

The death of General Pemberton is reported, but no authentic details have transpired. The Cincinnati papers have a *canard* that he was shot by Texan soldiers.

We publish to-day an official account of the Southern victory at White Sulphur Springs. The Northern papers have sought to conceal this affair, but the official despatch of General S. Jones is decisive evidence.

Senator Jim Lane is endeavouring to get up an expedition in Kansas to retaliate for the Lawrence massacre. He exhorts the people not to be contented until they have desolated the border counties of Missouri by fire and sword and laid them utterly waste. The *New York Herald*, commenting on the tragedy at Lawrence, says:—"The people of Kansas have brought these horrors on themselves, and they are already engaged in reprisals as barbarous as those of which they complain." The *Herald* adds that there is enough to do at the North without interfering in the quarrel—a frank confession of the inability of the Federal Government to preserve order in the territory over which it claims jurisdiction.

We do not know whether Russia will consider it a compliment that the Federals should regard her as their prototype, but such is the case. On the 31st August the *New York Herald* published a leader entitled "The Manifest Destiny of America and Russia." It says:—"The one a republic, the other a despotism, it is not a little singular that these two nations should now be firmly united by sympathy against nearly all the rest of the world, and that they should be no less firmly united in their manifest destiny in the future." Russia is to conquer Europe; and the United States, America, England, France, and Spain are to be punished for fomenting and encouraging "rebellion" in the Southern States and in Poland. "It is clear these European governments have committed the irreparable offence of supporting both rebellions by material aid and diplomatic endorsement, and that this offence will be punished by the great nations thus outraged and insulted." The Emperor of the French is warned that he might as well attempt to destroy the Ten Commandments as to abrogate the Monroe doctrine. "Behind the Ten Commandments is Divinity, and behind the Monroe doctrine are the American people." The blasphemous tone of the Republican press in New York shows that the influence of New England thoroughly permeates the dominant faction in the North.

"The whole of the Fifth Corps were out under arms, with the exception of the conscripts, and they were spectators, without arms. Major-General Sykes was present, in command of the corps, and the scene was most grand and imposing. The ground was so admirably selected that not one of the many thousand men present failed to obtain a full view. The day was very beautiful \* \* \* \* The arrangements were perfect, and reflect credit upon Major Heming, commanding the 118th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Captain Crocker, as well as the provost-marshal." In such terms does the correspondent of the *New York Herald* describe the shooting of five deserters. The narrative from which we quote only fills thirty-two lines of type, and we dare assert that a Spanish journal never recorded the deaths of bulls in the ring so coldly and unfeelingly. The five men were—G. Kuhn, Hanoverian; John Felani, Italian; C. Walter, Prussian; George Reinesse, Italian; and Emile Lai, Italian. Thus all of them were foreigners; but we cite this as a curious piece of evidence of the composition of the Federal army, and not to condemn the execution. With an army of mercenaries desertion is a worse crime than



with an army of citizens, because it is more common and more likely to become contagious. In the same journal there is an account of the execution of another batch of deserters, and this time we have the private histories of the unfortunate creatures. The newspaper correspondent received permission to visit the condemned while they "were eating their last meal," and made "copy" until the preparations were complete for what the reporter from whom we have quoted calls "a feast of death."

We publish elsewhere from the Richmond papers a summary of the proceedings at various meetings that have been held by the North Carolina troops, to protest against the articles that have appeared in the *Raleigh Standard*. Under ordinary circumstances the conduct of such a journal would not have called for the slightest notice.

The *New York World* has invited Canada to join the United States. The Canadians are told that by so doing they will be saved the horrors of war, obtain the enormous boon of free trade with the Federal States, and the vast benefit of Yankee energy and capital to develop their resources. Seeing that the Union is now waging a war for which it obtains recruits by force of arms, that it is burdened with a heavy debt, and that there is no Yankee capital to spare, we cannot help thinking that the *New York World* means this invitation for a biting jest. Such arguments will be useless unless enforced by shot, shell, and bayonet.

It is reported that the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter will be sent to Mexico as the representative of the Confederate States. Mr. Hunter was for many years the colleague of Mr. Mason as Senator from Virginia in the United States Congress. On the formation of the Confederate Government he entered President Davis's Cabinet as Secretary of State, and more recently he served as President of the Confederate Senate.

As will be seen by a brief obituary notice which we copy elsewhere from the Richmond papers, Mr. Mason, the Confederate Commissioner in London, has sustained a sad loss in the death of his eldest daughter at Richmond on the 17th ult.

## ENGLAND.

THE Earl Russell has been starring it at Dundee. Sir David Baxter had presented the good people of the old Scotch borough with a glorious park, and had moreover adorned and beautified the site at an expense of £50,000. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs was invited to open in state the People's Park at Dundee, and had graciously condescended to accept the immense honour sought to be bestowed upon him. Hereupon the Town Council and Guildry determined to take advantage of the noble Earl's visit to offer him the freedom of their respective corporations. So the Earl came to Dundee in a carriage and four, was loudly cheered in the streets, and received an ovation meet for a friend of the people. Provost Parker read the adulatory address of the Town Council, and Dean of Guild Kennedy did the like office for the Guildry. The Earl thought the occasion too great for the risk of an oration, and discreetly read a reply. That reply possessed two features. It spoke of a past and of a present. It told the Council and the Guildry how in days gone by Lord John Russell had repealed the Corporation and Test Acts, how he had reformed the House of Commons and the municipal corporations, and how he had repealed the corn laws. It also explained that, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, it had been his object to preserve peace with honour and to perform the strictest duties of neutrality. Surely it will be necessary for Earl Russell or one of his admirers to re-write the history of the last thirty-five years. Hitherto we had looked upon the actions of Lord John Russell in matters of Reform as on a par with those of a puppet guided by men who knew well enough how to pull the strings. We had heard of some great Whigs of that day, and even of a certain Duke of Bedford, the brother, the adviser, and the manager of Lord John Russell. All such are extinguished at a blow, and Earl Russell stands forth as the undoubted author of all that, in the eyes of a Whig, constitutes England's glory. But what of the events between these mighty acts of Reform and the still mightier deeds of the Foreign Secretary? There is a gap, a fearful chasm, in the history of the noble Lord, and that biographical void his lips will never fill up. He may arrogate to himself the great works of others, but he is wise enough to preserve silence on what he may undoubtedly claim as his own. Surely some account of his cabals, intrigues, desertions, and defeats of Administrations, and, above all, of his splendid Premiership, would have called forth even greater enthusiasm from the populace of Dundee. Of the

present, however, he could not forbear to speak. So he said, truly enough, that he had preserved "peace," and, audaciously enough, that he had preserved it with "honour." Yet he did wisely to give to Lord Palmerston all the credit of the Government policy, for of necessity he will transfer to his Premier the responsibility likewise. But how can he talk of "honour" when Europe looks to France and not to England for the solution of every difficulty, and when Earl Russell himself is little better than a laughing-stock to the Gortschakoffs of Europe and to Mr. Seward of Washington? Doubtless such a "peace" may be for a time preserved, and such a neutrality as he boasts may blind the nation for a while, but England may be eventually "kicked into" a war and she may also one day awake to an appreciation of the injustice of what Earl Russell calls his neutrality.

It is announced that Mr. Spooner, the champion of Church Rates and the opponent of the Maynooth Grant, will retire from the representation of North Warwickshire upon the next dissolution of Parliament. The death of the Marquis of Townsend has caused a vacancy in the representation of Tamworth, through the succession of Viscount Raynham, the protector from cruelty of the whole race of mute animals, to the Marquisate. Mr. R. Peel, the Hon. Henry Cowper, and Mr. Daniel, Q.C., will become candidates for the seat.

Her Majesty the Queen of England, who arrived at Windsor Castle towards the end of last week from Coburg, left on Monday, the 14th September, for the Highlands of Scotland, for a visit to Balmoral.

In spite of the changeable character of the weather during the past three weeks, considerable progress has been made in the work of securing the crops of corn throughout the north of England. The wheat crops in the southern, eastern, and western counties had been gathered before the change in the weather, and in those districts the anxiety of the agriculturist has been concentrated on the barley. Should a fortnight or three weeks of dry weather ensue, the crops of Scotland and Ireland will be secured in splendid condition. The question of yield is to a great extent set at rest, and the opinion that the present year will prove as fruitful as the year 1857, is rapidly gaining ground. Even the Fen districts, which have of late years disappointed their cultivators to a disastrous degree, have produced wheat, not merely in abundance, but of a quality calculated to rival the high lands. It may, on the whole, be taken that the yield in the present year will exceed that of an average year by nearly two millions of quarters. It is only in the matter of price that the agriculturist finds reason to complain, and assuredly 45s. per quarter for the finest new wheat is not highly remunerative. In the face of the yield and the prices there is no great encouragement for the foreign importer, and there is every reason to suppose that the imports for the present year will fall short of those for last year by nearly four millions of quarters. These calculations must be carefully considered in any estimate of the state of the money market and commerce of New York.

Having a short time since given a brief statistical account of the exports of the United Kingdom for the year 1862, we are now enabled to furnish similar information with regard to the imports for that year. The first class and the most important comprises articles of food, the value of which as imported during the year 1862 reached the enormous sum of £93,027,988. The value of the corn and flour alone reached the sum of £37,755,060. Indeed, it is well worthy of remark that the import of grain, meal, and flour never reached 12,000,000 quarters until the bad harvest of 1860, in which year it was 14,494,976 quarters, but in 1861 it rose to more than sixteen millions, and in 1862 to more than eighteen millions of quarters. Moreover, in the last-named year we imported cattle, sheep, and swine, and salted meat and lard, to the amount of more than £6,000,000, butter nearly £5,000,000, cheese £1,500,000, rice £2,400,000, eggs £600,000, and poultry £85,000. The second class, namely, that of raw materials of manufacture, for 1862, gives a return of £96,513,430. The quantity of cotton imported fell from 12,419,026 cwt. in 1860 to 4,678,333 cwt. in 1862. The third class of imports, being articles used in manufacture or agriculture, and not being raw materials of manufacture, such as wood, sawn or split, planed or dressed, oils, guano, copper and iron bars, reached a value of more than sixteen millions sterling. The fourth class of manufactured articles, such as silks, woollens, gloves, clocks, and glass, reached the value of seventeen millions sterling. The total amount of the imports for the year was £225,716,974.

A contest, of interest to the lovers of horses, has

taken place in Egypt. Ali Pasha, who has the finest stud of Arabs in that country, being convinced that no English race-horse could compete with one of his "cracks," accepted a challenge from Halim Pasha, who offered to run a horse called Companion against the Arab. The distance was four miles; the course was the first station on the Suez desert to Cairo. The horse won by more than half a mile, and almost without any visible effort. The question of the superiority of the English race-horse to the Arab has long ago been set at rest in the minds of men of the racing world; and no doubt is entertained that, in speed, endurance, bone, and action, the English horse is immeasurably the superior. In the present illustration of this opinion, it may be remarked that Companion is but a second or third-rate horse, his performances on the English turf being very moderate. He is nine years old, and, inasmuch as he raced at the age of two years, it will readily be understood that his speed is by no means equal to that of a six-year-old horse. Companion won the Great Cleveland Handicap at Shrewsbury in 1857, but was beaten the same year at Bath by such animals as Shirah and Melissa, and finished very badly for the Manchester Cup, which was won by Underhand. Companion is by Womersley, his dam being by Hampton out of Shire-oaks. He was bred by Lord Ribblesdale, and was for some time the property of the famous Mr. Padwick.

It is probable that the fame of Sir Tatton Sykes, who, for half a century, represented to the English mind the most complete picture of an English sportsman, has reached the ears of our most distant readers. We have now to record probably the final act of the drama of sport in which he was, throughout life, so assiduously engaged. His wonderful stud of horses, unrivalled in number and quality, has been disposed of by auction by Messrs. Tattersall. Three days were occupied in the business of the sale, and the number of visitors, the number of quadrupeds sold, and the gross aggregate of the prices were absolutely marvellous. A short analysis of the three days' sale will sufficiently demonstrate the truth of this statement. The brood mares, 111 in number, averaged over 81 guineas each, the highest price given being 450 guineas. The stallions averaged 400 guineas each; thirty-one three-year-old fillies averaged 62 guineas each, the highest price being 150 guineas; twenty-seven two-year-old fillies averaged 55 guineas each, the highest price being 135 guineas; fifty-one yearlings averaged 60 guineas each, the highest price being 165 guineas; five geldings, foaled in 1861, averaged 105 guineas each; ten other geldings averaged 72 guineas each; and fifteen hunters averaged 94 guineas each, the highest price being 330 guineas. The grand total of the receipts for the three days reached the sum of 24,171 guineas. The blood of Fandango, Daniel O'Rourke, Rifleman, and Colsterdale chiefly appears as the line of the young stock of Sir Tatton Sykes. The Continental breeding establishments were well represented, M. de Cavaliero appearing for the Hungarian Club, General Bruderman for the Austrian Government, and Colonel de Butz for the Emperor of Austria; Baron Kotze was the agent for the Prussian Government. A large number was purchased by M. Shachel, of Berlin; and still more, bought by Mr. Churnside, go to Australia. Count Lehndorff, Count Renaud, and Colonel de Butz also bought largely. Doubtless, the great name of Sir Tatton Sykes and the large numbers brought to the hammer did much to entice purchasers to give liberal prices. At the same time, with all deference to the great judgment of the late Baronet, we shall have the opinion at least of racing men on our side in thinking that Sir Tatton Sykes was by no means happy in the choice of his stud-horses.

The Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society held their annual meeting last week at Birkenhead Park. The show of animals was grand, and the company enormous. The exhibition of machinery, poultry, and flowers excited great admiration. About 300 persons sat down to the dinner, under the presidency of the Honourable Wilbraham Egerton, M.P., and Mr. John Laird, M.P., was present. The chairman, in proposing the navy, spoke of the modern system of iron-plates and steam rams, and was at once interrupted by loud shouts of "What about steam-rams?" "What about the Alabama?" (Cheers and laughter.) And somewhat later in the evening the health of Mr. Laird, as member for Birkenhead, was proposed by the chairman, rapturously received by the company, and a round of cheers given for the Alabama.

Conflicting statements as to the steam rams constructed by Messrs. Laird, and now lying in the Mersey, have gone the round of the London press. Last week the *Morning Post* declared that they were detained by order



of Her Majesty's Government; a few days afterwards this statement was contradicted by several newspapers, and it was explained that the Government officers had certainly inspected the vessels, but that nothing more had been done. Next the *Morning Post* asserted that the *bona fide* character of the original order for the vessels would be established to the satisfaction of the Government, and that there was no satisfactory evidence forthcoming to show that they were built or destined for the Confederate States of America. It seems, indeed, that one of them was to be allowed to proceed on a trial trip, Mr. Laird pledging himself that she should return to his yard. However, on Monday last the *Times* came out with an authoritative statement that "the two iron-clad vessels now building at Liverpool will not be allowed to leave that port pending further inquiries, and until fresh instructions are given." Can it be that Earl Russell has succumbed to the untiring appeals and representations of the Anti-Slavery Association, and the other champions of one-sided neutrality?

The naval combat in Warsaw Sound, between the Confederate iron-clad Atlanta and the Federal Weehawken, has elicited some very valuable remarks from Mr. Cowper Coles, the author and advocate of the turret system. It will be remembered that in the month of July last the Atlanta attacked the Weehawken and the Nahant in Warsaw Sound; that the Atlanta fired three of her heavy rifled guns before the Weehawken opened upon her with her 15-inch gun, throwing a solid shot of 440 lbs.; that this first shot virtually decided the action, the missile tearing asunder the iron-plating and solid timber like stubble, and prostrating 40 of the crew. After the fifth gun, the Atlanta hauled down her flag and became a prisoner, having fought for only fifteen minutes. She was armed with six guns—one 7-inch, pivot gun fore and aft, and two 6-inch guns on each broadside. They were the Brooks guns, which did such execution on the Federal iron-clads in the first attack on Charleston, were rifled, and threw the long steel-pointed missile of English manufacture. Her armour was 12 inches thick, and presented all the solidity which could be given it by 4 inches of wrought iron, 4 inches of life oak, and 4 inches of Georgia pine. Perhaps no better idea of the comparative characters of the two vessels can be obtained than from Cowper Coles' concise explanation. The Weehawken, he says, is a Monitor with one turret; the Atlanta a vessel cut down, carrying her guns in a square box on the centre of the vessel, of a similar type to several vessels now being constructed for the British navy. Mr. Coles gives a second instance of the successful application of the revolving shield principle in the case of the Rolf Krake, an iron-clad gun-boat designed and built by Messrs. Napier, of Glasgow, for the Danish Government. That vessel was constructed in the short space of ten months, is wholly plated with 4½-inch iron, and has two turrets, each armed with two 60-pounders (Danish), and has answered the expectations formed of her as a sea-going vessel. Her turrets work well, are easily turned round the circle in little more than three minutes, and cause no inconvenience to the men working them. Mr. Coles next alludes to the Roanoke, which was a frigate of the Niagara and Minnesota class, and which has been cut down, plated, and fitted with three towers on Ericsson's plan, each tower being armed with two 15-inch guns. Indeed, it appears that the Federal Government have ordered the construction of nine vessels of a class of which the Canowincus, already launched, is a representative. This vessel is expected to make 11 knots an hour, has a thickness of 11 inches of wrought iron above the water, and will display but eighteen inches of her upper hull. She has but one turret, armed with two 15-inch Dahlgren guns (440-pounders). After minute descriptions of the above-named vessels, Mr. Coles reverts to the action between the Atlanta and Weehawken, and concludes that beyond all doubt a vessel can carry such heavy guns as the 440-pounders of the Weehawken, and must be irresistible against ships of the present broadside construction. He states that the Federals are manufacturing these 440-pounders at the rate of one per day, while we have not a ship afloat that can carry such a gun, and, indeed, have no gun in the navy of greater calibre than the smooth-bore 68-pounder, and the breech-loading rifled 110-pounders. Moreover, other foreign Governments besides the Federal and the Danish have stolen a march on us, and we have reason to doubt whether our beautiful and costly iron-clads can engage on equal terms a small turret-ship. Mr. Coles' remarks cannot be too attentively considered. It seems to us, looking merely at results, that the main question rest on two points—first, the efficiency of these monster guns; second, the possibility of building a ship which can carry such guns, and yet be a thoroughly safe and rapid cruiser. If these

points be decided in the affirmative, the English Government will be wise to avail themselves speedily of the services of Mr. Cowper Coles.

### THE CONTINENT.

Russia has replied to the Notes of the three Powers. The absence of Earl Russell from London has prevented the delivery of Prince Gortschakoff's despatch, and none of the replies have been published, although the substance of them has transpired. Prince Gortschakoff is exceedingly courteous in his tone, expresses sentiments favourable to good relations between France and Russia, cordially acknowledges the pacific sentiments of Austria, but leaves affairs just as they were. He says that Russia is ready to accept the responsibility of the position. He considers the six points settled by the former declaration of Russia. He does not reply categorically to the proposition of the armistice or the conference, and declines to enter into a long discussion which could lead to no result, and might eventuate in a misunderstanding between the Cabinets. Accompanying the despatch is a memorandum which, according to the *Nord*, treats the question exclusively in an international point of view. It gives an historical sketch from the Congress of Vienna. It thoroughly examines in how much Russia is bound by those treaties, and dwells at considerable length upon the Congress itself. It endeavours to prove that the autonomy already decreed for the Kingdom of Poland, and the application of which has not been suspended but obstructed by the revolution, satisfies the obligations contracted by Russia towards Europe.

In connection with the Russian reply an important article was published in the *Journal de St. Petersburg* on the 9th inst. It repudiates the reported radical reforms with regard to Poland. It says:—"The position taken by the St. Petersburg Cabinet relative to the affairs of Poland, in accordance with the unanimous sentiment of Russia, is perfectly clear, and there is not anything to indicate an inclination to deviate from it. The sentiments of the Sovereign towards his Polish subjects have not undergone any change. But, in his solicitude for their welfare, his Majesty has declared that he considered it his first duty to proceed to the re-establishment of material order. The experience of the last two years has sufficiently proved that nothing solid can be erected upon ground upset by anarchical passions. As regards the diplomatic question, the Imperial Government remains resolved to fulfil its international obligations, but also to maintain the rights of Russia within the limits of treaties."

The Duc de Montebello, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, has received permission, at his own request to pass two months in France; but he will not leave until after the Emperor's return from Finland.

The Poles have sustained a heavy loss by the death of Lelewel, one of their most successful leaders, who was killed in a battle which took place on the 3rd inst. In several skirmishes the Poles have been successful, and in one which took place at Rokiciny, on the Warsaw and Cracow line of railway, on the 4th instant, fifty Russians were killed. Count Ostrowski, son of the Minister of the Interior, has been arrested, and has been condemned to transportation to Siberia. The gates of Warsaw have been closed for ten days to any person entering or going out. 200 inhabitants have been transported to Siberia. The last words of the Grand Duke Constantine upon quitting Warsaw were:—"The Czar wishes well to Poland, and regrets the measures adopted by General Mouravieff, but recognises their necessity."

The French papers report that Mr. Slidell, the Commissioner for the Confederate States, has had a very cordial reception from the Empress at Biarritz, and it is expected that he will have an important interview with the Emperor himself immediately on the latter's arrival.

M. de Persigny has been created a Duke, in testimony of regard for the services he has rendered to the State, and for his personal devotion to the Emperor.

When the *Moniteur* announced the arrival of the Florida at Brest, it designated it a privateer. Yesterday it corrected its error, and said:—"The steamer Florida is not a privateer, as was believed. She forms part of the military marine of the Confederate States, and her officers are furnished with regular commissions. The Florida has all the character of an ordinary vessel of war."

The Emperor Napoleon is at Biarritz. The Queen of Spain has sent the Prefect of Alava and a General to compliment his Majesty on his recent successes in Mexico.

The Annamite Ambassadors have arrived in Paris, and were officially received by the authorities.

The Pope has dismissed the Italian Consul at Rome, in reprisal for the withdrawal of the exequatur from the Papal Consul at Naples, who was charged with aiding disloyal movements. In consequence of this reprisal of the Government of Rome, the Italian Government has ordered the Pontifical Consuls to quit all the towns in the kingdom.

The national fêtes in Naples have passed off without disturbance. The Government wisely allowed the crowd to shout *Viva Garibaldi* without let or hindrance.

The brigands of the province of Basilicata have given themselves up, having been granted a safe-conduct. Amongst the chiefs who have surrendered is the noted Tima.

M. Rogawski, a member of the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath, has been arrested for acting as a member of a secret Polish committee.

The Grand Duke Constantine has arrived at Vienna. He was met by the Emperor at the railway station, and had a distinguished reception from the public authorities. It is semi-officially stated that this is to be considered merely as a courtesy extended to the Grand Duke personally, having no connexion with the foreign policy of the Government.

The reply of Prussia to the collective letter of the German Princes will not be a collective answer, but will be sent separately to each Sovereign who signed the letter. It is asserted that the reply will merely contain the reasons of Prussia for not accepting the Austrian project of reform, and will not bring forward any counter-proposals.

In reference to the coming elections a letter from Count Schwerin has been published, pointing out that, however unanimous all parties in Prussia may be in rejecting the Austrian project of reform, this question must be taken into consideration. Only the Constitution and internal organisation of the country can influence the mutual position of parties towards each other and towards the Government at the approaching elections.

The King of the Greeks has signed an agreement relating to the succession to the Danish throne. By this document King George renounces his right of succession in favour of his younger brother and his heirs. King George himself and his own line then become last in order of succession to the Danish crown.

His Majesty will leave Copenhagen to-day *en route* for St. Petersburg. He will subsequently visit his maternal grandfather, the Landgraf Wilhelm of Hesse Cassel, at Rumpenheim, and will then go to Brussels, London, and Paris. He will probably embark at Toulon for Greece upon the 21st or 22nd of October.

### JAPAN.

Intelligence received from Japan *via* New York to the 24th of July states that the Japanese had fired into the British ship *Medusa* and the American ship *Pemberton* between Ningardi and Kanagawa, killing several men. The American steamer *Wyoming* and the British steamer *Lauendale* proceeded to the scene of the outrage, destroyed the town forts, and spiked the guns. The British lost three men and the American five. 2,000 Japanese were reported to have deserted towards British vessels, but it was thought that they would not pass within range of the British guns.

### PROTEST OF THE NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS

AGAINST THE

#### ARTICLES IN THE "RALEIGH STANDARD."

The North Carolina regiments have held meetings to protest against the articles that have appeared in the *Raleigh Standard*. Several columns of the Richmond papers are filled with the resolutions of condemnation which were, in all instances, carried unanimously. We append a few of them.

The officers and privates of the 6th North Carolina Regiment passed the following resolutions:—

Whereas the officers and soldiers of the 6th North Carolina troops have witnessed with regret and indignation the course pursued by the *Raleigh Standard*, and a few exempts and non-combatants in North Carolina, in relation to the struggle that we are daily making for our *freedom and independence*; and whereas this course is giving aid and comfort to the enemy, calculated to mislead the credulous at home, and tarnish the fair name of our good State in the eyes of the good, wise, and patriotic; therefore,

Resolved, that we the officers and privates of the 6th North Carolina troops, greatly desire peace; but we scorn any peace that is not based upon a separation of the Confederacy from political relations with the late United States, and a recognition of our independence; and, until this is secured, we are willing to continue the struggle as long as one of us is left to march against our barbarous enemy.

Resolved, that the course pursued by the *Raleigh Standard* and its correspondents is, whether actuated by policy, humanity, or patriotism, deserving of the deepest censure by



the soldiers in the field, and by the mothers, the fathers, and sisters of North Carolina's slaughtered sons, calculated as it is to induce the North to believe that North Carolina is anxious to return to the Union.

The 34th North Carolina Regiment met under the presidency of Colonel W. Somers, and adopted the following resolutions:—

Whereas we have heard with painful regret and mortification that there exists in North Carolina a small party whose political sentiments are at variance with every principle of Southern rights, derogatory alike to the patriotism of our noble old State and the gallantry of her brave and chivalrous sons, and whereas we have also witnessed with equal regret and indignation the course pursued by the *Raleigh Standard* relative to our existing national difficulties—a course that has fostered a spirit of desertion in the army, and produced many croakers at home; therefore,

Resolved, that the political sentiments enunciated by the *Standard*, and all who sympathise with its policy whether dictated by a wounded spirit of disappointed ambition, an opposition to the present Administration, or a sympathy with those who seek our destruction, meet our most decided condemnation, as being traitorous in principle, ruinous in their practical effects, and reflecting alike upon the character of North Carolina and the heroic conduct of her gallant sons in the field.

Resolved, that he who in the hour of our country's greatest need sows the seed of discord and strife among those who should be united as a band of brethren against a common, powerful, and insidious foe, is an enemy to us and to our constitutional rights, whatever may be his protestation to the contrary.

Resolved, that we, sons of North Carolina and soldiers of the Confederate army, in the name of our revolutionary prestige, in the name of all that freemen hold dear, and by the memory of the thousands of our brave and beloved comrades whose blood has hallowed the battle-fields of this revolution, here enter our solemn protest against any policy other than that which claims and demands the recognition of our independence and the firm establishment of our separate nationality.

The 21st Regiment passed the following amongst other patriotic resolutions:—

That we, as citizens and soldiers of North Carolina, have read with regret and indignation the issues of the *Raleigh Standard* in which reconstruction and submission were counselled, and gladly use this public means of expressing our unqualified opposition to such views, and pronouncing the same fit only to be uttered by a traitor or a Tory.

We denounce with scorn all persons, if there be any such in North Carolina, who wish to see a reconstruction of the old Union. Such sentiments can only be entertained by cowards and slaves, who have skulked the dangers and hardships of the war, and we distinctly announce that we are unwilling to submit to any such degrading terms.

There has also been held a Convention of the North Carolina officers of General Lee's army, of which the following telegraphic summaries was published in the Richmond papers:—

Oregon Court-House, August 12th.—A Convention of officers from all the North Carolina regiments was held here to-day. The Convention passed strong resolutions, censuring the course of the *Raleigh Standard*.

Oregon Court-House, August 13th.—Colonel Garrett, the Chairman of the Committee reported a series of resolutions, pledging the loyalty of North Carolina, and of her sons in the army of the Confederacy, denouncing the *Raleigh Standard* and its supporters, and expressing their confidence in Governor Vance, and the conviction that he will sustain the good cause. The Convention was enthusiastic, and the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

## SOUTHERN WAR TELEGRAMS.

The following are taken from the Richmond papers of recent date:—

### BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER.

CHARLESTON, August.—The firing of the Parrott guns upon Fort Sumter to-day was exceedingly heavy, but not so accurate as heretofore. About noon the flag was shot away, but soon replaced. No casualties are reported. Colonel Alfred Rhett is commanding, and the garrison is stout-hearted.

The battery of Parrott guns is distant from Sumter two miles and five-eighths. The missiles used are 200-pound bolts eight inches in diameter, two feet long, with flat head of chilled iron. Shells of the same dimensions are also used.

Up to Wednesday night, the third day of the attack, 1,972 of these missiles struck Sumter; and, including to-day, 2,500 have struck. The damage is, of course, considerable; and, for the last two days, all the guns of the south face of the fort have been disabled.

Yesterday, about 4 o'clock, the iron-clads formed in line of battle to renew the attack on Sumter, but the fort opened at long range from the east face, and they retired without attacking. To-day the ironclads and two monitors kept up a fire on Wagner at intervals, and the Yankee sappers have begun to make approaches on that battery from the nearest work. A shot from Wagner disabled one of the Parrott guns, and the James Island batteries, under Lieut.-Colonel Yates, exploded two of the enemy's ammunition chests.

### [SECOND DESPATCH.]

CHARLESTON, August 21.—The fire of the enemy's land batteries has been heavier than ever to-day. A new battery of Parrott guns opened on Sumter this morning, and the fires have been concentrated upon the east battery and its guns. The south wall of the fort is now a pile of rubbish. On the north the wall is also crumbling into a heap of ruins.

The flag has been shot away twice to-day, and six times during the attack. The flag-staff is shot off, and the flag flies from the ruins of the south wall.

Just before sunset Sumter fired several shots at the ironclads which was engaging Battery Wagner.

A monitor this morning fired at Sumter while making a reconnaissance, but was not replied to. There is no report of casualties.

The sappers are making a regular approach on Battery Wagner.

The Yankee officer killed on Monday was a captain of one of the Monitors.

### [THIRD DESPATCH.]

CHARLESTON, August 22.—From 5 o'clock A.M. until 7 o'clock P.M. yesterday, the enemy's fire on Fort Sumter was very heavy.—Nine hundred and twenty-three shots were fired, and seven hundred and four struck the fort either outside or inside. The eastern face of the fort was badly battered. Some guns on the east end and the north-east face were disabled. The flag was shot down four times. Five privates and two negroes were wounded in Sumter.

The enemy's fire on Wagner caused five casualties, including Captain Robert Pringle killed. Our sharpshooters are annoying the Yankees considerably. It is supposed that the enemy burst one of their Parrott guns yesterday afternoon.

At 11 o'clock last night, a communication from the enemy, unsigned, was sent to General Beauregard, demanding the surrender of Sumter and the Morris Island batteries, with a notification that the city would be shelled in four hours if the demand was not complied with. Beauregard was on a reconnaissance, and General Jordan returned it for the signature of the writer. About 2 o'clock this morning the enemy began throwing shells into the city from a battery on the marsh between Morris and James Islands, and distant five miles from the city. Twelve eight-inch Parrott shells fell in the city, but caused no casualties. The transaction is regarded as an outrage on civilised warfare. The shelling had a good effect in hastening the exodus of non-combatants.

At daylight this morning the enemy opened fire vigorously on Sumter. The ironclads have since opened. Sumter is replying. Wagner is firing briskly on the enemy's advanced works, four hundred and fifty yards from our battery.

### [FOURTH DESPATCH.]

CHARLESTON, August 22.—The fire of the enemy's land batteries has been kept up on Sumter, and more guns disabled. There was only one casualty.

There was also a heavy fire on Battery Wagner from the fleet and land; also on Battery Gregg. The casualties at Wagner were one officer and four privates.

General Gilmore's demand for the surrender of Fort Sumter and Morris Island, with the threat to shell Charleston in four hours from the delivery of the paper at Wagner, was signed and returned at seven o'clock this morning.

General Beauregard, in his reply, charges inhumanity and violation of the laws of war, and affirms that if the offence be repeated he will employ stringent measures of retaliation.

Up to this time, the threat to shell the city has not been executed.

### [THE LATEST.]

CHARLESTON, August 27.—The enemy's attack on our rifle pits on Wednesday night was about seven o'clock, in overwhelming force.

On Thursday, the firing on both sides was slow, with no unusual incidents.

CHARLESTON, August 28.—The bombardment of Sumter and Wagner proceeds sluggishly.

The enemy is working hard in the trenches in front of Wagner.

No further attempt has been made to shell the city.

### FROM MISSISSIPPI.

ATLANTA, August 21.—A special to the *Appeal*, dated Canton 20th, says that Grenada has fallen into the hands of the Federal force from the Yazoo, and another from North Junction. The rolling stock of the New Orleans railroad was at Grenada. The enemy met no opposition. Major Chalmers, in the absence of Colonel Slemmons, fell behind the Yallahusha and fought the Yankee raiders three hours, when, our waggon being safe, and the Yankees from the south threatening our rear, we evacuated Grenada. The Yankees burnt the rolling stock and captured Major Chalmers and a party of men. One quarter of the town was burned. Fearing that Jackson was coming, the Yankees retreated precipitately. Both the large and fine railroad bridges over the Yallahusha were burned. General Hatch is reported dead.

[The foregoing is all the translation the agent can make of the despatch, which is almost unintelligible.]

### THE YANKEES SHELLING CHATTANOOGA.

CHATTANOOGA, August 22.—Noon.—A force of some strength appeared on the opposite side of the river yesterday, about 10 o'clock, and commenced shelling the place, without warning. Our batteries replied promptly, and the artillery duel continued until 5 P.M. A little girl, daughter of F. G. Roche, of Nashville, was mortally wounded; also, one lady. The ferryman at the river was badly wounded. The enemy afterwards retired. All quiet to-day.

### FIGHT IN TENNESSEE.

ATLANTA, August 28.—A letter to the *Confederacy*, from Forrest's command, says that Colonel Dibrell had another fight with seven regiments of Yankee cavalry on the 17th instant, at Sparta, Tennessee, and repulsed them with a loss of 40 to 50 killed and wounded. Dibrell's force was 600 strong. His loss is 2 killed, 7 wounded, and 12 missing.

It is reported by passengers that the Yankees were shelling Chattanooga yesterday.

### ELECTION OF A SENATOR IN ALABAMA.

MONTGOMERY, August 22.—Hon. Robert Jemison, junior was elected to-day to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Yancey in the Confederate Senate. Mr. Curry was not a candidate, and the position was yielded to Jemison as an act of party magnanimity. It is believed by many of Curry's friends that he could have been elected.

Jemison was originally a nullifier, and though subsequently a co-operationist, has been a firm and uncompromising supporter of the war. Jemison was a member of the Secession Convention, and has been for many years a leading member of the State Legislature for Tuscaloosa county.—*Telegram to the Richmond press.*

AMONG the recent arrivals from the Confederate States is Mrs. Greenhow, well known from her long captivity, under circumstances of unusually cruel severity, at Washington, in the earlier period of the war. She was marked out for this "exemplary punishment" by her intimate acquaintance with the principal actors in the Revolution, among whom she herself is not the least distinguished. It is reported that one of the objects of her visit to England is to publish a volume of Memoirs. It is to be hoped that this report is true, for Mrs. Greenhow has it in her power to produce the most interesting book yet written on this war, and to throw full light upon that period of the Revolution which is the least known or understood either in Europe or America.

### PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MANIFESTO.

The following is Mr. Lincoln's letter to the Union Committee in Illinois:—

Executive Mansion, Washington,  
August 26, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling,

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter, inviting me to attend a mass meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3rd day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable for me thus to meet my old friends at my own home; but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require. The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure that my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life. There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say, you desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways. First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far are we agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All that I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country, and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present; because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them. To illustrate: suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union: in what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we would waste time, which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless; and I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself to be the servant of the people according to the bond of service, the United States Constitution, and that as such I am responsible to them. But to be plain, You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while you, I suppose, do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided that you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation, to save the Union exclusively by other means. You dislike the Emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been, any question that by the law of war, property both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever it helps us and hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female. But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favourably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation was issued, the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favourably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field who have given us our most important victories believe the emancipation policy and the use of coloured troops constitute the heaviest blows yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders with these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called "Abolitionism" or with "Republican party politics," but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit their opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith. You say that you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you—but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that, in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept. The signs look better. The Father of Waters again



goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great North-West for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colours than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honourable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future. Thanks to all. Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have striven to hinder it. Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours, very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### GENERAL BEAUREGARD'S LETTER ON THE BOMBARDMENT OF CHARLESTON.

The following communication was addressed to General Gilmore.

Head-quarters, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Charleston, South Carolina, Aug. 22.

SIR.—Last night at 15 minutes before 11 o'clock, during my absence on a reconnaissance of my fortifications, a communication was received at these head-quarters, dated "Head-quarters, Department of the South, Morris Island, South Carolina, August 21, 1863," demanding the immediate evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter by the Confederate forces, on the alleged ground that "the present condition of Fort Sumter and the rapid and progressive destruction which it is undergoing from my batteries, seem to render its complete destruction within a few hours a matter of certainty," and that if this letter was not complied with, or no reply thereto was received within four hours after it was delivered into the hands of my subordinate commander at Fort Wagner for transmission, a fire would be opened on the city of Charleston from batteries already established within easy and effective range of the heart of the city. This communication to my address was without signature, and was, of course, returned. About half-past one o'clock one of your batteries did actually open fire, and threw a number of heavy shells into the city, the inhabitants of which, of course, were asleep and unarmed. About nine o'clock this morning the communication alluded to was returned to these head-quarters, bearing your recognised official signature, and it can now be noticed as your deliberate official act.

Among nations not barbarous the usages of war prescribe that, when a city is about to be attacked, timely notice shall be given by the attacking commander, in order that the non-combatants shall have an opportunity of withdrawing beyond its limits. Generally the time allowed is from one to three days; that is, time for the withdrawal in good faith of at least the women and children. You, sir, gave only four hours, knowing that your notice, under existing circumstances, could not reach me in less than two hours, and that not less than the same time would be required for an answer to be conveyed from this city to Battery Wagner.

With this knowledge you threaten to open fire on this city, not to oblige its surrender, but to force me to evacuate those works, which you, assisted by a great naval force, have been attacking in vain for more than forty days. Batteries Wagner and Gregg and Fort Sumter are nearly due north from your batteries on Morris Island, and in distance therefrom ranging from half a mile to two and a quarter miles.

This city, on the other hand, is to the north-west, and quite five miles distant from the battery which opened against it this morning. It would appear, sir, that, despairing of reducing these works, you now resort to the novel measure of turning your guns against the old men, the women, and children, and the hospitals of a sleeping city, an act of execrable barbarity: from your own confessed point of sight, inasmuch as you allege that the complete demolition of Fort Sumter within a few hours by your guns seems a matter of certainty.

Your omission to attach your signature to such a grave paper must show the recklessness of the course upon which you have adventured. While the facts that you knowingly fixed a limit for receiving the answer to your demand which made it almost beyond the possibility of receiving any reply within that time, and that you actually did open fire, and throw a number of the most destructive missiles ever used in war into the midst of a city taken unawares and filled with sleeping women and children, will give you a bad eminence in history—even in the history of this war. I am only surprised, sir, at the limits you have set to your demands.

If, in order to obtain the abandonment of Morris Island and Fort Sumter, you feel authorised to fire on this city, why did you not include the works on Sullivan's and James's Island, nay, even the city of Charleston, in the same demand?

Since you have felt warranted in inaugurating this method of reducing batteries in your immediate front, which were otherwise found to be impregnable, and a mode of warfare which I confidently declare to be atrocious and unworthy of any soldier:

I now solemnly warn you that if you fire again on this city from your Morris Island batteries, without giving a somewhat more reasonable time to remove the non-combatants, I shall feel impelled to employ such stringent means of retaliation as may be available during the continuance of this attack.

Finally, I reply, that neither the works on Morris Island nor Fort Sumter will be evacuated on the demand you have been pleased to make.

Already, however, I am taking measures to remove all non-combatants, who are now fully aware, and alive to what they may expect at your hands.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General-Commanding.

#### THE VICTORY AT WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

The following official despatch has been published.—

White Sulphur Springs, August 27,  
via Dublin, August 28.

To General S. Cooper—

We met the enemy, yesterday morning, about a mile and a half from this place, on the road leading to the Warm Springs. We fought from 9 A.M. to 7 P.M. Every attack made by the enemy was repulsed. At night each side occupied the same position they had in the morning. This morning the enemy made two other attacks, which were handsomely repulsed, when he abandoned his position and retreated towards Warm Springs, pursued by cavalry and artillery. The troops engaged were the first brigade of this army, Colonel George S. Patton commanding. The enemy were about 3,000 strong, with six pieces of artillery, under Brigadier-General Averill. Our loss is 200 killed and wounded. The enemy's loss is not known. We have taken about 150 prisoners and a piece of artillery.

(Signed) SAMUEL JONES, Major-General.  
(Official) JOHN WITHERS, Lieut.-Col. and A. and I. G.

"CHARLESTON NOT YET OURS."—The hunter who sold the lion's skin before the beast was slain was himself eaten by the lion. The war journals have of late been jubilating over the anticipated fall of Charleston, yet it would be but quoting from the lessons of experience to say that all this premature rejoicing augurs disappointment and perhaps disaster. The stubborn facts give but a feeble echo to the daily parade of exultation over an event yet unwritten in the book of fate. It would be far more reasonable for our cotemporaries to realise the significant circumstance that as yet not one of the fortifications in Charleston harbour has been compelled to lower the Confederate flag. Even Sumter, a mass of ruins, but yet unrelinquished by the enemy, flaunts the defiant banner in the faces of the beleaguering host. The real defences of the city are yet as strong as ever; the armies that protect it have exhibited no signs of discouragement or defeat, and yet the surrender of the place is regarded as a certainty, and the wary engineer, who has thus far skillfully and resolutely held his own against the combined attacks of our land and naval forces, is ridiculed as if he were a boasting simpleton already in the toils. It is true that fifteen shells, charged with Greek fire, have been thrown into Charleston, but with that display the pyrotechnic exhibition closes for the present. The 300-pounder Parrott rifled gun that accomplished this triumph in artillery practice paid the penalty of its ambition, and burst in the effort. This shaking hands with destiny before it is announced, this welcoming of shadows whose coming substance we know not of, has been a favourite pastime with the North from the commencement of hostilities. It applies not only to separate operations, but to the final result of the struggle. The Confederacy has been crushed, in anticipation, a hundred times, but Antaeus-like, it has always arisen with renewed vigour from each successive fall. At the present hour, this mania for disposing of events by mere volition rages with unusual violence. Hope is as buoyant as a bubble, and, perhaps, like the bubble, it is most buoyant when most frail. \* \* \* Meanwhile, that foe is taking its long breath, and concentrating its energies for a struggle more desperate than before. The North is congratulating itself upon expected triumph—the South preparing itself against possible defeat. While the bird-catcher builds his cage, the bird in the bush eyes him with prudent caution. There will be many a bloody day to fight before those political castles which the war journals are erecting will have more than the thin air for their foundation. The South, although Charleston share the fate of Vicksburg, is yet unconquered. The only hope of peace will be when the Democracy shall tear down that banner, and display the Constitution and State Rights as emblems of our cause.—*New York News*.

#### CENTRAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

The above Association, which has its head-quarters in Manchester and is supported by a very numerous and highly influential committee, has issued the following circular:—

After long and anxiously waiting for a cessation of the sad war between our kinsmen in America, we conclude that the time has come for combined action in favour of some plan for pacifying the hostility of the combatants.

The frightful and vain slaughter of myriads of human beings in battles wholly indecisive, the symptoms of a retaliatory policy in the further prosecution of the war, the evidence that it is assuming a vengeful and exterminating character, and the vouched-for fact that every man and woman of the South will die rather than submit to Mr. Lincoln's domination, convince us that the reconstruction of the Union by the sword is impossible.

Separation is already accomplished. The South has had ample time to show a capacity for self-existence and self-government, and the Federal power cannot, by any means, restore the old Union.

Why then should we longer hesitate to recommend (in no unfriendly spirit to the Northern people) Peace, on the basis of Southern Independence?

One of our leading statesmen declared some time ago that Mr. Davis had made a Nation. We desire to act up to the spirit of his saying, by urging a friendly joint mediation of the European Powers, preceded by fair and equal recognition of the South as a contracting Power.

This course we think preferable to the "cold neutrality" which looks unmoved on an attempt to annihilate a gallant people, and on the foreboding murmurs of Federal anarchy.

Therefore, in the interest of distracted America, North and South alike,—in the interest of our own guiltless, suffering people,—in the interest of the unhappy negro and of common humanity—we ask you to join us in this earnest attempt to check the social, moral, and political ruin which protracted civil war must bring upon both parts of the once prosperous Republic.

THERE has been a riot in Danville, Illinois, brought about by a street fight between a Republican and a Democrat. On the first day of the riot, the 24th August, according to the official report of Provost-Marshal Fithian, three persons were killed and many wounded. The newspaper accounts say that the loss of life was greater. The riot continued on the 25th. Captain Park, with a company of soldiers, was expected on that day to quell the disturbance. The military operations of the Federalists in the North must be a heavy drain on the resources of the Government.

THE STEAM RAMS IN THE MERSEY.—It is probable that the *bona fide* character of the original order for these vessels will be established to the satisfaction of the Government. There is no satisfactory evidence forthcoming to show that they were built or destined for the Confederate States of America. One of them is to be allowed to proceed, we believe this day, on her trial trip, Mr. Laird pledging himself that she shall return to his yard. As the case stands at present, there is every likelihood that the Government will abandon its intention of interfering with them, as there is nothing to show that they violate any provision of the Foreign Enlistment Act or any other law.—*The Morning Post*, September 14.

On Monday one of these formidable vessels, concerning which so much has recently been said, was towed out of Messrs. Laird's dock at Birkenhead, and taken into the Morpeth Dock basin, where it is understood the remainder of her fittings will be completed. It is expected that her trial trip will take place in a few days. It is but right, however, in the meantime to state that her builders do not affect any mystery or secrecy with regard to what is going on in their works. On the contrary, they have invited Admiral Dares and the officers of the Channel fleet to visit their building-yard, and inspect all that is going on there—a privilege which has been availed of to a considerable extent. A similar privilege as to inspection has also been conferred on the officers of the fleet by the Mersey Steel and Iron Works. The public will certainly have learnt with some satisfaction that the two iron-clad steamers now approaching completion in the Mersey will not be allowed to leave that river until something more is known of their ownership and destination.—*The Times*, September 16.

YANKEE LOVE FOR THE NEGRO.—An officer who participated in the attack on the Yankee forces on James Island, 16th instant, and captured a number of negroes of the 54th Massachusetts, says: One of the prisoners told me he was in Beaufort the day the negroes captured in the Combahee raid were brought in. The men were ordered into the ranks, and every one who refused was bucked and gagged in the most inhuman manner until they consented to enlist in the ranks. Some of these poor wretches were kept trussed up for three or four days, and bucked and gagged at intervals, until they gave in their adhesion and took a place in the ranks. The officer says he conversed with several of the prisoners, and they all gave substantially the same account. Many of the negroes had been induced with the promise of freedom to run away from the plantation. These negroes, we observe by the *New South*, published at Port Royal, were deserting, and returning to their masters.—*Charleston Courier*.

A REMARKABLE PROPHECY.—Private prophecies are of little account till verified by their fulfilment. We heard of one lately, nevertheless, that we offer to the reflections of our readers. Its author was a man in very humble life, a pious, good Catholic, who troubled not himself with politics, and hardly ever, if ever, looked at a newspaper. He died in December, 1860—the month after Abraham Lincoln was saddled on some of the States as President. He was near his death, and friends, visiting, were discussing the political troubles, and speculating whether South Carolina would really secede. The good man had said nothing while they were talking. After they ceased, he said:—"You have been talking of what is to come. There will be a war, a bloody war, between the North and South. It will last three years, and the South will then become a separate government, but not without the help of a foreign nation. When the North and South are separated, then there will be awful troubles at the North. The troubles will last for twenty years, and a hundred years from now the country will feel the effects of them. There will be a terrible persecution of the Catholics here after the country is divided." This good man died soon after. His pastor, residing not far from this city, is a man of great learning and talent. He says that, for a long time, he had known the deceased as a man of very holy and meditative life. He was not a man of intellectual cultivation but a man of prayer. Whether it were the vagaries of a dying man, or the visions of coming troubles given to a true and humble servant of God, we know not. We can only say that a subtle intellect, with a large reading of history and a keen appreciation of all the elements that are at work, if forced to utter the gloomiest and most probable of its previsions, would have said about what this pious, humble, and unlettered servant of God uttered on his death-bed.—*New York Freeman's Journal*.

BURNSIDE'S VICTIMS.—The numerous and multiplied atrocities of the enemy have forced the Confederate authorities to consider the subject of retaliation. One of the worst of these proceedings of the enemy has been the execution of Captains Corbin and McGraw. On hearing of their fate, the Confederate Government inquired of the Federal authorities the reason of their action. The response was that they were executed as "spies." The record of their trial was then demanded. In answer to this request, the Federal Government furnished a copy of the charge and specification against them, and of the sentence of the Court which condemned them, but none of the evidence. From the papers thus furnished, it appeared that it was not true that they had been accused or tried as spies—that the sole charge against these unfortunate gentlemen was, that they had recruited soldiers for the Confederacy in Kentucky—a State embraced in our political system and represented regularly in the Confederate Congress by Senators and Representatives. Nor was the evidence of this charge supplied. Not a scintilla of proof appeared that these men were "spies." The sole pretext for their execution is the technical one that these officers were recruiting in one of the States claimed by the enemy as one of the United States—a principle which applies equally to Virginia or South Carolina, and which would, if carried out, sentence to the gallows every officer and private we have in our service.—*Richmond Sentinel*.

SQUIRREL LEATHER.—"Squirrel skins tacked down to a board, the hair next to the board, with hickory ashes sprinkled over them for a few days, to facilitate the removal of the hair, and then placed in a strong decoction of red-oak bark, will, at the end of four days, make excellent leather, far stronger and tougher than calf-skin. Four skins will make a pair of ladies' shoes. We hear that some of the ladies in the interior counties are wearing these shoes, and find them equal in coolness and superior in durability to any others. The longer the skins are left in the decoction of bark the better the leather. By this plan anybody may have a tan-yard and make their own leather, as the skins are easily and cheaply procured, and any vessel holding a gallon will serve as a vat. Our readers will do well to try it."—*The Richmond Whig*.



GREEK FIRE ON CHARLESTON.

Bomba, when he lost his crown,  
Wished to shell Palermo town,  
Gilmore would have knocked it down,  
He rains Greek Fire on Charleston.

Fear restrained King Bomba's wrath  
From an act of savage scath,  
Nothing stands in Gilmore's path;  
He hurls Greek Fire on Charleston.

General Gilmore found it hard  
To come over Beauregard,  
So he played a Yankee card,  
And poured Greek Fire on Charleston.

Asked to let the townsfolk go,  
Gilmore bravely answered "No!"  
And proceeded, no ways slow,  
To pitch Greek Fire on Charleston.

Gallant Gilmore, warrior stern,  
Babes and women thus to burn!  
What a deathless name he'll earn  
That threw Greek Fire on Charleston!

Nana Sahib rest unsung,  
Let none speak of Badahung,  
Since bold Gilmore bombs has flung,  
And cast Greek Fire on Charleston.

Do but think what shriek and yell  
Rose where dropped his Parrott shell.  
When he dies you'll say, Ah, well!  
He threw Greek Fire on Charleston!—Punch.

THE BLOCKADE.—Files of the *Nassau Guardian*, for latter part of July and August, give the following blockade news: July 29th. By the steamer Margaret and Jessie (Captain Lockwood), which arrived yesterday from Charleston, we received papers from that city to the 25th instant. We extract from the *Courier* of that date full particulars of the late Federal attack on Battery Wagner. The steamer Raccoon (Captain Harris) from Nassau, got ashore on the night of the 19th instant, on Drunken Dick Shoal, off Charleston bar. She was discovered and fired at by the Federals, and, to prevent her from falling into their hands, was burnt by her commander. The steamer Fannie (Captain T. Moore) arrived at Charleston from Nassau on the 23rd instant, and the steamer Alice, (Captain Egan) on the day previous. The brig Isabella Thompson, from Nassau, bound to Halifax with a cargo of turpentine, &c., has been seized by a Federal vessel and taken to New York. A statement of the capture has been laid before Admiral Milne by her owner, Mr. McDaniel, of Halifax. By an arrival from Cape Hayti this morning, we learn the capture of the steamer Lizzie by the Federal gunboat St. Jago de Cuba, which took place on the 14th instant, eighty miles eastward of Abaco. The captain and part of the crew of the Lizzie were detained on board, and sent to New York with a prize crew, the remainder being conveyed in the gunboat to Cape Hayti, whence they returned to Nassau in a chartered sloop this morning. They report that five Federal gunboats were lying at Cape Hayti when they left, viz.: the Rhode Island, Mercedita, Alabama, St. Jago de Cuba, and the Juanetta. It is reported that the trade of St. Thomas has been much injured in consequence of the Federals using that port as a rendezvous. A vessel answering the description of the Alabama has been observed between Inagua and Turks Islands for nearly a week. August 12.—The steamer Hebe (Capt. Stewart) and steamer Pet (Capt. Davis) arrived from Wilmington on Monday with news from the Confederate States to the 4th instant. Three steamers have been captured by Federal vessels recently—the Emma, the Merrimac, and the Kate. The Merrimac was taken at sea on the 25th ult., after a long chase, while on her way from Wilmington to this port. She had a very valuable cargo, principally owned in Wilmington. August 22.—The steamer Cronstadt was captured by the Federal gunboat Rhode Island on Sunday last, about forty-two miles from Abaco, while on her way from Wilmington to this port. The pilot, second mate, and two engineers belonging to the Cronstadt left in a boat, and two shots were fired at them by the Rhode Island, without effect. The captain, chief mate, and purser were detained on board the vessel, and sent to New York in charge of a prize crew. The passengers and crew were taken on board the gunboat and transferred at Harbour Island to the schooner Elizabeth, in which they arrived here on Thursday last.—The United States gunboat Juanita touched at Havannah on the 12th instant. After coaling, she went in pursuit of the Confederate steamer Nita, which left that city for Mobile the same day.—The steamer Alice (Captain Egan) arrived from Charleston on Thursday morning with dates to the 17th ult. We are informed that Fort Sumter was again being bombarded by the Federal fleet when she left.

LIVERPOOL, Sept. 14.—The Alice Vivian, from Mobile, with cotton, was captured about 200 miles south-east of that port, by the Federal steamer de Soto, and taken into Key West on the 19th of August. The Crescent, from Havannah for Mobile, with an assorted cargo, was sent into Key West on the 27th of August, a prize to the same vessel.

EFFECT OF THE LAST AMERICAN NEWS IN LIVERPOOL.—The American news received by the last steamer has caused a degree of excitement in Liverpool which has not been equalled since the effect produced by some of the great victories gained by the renowned "Stonewall" Jackson. In private circles especially this feeling prevails, and there is manifested an intense desire to hear something further of the operations before Charleston and the movements of General Lee. The cotton market, which may be accepted as one of the best indices of the opinions existing amongst the brokers and merchants, has been wild with excitement during the day, and the prices have advanced  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. for Surat, and 1d. per lb. for American and Egyptian, while the business has been on the most extensive scale, the sales reaching 30,000 bales. Many of the brokers allege that this advance and large business are entirely owing to the firm conviction entertained amongst buyers that the war will be protracted for a very long time. On the other hand, however, it is stated that the excitement is caused by some very large orders received from Manchester, and not influenced by the last news. The effect of the American news on the loan has been that in the morning it opened at 25 dis., and closed at 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. dis., the quotation at the close being thus  $\frac{1}{2}$  lower. 20,000 of the bales were on speculation.—*Morning Post*, Sept. 15.

TIT-BITS OF THE ANGLO-YANKEE PRESS.

A contemporary having by an unpardonable mistake ascribed certain humane expressions of disgust at the barbarous conduct of General Gilmore in throwing Greek fire into an inhabited city, which appeared in the *New York Daily News*, to that paper's London namesake, the latter, as might be expected, comes out with an indignant disclaimer:—

The passages quoted by the *Examiner* have not appeared in these columns. We have never understood or said that Mr. Lincoln's Government "claimed to be waging war in the name of philanthropy," nor believed that it entertained a "purpose of extermination." We deplore this war as one of the wickedest that ever was waged, and condemn its authors, but do not understand the claim of the Confederate Government to defend places which, like Charleston and Chattanooga, its generals have made the centres of defensive systems of works, by placing their women and children there, and thereupon appealing to the humanity of the besiegers.

No, no. Let the London print not be suspected of even as much squeamish punctilio as may find its way into a New York paper, on such a trifling matter as pouring unquenchable liquid fire on women and children by an heroic army several miles off. Hear its "Own Correspondent," in the same impression, speaking the true sentiments of his employers in the largest of leaded editorial type:—

And two years of war with slaveholding fanatics has not so far etheralized them (the Northern people) that revenge has ceased to be sweet. They roll the fall of Sumter in bloody ruins under their tongue as a delicious morsel. They hear of Gilmore's raining "Greek fire" into Charleston streets with a satisfaction that bursts from every pore. They hope it will not be surrendered until there is not one stone left upon another, and not a man left of the insolent crew who hatched the treason which has brought all this suffering on the nation. For that city and its inhabitants there are at the North no bowels of compassion.—*Daily News*, September 15.

Such things appear in a journal calling itself English. And here is another charmingly characteristic bit, in the same *genre*, on the difference between Northern and Southern civilization, for the enlightenment of English readers:—

Remember, too, that the persons who have figured most prominently in this crusade, and who have been foremost in wreaking abuse and vituperation upon all the North reveres, are men who have about the same relation to the upper classes of Boston and other Northern cities that Highland chiefs of the seventeenth century bore to Edinburgh or London society of the same date; and that their claim to respectability is founded solely on the possession of slaves; that the portion of the population of South Carolina who are familiar either with the usages of good society or even of civilised life, does not exceed twenty families, who owe their culture and refinement to their ability to visit the North every year; that the rest are semi-barbarians, the like of whom can perhaps now only be found in the remoter parts of Russia or of Asiatic Georgia, and who would be almost as great a curiosity to a New England farmer as a Zulu Caffre or a Maori to an English parish clerk.

THE DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.—The columns of newspapers are filled with descriptions of farm labourers' cottages. Take a few samples at random:—"A cottage with one small bedroom, tenanted by a man, his wife (far advanced in pregnancy), and four children; a married daughter, her husband, and child; the only ventilation by a casement one foot wide and two deep." Such facts speak volumes of the rate of wages and general standard of living. "A rickety tenement, wholly unfit for human habitation; no privy accommodation; surrounded by filthy dykes full of stagnant drainage; occupant, a bedridden old woman, who has not got up since Christmas; the bed is on the floor, and there are large holes in the walls, which threaten to fall down." These are the first two instances that we come to in a list now lying before us and occupying nearly two columns of close type. The third instance is that of a cottage where "a young man, 17 years old, was sleeping in the same bed on the floor with his sister aged 18." Then comes No. 4, "A man, his wife, and seven children, of both sexes, whose ages range from 20 years to 3 years; they occupy a place too small to be called a room, and situated between the ceiling and the roof, the only light and ventilation being that through a square of glass 11 inches by 9." We have taken without selection the first four items of a list of more than fifty, many of them much worse, and all attested by a sanitary inspector at Norwich. It is pretty much the same all over the country. What is the remedy for this? We fear that the only real remedy must be sought in that increase of knowledge and prudence among the unskilled labourers themselves, and the general improvement of society resulting from it, which will bring about a higher rate of wages. Whatever we may wish, and whatever we may say, and however benevolent and philanthropic it would be, we cannot seriously, as a matter of fact, or a calculation of probabilities, think it at all likely that capitalists will invest their money in building little palaces for tenants earning 10s. a week. This may be a hard, disagreeable fact, but it is a fact notwithstanding; and the only way to cure the evil is by telling the truth about it.—*Morning Post*.

A YANKEE GENERAL'S LETTER-BAG.—During Lee's advance and Milroy's precipitate retreat from Winchester, the latter's letter-bag was captured, and the contents have since been published by the Southern papers for the edification of their readers. Among reports of spies, male and female, and the fulsome flattery of Yankee sycophants, is the following truly astonishing epistle, which shows with what freedom a bribe may be offered to a Federal major-general, and what a flimsy pretext is thought sufficient to "save appearances":—

"Wheeling, West Virginia, June 8th, 1863.

"General,—I am an applicant for adjutant-general of the State of West Virginia. If not too much too trouble to you, can I ask that you will forward me a letter of recommendation to Governor Boreman, at your earliest convenience, for that position?"

"I enclose you receipt of the Adams' Express Company for \$100. I expressed the money money at Martinsburg, having a considerable amount with me, and not wishing to run any risk in night travelling with the same.

"I am, very truly yours, &c.,  
HENRY C. FLESHER."

AN ENGLISH ACTOR ON THE FRENCH STAGE.—We lately had two French actors performing on the English stage, and our most accomplished comedian, Mr. Charles Matthe, has returned the compliment with interest. He is in Paris playing in a French piece written by himself, called *L'Anglais Timide*. Mr. Matthevins evinced no timidity in the way he came before a Paris audience. The *Opinion* says:—"It must be owned that he went to work badly enough, and enlisted, as if on purpose, all the chances against him. He arrives in Paris without being announced, unknown to everybody." The first night was very nearly a failure, in consequence of these defective arrangements and the length of the drama. However, the genius of the actor triumphed over all difficulties, and in a few nights he became so popular that the Variétés, at which theatre he is performing, is crowded to excess though, previous to his debut, it was doing a bad business. Mr. Matthevins surprised London by his very choice Italian in his late entertainment; and French critics testify to his excellent pronunciation of French. His accent is so slight that only a Parisian can distinguish it, and that only if he is on the alert to detect it. The French press compares him to Henri Monnier, Perlet, Arnal, Lafont, Levasor, and other celebrities of the French stage; and there is no doubt that for versatility of conception he is without a rival. His first season in Paris is not likely to be his last, and it is understood that he has already entered into an engagement for a future appearance upon terms that even a prima donna at the London Italian Opera would consider acceptable and fair. The *Moniteur* observes "at the moment when one of the most esteemed English actors is acting in our own language, Taillade is preparing to perform *Macbeth* in English at the Vaudeville Theatre."

GROUNDLESS SUSPICIONS.—We notice that fears are expressed by some lest the people of Mississippi and Alabama should not endure with integrity the trial to which they seem about to be subjected. Our own observation inclines us to give but little weight to such apprehensions. We have seen the tide of invasion sweep over communities once noted for their "Union" sentiment; over counties and neighbourhoods lying upon the very borders of the enemy's land, and accustomed to associate, and intermingle, and trade with the enemy's people. It had been predicted that such localities would swarm with traitors. Particular individuals were specified, of whom it was freely prophesied that they would certainly affiliate with the enemy. We have rejoiced in the lowest depths of the soul to find these ungenerous prophecies, these illiberal expressions of fear and distrust falsified and dishonoured by the result; falsified both as to the communities and the individuals thus suspected. The presence of trial has developed a noble and heroic virtue in our people. Look at the City of Alexandria, the first town which felt the Federal hoof: has any city in the land a prouder record? Has any surpassed her in unflinching fidelity and generous devotion to the Confederate cause? Nay, if any have equalled her, let them be proud, for they have done grandly! And look at Fairfax, and Loudoun, and Prince William, and Stafford, and Fauquier; and look at many of the Valley counties of Virginia, harried, and plundered, and desolated as they have been—could a people have acted better? The presence of the enemy seemed but to steady and confirm their loyalty; while the outrages inflicted upon them, so far from intimidating them into submission, but served to refine their patriotism and inflame their zeal. And why should it not be so in Mississippi, and Alabama, and everywhere else? Our rich men have cheerfully let property go, rather than compromise their loyalty,—why shall not the cotton planters do the same? Many a family here, accustomed to all the comforts of life, is now in indigence and exile, rather than prove false to their country. Are the people elsewhere less heroic and more selfish than we? We will not for a moment credit the suspicions to which we have alluded, until they shall prove to be realities. This, we are perfectly convinced, will never happen. There may be some marks of shrinking as the storm gathers, and is about to break. The timid, in that hour of anxious waiting, may feel some nervous promptings to evade its fury. But let the storm once burst, and the danger is over. Let the enemy once occupy, and the most doubting are at once confirmed, the most feeble become strong. The danger of disloyalty is over then save as to the few outcasts who are ready to sell themselves as spies and informers. We have never known a Yankee invasion to fail of the effect we have above stated. Why should it work differently in Mississippi and Alabama? We do not believe it will. The people there will look beyond their temporary misfortunes, and the local reverses which have led to them—and will take a more general view of operations. They will not think all is lost, because their neighbourhood or city has been overtaken by calamity.—*Richmond Sentinel*.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE ARMY OF THE WEST.

WILSON'S BRIGADE.

25th Georgia Regiment.—Company F—Corporal A. B. Lee, r. S. Williams, S. Howard. Company H—Sergeant S. E. Jones. Company K—S. Burke, J. 29th Georgia Regiment.—Company D—N. T. Morris, J. C. Andrews, J. Company F—J. McLeod. Company I—R. Finney, J. 30th Georgia Regiment.—Company A—A. H. Lewis, B. H. Wilkerson, r. Company D—A. J. Tharpe, r. Company G—George Spaulding. 1st Battalion Georgia Sharpshooters.—Company B—S. Brown. Company C—B. Boggs, A. J. Little, S. Boggs, H. J. Starell. Company D—Captain George C. Dent, L. R. A. T. Blakely, W. Cochran, A. Smith, J. C. Winn. Martin's Battery.—T. Hadden, J.

GREGG'S BRIGADE.

3rd Tennessee Regiment.—Company A—A. J. Riel, W. H. Stone. Company D—W. M. Bynum, J. H. Kirtrell, arm amputated. Company F—Corporal J. T. Clark. Company K—1st Lieut. J. Hildreth, L. 10th Tennessee Regiment.—Company B—Corporal R. Reynolds. 30th Tennessee Regiment.—Company C—J. N. Head, E. M. Rooney. 41st Tennessee Regiment.—Company C—Corporal W. G. Gracey. Company D—M. P. Evans. Company E—J. H. Dyer. Company G—J. B. Benson. Company I—Charles Goodman, James M. Baker. Company K—John J. Coons. 50th Tennessee Regiment.—Company C—T. W. Floyd, W. H. Andrews. 7th Texas Regiment.—Lieut.-Col. W. S. Moody, L. Company B—B. H. Mass. Company D—B. S. Joyce. Bledsoe's Battery.—Sergeant W. Ball, A. J. Ball.



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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1863.

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## The Siege of Charleston.

NOTWITHSTANDING Greek fire, Parrott guns, and iron-clads, this stronghold of the South has not yet fallen. There was a great shout of triumph in New York over the news that Fort Sumter was a heap of ruins, and the Federal organs in this country jumped at once to the conclusion, that, the fire of Fort Sumter subdued, it was all over with Charleston. The progress of the siege has dispelled this illusion, and proved that the key to the defences of the Palmetto City is not in the casemated fortress which, two years ago, seemed to bid defiance to the navies of the world. In fact, the destruction of Fort Sumter would almost seem to be the "be all and the end all" of Federal triumph. With this, the main obstacle to the approach of Charleston Harbour removed, it was thought that the iron-clads would easily effect a passage. The surprise was great in the Federal camp when day after day was allowed to pass by with the vaunted iron squadron floating idly within the bar, or steaming up just within range of the land batteries to deliver a casual shell and make all haste out of reach of the Confederate guns. By-and-by it was rumoured that the Federal batteries erected on Morris Island were also played out. The great gun which had poured its flaring missiles into the defenceless city had burst; the Parrott guns which had shattered the walls of Fort Sumter were used up; most of the ammunition was gone; the six days' bombardment had exhausted the Federal stores; and General Gilmore found himself at the end of the artillery duel brought to a dead-lock, with the enemy repairing damages with impunity under his eyes and within reach of his guns. On the 21st August, Sumter was in ruins; on the 23rd it had ceased to exist as a fortification according to General Gilmore's report, though the Confederate flag waved over it; and a day later the Federal batteries declined to waste their ammunition upon it. Another day, and we learn that heavy firing was going on between the Federal batteries and Forts Sumter and Wagner; and, finally, it is officially reported that on the 1st inst. a general engagement took place between the iron-clads and Forts Wagner, Sumter, and Moultrie, and that the attack on Fort Sumter was to be renewed.

Either the Federal accounts of the damage done to Fort Sumter have been scandalous exaggerations, or Beauregard, emboldened by the enemy's inactivity, has re-fortified the ruins. At any rate, it is certain that after a bombardment of a fortnight the garrison of Fort Sumter not only held out, but was taking a very active part in the defence. The probability is, that that skilful engineer, Beauregard, has constructed new fortifications on the ruins of the old casemates with the aid of sand-bags and cotton bales, and that on the 1st inst. Sumter was really stronger than it had been at the commencement of the attack. A valuable addition to its defences had, we believe, arrived at Charleston in the latter part of the month of August, *via* Wilmington, in the shape of some of the heaviest guns, with their ammunition, that have yet reached the South; and it is possible that in the late encounter between the forts and the iron-clads the latter were first introduced to their fire. Certainly the iron-clads had the worst of it. The utmost the Yankees can claim is, "much damage to the forts." As they eventually retired, and as the attack was to be renewed, there cannot be much doubt that they met with a decided repulse. But it speaks volumes for the success of the defence, and it augurs well for the permanent safety of Charleston, that the Federals could only report damage to the forts. We strongly suspect that General Gilmore foresaw a failure on the night of the 21st, when he threw his incendiary shells into the sleeping town, and that he hoped to intimidate the towns-people into a surrender, although he could not drive the brave garrison from their guns. He did not know the strength of Southern patriotism, or he would never have given an order which, so far from terrifying the people of Charleston, has only nerved them with a still sterner resolve never to surrender their beautiful city to the cruel invader. The Greek fire and the big guns have apparently failed, but there remains the spade. General Gilmore has fallen back upon his earlier programme, and is sapping his way to the parapet of Fort Wagner. At the latest date the approaches were so near that the men were throwing shells and grenades from the trenches and the fort; and the assault could not long be delayed. One account states that a night attack was made on the 26th and repulsed, and the report is exceedingly probable. *En revanche*, the Federals claim to have stormed some rifle-pits in the night from whence a very annoying fire was kept up on their working parties, and captured seventy prisoners. We are, however, entirely at the mercy of the North for news. If any disaster has happened to the Federal army it will not be published. There has been a suspicious absence of intelligence from Confederate sources in the columns of the New York press for the last week or two. We shall not be surprised to hear that another assault has been made and repulsed, and that the Confederate flag still floats proudly and defiantly over the earthworks of Fort Wagner. The panic at New York has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but there are plenty of indications that things were not going on favourably, and that, practically, little or no progress had been made towards the reduction of Charleston since the day the Federals surprised the seaward batteries and gained a footing on Morris Island. Altogether the siege of Charleston reflects as much lustre on the soldiers of the Confederacy as any episode of the war. The press in this country has been startled by the enormous array of force brought to bear against them. It has dwelt with something like alarm on the unparalleled calibre of the Federal artillery, on the destructive effect and terrible accuracy of the Parrott guns, and the solid invulnerability of the turreted iron-clads. It has contrasted the shells that swept through and through Fort Sumter with the deadliest missiles of the Old World, and confessed to a doubt as to the superiority of European artillery. The North, too, has had the run of every market in Europe. Whatever we had of newest and deadliest invention it could freely purchase and import. All our resources have been placed at its disposal; and it is fighting the Confederates with every appliance that the ingenuity

and skill of man can furnish. The South has no such advantages. Isolated and unaided, she has to face the conflict. A purely agricultural country, she has to struggle with a nation of vast mechanical and engineering aptitude and resources. Out of her own scanty means she has to provide the defences which time after time beat off the Federal flotillas. With the industry, devotion, gallantry, and indomitable energy of her sons, she has to make up for the superiority which the Federal Government enjoys, with its numerous fleets and the vast means a one-sided neutrality places at its disposal. Charleston may yet fall, but at least the chivalry of South Carolina has not belied its reputation. Nowhere has Southern heroism been more nobly illustrated than amidst those battered casemates of Fort Sumter, where day after day the war-flag of the Confederacy was rehoisted almost as soon as the Federal shot had cut it down; to show to friend and foe that the brave garrison held out, and that, despite the enormous disproportion of odds, Beauregard's order of "No surrender" would be obeyed literally to the last.

## Dropping the Mask.

WHETHER they imagine that their work is done, and that Mr. Seward's ninety-days' bills are at last about to be honoured, whether they are tired of their prolonged hypocrisy, or whether the intoxication produced by the destruction of Fort Sumter has made them careless, we know not; but assuredly Mr. Bright and his little faction of English Yankees have thrown off the mask of Abolitionism they have worn so long, and stand forth before the public as mere Unionists; as contemptuous of the "nigger," and as zealous for the North, as Abraham Lincoln himself. Thus writes their consistent and devoted organ the *Morning Star*: "It requires no shrewdness to discover that nine-tenths of English Abolitionists"—that is, of those who have taken that name upon themselves as a badge of partisanship during the present war—"are strongly attached to the American Union. They are Liberals as well as philanthropists. They love political as well as personal freedom. They believe that human progress has much to hope and nothing to fear from the re-establishment of the Republic in unimpaired vastness and power." In one word, they are Unionists and not Emancipationists; and they adopted the cry of Emancipation for two reasons of obvious policy: first, because it was popular in England; and, secondly, because it served to mask an anti-patriotic feeling which would have been at once apparent had they declared themselves simply the friends and partisans of a Government always hostile to their country, and just now engaged in acts of systematic insult and outrage towards our commerce, our colonies, and our flag. We thank them for their tardy candour; we will not inquire too closely whether or no it was wrung from them by their consternation at the idea that emancipation might perhaps come from the South, and the friends of the slave be enlisted on the side of the master who had granted, rather than of the foe who had pretended to promise him, liberty; we will allow to the wolf all the merit he may claim for having thrown off the sheep's-skin before he has actually got into the fold, and merely invite attention to the fact that he has thrown it off, and that those who in future mistake him for a lamb must be very obstinately blind indeed. It was, indeed, never very difficult to comprehend the real temper of these men. They had never been Abolitionists until the outbreak of war. How much they cared about slavery was evident from the part their leaders took on the question of Protection. The West Indian planters claimed as a matter of mere equity that, being themselves deprived of the benefits of slavery, they should not be called upon to compete on equal terms with those who still enjoyed the advantage of the only system under which negro labour can be made efficient and reliable. Their claim was admitted by the Abolitionists, and free-grown coffee and sugar long enjoyed a special protection in our market: a protection perfectly just, since the



disadvantage under which its producers suffered was one of our own creation—the effect of a feature of our national policy. That protection was at last abolished. Into the party motives of its removal we need not inquire; Whigs say that they simply carried out the principles of free-trade: Tories that they were actuated by a political revenge against the West Indian planters, and by a desire to gain popularity at home by cheapening sugar. But what part did the faction now represented by the *Star* act on that occasion? Why, they took the side of slavery, and it was mainly their work that the differential duties were abolished. Let us ask, again, what was their tone about the African squadron, about the right of search, and other questions in which the interest of the negro was concerned? Always in favour of slavery, always adverse to the staunch and earnest Abolitionists. How, on the other hand, did they speak of the Union—as much, and no more, a slave-holding power then, as the Confederacy now? Always with admiration and attachment, not always quite consistent with good taste, loyalty, and patriotic feeling. Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation was not needed to stimulate their devotion to the Northern cause. From the first, they were heart and soul with the Union, and refused to believe in its downfall, with just that same spirit of frantic love for its magnitude, its semblance of grandeur, and its actual usefulness that was manifested by the Yankees themselves.

Mr. Bright's devotion to democracy, and to America, as the home and pattern of pure democracy, has always been one of the warmest and sincerest passions of his nature; second only to his bitter hatred of settled order and aristocratic institutions, and of England, as enjoying the highest kind of order and the most open and powerful aristocracy that the world has seen. For twenty years he has never wearied of descanting to all who would listen to him on the happiness of a land where every man was the equal of every other; where nobody took off his hat to a gentleman or allowed a peer to pass before him into a dining-room; where no hereditary lawgivers had power to restrain the representatives of the people from giving instant effect to every popular caprice; where no man was called My Lord, or Your Grace; where no established Church preserved the old traditions of Christian faith, Christian law, and Christian liberty, and provided an educated ministry, possessing by the fact of their education an unfair advantage over ignorant and illiterate rivals; above all, where no Royal presence reminded the people of the existence of a feeling so irrational as loyalty, a sentiment so degrading as reverence. America was Mr. Bright's Utopia; the Union his ideal of Government. While the Union upheld slavery, he could see no cause for speaking ill of a system found compatible with the Union; as, now that a quarrel has arisen in which slavery and the Union are on opposite sides, he can find no terms of abuse too strong for an institution which, as he says, has caused the Union to fall into its present peril. It was not of the negro that Mr. Bright thought before the war, and it is not for the negro that he cares now. He never loved liberty, personal or political; for he never knew what it meant. Were he dictator, he would begin his career by crushing the freedom of the press, and probably follow up that measure by destroying freedom of testamentary disposition. What he means by liberty he explained, unconsciously but forcibly, when he spoke of the social liberty of France as more valuable than the political liberty of England: he means simply the absence of political subordination and social gradation. A military despotism is not in his view inconsistent with liberty, provided the despot grant no titles and no class privileges; but a country wherein one man has a vote and another has not, wherein one man is Lord Palmerston, and another Sir John Pakington, and another plain John Bright, is not, to his mind, a land of liberty at all. By liberty he means equality—the worst enemy of real freedom; and therefore it is that he worships the Union. It is as the devotees of democracy, not as the champions of

Abolition, that his party have ranged themselves on the side of the North in this quarrel.

But they have been forced to take another ground for the public, because the public cares much for the negro and nothing for the Union. Englishmen have been so far deluded by Abolitionist tracts as to believe that the negro suffers miserably in servitude, and they are too entirely unacquainted with him, and too thoroughly ignorant of ethnical distinctions, to doubt his fitness for freedom. But they have never been led so far astray by demagogic oratory as to mistake a forced equality for personal freedom, or to imagine that they enjoy less of political freedom because they revere the Queen, adhere to the Church, and respect the privileges of the House of Lords. They have never looked with envy or admiration upon the institutions of America. Until the outbreak of the present war the Union was for them only a foreign Power, feeble at home and aggressive abroad; whose policy appeared to them alike undignified and offensive, and with which they only became acquainted by its insolent disregard of international courtesies and its violent encroachments on the territory of its neighbours. Nor have they learned, since the war began, to regard the Union as the defence of political freedom and the hope of human progress. On the contrary, they have seen freedom trampled under foot in the name of Union; they have seen newspapers suppressed, statesmen imprisoned or banished, free speech forbidden, property confiscated, military despotism established, the independence of the judges annihilated, legislatures dispersed at the point of the bayonet, free cities occupied by military forces, and elections ordered to take place under martial law, by authority of those who professed to represent the Union; and they have learned, with perfect justice, to identify Unionism with the utter negation of civil rights and political liberty. They have seen war waged in the name of the Union against a people struggling for national independence; and waged in a spirit as savage as that of Sepoys or Sioux. They have seen cities burnt, non-combatants deliberately murdered, women and children outraged, prisoners assassinated in cold blood, property plundered, fire rained without warning on hospitals and private houses—and this in the name of the Union; and they may be excused if this Union seems to them only a *fraternité de Cain*. They have seen English merchantmen plundered, English harbours blockaded, English neutrality insulted, English colonies threatened with annexation, in the name and by the officers of the Union; and they justly hold this Union the deadly and inveterate enemy of England. They understand that while the Union exists the peace of the world must be perpetually in danger; the civilisation of Central America impossible; the establishment of order and good government in Mexico hopeless; the safety of the Canadian frontier precarious; and they recognise in the Union the worst foe of human progress, and in its dissolution the best guarantee for the preservation of peace throughout the world, and the development of civil freedom and material prosperity in America. The Union is a word that stinks in the nostrils of Europe even as the name of Turchin, or Milroy, or McNeill, or Butler; and he would be a bold man who, now that the Unionists have cast off the Abolition mask, would venture to claim European sympathy for them or for their cause.

One very silly clergyman, indeed—of that sort of clergymen which is supposed to occupy an intellectual position between men and women, without the instinctive good sense of the latter or the logical sagacity of the former—has undertaken to rehabilitate the Federalists, and prove that the Confederates have done worse things than they. He does not, indeed, pretend that the Confederates have shot prisoners in cold blood, or burnt defenceless cities, or hounded on revolted slaves to the murder of women and children. These things he simply ignores. But in the cases of atrocities for which he seeks parallels in the conduct of the Confederates, this Mr. Neale—this one priest of the Church of England who prays for the success of Butler and Beecher, of Turchin and Garrison—displays one mental defect conspicuously feminine, and one which belongs only

to the coarsest order of masculine minds: a profound indifference to facts, and an equally profound insensibility to the moral aspect of human actions. He states, for instance, that two Confederate spies were hung, according to law, by General Burnside; that hereupon the Confederates threatened retaliation; and that then the Federals selected for reprisals two Confederate officers—one the son of General Lee—either by lot, or because the latter was the only officer in their power of equal rank to one of the prisoners. We assure Mr. Neale, with all the respect due to a profession which confers exemption from plain-spoken retorts, that there is not a single word of truth in all this. The officers murdered by General Burnside were not spies, but recruiting officers in the State of Kentucky, claimed by both the belligerents; and were, therefore, as much entitled to the courtesies of war as would be a Federal officer captured in Western Virginia. Secondly, the officers selected by the Confederate Government were of equal rank with those murdered—captains, we believe, in the enemy's service. Thirdly, so far from being chosen by lot, the officers selected by the Federals were chosen expressly as being the sons of Confederate generals. Finally, when the prisoners were first put in close arrest by the Government at Richmond, General Lee the younger was lying wounded in his own house, whither a raid was made expressly for his capture, that he might be held as a hostage for the men whom the Confederates proposed, according to military usage, to treat as Burnside had treated his prisoners. We need waste no further comment on this case. Next, this same clergyman can see no atrocity in the attempted destruction of Charleston harbour by a stone fleet while he sees something very atrocious in the destruction of cotton by the Confederates lest it should fall into the enemy's hands. Similarly, we suppose, he sees no crime in the devastation of the Palatinate by Louis XIV., and no heroism in the inundation of their country by the Dutch, or the burning of their city by the Muscovites, in order to baffle an invader. These things neither require nor admit of argument; a man who does not see the brutality of one act and the glory of the other is simply devoid of moral sense, and we might as well reason with a blind man on the nature of light, or with a deaf man on the graces of music. But we would advise this reverend gentleman, for the future, to abstain from revealing secrets that are not his. When he next meets his informant who told him that Mr. Slidell writes the letters in the *Times* signed S., let him tell that gentleman, in such phrases as are permitted to a priest, that he has been guilty of the sin of false witness. The Confederate Minister at Paris is as guiltless of those letters as Mr. Neale himself.

The *Spectator*, after some personal amenities, asks why we compare the negroes under Grant and Banks to the Sepoys under Nana Sahib? Darien and Beckham's Landing may afford a sufficient answer. The revolted Sepoys and the fugitive slaves have both quailed before their former masters in the field, and both proved more apt at arson and murder than at fighting. We never compared Banks to Nana Sahib; that evil eminence has been, by universal consent, reserved for another of our contemporary's clients, and we are bound to say that we think the Nana rather hardly used in the matter.

Thus much we have said, in deference to the former character of our contemporary, without taking notice of his present courtesies. But, as we have been obliged to enter into controversy with him, we cannot conclude without referring to a matter which we had hoped to see handled by some older and abler rival. Some time ago a letter appeared in the *Spectator*, signed by "A Freeman," who made himself unwarrantably free with a private letter supposed to be damaging to the character of the writer, now a minister of France. Will the *Spectator*, for the sake of its own honour and that of the press at large, explain by what oversight it came to publish such matter? For, until this affair is made clear, it must rest under a cloud which we would fain see removed from the character of the only adversary for whom we have ever been able to entertain a feeling of respect.



## Historicus Again.

HISTORICUS used to be a clever advocate as well as a first-rate writer. His arguments were skilfully arranged and forcibly stated, and he had the tact to choose such as, if not always intelligible or convincing, should at least be calculated to perplex the judgment and avoid offence to the sympathies of his readers. But since he has accepted a brief from Mr. Adams, and undertaken to work in common with Mr. Bright and Mr. Taylor for the interests of the Federal Government, he has been gradually sinking to their level in point of discretion, temper, and forensic skill, if not in point of literary ability. His last letter is the weakest, most foolish, and most un-English that has yet proceeded from his pen; and concludes with a proposal so extravagant that we can only suppose him either to have taken leave of his political senses, or to have undertaken to write according to Federal instructions, and without reserving to himself the liberty to conceal or to modify the irrational demands of his clients. We know that the Federal Government and its agents in this country, driven to distraction by the fear of what may be achieved by a few more Alabamas, have acted in regard to Confederate shipbuilding with a degree of excitement approaching to frenzy. They observe no bounds in their demands and no discretion in their menaces. We are aware that the Americanising Radicals and the gentry of the Emancipation Society think that England ought, in pure abhorrence of slavery, either to go to war with the Confederate States, or to adopt measures adverse to them and favourable to their enemy, in a spirit altogether inconsistent with honest neutrality, or even with a decent affectation thereof. But we are a little surprised to find the same tone adopted by a writer educated in the logical and somewhat cynical school of the *Saturday Review*, with high pretensions to political sagacity and a considerable store of legal knowledge. Historicus's argument, however disguised, resolves itself into a series of very intelligible and very preposterous propositions. The first of these is, that the Confederate Government is causing ships to be built in this country, not for the purpose of destroying Yankee commerce or breaking up the blockade, but simply for the purpose of provoking the Yankees to go to war with England, and thus securing an ally in their struggle for independence. The second proposition is, that in building ships, or causing ships to be built, or buying ships when built—for no distinction is drawn between these different methods of proceeding—within British jurisdiction, the Confederates are committing a wrong against us, which we ought to resent, if necessary, by war; in plain terms that, if any more English ships are purchased by the Confederate Government, we ought to go to war with the Confederate States. Thirdly, we are warned that such purchases involve us in risk of war, and that therefore we ought to prevent them. Finally, two wholly inconsistent assumptions run through the whole of his reasoning, as through all arguments on the same side; first, that we are bound to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act at all; and secondly, that we are entitled to enforce it against one party while tolerating its systematic violation by the other. It is best to consider and dispose of these propositions in detail, as we shall thereby give an answer to everything that has been urged or is likely hereafter to be urged on the Federal side of the question.

It may seem almost unnecessary to offer any argument against the childish assertion that the Confederate Government is plotting to involve England, against her will, in a war with the United States. This assertion attributes to the profound statesman at the head of that Government a weak short-sighted cunning, almost beneath the capacity of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, and implies on his part a settled conviction of the absolute idiocy of the English Administration. Is it conceivable that any rational politician could hope to attain by so barefaced an intrigue any other result than a direct quarrel with the Power he had sought to entrap by

a contrivance too puerile for any man of more practical sagacity or diplomatic experience than the secretary of an anti-slavery society? Such nonsense hardly deserves a serious refutation. But we may observe that it receives a complete and practical refutation from the whole conduct of those who have built and of those who have subsequently taken charge of these ships. Both the Florida and the Alabama were built and sent to sea with such precautions and in such a manner that they might avoid as completely as possible any infringement of British neutrality; and in the case of the Florida a British jury decided that neither our neutrality nor our Foreign Enlistment Act had been violated while the vessel was within British jurisdiction. In every case every possible precaution has been used to avoid any violation of British neutrality; every care has been taken not to give the Federals any case for demanding the interference of the British Government. This is a conclusive proof that the object was not to bring about a war—for which end it would have been necessary to make the violation of neutrality flagrant and apparent—but to get men-of-war. And when we remember the terrible mischief that has been done by two or three Confederate cruisers, and the utter inefficiency of Yankee blockaders as men-of-war—all the blockading squadrons being so composed that two or three good iron-plated ships would dispose of any of them in half-an-hour)—when we remember, again, that two or three such ships would probably hold Boston and New York at their mercy—we can see that it would be an act of suicidal folly on the part of the Confederates to sacrifice any chance of getting such ships to sea for the problematical possibility of provoking a quarrel, in their own despite, between England and the North. We may also remind Historicus that the risk of such a quarrel has hardly been enhanced by the appearance of the Alabama and her consorts. The North has blustered and threatened no more fiercely since those ships began their career of destruction than before. It will make war upon England whenever it dares; and its daring is not likely to be increased by the news that the blockade of Mobile or Savannah has been broken up, or that Boston has been laid under contribution by a couple of Confederate men-of-war.

There is no foundation for the assertion that the Confederates, in purchasing ships from British shipbuilders, are doing a wrong to this country. If, indeed, they had established recruiting agents on our shores, and openly, or almost openly, enlisted soldiers in defiance of our laws, we might justly have protested, and forbidden their proceedings; though it might have been retorted upon us that we have allowed this very thing to be done within the last five years by the Papal Government, and also by a party which did not even pretend to represent any existing government. But we certainly have no right to complain because a British subject, being willing to sell ships to the Confederates or cannon to the Federalists, each party purchases that of which it has need. Take a case in point. During the Italian war, France chartered a British ship as a transport. This is forbidden by the same law which forbids the equipment of belligerent expeditions in British ports, and the Government hesitated whether or not they should put the law in force. But no one ever dreamt of addressing a remonstrance to the French Government on the subject; no one ever doubted that that Government had a perfect right to buy or hire ships where it could; the question was only whether our subjects had a right by law to sell or lend ships to a belligerent. The offence, if there be any, is an offence against municipal law. All persons guilty of that offence, whether natives or aliens, are, while they remain on British soil, liable to be tried for it before a British Court of Justice. But there their liability ends. No offence against our neutrality is committed by the purchase of ships within our territory; for the sale of ships of war to a belligerent is not forbidden by international law. If indeed a belligerent expedition were fitted out within our ports by Confederate agents, and sailed thence without our consent, it may be held that this would be an affront to our national

sovereignty for which we might demand redress from the Confederate Government; and we are inclined to agree with Historicus, that mere non-recognition would not preclude such a demand, though the possibility of the occurrence indicates the absurdity of non-recognition. To refuse to take diplomatic cognisance of the existence of a Power with which we might, by any act of rashness or folly on its part, be forced to go to war, is simply ridiculous; if it be sufficiently a Power to be fought with, it is sufficiently a Power to be recognized. But there has been no kind of violation of our sovereignty, and can be none, so long as the Confederate Government is satisfied to purchase ships in our ports or out of them, and to arm and commission those ships only when they have passed beyond our jurisdiction; and to propose that on this account we should go to war with the Confederates in aid of the Yankees—who from the outset have insulted our neutrality in our own waters, and are now violating our sovereignty by enlisting soldiers in Ireland—is the very depth of absurdity or the sublimest height of impudence.

The probability of war, as a consequence of inaction in this matter, is utterly irrelevant. It is the hard fate of small Powers, like Portugal and Brazil, now and then to be forced to do that which is, or seems to them, contrary to right and equity; but even small Powers are held to save their honour only by holding out until violence is actually employed. A great Power is bound either to resent a threat or to disregard it; and would be held as having disgraced herself for ever if she allowed her policy to be swayed, in matters of international right or municipal jurisdiction, by the fear of foreign war. England is too great to deal differently with the weak and with the strong—to administer one law to the Confederates and another to the Federals—one justice to Naples and another to America. *Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra.* If the Federal Government have a right to certain concessions at our hands, those concessions ought to be made, even though France and the Confederates were in league to make war the penalty of compliance. If they have no such right, then in giving them that which they demand under menace of war, England would be guilty of an act of cowardice fatal to her international position, and perilous perhaps to her national independence. If the sale of ships to the Confederates really constitutes a *casus belli* on the part of the Federal Government, then, even if war were out of the question, we ought to stop that sale at once, taking no advantage of the weakness of the complainants. If, this sale not being lawfully a *casus belli*, we have yet reason to believe that the Federal Government intends to treat it as such, it is clear that our conduct ought not to be influenced thereby. To give way from apprehension of a wrongful war would be to allow the Federalists to make their own advantage of their own wrong, and to inflict on the Confederates an injustice which they would be entitled to resent, simply because we know them to be in no case to resent it. It would be to aid the strong, merely because they are strong and unscrupulous, against the weak, merely because they are weak. It would be a breach of neutrality; for although we might, of our own motion forbid the sale of munitions of war to either party, yet to do this at the demand and for the convenience of one side is an evident act of hostility towards the other.

We are not bound to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Act at all. The present Government is debarred from all right to pretend to any scrupulousness on that score by its own previous conduct. It declined to prevent the departure of a regiment, regularly uniformed, equipped, armed, and organised, to assist General Garibaldi in his irregular war against the late King of Naples. It was obliged to follow up this act by permitting another armed force to go to the assistance of the Pope against the King of Italy. It is certain, then, that in Lord Russell's opinion the Act is one of merely municipal obligation, which gives no right to any foreign Power to call upon us to take any measures not strictly required of us, in our neutral capacity, by international law. And it can hardly be thought that he ought to enforce such a law with strictness in this American quarrel. For



in the first place its operation must be unfair; it must prevent the Confederates buying from us what they most want, while it allows the Federals to buy that which they chiefly require, which is, in equity if not in law, a violation of neutrality. In the second place, its letter and spirit have been systematically violated on behalf of the Federal Government. Their fleets are manned by English seamen; their agents are recruiting for their armies in Ireland. If we were to act on the principle of *Historicus*, that we may deal with an offending nation on evidence insufficient to enable us to convict an offending subject, our first duty would be to declare war on the Federal Government for its notorious violations of our law in these matters. Then, and not till then, we should be entitled to enquire whether or not the Confederate agents have taken any steps in regard to the building of the ships said to be in Mr. Laird's yards which would give us a right of complaint. And whereas there can be no doubt that the Foreign Enlistment Act is habitually and systematically violated by the Yankees, we have the greatest doubt whether it has ever been violated, and above all, whether it is now being violated, by the Confederates. The law in regard to enlistment is clear; its violation by Federal agents is morally, if not legally, certain. But it is most doubtful whether the Foreign Enlistment Act applies to the vessels now in question; and if it do so apply, it is still more doubtful whether the Confederate Government or its agents are in any proper sense parties to the violation of the law. The truth is that, in England as in France, men forget that the two parties stand on exactly an equal footing. No French court would have dreamed of attaching the *Tuscarora* for the capture of a French blockade-runner. No English writer would dream of proposing to go to war with the Federalists for buying ships in Liverpool. It is time that such people as *Historicus*, and the French pettifoggers who have arrested a ship of war bearing the flag of a belligerent Power, should be reminded that, in their claims on neutral nations, the Confederates have every right and privilege that belongs to their enemies; that they are equally belligerents, equally, for our purpose, independent, and even in name and form equally our friends. If we act towards them in any less friendly manner than towards the Yankees, we are guilty of a breach of faith—the more inexcusable that it redounds to the advantage of the strong against the weak—of aggressive tyranny against a struggling nationality.

There is no reason to believe that any Confederate agent has committed any violation of the law in regard to the ships in question. They are not building to the order of the Confederate Government; so much we know and are free to state. If Mr. Laird is building them for Jan Jansen of Holland, or Jacques Bonhomme of Havre, there is therein no violation of law, English or international. What Jansen or Bonhomme may hereafter do with them is a question for the Government of France, and must be determined by French law; it is no concern of the Government of England. Of this, we believe, Lord Russell is perfectly aware. And if, knowing this, and being fully aware that he has no legal case against the ships, he yet proposes to detain them simply as a measure of friendship or complaisance towards the North—that is, of hostility towards the South—and pay out of the public purse such damages as a jury may award, he is guilty of a political crime for which, unhappily, no fitting punishment can, under modern usage, be awarded.

**AN IMPORTANT COLONIAL PAPER.**—A new paper in the English language, to be called the *St. Thomas Commercial Reporter*, is about to be established at St. Thomas, West Indies. The stock for this purpose has already been subscribed for, and nothing is waited for except the formal authorization of the Danish Government according to law. There is little doubt that, under competent management, this journal will soon become one of the most important members of the colonial press. The central position of St. Thomas, as the terminus of the Halifax and Bermuda mail route, and the rendezvous of the various branch lines of the West India Mail Steam Ship Company, make it the entrepôt of a great portion of the trade with the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America. The events now in progress in Mexico, and the re-establishment of peace on the Northern continent, promise to heighten still more the importance of this the most capacious and convenient harbour in the tropics. The *Commercial Reporter*, therefore, starts with unusual promises of success.

## THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

[Our correspondent's letter, although accidentally delayed, as its date implies, and therefore not bearing upon the later incidents of this memorable siege, will yet be found highly interesting for its accurate inside view of the Charleston defences, and the portraiture of the feelings of the population. The description of the assault on Fort Wagner is one of the ghastliest battle-pieces in the history of this war.]

CHARLESTON, July 29.

If a former letter reached you, it has told of another investment by the enemy of our "fair city by the sea"—of a siege commenced at our most vulnerable point, and attended with every appliance of destruction which skill and ingenuity can suggest—of a foothold effected on Morris Island within three miles of Fort Sumter, and the steady bombardment from ship and shore of the little Battery Wagner, which so obstinately contests the further advance of the foe. Twenty days have now elapsed since the Federals made their first demonstration. During this time they have twice made most desperate assaults upon our works with their infantry and been signally repulsed. The bombardment still continues; but happily it is now no longer the one-sided conflict that marked the earlier stages of the siege. Our danger has developed a wonderful strength and energy. No sooner did we recover from the spasm of surprise into which we were thrown by the sudden appearance of the enemy's batteries, unmasked within a few hundred yards of our own, than every arm was at work to repair the damage done, and dispute each step of further progress. The authorities called on the planters in the interior for two thousand negroes to work on fortifications. Four thousand were sent, and every train of cars swells the number. You may see the detachments just arrived this morning—lying under our cotton sheds or along our sidewalks—fat, happy, mirthful fellows, each with his spade and rations, and as eager to aid in the defence of Charleston as any white resident of the city. It may seem a strange fact to English readers, but it is nevertheless true (it was at first astonishing to us), that the slaves, not only upon the coast but in the country, when brought here to work on our fortifications, have invariably performed their labours with as much enthusiasm as if every one of them were conscious that he was directly interested in their completeness.

The fighting population of the State are likewise aroused, and old men and young have poured into the city in a steady stream. Our neighbouring sister, Georgia, always prompt as patriotic, gave us some of her best citizens, and the spectacle presented on our streets was one calculated to excite every proud emotion. These volunteers from abroad have now returned to their homes, the necessity for their presence having passed away; but you may still see every afternoon at 5 o'clock, another sight that tells of the unwatered blood of youth yet running in the veins of age. A regiment of our citizens, 1,200 strong, gathers at this hour for the customary review; and as your glance runs up and down the long line, it embraces men of every rank, sphere, profession and pursuit. There are merchants and planters, ministers, lawyers, judges, editors, mechanics, even ex-governors, city and State officials, white heads, furrowed brows, mind-worn faces, pale with thought, bent forms and feeble steps; but you cannot look upon these veteran citizens, representing as they do the old and tried men of the State, in their everyday attire, garnished only with the warlike belt and cartridge box, without feeling that the rifles they hold will echo, if necessary, on the field of battle that same determined spirit which ushered their little State, alone and unprotected, out of the Union. They will fight for Charleston from behind its ruins, apply the torch to their own dwellings, and then lay down life itself.

At present, these are employed only as guards and patrols, the Confederate soldiers proper being engaged in the defence of Battery Wagner and Morris Island. Nor will they be used until the now unanticipated crisis arrives, when the Federals may directly attack the city.

The women of the State are likewise heart and soul contributing to our strength and success. Our refugees are scattered far and wide; but every mail to Charleston is laden with funds they have collected for the relief of the sick and wounded, for the purchase of luxuries and clothing, and the establishment of hospitals. Words of God speed and good cheer, are showered by these noble women upon our soldiers, and they tell us of daily prayer meetings held in every town and hamlet, from whose altars ascend the incense of their hearts to the throne of God. The Christian faith developed and demonstrated during this war is not the least among its wonderful revelations.

Let a previous communication on this subject may have miscarried, I here repeat some of the principal and most interesting items it embraced, leaving the details to be supplied by the files of Charleston papers I have forwarded. First, of the geographical situation. Looking seaward from the city, the principal object which strikes the eye is the huge grey shape of Fort Sumter, four miles distant, standing as it were at the gateway of the harbour. To the left of this, and opposite, say twelve hundred yards, is the northern border of Sullivan's Island, lined with batteries, among which are Bee and Fort Moultrie. Between Fort Sumter and the two latter is the main entrance to the harbour, the face of the island is also protected by fortifications. On the right of Fort Sumter and nearly opposite, in advance of the Fort is Morris Island, the beach thirteen hundred yards distant. The nearest known as Cummings' Point. Here a short distance the beach, is Battery Gregg. Twelve hundred thereabouts further south, is Battery Wagner, a fortification which covers the breadth of the island at that point, say two hundred and fifty or three

yards. It is an enclosed work, partially surrounded by a deep ditch, with a superior slope to its southern wall, which the Yankees describe as "twenty-five feet high." Several hundred of them measured it with their bodies, and ought to know; but further details on this point cannot prudently be mentioned by your correspondent. Within the enclosure are the usual magazines and bomb-proofs; the latter can shelter from seven hundred to a thousand men. At the time of the original assault it mounted nine guns, a larger portion of which were pointed landward. On the sea face one effective piece has sufficed to keep a fleet of Monitors and gunboats at a respectful distance up to the present hour. Since the investment the place had been materially strengthened.

Morris Island is four miles in length, and resembles in shape a bent finger, the convexity of which fronts the sea. Its broadest portion is near the southern extremity, where it rests upon Light House Inlet. The latter separates Morris Island from Little Folly Island, which is in turn separated from Great Folly Island by a narrow neck. Little Folly is the Federal base of operations, its high sand hills, fine timber and dense undergrowth affording admirable concealment to the batteries of the enemy while in process of construction. Morris Island, near the Southern extremity is also covered with sand-hills, which give it great value as a military position. Unfortunately, however, the labour employed was inefficient for the purpose. Among these ridges the Confederate guns were scattered separately in a line a mile long, the front protected by sand embankments, the rear open. Our artillery consisted of nine pieces; two 8-inch naval shell guns; two 8-inch howitzers; a rifled 24-pounder, a Whitworth gun of 2-inch calibre, and three mortars. The guns of the enemy consisted of forty-seven pieces, embracing 7 10 ten-inch Parrots, 3-inch mortars, and other heavy metal. In addition to these were the 15-inch guns of the iron-clads and long-range pieces on the gunboats.

On Friday morning, the 10th instant, the formidable land batteries of the enemy were suddenly unmasked by the felling of the trees around them, and a tremendous fire opened on our unsuspecting troops. At the same time the fleet moved up to a position which completely flanked and enfiladed our own, and the Federal infantry, 4000 in number, preceded by boat howitzers, landed on the lower edge of the Island. Our infantry force consisted of less than 600 men, who had never before been in action. Taken by surprise in their camp, they were rapidly formed and hurried to the front; but by this time the battleground between the two forces was one sheet of flame. A brief stand only could be made before that terrible storm of iron hail, and they fell back fighting to the cover of Battery Wagner. In two hours our guns had been silenced, pieces captured, several of our best officers killed and wounded, the gentlest blood of the State shed, and a majority of our artillerymen taken prisoners. Captain J. C. Mitchell, a son of the expatriated Irishman, who was in command, barely escaped with a remnant of his men, and after fighting as infantry until the last moment, took refuge in Fort Wagner.

The Federals now occupied the lower half of the island, say two miles and a quarter in extent, and with their usual industry commenced to throw up batteries, the first being on an elevation known as Craigs Hill or Look-out. At daylight the next morning, (Saturday, the 11th instant) General Gilmore, Commander-in-Chief of the Yankee expedition, determined to attempt to carry Battery Wagner by assault. The storming party consisted of the 7th Connecticut in front, supported by the 76th Pennsylvania, 3rd New Hampshire, 9th Maine, and 6th Connecticut. As they advanced, the Federals were met by a raking fusillade and cannonade, but a few pressing on through the fire reached the top of the work. The contest was fierce but brief, and a few minutes sufficed to drive the whole Yankee line into a disorderly retreat. Scores were picked off by our unerring rifles as they ran, and some eighty or ninety, fearing this fiery gauntlet, raised their handkerchiefs from the coverts in which they were lying in token of surrender. The Federal loss on this occasion was 334 killed, wounded, and missing. Our own loss, five killed and ten or eleven wounded.

From that time until the 18th the enemy contented themselves with bombarding Battery Wagner from ship and shore, but without effect. The light yielding sand of the island successfully resisted the force of their heaviest balls, and like spray, fell back on to the embankment, and frequently on the very spot from where it was thrown. On Saturday, the 18th inst., another assault was attempted. From eight o'clock in the morning the bombardment increased in intensity until dusk, when it culminated in one of the most fearful storms of shot and shell ever rained upon a battery on this continent. No language can do justice to the scene at this time. The sound was like a continued reverberation of thunder, peal following peal in succession so rapid, that one could scarcely discern an interval. The air was filled with racing messengers of death, whose solid masses and splintered fragments buried themselves in almost every foot of the devoted fort. Immense shells striking the slope bounded over the parapet and rolled across the parade ground, to burst and scatter there. Others ricocheted along the earth and over the water, throwing huge volumes of sand and sea high in the air, while still others penetrated and were lost to sight in the broad earthen sides of the battery. On right and left could be seen shooting out a tongue of flame from every gun; now from an iron-clad, now a gunboat, now a broadside from the iron-sides, and again the batteries on land, and then fantastic shapes of smoke would linger for a moment and drift away in clustering branches, festoons, and spiral wreaths, to mingle with the heavy clouds that had gathered in the northern sky.

Nine thousand shot and shell, according to the closest estimates, fell in and around the battery, but the casualties during the day did not exceed eight killed and twenty wounded. This fire ceased soon after dark, and



then an assault being anticipated, the different commands of the garrison, who had been sheltered by the bomb-proofs, took their positions behind the ramparts.

The enemy advanced in two columns, according to the statement of prisoners, four and three thousand strong; the front bearing towards the outer beach, as if to attack the sea face and angle of the battery. It was about a quarter to eight o'clock. In five minutes more the head of the line emerged from the evening gloom, and reached the vicinity of our rifle pits. Sudden as a flash of lightning our heavy guns now opened with grape and canister, which tore great ragged gaps in their ranks and for an instant checked their approach; but recovering from this confusion again they moved steadily on until within less than a hundred yards.

Barely waiting for the Federals to come within this destructive range, our infantry gave them the contents of their rifles. The first line reeled to and fro under the fiery shock, like a stricken serpent, but, pushed on by those in the rear, the whole body commenced a charge at a double-quick. Our men could not charge back, but they gave a Southern yell in response to the Yankee cheer and awaited the blow. On they came over the sand-hills, tripping and stumbling in the pits their own shells had dug, until a portion reached the ditch of the battery. For those who had survived our fire, it was but the work of a moment to clamber up the sloping sides of the fortification and effect a lodgement. But the men who met them on the parapet were as desperate as themselves, and the contest that ensued was brief and bloody. The antagonists were breast to breast. Yankee negroes were among them, and with a hate that nerved the arm to fiercest blows, Southern rifles and Southern bayonets made short work of human life. The parapet was lined with bodies, white and black, and every second was running up the score. It was one of those encounters in which one side or the other must quickly yield or fly. The enemy took their choice.

In less than five minutes the whole of the first line had been shot, bayoneted, or were in full retreat—rolling in the ditch, or dragging their bloody bodies through the sand-hills on their hands and knees. But another column came, and another and another, each reinforcing its predecessor, until the battle waxed hot, desperate, and bloodier than before. Our light howitzers on the left of the battery were sweeping the slope and ditch with grape and canister, mowing down whole companies; our heavy guns in the fort were raking huge channels through the advancing ranks, while a fringe of fire danced along the edge of the ramparts, from rifles whose muzzles almost touched the fated objects of their aim. It was an ordeal from which the boldest troops might shrink, but with a bravery worthy of a better cause, a few of the Federals persevered in their task, and under cover of the darkness, finding the salient of the battery unprotected, dashed into an empty gun chamber and held their position. The remainder fled. The back-bone of the fray was broken, and but for a few spattering shots from the 200 or 300 of the enemy in the fort, some of whom had clambered up the bomb-proofs, the battle might have ceased altogether. General Taliaferro, our commander, making a personal reconnaissance, discovered that the Federals were in a position to give us trouble, should their comrades venture to repeat the assault: and accordingly surrounding the small locality they occupied, drove all who dared to run from the fort, and captured the remainder. Thus terminated one of the hardest fought, and, under the circumstances, one of the most desperate battles of the war. Our loss, all told, was not more than thirty-five killed and ninety wounded. That of the enemy was between 1,600 and 2,000. Of whites, we captured six commissioned officers and ninety-four privates. Of blacks, twenty-three or four, most of whom were wounded. The latter are generally from the Northern States, and belong to the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Colonel Shaw, who was found dead on the parapet by the side of his orderly-sergeant and flag. They say they were put in the advance under threat of being shot down by those in the rear, and having once got within our fire thought the safest place was under our guns. The Federals have another negro regiment, the 1st South Carolina, commanded by the famous Jay Hawker Kansas Montgomery.

Among the Yankee dead was found the body of Colonel Putnam, formerly of the Topographical Engineers, and commanding on this occasion, it is believed, one of the storming columns. The back part of his head had been blown off, but even in death the remarkable beauty of his face and form struck every observer. The remains were carefully preserved, and subsequently returned to the enemy under a flag of truce.

Probably no battle-field in the country has presented such an array of mangled bodies in a small compass as was to be seen on Sunday morning after the fight. The ground in front of Battery Wagner was thickly strewn; but in the ditch around the work the dead and wounded—white and black—were literally piled together. Blood, mud, water, brains and human hair matted together; men lying in every conceivable attitude, with every conceivable expression upon their countenances—their limbs bent into unnatural shapes by their fall of twenty or more feet—the fingers rigid and outstretched as if they had clutched at the earth to save themselves—pale beseeching faces looking out from among the ghastly corpses, with moans and cries for help and water, and dying gasps and death struggles. These are some of the details of the horrible picture which the night of Saturday left to be revealed by the dawn of a peaceful Sabbath. The work of removing the wounded and burying the dead was commenced at once, but it was not until far into the night of Sunday that it neared completion. The former were brought to the city in steamers. The surgeons operating on board; the latter were buried in pits. The number of dead reported officially was over 600.

This disastrous repulse has no doubt satisfied the

Federal general of the impracticability of carrying Battery Wagner by assault. For since that time, his preparations have been directed mainly to the construction of other batteries, the landing of heavy guns from his fleet, and a disposition of troops for the purpose of making feints elsewhere. An attack on James Island is not among the improbabilities, but there the chances of success are not more brilliant than those afforded in front of Battery Wagner.

To reduce Fort Sumter, Batteries Wagner and Gregg must first be captured. Neither of these can be breached with the means the enemy have yet brought to bear. They can only be rendered hot and uncomfortable by a continuous fire, and this has been so long withstood that our troops have become accustomed to the angry voices of the guns, and begin to think that they are "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Meanwhile our military authorities have not been idle. New batteries and large guns now bear on every position occupied by the Federals on Morris Island, and the nearer the consummation of their hopes they approach the greater will be the obstacles to be encountered and overcome.

Our community is self-reliant and confident of success. We are daily and nightly harassing the foe, and unless he shows more iron patience than he has ever before exhibited, there is little doubt but we shall again prove triumphant in the defence of our city. There are various facts connected with our movements which, if known, would greatly encourage our friends abroad; but at the present time it is manifestly imprudent to write of them, and I can, therefore, only add—"Be of good cheer." Generals Beauregard and Ripley are fully alive to the emergencies of the occasion, and are bending every energy to the work of defence.

PERSONNE.

#### A FEDERAL GENERAL IN DISTRESS.

General Gilmore has written a very earnest official letter from his head-quarters, on Morris Island, to the Editor of the *New York Daily News*, in which he "conjures" the said Editor to suppress all military intelligence of the siege which might be of advantage to the enemy. In the course of the letter, which is dated the 5th August, he says:—

The Charleston and Savannah press get Northern news more frequently and more expeditiously than I do myself. My operations have already suffered very seriously from this cause. More than twenty-four hours previous to the arrival of the last mail from the North, I became aware, from certain movements of the enemy at Fort Sumter, that he had gained a knowledge of a portion of my plans. When the Northern papers arrived I found them teeming with information, of the most valuable kind to the enemy, and which gave them advantages which can only be counterbalanced or overcome by the expenditure of blood that might have been spared. One-tenth of my command is constantly engaged in the most perilous duty, in order to secure the prosecution of operations in which secrecy is essential to success, but which are divulged to the enemy through the public press long before their completion. I conjure you, therefore, to aid me in suppressing.

THE DEFENCE OF MOBILE.—While General Johnston was recently in this city, the prophets of evil began to whisper abroad that he had come to consult with General Maury about the ways and means of evacuating the city. When this was mentioned to General Johnston his grave face relaxed into a smile, and he said, "Had that been my purpose I should not have shown my countenance among you. I am here for the directly opposite purpose of looking into your defences and preparing to hold your city." Afterwards, when he had visited the works, and minutely examined every position and gun, he remarked to the same gentleman, "You can tell your people that Mobile is the most defensible seaport position in the Confederate States." Mobile is to be defended, then, to the last. If there are any who are pained to know it, and not ready to do their part in the sacred work, they had better sell their lands and houses, and pack up their goods and remove them, with their precious persons, from the scene of duty, honour, and danger. All true men will be rejoiced to hear these words of determination from the able and noble commander of the department, and they will stand by him in the execution of his purpose with life and property.—*Mobile Register*, Aug. 2.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, Sept. 16.

WITH reference to my last letter, in which, for the first time within my knowledge, the Union and Emancipation Society was honestly introduced to the public, there is nothing to unsay, except that the Rev. J. R. Balme formally denies that he made other than a Pickwickian use—that is, merely in quotation—of the bold imagery attributed to him in apostrophising Mr. Seward as the "War-horse of Liberty." At the request of the "American clergyman" of the Garrisonian way of thinking, I mention this personal trifle. As for the rest, what is written is written; and with regard to the ludicrous wrath excited in certain specially anointed circles here, the hubbub is no greater than, according to Sydney Smith's experience, usually attends upon the process in its incipient stages, of routing out a nest of consecrated cobblers.

Preparations are making for a grand Southern demonstration here. The affair will, of course, take the usual form—a banquet; but unlike the common run of such formalities, it will carry with it a deeper and wider significance than ordinarily belongs to occasions of that kind. It will offer a suitable opportunity, which I have reason to believe will be very largely availed of by our leaders in the mercantile world—the men of real political influence here, who, *ex vi termini*, are non-agitators—for giving expression to the wishes and desires of the majority of the intelligent people of all classes in the distressed districts, on behalf of the Confederate cause. Cards of invitation will be sent to numerous public men of character and distinction, several indeed of whom are already engaged to be present; and there certainly appears to be every guarantee that the occasion will lack nothing

that might serve to mark it as one of considerable importance. The banquet will take place in the fine *salon* of the Clarence, covers being ordered for 300.

I have not forgotten the part the Honourable and Rev. Baptist Noel took at a high war-festival held here some months ago, upon which occasion he vied with half-a-dozen other reverend peace-makers in hounding on the Federal Government in its Christian career. While the sanctimonious orgies were at their height, the indignant uproar of a large portion of the meeting compelling him to address himself almost exclusively to the reporters, the Honourable and Reverend gentleman vouchsafed to tell an anecdote. It came to pass, it seems, on a day, that one of General Lee's slaves, an interesting negress—quite a young thing—being an hungry, went to the brook-side to catch fish. She was discovered at her innocent and even melancholy employment by her fell master, who straightway ordered her to be flogged. The flagellator—ordinary, moved with a strange pity—hardly his own—for the poor girl's fragile and tender form, threw down his wonted lash and threw up his familiar office. It was reserved for the General himself, the boasted pink and flower of Southern chivalry, to complete with his own hands the arch-deed of hideous cruelty, from which even the habitually brutalised functionary had recoiled in his own despite. So went the anecdote. But the best of the joke was, that in his almost childish fright at the consequences of having told it, the Honourable and Reverend gentleman had to seek refuge from the clamorous jeers of those who happened to have heard him, in these words—"I do not know that the story is true, but we all know that such things are done." Was ever anything more silly said? Or, supposing the audience had been sufficiently unsophisticated and that the story had gone down, was ever tittle-tattle so worthy of an evangelical lady's logic? Really it is enough to tempt one to repay the Honourable and Reverend gentleman in the same feminine coin. I have a copy before me of the *Oldham Chronicle*, September 12, and in an account therein of a local meeting in favour of Southern Independence, the chairman, after giving his opinion of Exeter Hall cant about the cruelty of slaveholders, is reported as follows:—

A friend of his had been recently informed by a returned black missionary, who had been a slave in the South for twenty-one years, that the ill-usage said to be inflicted on the negroes was not inflicted, and that when he was making a statement to that effect at a meeting in London the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Noel, who was the chairman, pulled him by the coat tail, and he had to sit down.

In the Honourable and Reverend gentleman's own unfortunate words, *I do not know that the story is true, but we all know that such things are done.*

By the way, the touching anecdote I have just spoken of about the negress of the delicate frame and the gallant Confederate commander was told at the "large public meeting" in the Free Trade Hall, when that identical address was "unanimously adopted" Mr. Seward's reply to which furnished me with my last week's text for an introductory conversation with the Union and Emancipation Society. The sense in which that large meeting was a "public" one may be indifferently well understood from the fact that the reverend promoters had to content themselves with reading the Address very early—by a sort of theatrical *aside*; and while they disallowed any discussion upon it, they never had the courage to propose the document for adoption at all. But the sense in which the meeting was "unanimous" cannot be quite so briefly interpreted. In point of fact, for three hours out of the four, the interruptions in the body of the hall were not merely vocal but of the more pronounced Mace and Goss type. The gallant Stonewall Jackson was alive in those days, so that whenever the *unanimity of turmoil* showed signs of abating, a prudently-timed shout in honour of that noble soul was sure to be good for a series of set rounds of hip-hip-hurrahing for the highly satisfactory manner in which he had just fallen foul of the cowardly hirelings of Chancellorsville. Before the first half-hour was over, the chairman (Mr. T. B. Potter) had to threaten the belligerents with the police; but as that was a point upon which Captain Palin, our chief constable, might have had a word to say, the policy of rigid neutrality was observed by the "force." Thus the scrimmaging went merrily on. The more loudly Dr. Massie thundered in favour of the war between North and South on the other side of the Atlantic, the more vigorously did Manchester Northerners and Southerners reproduce miniature editions of it in the Free Trade Hall. Another of the reverend speakers (I think Dr. Rylance) hoped that, under certain circumstances, not expressly contemplated in the New Testament, the struggle would be "long, dark, fierce, and terrible;" whereupon, by way of practical commentary upon that Christian sigh, there arose a quick and many-sounding clatter of feet, as of knots of men wrestling (*passim*) in boots, on a wooden floor with no sawdust upon it; nor were symptoms wanting that the bases of palestra operations were being enlarged as well as multiplied, and that a good many independent outsiders were unwillingly finding themselves entangled in the strenuous mysteries of giving one another the Lancashire cross-buttock. And yet this was the public meeting whose "views" were gravely accepted by Mr. Seward as "harmonising" with his own! Supposing, for the sake of argument, that views have either musical or unmusical qualities, then Mr. Seward's must be singularly "compact of jars." But, seriously, if any reader of *THE INDEX* should feel staggered in his faith that such a miracle could ever have been perpetrated as that of basing a flattering and unanimous "address" to the Washington Cabinet upon the opinions expressed at a meeting like that I have attempted to describe, I quite sympathise with him in his tottering credulity. No doubt there are some people whose capacity of belief has not been fully trained and developed by the forcing process of seeing with their own eyes the really magical performances which the Union and Emancipation Society can turn out of hand. We of this favoured city have reached a high state of



cultivation in that respect. To change the metaphor, the Federal practitioners here have so systematically dosed us with treatment in the marvellous line as to have effectually purged us of the last vestige of the stiffneckedness of unbelief. But what a pity it was that Dr. Massie and Dr. Rylance, when on the point of leaving us for America, did not put in their pockets, as a gloss to the "Address," a copy of the *Manchester Guardian* of June 3rd. Mr. Seward no doubt would have been equally thankful for both favours, and he could the better have appreciated the one by the light of the other. But some amends can even now be made for so unfortunate an oversight. The *Guardian*, I should observe, though loving the South much, loves—as it ought to do—Lancashire more; and in these straitened times, it has some ado to keep up the credit of the family. With this laudable touch of the Caleb Balderston element in its composition, we are quite prepared to find that journal putting the most decent face on things before strangers, though we have no wish to see it go all lengths with the worthy seneschal of the ruined house of Ravenswood. Yet, not even the *Guardian* could quite wink at the disgrace brought upon the city, through our humbug on the one hand and our rowdiness on the other, on the evening of the 1st of June. In its leading columns, it characterised the so-called public meeting as no public meeting, except in the sense that it was a public "shindy." We were reminded, however, of the extenuating circumstance that "it was no small addition to the nuisances entailed by this terrible conflict, that it should bring turmoil into our quiet towns as the only alternative to our connivance at a deliberate misrepresentation of English opinion." Nor was the report itself altogether lacking in some scatterings of the naked truth. Now, if Dr. Massie or Dr. Rylance had only been moderately considerate, I should not be culling for Mr. Seward's edification a few flowers of what newspaper people call description. "As the evening wore on," interpolates the reporter, "the dissentients became so vigorous and remonstrative that the oratory was lost in the general disorder that prevailed." A little farther on, several fights "here" occurred. Cheers were "here" given for President Jefferson Davis, General Lee, and Stonewall Jackson. Somebody "here" shouted three cheers for the South generally, and "a scene of great confusion ensued." At another "juncture," two or three more fights occurred, "consequent on the attempt to expel from the room some persons who were loud in their dissent." At a subsequent stage, matters had become so lively that "a reinforcement of police was sent for from the A. division, but they were not called upon to act." I should think not. Their mere presence was resented with yells of indignation at so perverse a display of the fleshly tyranny of the law in support of the odious moral tyranny of the platform. Such, then, was the *Guardian's* report of a meeting, whose "views" were such as to "harmonise" with Mr. Seward's. But, notwithstanding the relish one has of writing upon a subject to one's liking, I must break off here for the present.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 15.

THE arrival of the Florida in Brest harbour has given rise to a good deal of correspondence, and not a little controversy, which may interest many of your readers, and, to tell the truth, is in this very dull season a small god-send to your correspondent. I shall, therefore, make no scruple in treating the question in some detail, the rather that it may give rise to others of great interest in international law.

Your readers are aware that the Florida claimed the hospitality of the French Government, to enable her to repair her machinery and to overhaul her hull, and that this was accorded by order of the Emperor, with the proviso that this permission should not extend to increasing in any way her powers of offence against the enemy. Such a condition was in strict accordance with the rule of neutrality proclaimed both by England and France. American questions are distant questions, and such, when they regard other parties, excite in France little interest, unless that interest be stimulated by some other. Such being the case, we must give all credit to the majority of the French press, which has so faithfully stuck to the cause of justice and independence by its constant advocacy of the South, for the South has taken a position which leaves it neither the power nor the wish to suborn witnesses in Europe. But it is no secret, or if a secret it is that of the comedy which all the spectators know, that enormous sums have been lavished by the Federal Government on those, not numerous, papers, which here and elsewhere support its cause, *per fas aut nefas*. Its agents are everywhere; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at if their pretensions are constantly intruded on the public ear; the rather that in France, at least, the friends of the North are also without exception the more or less avowed enemies of the Imperial regime. Orleanists, republicans, and that other *nuance*, which is not legitimist, but which for want of a better name we may call Palais-Royalists, all unite in aiming a shaft at Imperialism under the shield of those United States which they would persuade their readers, France and Lafayette founded. For them the so-called work of legitimist France is more sacred than that legitimacy which they once decapitated and afterwards exiled. The friends of revolution in Europe are, in America, the enemies of the most justifiable revolution that history can tell of—the separation of States with equal sovereign rights; and, on one side, the universal assent of the people.

There is a certain gallantry in the ardour which the Russian *Nord*, so pressed as it must needs be with the affairs of Poland, displays in favour of its natural ally; ally, as we were, and natural, if the old proverb *suum cuius summa injuria*, mean—as I am told, that

the Autocracy and Democracy are twins. The *Nord*, under the heading of Brest, gives an account of the Florida's arrival, and of the seizure attempted by the proprietors of a French vessel, the *Brémontier*, which was alleged to have been forcibly turned from its course to carry the crews of two United States' vessels ashore at Pernambuco. The maritime Prefect forbade the seizure, so long as the Florida lay in the Government docks, and I regret to say that the account given by the *Nord* and consorts is so little lucid, that I am unable to make out whether this legal seizure has yet been effected. The proprietors claim the small sum of £4,000, probably five times the amount of their freight from Bordeaux to their destination, New Caledonia, as compensation for their pretended forcible deviation to land the American crews at Pernambuco. In publishing the *ex parte* statement of the captain of the *Brémontier* in May last, the *Moniteur* used the word *corsaire* to designate the Confederate man-of-war. This word was again used in the note explaining why the Florida had been admitted to the Government docks at Brest, and it seems to have been adopted by the French press to designate all the vessels belonging to the Confederate States. As the *Nord* remarks, *corsaire* means either a privateer or a pirate, and it leaves Captain Maffit to choose which he will be called. Fortunately the *Patrie* used the same expression, and as it has taken no oath to Master U. S., it gave admission in its columns to a spirited note from Captain Maffit, in which, disclaiming either gloss, he informs the ignorant that the Confederate States, being recognised by all the world as belligerents, have the same right to fit out ships of war as to equip armies—that he and all his officers hold regular commissions in the Confederate States' navy, and also that his ship is regularly commissioned. These facts had, to my knowledge, been plainly put before the *Siecle* some months ago, and they were, of course, systematically ignored. Having dealt with the words we shall now proceed to the facts, not, however, before remarking that this and two or three other actions with which the Florida is menaced, all on the ground that she is a privateer, are dodges resorted to by the representative of Mr. Lincoln in the hopes that time may thus be gained to enable a few Yankee men-of-war to blockade the Florida in Brest. The clown in the play says that "Cunning and courage are near akin, for one and other with C begin." Now for the facts as stated in the *Pays* of this date, and taken from the log of the surgeon of the Florida, Mr. Ganelson:—

On the 21st April, 1863, the Florida gave chase to a ship which, on nearing it, was found to be the *Brémontier* of Bordeaux.

On the 23rd, captured the barque *Henrietta*, Capt. Browne, from Baltimore, bound for Rio. Took the crew on board and burned the vessel.

On the 24th, captured the *Oneida*, Captain Potter, bound from Shanghai to New York. Crew taken on board and vessel burned.

Seeing a sail under the wind, the Florida made for it, but on nearing discovered that it was the *Brémontier*, which she had chased on the 21st.

Then, Captain Browne, addressing the lieutenant and surgeon of the Florida (the extract is from the latter's journal), represented that he had boarded the *Brémontier* some days before; that the captain was a brother Freemason, and that he was sure that if Captain Maffit would send him on board he could procure a passage for himself and his passengers. On this Captain Potter said that he also was a Mason, and that he probably could obtain the same favour. The officers conveyed to Captain Maffit this message from the Yankee captains, and, anxious to save them all possible inconvenience, he at once acceded to their desire. The *Brémontier* was then hailed, and a boat sent on board with the two captains only.

On their return the two prisoners announced to the Captain of the Florida that the Frenchman had yielded to their entreaties, and that he had agreed to take them, their passengers, and some of their crew, to land them at Pernambuco.

In accordance with this arrangement, which was strictly private, between the captain of the *Brémontier* and the Yankees, two females and thirteen men were put on board the *Brémontier*, and with them the usual supply of provisions, although the officers of the Florida were perfect strangers to the arrangement entered into.

It was only on his arrival at Pernambuco that Captain Maffit learned to his astonishment that the Captain of the *Brémontier* had made a declaration before the French consul that he had been forced to take these passengers on board. Captain Maffit lost no time in sending the French consul a letter stating all the circumstances as here related.

The captain of the Florida had taken no share in this transaction, as, commanding a man-of-war, he could have summoned the Frenchman to come on board, or could have sent an officer to verify his papers; it is therefore difficult to understand under what intimidation the Frenchman acted; but at all events it is evident that if he were the dupe of some Yankee *finesse*, he had only himself to blame. It is also to be observed that the Frenchman made his bargain and sailed off, without making any protest, either verbal or written.

Taking, as we have a right to do, the above account of the affair of the *Brémontier* as correct, there can be no doubt of what the decision of any court will be. The French tribunals have decided already a claim for damages sustained by the burning the cargo of a ship, so that any other actions on this score are certain to be rejected. The only object which such claims can be made for—to detain the Florida till a fleet assembles to blockade the harbour—is, at all events, as I am informed, likely to be frustrated, for the Florida has more than one shot in her locker.

At the close of last week a variety of alarming rumours created a panic on the Bourse, but all of them having been contradicted, the market has resumed the ascensional movement of the last fortnight. Victor Emmanuel's death was one of those reports, the fact being that he is ill, and that by many it is thought that the hard life he has lived is beginning already to tell upon him, although he is only forty-three. The only French news of the last few days is the decree conferring the title of Duke on M. F. de Persigny, who is now Duc de Persigny, without the prefix of his original name, Fialin. The title was offered

and refused last spring, but the comments which have been made on his sudden expulsion from office, at a time when he assured every one that he was more firmly seated than ever, seem to have induced him to reconsider his decision, and to request the Emperor to confer on him this mark of favour. To have been dismissed from high place is always considered by his Majesty as a sort of claim to some sort of favour. He parts with a minister only when he has found it impossible to retain him, and then hastens by marks of regard to show that the fallen minister has lost nothing in his esteem. To the companions of his exile the Emperor has been royally generous, and both in this capacity and as a fallen minister M. de Persigny had strong claims on his warm-hearted disposition.

The *Independence* of Brussels alleges that the North is having vessels built in England, as well as the Confederates, and that all such vessels have been embargoed as well as those in the Mersey. I mention this as I have seen no notice of the sort in either French or English papers.

#### THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON FRANCE IN MEXICO.

(From the *Richmond Sentinel*.)

The Southern people, while fighting against vast odds for their independence, and tacking every energy they possess to maintain the unequal conflict, have had no time to study the struggles of other countries. Therefore the French expedition to Mexico has excited but little interest at the South, the general conviction being, that France aimed merely to secure justice for her citizens, and that this result the power of the French arms would soon be able to effect. We have seen this expedition on its path, without a thought of apprehension or jealousy, and the triumph of Puebla inspired a feeling of gratification among us, second only to the annoyance it has given to the Government which aims first to enslave the South, and then to control the whole of the North American Continent.

No one who is conversant with the state of affairs in Mexico, for many years past, can fairly arraign France for a resort to arms. A country, full of wealth and resources, blessed with a genial climate and rich soil, Mexico has been the prey of alternate factions, and given over, it would appear, to the spoiler and the robber. The Germans, French, English, and Spaniards who have settled in Mexico, and applied their capital and industry to develop its resources, have been plundered until scarcely a motive was left for exertion. There has been no safety for property or labour, and the only really thriving trade has been that of the half robber, half warrior class, who have nearly made a ruin of the fairest portion of the globe. Year by year things have been going on from bad to worse. No flag of any foreign power has availed to protect its citizens. All the better class of the Mexicans, and of foreigners residing in Mexico, have sighed for any government, whether native or foreign, monarchical or republican, which would give them order and security. \* \* \*

Under the influence of Seward's diplomacy, the Juarez Government, which had so long refused satisfaction for injuries to French subjects, were willing to promise payment of indemnities when they found a French army on their soil to enforce them. Spain and Great Britain chose to content themselves with the empty promises of the Juarez Government, and withdrew their troops. But the Emperor of France was more sagacious and provident, more just to his own subjects and to Mexico. He sought a radical cure for a chronic disorder. What value to him had the fresh pledges of men whom "no signature could bind," and the very tenure of whose power was anarchy and persistent rapine? Had he turned back at this point his enemies might well have taunted him for having employed the rich resources of the Empire for a fruitless display of arms whose sole trophy consisted in the barren contract of a perfidious Government. But he aimed at something more practical—to release Mexico from a Government of brigands, and pave the way for a dynasty to be freely chosen by the Mexicans themselves, which should assure security for foreign residents, and hold out some hope of order, development and rational freedom. It was a *rôle* for honour and civilisation well worthy of a great Empire.

There were, however, not a few obstacles to its accomplishment. It was easy to rally an ignorant populace under the cry of repelling foreigners, and those of the opposing party who saw through the deception were without arms or organisation. The Government of Mr. Lincoln lent every aid in money and counsel to Mexico, and would have gone much farther, had they dared, or their hands not been tied by the South. It is more than probable that the system of defence adopted at Puebla was the work of Federal officers. The British press misrepresented the aims of the expedition, and the Northern press and Government beheld it with undisguised jealousy and hate. The more candid of Yankee journalists freely avowed that all that prevented their armed interference in favour of Mexico, was the war with the South; so that, in effect, we have been the allies of France. Even at home, the Emperor has had to struggle with factionists who publicly condemned the expedition and secretly wished for disaster to the arms of their country. But in spite of all this opposition, and of obstacles of climate, want of transportation, &c., the movements of General Forey have gone on until crowned by the capitulation of Puebla and the surrender of its garrison. Here the Mexicans had made their great struggle, and accordingly, when the French advanced, they found the capital deserted by the Juarez faction, and the Church party in power, who welcomed them with open arms.

We are told by the *New York Herald* that the Juarez Government has betaken itself to San Luis de Potosi, carrying with it all "the treasure" arms, &c. This place is to the extreme north of the country, and nine-tenths of the population are far to the southward. So that the Church party is now fully installed in power, and, with the aid of the French, they will probably retain it. The *Herald* is weak enough to say that the fugitive Government of Juarez can form an alliance with the Southern Confederacy, and that "with the aid of an army of twenty thousand Confederates, the French could easily be driven out of Mexico."—Could absurdity or impudence further go?—"The South is to ally herself with a defeated faction—her known enemies and the allies of the North—in order to put down the party which gives for Mexico a pledge of order and progress, and assures justice to the Confederacy in the intimate relations which must one day necessarily exist between the two countries! But if there can be anything more absurd than this, it is to imagine that the Confederacy would seek a quarrel with the great ruler and states-



man of France, whose sympathy for them in their struggle has been more than once manifested.

Animated by those sentiments of mutual respect which brave nations always entertain for each other, the French and our own people, remembering, too, how each has in its time been called on to combat against great odds in struggling for self-government, are far more likely to fight side by side hereafter than to engage in a war which could only benefit the depraved race who are seeking our subjugation, there is scarcely any possible conflict of interest between France and the Confederate States in the future. At this moment they have every motive to cordial amity, and this truth is so obvious that it can hardly escape the attention of either Government or people.

Notwithstanding the defection of England from the enterprise, on its very threshold, and the secret or open opposition, both of England and the Federal Union, the Emperor has gained his point after a short war; has achieved, perhaps, the greatest work of his reign, and established a predominating French influence in the fairest region of the New World. Henceforth, the Gulf will be swarming with French ships of war; French soldiers will be seen on the Rio Grande; and in all political arrangements of this continent, France will be counted for something. At this we profess ourselves more than pleased. Mexico, in her chronic anarchy, was bound to fall under the overmastering influence of either England, the United States, or France. France is the only Power in the world that has manifested any friendly feeling towards the Confederacy in its terrible struggle for independence. She is united to us by many ties of interest and sympathy; and of the three Powers above named, she is the only one we could tolerate on our southern border. By settling herself in Mexico, he not only keeps out enemies, but introduces a friend. The principles announced by General Forey for the future government of Mexico, are, on the whole, fair, just, and moderate. They approximate, as nearly as circumstances permit, to the governmental system of France itself, and France is one of the best governed countries in Europe.—*Richmond Enquirer*.

#### ARMING THE NEGROES.

The following letter of the Washington Correspondent of the *New York Tribune* seems to have been the authority for the report brought by the *Hibernia* of the Confederates intending to arm the negroes:—

Converting blacks into soldiers for the defence of the national territory is not a new idea with the Confederate Government. As early as 1861, when the Union forces under McClellan were scattered along the extensive line of the Chickahominy swamps, many of the most prominent wealthiest planters, frightened by the dangers of the fall of Richmond, which they then considered as an inevitable event, proposed to arm and to lead their slaves, and to bring them to the rescue of the threatened capital. But public opinion having not yet been prepared by repeated reverses and losses in men to overcome one of its strongest prejudices, nor to contemplate without a shudder of contempt the possibility of seeing one day a free man fight side by side with a slave, the proposition was looked upon as dangerous and visionary, and was so treated by the great majority of the people. Still, it was rumoured at the time that the members of the Cabinet would have willingly accepted the proffered aid had it not been for the sake of their popularity. Jeff. Davis, who since the beginning of this war, had been pressed by European Cabinets to adopt some reformatory measure in reference to slavery, said, on that occasion, that it would be desirable to see the tide of public prejudice recede from its course, and black regiments formed for the defence of cities and strongholds. It was obvious, then, that the Cabinet was already contemplating the feasibility of arming the slaves, and that they were deterred from doing so only by the fear of hurting too violently existing prejudices, and thus weakening their own power. The series of victories won by General Lee inflated the pride and vanity of the Southerners to such an extent that, for a moment they believed themselves to be indebted for their success to the holiness of the institution of slavery as well as to the superior valour of their men. The victory at Gettysburg, and the conquest of the borders of the Mississippi by the Union armies caused this stupendous edifice of pride and error to crumble down, and demonstrated to them the emptiness and folly of their iniquitous theory. They then turned their eyes towards their 4,000,000 blacks, and asked themselves how it was that the Government had not yet availed itself of the resources offered by this large recruiting field, and why an army of blacks was not raised forthwith. I may say, however, that those who wished at first to use the blacks as soldiers did not think that their services in that capacity were entitled to a reward; they would have held them in slavery all the while. It was, I understand, the sentiment of the army which modified the views of the planters in that respect. The army refused to fight unless the slaves be made free before entering the ranks, and received equal advantages with those enjoyed by the whites. Before this question was ripe enough to be brought before the rebel Government, Beauregard, supported in this by the opinion of the Governor of South Carolina, had been asking for authority to arm a few negro regiments for the defence of Charleston, and Governor Shorter, of Alabama, pressed by the necessity of providing for the defence of Mobile, had addressed the same request to Richmond, and recommended, in a public proclamation, the arming of negroes in his own State. These unexpected demands coincided too well with the secret sentiments of the Cabinet not to be used by it as the ground of a new policy. Thus, while Beauregard's claim might be considered as justifying the arming of negroes under the plea of military necessity, the proclamation of Governor Shorter, of Alabama and the endorsement of the Governor of South Carolina, more important still, unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government a force of several thousand men, and paved the way for a powerful military organization all over the extent of the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis was too shrewd not to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances. By his order, every governor in the rebel States was consulted concerning the propriety of arming slaves for the war, and was invited to Richmond to confer with the President on that subject. This invitation was, it seems, immediately complied with, and after fifteen days of close conference between the Governors of the States and the members of the Cabinet, it was decided that the salvation of the country required the arming of the slaves, and that a call of 400,000 blacks, one from every eight inhabitants, should take place forthwith. Outside of military and social considerations, the importance of which cannot be fully estimated now, one of the motives which urged the adoption of this measure is, I understand, the effect it is likely to have upon European

Powers. While the discussion on the measure was going on, a member of the Cabinet removed all the objections raised by stating that the enlistment of the blacks in the Confederate ranks, and the gift of their freedom and a portion of land as their reward for their services, would cause the great majority of the European people adverse to slavery to become friends of the South, and force their Governments to interest themselves in its behalf. It would at the same time show that the black, who had been represented as the enemy of his master, was in reality his friend; and the greatest mark of this friendship was to be found in the confidence the white man has in the obedience and fidelity of the black, who by this call was suddenly elevated to a position of trust and confidence unparalleled in the history of the world. All these considerations could not fail, it was said, to engage the attention of the European public, and to place the Southern Confederacy upon higher political and moral ground. It was these remarks, I am told, which destroyed all opposition, and led to the unanimous adoption of the measure. The proceedings I have just related have been kept secret, and will not be divulged until Jefferson Davis's proclamation submitting the whole matter to the whole people is issued.

The blockade at Wilmington, it seems, by a report from a conscript, is of no avail. Seventeen vessels have recently entered that port with immense supplies for the Confederate army; consisting of thousands of arms, shoes, clothing, and other materials for the comfort of the Southern troops. Locomotives and railroad iron have been supplied, too, in large quantities.—*New York Paper*.

#### AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, September 16.

The Money Market still remains in a very firm condition, and the demand for discount accommodation both at the Bank and in the open market continues very pressing. At one period during the week there was a slight relaxation in the inquiries, and the terms were slightly easier; but it was only temporarily, and to-day scarcely anything has been done under the Bank minimum. It is considered that the present demand is likely to prove only of short duration, and arises from exceptional circumstances, consequently there is no apprehension entertained at present of the rate being advanced. The Joint Stock Banks are disposing of their resources very reservedly, and do not part with anything under 3½ to 3¾ per cent. On the Stock Exchange money is in considerable demand owing to the settlements, and short loans on Government Securities are not negotiated under 4 per cent. The payment of the dividends in October may make some change; but it is not now very generally believed that the value of money will experience any permanent reduction. A good business in most departments is looked forward to through the winter months.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The total amount of gold sent into the Bank of England this week, including £54,000 this afternoon, is £223,000, and there have not been any withdrawals. The arrivals of bullion reach £362,413, of which £89,020 only is from America, the remainder being from the West Indies and the west coast of Africa. Of the £271,341 from the West Indies, £142,518 was in gold and £128,823 silver. There have not been any operations in bar silver, which remains nominally as before. The inquiry for Mexican dollars has been rather active, and those brought by the previous mail have now been disposed of for China, at 63½d. per oz., being an advance of ½d. on the price formerly realised, but transactions had been effected in the interval at 63½d. and also at the present rate. The dollars by the last mail are still for disposal. The India Mail takes out to Bombay £448,350, of which £122,500 is gold, and £323,850 silver. About £2,000 in gold also goes to Alexandria. Advances from Australia notify the departure of 121,312 oz. of gold, valued at £485,248. Of this 43,500 oz. are by the Roxburgh Castle, which sailed on the 27th June; 45,022 oz. by the Wave of Life, sailed on the 6th July, and 32,790 oz. by the Wellesley, which sailed on the 16th July. The Anglesca, with £145,000 gold on board, previously reported, is still at sea.

##### TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 3,000,000 rupees in bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were—to Calcutta 1,635,000 rupees, and to Madras 165,000 rupees. The minimum price was declared to be 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay, being a reduction of ½d. in the case of Madras. The applications within the limits amounted to 223 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 6 per cent.; on Bombay at 2s. about 87 per cent. All above these prices, and all tenders on Madras, will receive in full.

##### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The English Stock Market has not shown much animation, the operators having been more particularly engaged in the settlement of the accounts in Foreign Stocks and Railway Shares. The commencement of the Jewish New Year, which is always kept as a strict holiday, has prevented the attendance of the Hebrew members for two or three days during the week, and which has also tended materially to circumscribe business. Prices, however, continue under the circumstances to be fairly sustained, though they are a fraction lower than this day week, the closing price this evening being 93½ to ¼ for money, and 93½ to ¾ for the account. Exchequer Bills are very steady at par to 3s. prem. In the Foreign Stock Market a very large and animated business has again been transacted in Mexican, Spanish, and Greek securities, but the most important operations have been in Mexican, which have again advanced between 2 and 3 per cent. in consequence of the reported official acceptance of the throne by the Archduke Maximilian, and further that three large French banking-houses have proposed to take the new loan and negotiate it. Spanish have also improved in price, notwithstanding the rumour of a new loan being asked for, from the proceeds of which it is said that arrangements will be made to satisfy outstanding claims. Greek stock has further slightly improved, and Turkish remains very firm. The latest prices were—Greek 37½. Mexican 44½ to ½. Spanish Passives 36½. Do. Certificates 14½ to ½. Turkish Six per Cents. (1854) 95½ to 96. Do. do. 1862, 71½ to ¾.

##### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The transactions in American Government and Railway Securities have been on a more limited scale than for some time past. The successive mails from America during the week having brought news less favourable to the Federal cause, dealers and speculators appear to have become far more

cautious with regard to their dealings, and consequently prices have gradually and rather seriously declined. The next mail is now looked for with increased anxiety, and unless there should be adverse intelligence with regard to the Confederate movements, a further retrogression may be anticipated. The dealings have comprised United States Six per Cents. at 75. Virginia State (Six per Cents.), 42. Atlantic and Great Western Railway (New York Section), 80, 79½, and 79½. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 77½, 78, 78½, 79, and 77. Erie Shares, \$100 shares, all paid, 85, 84½, 84, 75, 74, 74½, 75½, and 74. Do. do. Seven per Cent. Preference, 74 and 73½. Illinois Central, 85, 86, 81, and 80. Do. do. Seven per Cents., 80 and 80½. Do. do., \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 5½, 6, 6½, 5½, 6½, 12½, 10½, 11, and 11½ dis. Do. do., all paid, 83, 82½, 83, 82½, 83, 82, 81½, 78, 78½, 77, 77½, 76½, and 77½. New York Central, \$100 shares, 94, 93½, 94, and 90. Pennsylvania Central Bonds, second mortgage, 87½.

##### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

There has been only a limited business in this stock during the week, but a marked change has taken place in the tone of the market. The accounts now reaching us from Charleston indicate that the previous report from Federal sources vastly exaggerate the progress of the bombardment, the prospect of success of the expedition being now very much lessened. From 30 to 28 there has been a gradual improvement; the opening quotation this morning was 26 to 24, and throughout the day the market ruled steady, the closing price being 25½ to 24½ firm.

##### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Business in the English Railway Share Market has not been particularly active, the dealers having been chiefly engaged in the arrangement of the half-monthly account. Prices, however, have been fairly maintained, though in some instances, particularly where the traffic receipts do not contrast favourably with previous returns, a decline has taken place. The chief variations have been an improvement of about 1 per cent. in Scottish Midland; of ¼ in Great Northern; and Chatham and Dover; of ½ in Midland and North British; and of ¼ in Metropolitan. On the other hand, there has been a fall of ¾ per cent. in Great Western; of ½ in Brighton, London and North-Western, North Staffordshire, and West Midland (Oxford). There has been a very quiet business transacted in Foreign Railway Shares, and without any material alteration in values. In the Shares of British Possessions the transactions have been on a rather more extended scale, at firm and steady prices.

##### NEW BANKS.

A formal prospectus has been issued of the Imperial Royal Privileged Bank of Austria, for which preliminary subscriptions were obtained in May last. It is now brought forward by an influential body of directors residing in London and Vienna, who, it is said, have obtained for the establishment an Imperial concession for ninety years, and which confers the privilege of conducting banking operations in all parts of the Austrian Empire. The directors state that they have reason to expect that the Company will become the bankers for several important state departments, besides assisting in the financial arrangements of the Government. The capital is fixed at £2,000,000, in 20,000 shares of £100 each; these however, are convertible at option into five shares of £20 each.—A second Austrian Bank is also in contemplation, but has not yet been officially announced. It is to be called the Anglo-Austrian Bank. The concession, it is understood, will be immediately arranged, and, in addition to the appointment of correspondents, a manager has already been secured. In this case the seat of direction will be in Vienna, but in London the affairs of the Bank, it is said, will be administered by a committee. With regard to these banks, a strong feeling of jealousy appears already to have sprung up, as the solicitors to the latter Company have just given publicity to the following telegram, which they say they have received from the Finance Ministry of the Austrian Government, in reply to an inquiry concerning the former:—"Vienna, Sept. 14th.—Union Bank has no special privileges or arrangements with Government." In reply to this the solicitors to the Union Bank say,—"The Imperial Royal Privileged Union Bank of Austria, so named by the Austrian Government, has obtained its concession for ninety years, and has come before the public in a prospectus every statement of which we are prepared to substantiate;" and so the matter rests, pending further explanations.—It is stated that information has been received in London of the final confirmation and signature of the Emperor of Russia to the concession for the establishment of an English and Russian Bank. The concession gives the privilege of carrying on banking business (with such branches as the directors may at any time consider advisable) in any part of the Russian Empire for an unlimited period. This undertaking was brought forward in a preliminary form some time ago, and a considerable amount of the capital is stated to have been already subscribed.

##### BANK MEETINGS.

At the usual half-yearly Court of the proprietors of the Bank of England, R. D. Hodgson, the Governor, stated that the net profits of the establishment for the half-year ending the 31st August were £669,208, making the amount of "rest" on that day £3,671,505. The Court therefore proposed that a dividend of £4 10s. per cent. for the half-year be declared, without deduction on account of income-tax, after the payment of which the "rest" would stand at £3,016,620. A proprietor thought the dividend ought to be larger, considering the distributions made by some of the Joint Stock Banks, which amounted in some instances to between 17 and 20 per cent. The Governor having given a satisfactory explanation, the dividend, which was 6s. more than that declared in March last, was unanimously agreed to.—At the first ordinary general meeting of the shareholders in the Union Bank of England and France, a series of resolutions were agreed to, authorizing the amalgamation of the Bank with that of the English, Belgian, and Netherlands Bank. In making the proposal, the Chairman (Mr. Colchester) said that their business had so materially improved in many of the countries of Europe that they required a larger capital to conduct the business that was flowing in. At the same time the new company had not only brought them an accession of influential directors, but had also brought them an additional million of capital. It was also agreed that the ordinary meeting of the Bank should be postponed till the 13th October, as in consequence of the proposed amalgamation they had deferred making out their balance-sheet till the 31st August, and they had not yet been able to get in their accounts from all their correspondents. The new title is to be the European Bank.—The meeting of the English, Belgian, and Netherlands Bank was held to-day for the purpose of passing resolutions for the amalgamation above referred to. It was stated that, as the two establishments were to have operated in the same field, the necessary expenses that would be saved would amount to about £5,000 at the outset, and £10,000 a-year afterwards. The expenses incurred by the English,



Belgian, and Netherlands Bank amounted to £5,000.—The directors of the Bank of Australasia have notified that a half-yearly dividend of 24s. per share, with a bonus of 32s. per share, being together at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum, will be paid to the proprietors of the old share capital on and after the 13th October.—The directors of the Ionian Bank have declared a dividend at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, with a bonus of 7s. 6d. per share for the half-year ending the 30th June last.

PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

A Company has just been projected for the purpose of purchasing the celebrated Star and Garter Hotel at Richmond, and converting it into a Joint Stock Hotel. The directorate is most respectably constituted, Lord de Tabley being the Chairman. The proposed capital is £120,000, in 12,000 shares of £10 each.—The prospectus has also been issued of the Patent Lubricating Oil and Grease Company, with a capital of £60,000, in 6,000 shares of £10 each. The directors, it appears, have made a preliminary contract for the purchase of certain patents, some valuable works, plant, &c.; and on the enlargement of these works contracts to any extent may be immediately entered into.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The extension of business in some kinds of American produce noticed in our last has not progressed, and we have this week to report a dull trade generally, but without any perceptible change in quotations. In nearly all cases deliveries continue to go on very satisfactorily. The cotton market is still an exception to the general quiet, more or less excitement having prevailed in this department from the commencement to the close, and with sales averaging 20,000 bales a day prices are again 1d. per lb. higher. A favourable change in the weather, and a consequent resumption of activity in securing the harvest, has checked the buoyancy in the grain market, and sales could not now be effected except at 1s. to 2s. decline upon the currency of the previous week. In American provisions this demand is confined chiefly to boneless middles, which, at 30s. to 32s., are taken somewhat freely for export. Of American butter there is little or none here, and quotations are merely nominal. Fine American lard is saleable in moderate quantity at 40s. per cwt. The demand for petroleum has subsided, the market closing flat for both crude and refined. On the former the recent advance has been almost entirely lost, and the latter is about 1d. per gallon lower, the last sales being at 2s. 6d. to 2s. 7d. for American on the spot. The nominal quotation of American spirits of turpentine is unaltered, but the price of French has advanced considerably, owing partly to bear speculators having over-sold, and being therefore compelled to come upon the market as buyers to meet outstanding engagements. This afternoon, business was done at 80s. per cwt. The price, but a short time back, was 67s. No quotable change has occurred in sperm oil, for which there continues to be but a limited inquiry. The buoyancy with which the tallow market closed at the time of our last report has given place to dullness, with a tendency to depression. Prices have not, however, graduated down more than 6d. per cwt., and if there is not much disposition to buy, there is as little to sell at the reduction. In American descriptions the variation is even more trifling. The tobacco trade, without being active, is steady. Purchases are made only to supply immediate orders; but holders are firm, and in what is passing late rates are current. Fine American rosin is scarce and in demand, with an upward tendency in value. In drugs there is scarcely any variation worth naming. Tartars are firmer. Aloes fully support the recent advance. Camphor, in the absence of business, remains nominally as before. Dye-stuffs generally are firm but inactive. Bengal turmeric still sells at 35s. to 34s. per cwt. Business has been done in Kowrie gum at 45s. for scraped. Some parcels of cutch from the United States have this week been sold at 24s. to 25s. This market during the last day or two has been rather weaker. The

advance on iron, both raw and manufactured, progresses. Scotch pig has further risen 1s. per ton, and bars in proportion. Tin is also firmer.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0 1 10	0 2 3	0 1 7	0 2 2
CHEMICALS—				
Barium, crystal, lb.	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 8	0 1 6
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 6
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 8
DRUGS—				
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 10 0	1 0 0	2 3 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 4
Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 2
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 8 0	0 11 0
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
Tartar, Brown, cwt.	4 0 0	4 25 0	5 0 0	5 10 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 16 0	0 7 6	0 13 0
Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 6
Orange, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 6
Citronelle, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3
Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Snakeroot, lb.	0 2 9	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 9
Sperm, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
DYES, cwt.—				
Safflower	3 15 0	7 5 0	3 3 0	6 15 0
Turmeric, Bengal	1 13 0	1 14 0	0 18 6	0 19 0
Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0	0 14 0	0 15 0
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 5 0	6 0 0	6 10 0
GUMS, cwt.—				
Anini, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gedda	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 6 0	1 8 0
Kowrie	1 18 0	2 5 0	1 2 0	1 4 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	98 0 0	100 0 0	2 16 6	2 16 6
Iron, Scotch, Pig	2 17 3	2 17 6	111 0 0	111 0 0
Tin, English	115 0 0	115 0 0	111 0 0	111 0 0
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	80 0 0	80 0 0	85 0 0	85 0 0
Linseed	43 0 0	43 0 0	42 0 0	42 0 0
Rock Oil, Crude	20 0 0	20 0 0	11 0 0	11 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	3 12 0	4 2 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine	2 4 0	2 16 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 10 0	2 8 0	1 14 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	2 0 0	2 1 6	2 7 0	2 8 3
South do.	2 6 0	2 2 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
TOBACCO, lb.—				
Maryland	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 9
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5	0 1 0
Kentucky	0 0 6	0 1 7	0 0 4	0 1 1

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 16.

The Liverpool Cotton Market has exhibited a scene of wild excitement throughout the week. The sales have been enormous, and prices have continually and rapidly advanced. This is, doubtless, to be in a great measure attributed to the more satisfactory news received from America with regard to the Confederate cause, particularly to the unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Federals to capture Fort Sumter, and consequently the failure of that dearly cherished object, the possession of Charleston. In all private circles in Liverpool a strong feeling prevails on the subject, and the most intense desire continues to be manifested for further intelligence. Although the above must be attributed the main cause of the excite-

ment in the market, still there are other causes which are exerting considerable influence, for instance the improved state of trade at Manchester, the reported freeing of a large number of slaves in the Southern States, and the jeopardy in which the Egyptian crop of cotton is placed by the unusual height of the Nile. Many of the brokers, however, allege that the excited state of the market is entirely owing to the firm conviction entertained amongst buyers that the war will be protracted for a very long time; on the other hand, however, it is stated that the excitement is merely caused by some very large orders received from Manchester, and not influenced by the late news. The sales this week have reached 110,000 bales, of which 65,000 have been taken on speculation and for export. The total sales during the present year have been 1,691,890 bales, against in the same period in 1862, 2,193,320 bales. The imports this week have been 37,371 bales; total this year, 1,058,183 bales; same period last year, 712,111 bales. This year there have been exported 317,640 bales, against 323,891 bales in 1862. The present computed stocks 207,610 bales, at the same period last year 76,760 bales. There have been taken for consumption this year 922,300 bales, and to the same period last year 934,400 bales. Generally prices have advanced during the week fully 2d. per lb.; the latest quotations are—Middling Orleans, 27d. to 27½d.; do. Mobile, 26d. to 27d.; do. Uplands, 26d. to 27d.; Surat, 15d. to 22½d.; Egyptian, 26d. to 27½d.; Pernambuco, 27d. to 28d.; Bahia and Maceio 25d. to 25½d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 15.

The past week has been one of excitement in our yarn and cloth market, and a very large business in both staples has been done at daily advancing prices.

Mule yarns in bundle, also twist and pin-cops, up to No. 50s, have advanced in the week as much as 1½d. per lb.; whilst Bolton spinings, from No. 60s upwards, are held for as much as 3d. per lb. advance; which advance is about equivalent to the rise in Egyptian cotton, from which this class of yarn is spun.

32s. twist has at least reached 2s. 6d. per lb.—the highest point attained last year; but manufacturers who use this are in a much better position than at that time—as they are now well under contract, making goods at prices which will pay them.

Goods of all kinds advance in price to about the same extent as the yarns from which they are made, and stocks in producers hands are nil.

Advices from our foreign markets report an increasing demand which will shortly overstep production.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Sept. 10, are—

- NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.
- THE UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.
- ARMING THE NEGROES.
- THE TRADE BETWEEN NEW YORK AND NASSAU.
- THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.
- “LA FRANCE, LE MEXIQUE ET LES ETATS CONFEDERES.”
- GREEK FEDERALISM.
- A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF STONEWALL JACKSON.
- THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENTS.
- PARTIAL LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT GETTYSBURG, VICKSBURG, AND FORT HUDSON.
- PARIS TOPICS.
- AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

DEATH.—Died, at the residence of her mother in the city of Richmond, on the 17th instant, Anna Mason, wife of John Ambler, of Fauquier county, and eldest daughter of James M. Mason, Esq., of Frederick county, Virginia, (now Commissioner from the Confederate States to England), in the thirty-ninth year of her age.—Richmond Paper, 20th August.

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THE FREEDMEN AT FORT ROYAL.  
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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 74.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 24, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.  
LETTERS FROM NEW ORLEANS, AUGUST 22ND AND 23TH,  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONER.  
THE JACKSON STATUE FUND.  
THE MILITARY OPERATIONS BEFORE CHARLESTON.  
AMERICAN POLICY OR ENGLISH INDUSTRY.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, AUGUST 1ST AND 5TH.  
CONFEDERATE BOOKS.  
LETTER OF THE CONFEDERATE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.  
MR. MASON'S LETTER TO EARL RUSSELL.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAPTURES ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.  
HOW TO EXTINGUISH GREEK FIRE.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

As was foreshadowed in the private letter from Richmond which we published last week, the Confederate Government has decided to withdraw its diplomatic representative from this country. We give elsewhere the text of the letter to Earl Russell, in which Mr. Mason announces his withdrawal. From this it appears that the order of recall bears date of the 4th ultimo. It has therefore no reference whatever to recent military events. The step is, in fact, simply an assertion of national dignity and self-respect, rendered necessary by the systematic discourtesy of the head of the Foreign Office towards the representative, albeit not officially recognised, of a proud and sensitive people—a discourtesy which the Confederate Government is blamed at home for not having resented much earlier. The want of tact which refused the cheap tribute of common civility to the representative of a Power which commands armies greater than those of a first-rate European monarchy, and which for over two years has maintained with at least an even balance of success one of the most memorable and gigantic struggles in history: such a want of tact—especially when the representative is a man who, from his position as a distinguished American, for many years the Senator in the United States Congress from the Ancient Commonwealth of Virginia and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the American Union, was surely entitled to no less consideration than is freely accorded to the emissaries of the Polish insurrection—is wholly inexplicable. The Anglo-Yankee press will, of course, affect to ascribe the withdrawal of Mr. Mason to pique at the refusal of this Government to recognise the Confederate States; but that this is not the motive, though a just subject of complaint, is proved by the fact that a similar course was not thought necessary in the case of the Confederate representative near the French Court. For the honour of this country, however, it is to be hoped that Earl Russell will not improve the occasion to take credit to himself, and make capital with Mr. Adams and the "friendly Power" enthroned at Washington.

On the 5th instant Wagner and Gregg were again furiously bombarded by the Federal land batteries and fleet. The enemy might as well have fired into the sea. Next day Morris Island was evacuated by the Confederates, but not on account of the bombardment. The Federals had advanced their sappers to the moat of Wagner, and it was therefore impossible to hold it. The garrison withdrew in forty barges, one of which, containing twelve men, was captured. General Gilmore himself testifies to the uselessness of the bombardment. In his despatch to General Halleck he says, "Fort Wagner is a work of the most formidable kind. It is bomb-proof, and is capable of holding 1,800 men. It remains intact, after the most terrible bombardment to which any work was ever subjected." General Gilmore adds, "We have

captured nineteen pieces of artillery, and a large supply of excellent ammunition;" but he omits to mention the trifling circumstance of the guns being spiked, and we think that the nineteen should be nine.

The possession of Morris Island, and consequently of Battery Gregg and Cumming's Point, gives the Federals the opportunity of bombarding the city of Charleston, but this triumph of the enemy is by no means the end of the struggle. Even the Northerners are constrained to admit that their fleet must now advance in the face of formidable batteries and dangerous water obstructions. The Southerners are confident that Charleston will be held in spite of the loss of Morris Island and the probable loss of Sumter. Nor are they without warrant for this anticipation. Aided by the army, the fleet has done nothing except destroy the brickwork of Sumter, but on the other hand it has been damaged by the Confederate fire. Will it fare better when it is alone? Hitherto it has been out of range of a concentrated fire, but so soon as it is within the harbour it will be within range of a bombardment compared to which the fire of Sumter was a *bagatelle*. We hear, too, that the heavy artillery, of which we announced the arrival in the Confederacy in our last issue, is at Charleston and in position. We do not assert that the defences of Charleston are impregnable or that the monitors will not succeed; but it is certain that the problem is not solved by the evacuation of Morris Island, and that if Charleston is taken it will be at a cost of blood and treasure that will tell upon the resources of the North.

Singularly enough, Sumter, which, by the way, commands Cumming's Point and Wagner, was at the last date, still in the possession of the Confederates. Admiral Dahlgreen had demanded its immediate surrender. Major Elliott, commanding at Sumter, had replied, by order of General Beauregard, that Admiral Dahlgreen can have Sumter when he takes and holds it, and that in the meantime such demands are puerile and unbecoming. Upon this the fleet again opened fire upon Sumter, to which the batteries on Sullivan's Island replied. The bombardment was ineffectual. On the night of the 8th an attempt was made to take Sumter by assault. The Federals were repulsed with the loss of sixty men, including seven officers. This is the Northern version of the affair. It must be exceedingly annoying that a fort which the Federals knocked to pieces a few weeks since, should be repaired and again an obstacle to their advance.

The latest Southern advices from Chattanooga are to the 5th instant, at which date, beyond an artillery duel of half-an-hour's duration, there had been no military operations. According to Northern reports, which seem to be reliable, the Confederates evacuated the place on the 8th and the Federal General, Crittenden, took possession of it the next day. The reported capture of 2,000 Confederates and 14 cannon at Cumberland Gap is, we believe, a "Halleck" capture. The evacuation of Little Rock, Arkansas, needs confirmation. According to the *Atlanta Appeal*, General Price had an engagement with the Federals, fifteen miles below Little Rock, and was victorious.

The rest of the war news is unimportant. General Burnside occupied Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 5th, but no military advantage accrues to him from holding it. A party of the 6th Ohio Cavalry returning from a reconnaissance, fell into an ambuscade near the Rappahannock and lost 30 men. A skirmish took place on the 3rd at Diamond Gap, in which Colonel Morrison, of the 1st Georgia Cavalry, succeeded in repulsing the Federals.

In his official report of his operations in Tennessee General Rosecrans states that his captures were 59 commissioned officers, 1,575 non-commissioned officers and privates, 3 rifled siege guns, many small arms, 89 tents,

89 flags, and 3,500 sacks of corn and meal; and that his total losses were 85 men killed, 462 wounded, and 13 missing. Well, General Rosecrans is fortunate. He did not lose a flag, or tent, or gun, or even a rifle! His despatch will perplex any Colenso who may, generations hence, undertake to criticise the history of the Second War of Independence in America. According to Federal accounts their army is four times as numerous as the Confederate army, and now we learn from General Rosecrans that the Federals capture 125 men for one capture of the enemy. How, with such superiority, the Confederates are not captured and killed, is a marvel that will discredit the veracious despatches of the Northern commanders. From the small number of deaths—85—the inference is inevitable, that so far from a man risking his life by going into the army, the Federal army is the place to enjoy long life and immunity from disease. Of course, in giving his "total" loss, such a frank person as General Rosecrans would have told us if any of his men had died from sickness.

We ought to mention that the gallant General Schenck has gained a victory in Maryland. He has arrested and sent into the Confederate lines the editors and proprietors of the *Baltimore Republican* for publishing a piece of poetry, entitled "The Southern Cross."

On the 25th of November last, Mr. Fernando Wood heard, upon what he deemed good authority, "that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress provided that a full and general amnesty would permit them to do so." Mr. Wood must have been exceedingly sanguine to place any reliance on a palpable fiction, and which was probably a thought founded on the hearty wish of some staunch Democrat; but, doing so, he was right in seeking to bring it before the Federal authorities. He addressed himself to Major Opdyke, telling him the good news, and requesting him to communicate it to the Administration. Mr. Opdyke, who is an ultra War-Republican and a large government contractor, must have been disgusted and annoyed at the intimation, and he determined to repay his informant's frankness by a trick in which there was a little low cunning backed up by an unmitigated falsehood. He promised Mr. Wood that he would communicate the matter to some New England senators, who were then in New York on their way to Washington. Mr. Wood waited for an answer till the 8th December, when Mr. Opdyke coolly told him that he had not seen the New England senators and that he had not made the proposition. Mr. Wood then wrote to President Lincoln, beseeching him to proclaim an amnesty, or at least an armistice, until by an unofficial correspondence it could be ascertained whether or not the South was willing to come back into the Union. Mr. Lincoln replied on the 12th December, 1st, that he did not believe Mr. Wood's report; 2nd, that an amnesty would be granted "within a reasonable time," if it would lead to the submission of the South; 3rd, that his merciful intention ought not to be communicated to the Southern States, either formally or informally; 4th, that he will not suspend his military operations; and, 5th, that Mr. Wood's information "might be more valuable before the 1st January than afterwards;" from which we suppose he meant that after January 1st, 1863, the gates of mercy were to be closed against the Southern States, even though they repented in sackcloth and ashes. Mr. Wood wrote another letter to Mr. Lincoln, in which the arguments in favour of a suspension of military operations are recapitulated, and in which Mr. Lincoln is reminded that even if the Southern States wish to return to the Union they cannot do so unless an opportunity is afforded them, and that "it cannot be expected that the Southern people will cease resistance so long as we proclaim our intention to destroy



their local institutions, their property, and their lives, and accompany the declaration with corresponding legislative, executive, social, and political action." So closes a correspondence, from which Mr. Fernando Wood must have learnt, if he did not know it before, that the war which was inaugurated to make the restitution of the constitutional Union utterly impossible, was being carried on for conquest and not for reconstruction; and we dare say he has by this time further learnt, that the Republican party is not only essaying to subdue the South, but also to build up their own power upon the ruins of the Northern democracy.

A person signing himself John G. Winter, of Georgia, (where, as in Alabama, that surname is most unfavourably known in connection with a certain very 'cute Yankee swindle, remembered by the sufferers as the St. Mary's Bank), has written to the *Morning Star*, claiming the recent election of Mr. Watt to the Governorship of Alabama as evidence of disaffection in that State to the Confederate Government. Without entering into the political antecedents of the Governor elect—which conclusively refute any such misconception of his present position—it is sufficient, to expose the shallowness of the trick with which the Federal partisans endeavour to deceive the English public, and the shamelessness of the falsehoods to which they resort, to mention that the *Hon. Thomas H. Watts, of Montgomery, Alabama, was at the time of his election, and is still, a member of President Davis's Cabinet*, in which he has, ever since Mr. Randolph's appointment as Secretary of War, held the distinguished and important position of Attorney-General, the chief law adviser of the Government, and equivalent to what in continental countries is styled the "Minister of Justice."

We have in our last impression exposed a similar attempt of fraud on the part of the Yankee and Anglo-Yankee press, based upon the exceptional disloyalty of an obscure newspaper in North Carolina, too insignificant to provoke a violation of the fundamental principle of Confederate policy, absolute freedom of the press and of speech. To the resolutions, which we then published, of the various North Carolina Regiments in the Confederate service, we might to-day add a great number of others, showing, were such proof necessary, the spontaneous indignation and the unanimous loyalty of the North Carolina soldiers, wherever stationed for the defence of the common country of all Southerners. Governor Vance, whose name has been most unjustifiably dragged in to give consistency to these slanders against the gallant "Old North State," we have already on a previous occasion vindicated with his own words, copied from a recent letter of instructions to his representative and agent in London.

The report of General Pemberton's death, said by the Northern papers to have been caused by his own soldiers, turns out, as we expected at the time, one of the many sensation canards. A court-martial, called at the General's own request to inquire into the circumstances of the surrender of Vicksburg, was to meet on the 20th instant at Montgomery, Alabama.

Two official Federal documents on that well-worn text, "Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine," have been lately published. The one is a circular dated December 20th, 1860, from Mr. McLane, United States Minister in Mexico, to the representatives of European Powers in that country. Mr. McLane describes the Mexicans as being divided into two parties: the Liberals, who are for a Constitution "that guarantees political equality to every citizen," and the Conservatives, who are opposed to such equality. He declares that the United States approve of the foreign policy of the Liberals, which is antagonistic to any intervention; and he warns Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the other European Powers, that the United States are "determined to resist any forcible attempt to impose a particular adjustment of the existing conflict against the will and sanction of the people of Mexico, and also any forcible intervention by any Power which looks to the control of the political destiny thereof." Mr. McLane adds insolently, that "the Government of the United States does not deny to the European Powers the right to wage honourable warfare, for a sufficient cause, anywhere, or against any nation; nor does it deny their right to demand redress for injuries inflicted on their respective subjects, and, if need be, to enforce such demand; but it does deny them the right to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the political independence of the Republic of Mexico, and it will, to the extent of its power, defend the nationality and independence of the said Republic."

The other document is a despatch from Mr. J. L. Motley, United States' Minister in Austria, to Mr. Seward. It is dated Vienna, February 12, 1862. Mr. Motley called at the Foreign Office and had an interview with Count

Rechberg. Mr. Motley "spoke of the recent victory of the national troops near Somerset, Kentucky," and dilated on the insurrection being surrounded and crushed on land, "even as it had been already shut off from the sea by a stringent blockade along three thousand miles of coast." We are not surprised that after this the Count "observed spontaneously" that he and his Government were sure the United States would win. The Austrian was too polite, by silence or coldness, to let the inexperienced diplomatist suppose he did not believe him. The little matter of the "rebellion" being thus pleasantly disposed of, Mr. Motley, in rather an eccentric manner, turned the conversation on Mexico. "I observed that perhaps it might hardly seem fitting that anything should be said between us just now about the Mexican matter." So far from desiring to avoid the subject, the spontaneous Count said, "I am quite ready." Having sought and obtained permission to speak, Mr. Motley writes, "I then replied that I had nothing to say on the subject at present." Despite this odd announcement, he did, to borrow from Sam Weller, "get a-talking." Mr. Motley had previously, in a private letter, informed his Government that the Archduke Maximilian was a candidate for the throne of Mexico, and he now determined to terrify Austria from entertaining the project. The Count said, "The three maritime Powers had made an expedition to Mexico. We have nothing to do with it, and intend to have nothing. Should the result of the enterprise be to establish a stronger government in Mexico—a monarchy—it will then be for the Austrian Government to consider whether sufficient guarantees of various sorts as to its stability can be offered in order to induce an archduke of our imperial house to make the great sacrifice of mounting its throne." This was frank, and seems rather to have disconcerted the United States minister; for he writes, "I made no reply to Count Rechberg's observations." However, being asked if there would be opposition to the scheme in the United States: he, not perceiving that the spontaneous Count was poking his fun at him, delivered, "as a private person, not officially," rather a well composed lecture on the Monroe doctrine, the Count merely spurring him on by asking, "if the monarchical form of government was considered so objectionable in America?" Mr. Motley, in the course of his lecture, said he could not believe "that the enlightened Powers of France, England, and Spain intended the perpetration of a crime, and it seemed to him improbable that the end proposed could be accomplished except by crime," and spouted a great deal more of what his countrymen call Monroe bunkum. Mr. Motley has lived to see the crime perpetrated, and that the spontaneous Count was not instructed or terrified by his lecture.

We invite attention to our Richmond correspondent's remarks on retaliation. According to this well-informed authority, no instance has ever occurred in the Confederacy of a negro soldier, or an officer commanding negroes, being treated otherwise than a prisoner of war; though a distinction is made by the authorities between Southern slaves impressed into the Federal service and free negroes born at the North who are captured in arms.

Under the extension recently given to the Conscription Act by President Davis, all the able-bodied clerks of the various Government departments (who have ever since the removal of the Capitol to Richmond been formed into a brigade and subject to daily drill,) are sent into the field. Their places are taken by females and invalid soldiers.

Mr. Memminger, the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, has addressed a letter to Senator Hunter relative to the currency, the text of which will be found in another part of our impression. On the 8th August, 1863, the total amount of currency notes issued was \$452,979,806, and of this about \$150,000,000 was beyond the Mississippi. The total amount of bonds into which currency had been funded was at the same date \$317,846,670. Estimating the circulation that the Confederacy can bear at \$150,000,000, this statement shows that the currency is three times that amount; but whilst the value of the currency has been increased three-fold, its proportion to the price of gold is more than six-fold; and this, as Mr. Memminger observes, shows the fallacy of estimating the value of the currency by a comparison with gold. The precious metal, owing to the blockade and consequent suspension of foreign trade, has become as much a commercial commodity as tin, and it obtains a fancy price, not because the Confederacy has not the means to buy gold at a lower rate, but because the supply is artificially cut off. Mr. Memminger says the excess of new issues will be kept down by taxes and the sale of cotton bonds, and that the payment of the tax in kind for the support of the army will further aid in restoring the currency to a sound condition. He also suggests other means for remedying the present inflation.

As our readers are aware, Chattanooga was, when shelled, without warning, crowded with private citizens, women, and children, and the numerous hospitals were thronged with the sick; but probably our readers are not aware of the precise moment the savage foe selected for the attack. The 21st of August was the day set apart for humiliation and prayer. The various places of worship were crowded with eager and earnest congregations. The services in the Presbyterian Church were being held by the Rev. Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans. The first prayer was over, a hymn had been sung, and Dr. Palmer had commenced the long prayer, when the congregation was startled by the report of cannon. We learn from the *Chattanooga Rebel* that the Doctor continued his devotions; "it was the long prayer and he did not shorten it; he prayed it to the end, and the cannon did not drown it from those who listened, as they could not drown it from the ear of God." We are glad to add that the Federal commander was disappointed in his fiendish purpose. His shells did not fall in the midst of the congregations, and but few persons were injured by them.

Mr. Lincoln requires an army to guard his recruits, and will have to furnish new recruits for those he shoots down en route for camp. The 33rd New Jersey Regiment having, by means of large bounties, nearly been filled up, was under marching orders. The desertions were so numerous that the colonel had to apply to General Dix for a guard to maintain discipline. This guard was not effective, as it refused to fire on the deserters. The 3rd Vermont Regiment was then given the charge of the 33rd New Jersey, and commenced operations by killing three and wounding several others. The regiment was marched to the wharf, where three more men were shot. Under these circumstances the 33rd New Jersey was disarmed. There has also been a collision in Illinois between some soldiers and deserters aided by citizens.

Mr. Charles Sumner, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, has been denouncing England and France at the Cooper Institute, amidst loud applause from "the most numerous audience that ever assembled in New York." He declared that Earl Russell's treatment of the Federal Government, since the commencement of the war, had been unfriendly, and his correspondence had been curt, captious, and cynical. The noble lord may think this surprising ingratitude, but it seems to us the very natural result of cringing to Yankee bullying. Just as red makes a bull savage, so showing the white feather makes the Yankee aggressive. In connection with this, we invite attention to an article which we have quoted from the *Times*.

The Federals often boast of getting news from deserters from the Confederate army, but a dodge has just been discovered which rather discredits information so obtained. It appears that "substitutes" have been deserting from the Federal army, dressing themselves up to look like "rebels"—that is, so far as uniform is concerned—and then throwing themselves in the way of Federal scouts and giving themselves up as deserters from the Confederate service, of which they give most doleful accounts. The next step was to take the oath of allegiance to Mr. Lincoln and then to be sent North at the public expense.

A Boston paper says, "The demand for rifled cannon is so great that the foundries of this country are unable to supply them, and extensive orders are sent to Europe. The State of Massachusetts alone has ordered seventy from abroad." We are not surprised to learn from the *Times* (City article, September 23rd) that our merchants do not appreciate the neutrality which insists that "the Confederates may be shot down by English-made cannon, but the Federals must not have their cotton and tea seized by English-built ships."

The Northern press is now obliged to confess that instead of the South suffering from famine the Southern harvest is wonderfully abundant. The Baltimore correspondent of the *New York Herald* estimates the quantity of wheat harvested in the South at 59,689,500 bushels, whilst in 1860 it was 31,366,894 bushels.

We see by the *Brownsville Flag* (Texas), that, by order of General Bee, after the 30th of July all cotton in transitu and then north of the Sand Desert was to be directed to Roma or Rio Grande City, and that no cotton from beyond Barton's Rancho, was to be transported to Brownsville. This order was issued in consequence of there being some apprehension of the Federals making a raid on the last-named place.

General Hardee has been placed in immediate command of the army of the Mississippi, under the general supervision of General J. E. Johnston. The post-office at Jackson has again been opened under Confederate authority.



In the second week in August the Confederate States Medical Department, at Charlotte, North Carolina, received a valuable cargo of medical stores from London. This cargo was purchased by the Agent of the Confederate Government. In the lot were 200 cases of amputating instruments.

The Confederate Press Association reports, under date of August 10, that Mrs. Saunderson, of Natchez, has been hanged by the Federals because she refused to disclose the whereabouts of her husband.

The Confederate steamer Georgia has captured the Constitution from New York, and the City of Bath from Callao. The last was ransomed for \$20,000.

The Douglas and Breckenridge section of the Democratic party have met at New York and arranged their differences in order to present an united opposition to Mr. Lincoln's administration.

The New York Democratic Convention have resolved that they will support the Government, to restore the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is. But the Government will not have the Union as it was, though it may not object to the Constitution as it is.

### ENGLAND.

THE Right Honourable Edward Ellice, M.P., died on Thursday last at Glengarry, at the age of 79 years. This well-known public man was descended from a race of freeholders in the county of Aberdeen. In the middle of the last century his grandfather engaged in business in the Transatlantic States, and his father, on the outbreak of the War of Independence, being a loyalist, removed from the State of New York to Montreal, and there founded the mercantile house of Inglis, Ellice, and Co. At the close of the last century the house in the City of London was established, and the father came to reside in Golden-square, where the deceased gentleman was born. The latter was educated at Winchester School and then at the Scotch University of St. Andrews, turning his attention principally to the study of the moral sciences and modern literature. Afterwards he entered the mercantile business and visited the United States in the year 1803, at which time New York had but 80,000 inhabitants, and Chicago boasted scarcely a single house. As might be expected, Mr. Ellice made the acquaintance of the leading politicians and merchants in the States, and such an acquaintance was extended and strengthened by many subsequent visits, the last of which he made in 1859. His public life in England commenced with early associations with Burdett, Lords King, Radnor, and Althorp, and Sir John Cam Hobhouse. He married the sister of the late Earl Grey, and in 1809 was elected a member of Brookes's Club, on the motion of Earl Jersey. With such friends and associates as these, Mr. Ellice was of course a declared Radical. In 1818 he was elected to the House of Commons as member for Coventry, which town he represented, with a short interlude, to the time of his death. In the first three Parliaments he usually supported the resolutions of Mr. Hume. In 1830 he was made Secretary to the Treasury, and "Whip" of the Liberal side of the House, and he moreover had the principal management of the great election of the First Reformed Parliament. Shortly afterwards he was made Secretary of War under Earl Grey, and resigning that office on the accession of Lord Melbourne in 1834, he never again could be induced to enter official life. He supported Lord Palmerston as Premier, and was not an ardent admirer of Earl Russell. He was most strongly opposed to any further reform of the representative system, and withstood the attempts in this direction of the Russell and Aberdeen Cabinets. He was on intimate terms with the Earl of Derby, the late Sir James Graham, and many members of the Conservative party. He was also the friend of M. Thiers and other French statesmen of the Orleans dynasty. Probably, however, his opinions on the state of affairs in America will be found to be most interesting and instructive. It must be borne in mind that he never kept exclusive American society, that he visited throughout life Americans of all shades of opinion, and that shortly before his death he had been the host on different occasions of Mr. Mason and Mr. Adams. Now, Mr. Ellice had for years asserted that he had outlived the American race of statesmen—that Calhoun, Webster, and Clay were the last of that class. He considered that the intelligent, instructed, and wealthy classes had let fall the reins of power by the concession of universal suffrage, and were utterly unheeded and put to silence by the creatures of the ungovernable caprice of the mob. For years past he had said and written that a political crisis was impending, a contest in the form of civil war between protection and free-trade, between the gentry of the South and the men of

the North, between the upholders of the institution of slavery and the emancipators. When the war broke out he declared that it would be of long duration, that practically it was a contest for boundaries between two classes of States, that it would necessitate an inconvertible paper currency, ending in national bankruptcy and grievous suffering, and that the war must be fought out, till it ended in the conquest and ruin or the independence of the Southern people. He through all the chances of war firmly believed that the South would finally be triumphant. Their subjugation, even if it could be brought about, would, in his opinion, be the ruin of both North and South. Lastly, he held that the present revolution was but an example of those which were to follow, and which would split up the Northern continent of America into three or four distinct governments and nations.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, induced by a memorial signed by 1,500 members of the Church of England, has addressed a letter to Viscount Sydney, the Lord Chamberlain, entreating his lordship to restore the time-honoured custom of closing the London theatres in Passion Week. The Lord Chamberlain declines, for reasons which have by him been before explained, to impose on the whole metropolitan theatrical profession restrictions which are imposed upon no other community in London or in any other town of Great Britain or Ireland.

The Royal warrant appointing the Right Rev. Bishop Trower, D.D. (formerly Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Glasgow), to the see of Gibraltar has passed the Privy Seal and is now at the Crown Office, whence in a few days the letters patent under the Great Seal will issue. A new bishopric is to be founded in Australia, to be called "the Bishopric of Grafton and Arundale," and to be created out of the present diocese of Newcastle. The appointment is, of course, in the gift of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

An attempt is being made to revive the system of Diocesan Synods in the Church of England, the main purpose of such synods being to remove the impassable gulf which at present lies between the bishop and his clergy, and to overcome the obstruction to useful endeavours on the part of the bishop which results from his isolated position. In the rural-deanery of Frant, in Sussex, a meeting of clergy and laity has been held for the purpose of considering the expediency of such revival and the means of carrying it into effect. The Rev. Sir Henry Thompson (rural dean) presided, and Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope addressed the meeting. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that it was desirable that diocesan synods, under the presidency of the lord bishop of the diocese, and consisting of clergy and laity, should be periodically assembled, for the purpose of deliberating on all matters affecting the interests of the Church. Copies of the resolutions have been sent to the dignitaries of the Church and several of the Church societies. Petitions are also to be sent to the Bishop of Chichester and to both Houses of Convocation.

The last volume published of the Census of 1861 exhibits some interesting statistics of the married and unmarried population in England and Wales. In the month of April in that year there were found to be 12,032,157 persons—men, women, and children—who had never been married; while 6,917,395 persons were in the married state, and 1,116,672 persons were widowed. The females numbered altogether 10,289,965, being 513,706 more than the males. However, it must be remembered that the soldiers, sailors, and merchant-seamen abroad reach nearly to the number of 200,000. It is satisfactory to find that, though females increase at the rate of barely 13 per cent., yet wives increase at the rate of more than 15 per cent. In fact, the number of married women has increased by nearly half a million in the last ten years. If the calculations be confined to persons in the prime of life, that is, from the age of 20; and not exceeding 40 years, it is found that only 42 men in every 100 are bachelors, and only 39 women in every 100 are spinsters; the corresponding figures in 1851 being 45 and 41 in every 100 respectively. Still, of the persons between the ages of 20 and 40 years, 1,201,576 men and 1,229,051 women were in a state of celibacy. The figures generally show a most undoubted time of prosperity and comfort, and a steady advance in the population.

The company of Captain Macfarlane, of Milang, South Australia, possessed the greatest number of marksmen in the colony in the year 1862. From him, therefore, a challenge has emanated that ten men of his company would shoot a match against ten of the company claim

ing similar honours in England. The 1st Company of the Robin Hoods, according to the certificated statement of its commander, Captain Mundella, was selected by Colonel McMurdo to represent England, and the match was shot on their part on the 15th and 16th of September. The ten Robin Hoods obtained permission from Lord Vernon to shoot over his celebrated range at Sudbury, it being a condition of the match that each side should shoot at butts where they had not been accustomed to practise. The distances were from 200 up to 900 yards inclusive, seven rounds per man at each range, and the rifle used was the long Enfield. In spite of a strong wind the shooting was extremely good. The grand total of the score was 1,155, the average being 115.50 per man. The highest score was made at 400 yards' range.

The Channel Fleet has been for some days off Liverpool, and the ships, of course, have been visited by all classes of people from the town and neighbourhood. Luncheons and balls have been given on board several of the ships, and these hospitalities have been amply reciprocated on shore. The Mayor has given a banquet to Admiral Dacres and the officers, and the banquet was followed by a fancy ball. The Royal Mersey Yacht Club have also given a banquet in the Philharmonic Hall. Admiral Dacres has been entertained at dinner by Mr. John Laird, M.P., at the mansion of the latter at Birkenhead.

Nearly one hundred men of the crew of the Confederate ship-of-war the Florida were brought last week by the *Paquet de Brest* to Cardiff, and thence sent on to Liverpool. Many of them are said to be Irishmen, and all are fine athletic men. They are said to hold prize-bonds for considerable sums, and also to have been the bearers of notes from Captain Maffit to Messrs. Fraser, of Liverpool, stating the amount of wages due to them.

Last week one of the famous steam-rams constructed in the Mersey, and the subject of so much controversy in the field of conjecture, evidence, and international law, was towed out of Messrs. Laird's dock at Birkenhead, and taken into the Morpeth Dock Basin, where the remainder of her fittings will be completed.

Rope-dancing at frightful altitudes and the struggles of the prize-ring are as eagerly sought by the mob as they are solemnly criticised and condemned by the respectable portion of the community. An amusement more brutal has, however, an existence in this country, and enlists among its admirers both the rude and the cultivated classes. That amusement is death by hanging. At Liverpool, some ten days since, four men were hanged on the same gallows, and the mob proved its appreciation of the spectacle by assembling to the number of 100,000 persons. This is surely bad enough, but the question is, whence did this multitude come, and how was it conveyed to the spot? Why, it is affirmed that on the eventful morning an excursion train of thirty carriages arrived from Bradford, and that other excursion trains brought vast crowds from Huddersfield and Blackburn. If this be so, at whose door is the charge of barbarism to be laid? Surely the directors of the railways are the true culprits. These gentlemen would doubtless be horrified at the insinuation that they were present in person; yet they did not for one moment hesitate to convey thither the very persons whom at another time they pretend to humanise and cultivate, for the paltry purpose of putting a few pounds into the pockets of themselves and the shareholders. Perhaps the next time these gentlemen ascend the platform at a social science congress, an emancipation committee, or a missionary meeting, or in any other way assume the character of philanthropists, they will be good enough to recollect the quadruple execution at Liverpool and the excursion trains, and confess that they are not yet qualified to lead and instruct the people.

The Great Northern Meeting at Doncaster has exhibited even more than its accustomed success in company, horses, and weather. Never have such crowds assembled on the Moor, and never have the contests been more exciting in inception, or more satisfactory in results. The races occupied four days of last week, more than thirty struggles of varying interest were decided, and the aggregate number of competitors fell little short of 250. Pre-eminently, however, above the residue of the races, stand four: namely, the Great Yorkshire Handicap, the Great Doncaster St. Leger, the Doncaster Cup, and the Doncaster Stakes. The handicap was won in a canter by Lord Stamford's Dalcibella, a daughter of Voltigeur, against whom at starting the odds of six to one were laid, and who, having been purchased after her victory in the Cesarewitch Stakes at Newmarket in 1860, has



only now returned to the speed and excellence which she displayed on that occasion. The race for the St. Leger Stakes, the great event of the meeting, was run on Wednesday, September 16th. This contest is confined to horses and mares of the age of three years. The price of entry is £55 each, and the animals are entered as yearlings. This year there were 204 subscribers, and the net value of the stakes was £4,975. Indeed, the race may fairly be described as the northern and autumnal Derby, and generally the horses which have competed at Epsom here meet again to test their prowess, and to verify or falsify the results of the race for the Derby. On this occasion, however, Macaroni, the winner of the Derby, was not to take part in the struggle, never having been entered for this race. Nineteen horses came to the post, and of these Avenger, the property of Lord Stamford, purchased for an enormous sum as a two-year-old, and the winner of the Prince of Wales Stakes at Ascot last June, was held in high esteem. The Ranger, too, a son of Voltigeur, who won the Grand Prix de Paris in May, beating the French mare La Touques, was backed for large sums of money. So also was Borealis, the daughter of Newminster and the renowned Blink Bonny, winner in her day of both Derby and Oaks. There was also Queen Bertha, having Kingston for her sire, and commanding, by her victory this year for the Oaks, the unbounded confidence of John Scott, the Wizard of the North. But, beyond and above all these, Lord Clifden formed the centre of intense curiosity and wild speculation. This horse, it must be remembered, had been purchased by Lord St. Vincent as a two-year-old for 6,000 guineas, had won all his races in 1862, and having been first favourite for the Derby for more than six months before the race, was beaten on the post by Macaroni by the shortest of heads. Two days after the Derby he only succeeded in beating the wretched Jarnicoton by a head, and shortly afterwards he was transported to Paris, and finished nowhere for the Grand Prix. Immediately there arose against him a host of calumniators, who, forgetting that the horse had suffered severely at Epsom, declared that he was no racehorse at all, and even denominated him "a brute, a camel, an impostor, and a clothes-horse." The whole legion of "touts" surrounded him, and pronounced that he had undergone no preparation for the Leger, that he was as good as dead; the multitude of tipsters advised their followers to bet against him with vigour; his owner was held insane when he accepted the bet of £11,000 to £1,000 against him, and the ring drove him to 25 to 1, offering to bet that he would not start, and that if he did start he would never pass the winning-post. Eventually, however, on the morning of the race he rose to the position of first favourite—3 to 1 being laid against him, while 9 to 2 was laid against the Avenger, 6 to 1 against the Ranger, 7 to 1 against Queen Bertha, and 100 to 7 against Borealis. The race itself was marvellous. When the remaining horses were already in full stride, Lord Clifden was yet at the starting-post; within three-quarters of a mile from the winning-post he was yet more than 100 yards behind; within half a mile from home he had shot to the front with amazing rapidity, and held victory in his grasp. He passed the judge half a length in front of Queen Bertha, winning cleverly and without any violent struggle, the mare being four lengths in advance of Borealis. The shouts of the crowd during the early part of the race were frightful with derision at Lord Clifden and his supporters; and to all present, sportsmen and mere spectators, that he could win after such a start seemed incredible. His performance stamps him as one of the most extraordinary horses that have ever run in England, and for ever silences his detractors. In these columns, in spite of his Derby defeat, he was pronounced a magnificent animal, and it was boldly asserted that had he been well ridden Macaroni could never have defeated him. Lord Clifden is by Newminster, the son of Touchstone, and himself the winner of the St. Leger. The dam of Lord Clifden was the Slave, who was the daughter of Melbourne and Volley, the latter being the daughter of Martha Lynn and thereby sister to Voltigeur. Martha Lynn also bore Eulogy, the mother of Impérieuse, and so she has now to boast that she has been the dam, grand-dam, and great grand-dam of St. Leger winners. By the victory of Lord Clifden, Lord St. Vincent wins, besides the stakes, about £25,000. On Friday, September 18, Macaroni won the Doncaster Cup, defeating Queen Bertha by a length and a-half, and thereby rendered the question of his superiority to Lord Clifden still more debatable. It should, however, be noticed that Queen Bertha must have suffered by her efforts in the St. Leger, and was also jostled heavily in the race. On the same day Lord Clifden defeated Borealis in a "canter" for the Doncaster Stakes, and confirmed the reality of his former victory. Whether Lord Clifden and Macaroni will ever again

meet to decide the open controversy as to their respective excellence remains to be seen. Already Lord St. Vincent has made the challenge, offering to run for £1,000 or even £10,000. When the contest does arrive, it will excite as much interest as the grand match between Voltigeur and the Flying Dutchman; and, whatever be the result, it is at least certain that neither the splendid Lord Clifden nor the stout Macaroni will be disgraced by the struggle.

Mr. Forster, M.P., took the chair at an "Emancipation" meeting at Leeds on Monday night. The hon. gentleman's speech was a repetition of his former deliverances on behalf of the North, except that he complimented Earl Russell upon his neutrality—and we may be sure the noble lord's neutrality must be very warm indeed to meet with the approval of such a zealous Anglo-Federal. Mr. Forster endeavoured to slur over the ill-will of the North towards this country by saying that the *New York Herald* did not represent the public opinion of the United States. The hon. gentleman did not attempt to explain how it is that the *New York Herald* has the largest circulation, and is more quoted than any other journal in the North, if its policy is not popular. We suppose Mr. Forster reads no other Federal journal except the *New York Herald*, or he would know that that paper is not singular in abusing England.

A little "Emancipation" meeting was held in London on the same evening at the Craven Chapel, Golden-square. We gather from the report of the *Morning Star* that a Rev. J. Kennedy said, "The King of Dahomey was tolerated by Providence; and, should a vacancy occur on that throne, he thought they could not do better than have Mr. Craft to fill his place." Mr. Craft, who moved the next resolution, is an Abolitionist, and, for all we know, the Rev. Mr. Kennedy may be right in deeming him a fitting successor to the King of Dahomey, but it was hardly courteous to say so.

Justice in this country is sometimes blind indeed in awarding punishment, if the penalty ought to be proportioned to the offence. Lately newspaper readers were angry at a magistrate sentencing a fellow who had brutally maltreated his sister-in-law to two months' imprisonment. In this case the punishment was inadequately mild, but other cases have lately occurred which show that transgressors of the law are not always so dealt with, and that oftentimes the sentence is inadequately severe. For instance, a man who stole some mushrooms, value one penny, from a field was fined half-a-crown, and, being too poor to pay the fine, was imprisoned fourteen days. Another instance of justice without mercy, nearly as remarkable as the above, is that of a man who purloined a paper-weight, value sixpence, and had to expiate his offence by two months' imprisonment.

#### THE CONTINENT.

The Archduke Maximilian is reported to have finally accepted the Crown of Mexico. This involves some family arrangements at Vienna. The Constitution of the Empire of Austria enacts that the eldest brother of the reigning Sovereign shall remain at the disposal of the country, to assume the Regency in the eventuality of the Emperor's death. The son of the present Emperor was born on the 21st of August, 1858, and will, consequently, not attain his majority till 1876. Until then his uncle, the Archduke Maximilian, having to be prepared to act as Regent, could not accept any position abroad without some arrangement being made. As, therefore, the Archduke Maximilian accepts the Crown of Mexico, his claims to the Regency are transferred to the Emperor's second brother, the Archduke Charles, who was born in 1833. The *Mémorial Diplomatique* of the 20th announces that the English Government has cordially concurred in the establishment of the Mexican Monarchy, and agreed to acknowledge and support it. The *Mémorial* says, "The English Cabinet has acknowledged that in the present state of affairs no proposition offered so many guarantees as that of the Archduke Maximilian. Placed in difficult circumstances at the head of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, this Prince gave the most striking proof of his capacity in the art of governing. He is, it is known, connected with the Royal family of England, and the choice the Mexican nation made in him could not, therefore, be otherwise than agreeable to the Court of St. James's. England has promised henceforth to favour by every means the realization of the loan necessary to place Mexico in a position to fulfil her engagements abroad, and to insure the regularity of the different administrations at home."

The Polish National Government has addressed a letter to Prince Czartoryski, in which the position is elaborately reviewed, and the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Poles insisted on as a just and

expedient act. This letter has been published in the *Moniteur*.

The Polish question is still *in statu quo*, and will remain so until the return of the Emperor Napoleon to Paris. Some of the French papers are in favour of a solution by the sword; but it is supposed that the Emperor will not act without the concurrence of England and Austria, and that these Powers are not disposed to go beyond diplomatic action. It is rumoured that a joint note will be presented to Russia in answer to the late despatches to the three Powers. Count Rechberg is said to advise that no reply be sent to Prince Gortschakoff's despatch, believing it necessary to await the acts of the Russian Government.

Meantime, several skirmishes are reported, in which the Poles are generally victorious. Massacres, assassinations, and executions are as numerous as ever. An Orsini bomb was thrown from a window at General Berg as he was driving through a suburb of Warsaw. The general escaped, but one of his suite was killed. The house from which the bomb was thrown was sacked by the Russian soldiers.

The Grand Duke Constantine will not return to Warsaw.

The Federal corvette Kearsage is at Brest, repairing her masts and rigging. The *France* says: "She has been sent with another vessel of war of the same nation in pursuit of the Confederate steamer Florida. The latter will have completed her repairs on Tuesday, and will leave on the following day. She will proceed to meet the second Federal corvette, which is now at Lisbon, and attack her before she can be joined by the one at Brest."

Marshal Forey and M. de Saligny have received the Grand Cross of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and are about to return to France.

Spain has demanded reparation from Morocco for injuries sustained from the Riff tribes. The Emperor of Morocco is said to have declared that he would without displeasure see Spain vigorously chastise the refractory tribes. Spain unless she obtains satisfaction, is prepared to send 10,000 men to Melilla, under the command of the Marquis Novaliches.

The *Epoca* asserts that the Cabinets of Washington and Madrid have determined to submit the question of jurisdiction within Cuban waters to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians. If so, there can be no doubt about the award, and it is difficult to understand why the Washington Government should have submitted such a question to arbitration.

The Holstein question is again attracting attention. At the last sitting of the Federal Diet the United Committees upon the Holstein question reported in favour of a Federal execution being carried out in that province. The Committees recommend taking possession of the administration of the entire duchy, and the entry of 6,000 Hanoverian and Saxon troops, Austria and Prussia furnishing the reserve. The vote of the Diet upon the report will be taken on the 1st of October next. To this measure Denmark has replied by issuing an order that the regimental lists shall be filled up to war strength by the 1st of October. It is not thought that the Diet will take the extreme step of a Federal execution, since it is likely to involve the intervention of the Western Powers.

The King of the Greeks is in St. Petersburg, and, after visiting his family in Germany, will come to England.

The Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath having protested against the arrest of Deputy Rogawski, who was charged with acting on a secret Polish Committee, as an infringement of members' privileges, he has been set at liberty.

There has been a grand review near Milan, at which the King of Italy was present. His Majesty was enthusiastically cheered by the people.

The case of the editors of the seven Berlin papers has been tried. The accusation was for having excited contempt and hatred against the orders of the authorities by publishing a declaration hostile to the press ordinances. The editors were acquitted.

A GREAT deal of conjecture was lately rife as to the cause of the assembly in Paris of the principal members of the Rothschild family. Some of the Paris papers declare the sole object of their meeting to have been the liquidation of the Naples house. Baron Gustavus Rothschild retires from business with, it is asserted, a fortune of 150,000,000*fr.*, and there are now in Europe but four houses of Rothschilds—in London, Paris, Vienna, and Frankfurt.



## LETTERS FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, August 1.

We are going through the "heated term" of our summer, which, as you know, is something fearfully beyond what any Englishman who has not been in the East India service nor made a voyage to the tropics has any idea of—a season of overpowering, demoralising heat, which utterly incapacitates one for any sort of exertion, mental or physical—a time for reading Pickwick in the country, beneath the shade of ancestral trees, with sherry-cobblers at one's elbow, or lying all in the bath and smoking cabanas. The sun pours down upon the hot roofs and baking streets of the city with absolute fury. Such a blaze, if it were possible, over London, would produce a consternation in Ludgate Hill and Cheapside greater than the announcement of a French invasion, and Dr. Cumming would probably conclude that the hour of the Great Tribulation was at hand. Such a *chaleur* in Paris would depopulate the Boulevards and set the asphalt pavements to running in a hundred little black rills of molten pitch into the Seine. In this terrible heat, we are wholly without the accustomed mitigations, and debarred from the ordinary modes of relief. The Yankees possess the sea-coast, so that salt water and the sea-breeze are out of the question. None of the better class of fashionable watering-places in the mountains are open to visitors. The country all around us, except on the south-west, has been laid waste by the enemy. By far the larger part of our population are therefore under compulsion to remain in town, and so remaining must endure the tropical midsummer temperature as best they may. The sherry-cobbler suggestion is quite impracticable, for there are no lemons and no sherry and no ice. Of the latter I say there is none, by which I mean none within the reach of the deliquescent public, although there are "saloons" where the amateur, who is not fastidious in the matter of French brandy, may get a julep (iced) at the moderate charge of two dollars; and Pizzini, a Corsican restaurateur, who is to Richmond what Gunter is to London and Tortoni to Paris, sells infinitesimal frozen creams and water-ices at one dollar a head. When the warm weather first set in, ice could be bought at ten cents, or a Confederate postage-stamp, per pound; in a fortnight's time it went up to twenty cents, like the leaves of the sibyl, the remainder becoming more and more valuable as the supply was diminished; and now it sells readily for fifty cents, though the pound has melted down to eight ounces before it can be wrapped up in a blanket, and the trade has to be carried on surreptitiously, as the Government impresses all the ice it can lay its hands on for the use of the hospitals. This is eminently proper, of course, and gives rise to no other complaint than this: that the Government by exhibiting a reasonable energy and precaution last winter might have laid up a sufficient supply for all the wants of the sick and wounded soldiers, and left what was secured by private enterprise for the community at large. Oh! when one thinks of these sick and wounded soldiers prostrate upon their beds of pain—poor fellows that have left an arm or a leg on those terrible hills of Gettysburg—when he considers what they have undergone in nights of agony and long watches of loneliness, and remembers with what cheerfulness and courage they have borne it all—he might well write himself down a coward for complaining that his wonted luxuries are denied him, that the summer is hot, and that he cannot go to the Springs!

The intelligence from Charleston gives us good reason to hope that the enemy is as far as ever from the capture of the city. The bombardment of Fort Wagner has been going on at intervals, and the Yankees are engaged in erecting batteries on Morris Island (under a heavy fire from our guns) with which they hope to lay Sumter in ruins. Fort Wagner is said to be stronger than it has been at any previous time, and the trial of strength and resolution is not now between Pemberton and Grant, but between Beauregard and Gilmore—Beauregard the brave and fortunate! Our troops there are in excellent spirits, and the temper of the Charlestonians is that of lofty defiance and indomitable firmness. An order of General Beauregard's has been published and enforced by which all travel into the city has been suspended. A guard is stationed at Branchville, on the Columbia railroad, and no women, children, or non-combatants are permitted to approach nearer to Charleston without special permits from head-quarters. Meanwhile the Yankees are exceedingly boastful of their ultimate success in the reduction of Charleston, and their fleet off the harbour has been so much increased that the port is, for the first time since the establishment of the so-called blockade, effectually closed. Several steamers from Nassau, finding it impracticable to run through the close line of the Federal ships, have returned with their cargoes to that port.

The army of General Lee now lies round about Culpeper Court-house, and the army of General Meade swarms in the counties of Loudoun and Fauquier. A report was in circulation a day or two ago that the Yankees were about making the attempt to occupy our old lines of entrenchment at Hamilton's Crossing, where the first battle of Fredericksburg was fought; but the latest accounts from that quarter, up to this morning, give no confirmation to the idle rumour. The belief is widely entertained that a great battle will be fought between the two armies before many days: a belief based upon the rational supposition that it would be sound policy for General Lee to attack Meade before he is heavily reinforced by the troops that have been withdrawn from Vicksburg. My own belief is that a serious shock of arms will not take place before the 15th or 20th of the month, though it is likely enough that cavalry skirmishes in considerable force may occur at an earlier date. The armies are near enough together for their pickets and foraging parties to encounter each other daily, and it is difficult for any respectable numbers to come together without crossing swords and exchanging shots. Though the army of General Lee has been weakened by

the fighting at Gettysburg, it is strong enough to vanquish any force that may be under the command of Meade; and the feeling of every corps, division, brigade, regiment, battalion, and company, is that of assured victory when the trumpets shall sound to the charge.

The riots in New York city having been put down by military force, and intimidation having succeeded in quelling all insubordination elsewhere, the draft is going on throughout the Northern States with greater success than three weeks ago would have been thought possible. The Yankee press teems with paragraphs on the patriotism of the conscripts who waited for compulsion to bring them into the field. The pulpit is not exempted from the relentless lottery, and when we recollect how much it has done to bring on this war and to deepen the hatred of the Northern people towards the South, we must admit that it is reasonable the preachers should now shoulder their muskets. Two sons of the Hon. Edward Everett have been drafted, and we are told that they intend serving in person, as if it were the most magnificent sacrifice ever made in the cause of country, that these shining ornaments of the society of Beacon Street should go forth to imperil their precious lives against the rabble of "the rebellion." Far better men than they rushed to arms from all parts of the South on the first approach of Lincoln's myrmidons—the young promise, the nascent genius, the expectancy and rose of fifteen fair States, and lie buried on a hundred battle-fields between the Chesapeake and the Mississippi. It was even said that the eminent Edward Everett himself, who, as late as the 5th of February, 1861, declared, invoking the name of Heaven, in Faneuil Hall, "that if the Southern States wished to secede they should be permitted to go in peace," had resolved, if the draft fell upon him, to hire no substitute nor pay the \$300, but to buckle on his armour and march to the field; though, seeing that the Honourable Edward is on the verge of 70, and therefore not liable to the draft, he might have published this resolution with perfect safety. That the draft is not popular in the North is evident enough, apart from the violent resistance that has been made to it in many quarters, and all manner of pretexts have been resorted to in evading its inexorable demands. Among others, that of proclaiming one's own infamy by certificates of having served out terms of imprisonment in the Northern penitentiaries has become common. It may be thought with some reason that a levy of reluctant raw recruits is not the best mode of filling up armies which are to meet the well-disciplined troops of Lee, Beauregard, Bragg, and Johnston, and that *Punch* was happy in placing in the mouth of the Yankee conscript the honest warning:—

Don't think I'll volunteer for you to conker the ascendant.  
Of them that's as much right as we to flourish independent;  
An' ef you press me, understand, you force a man unwilling!  
That aint the sort of sojer, quite, for bein' killed and killin'.

But we build no hopes upon the repugnance or contumacy of the new Yankee levies, who will probably be converted by military discipline in two or three months into as good soldiers as any that have ever been brought against Richmond. Our duty is plain. We must consider the raising of the 300,000 men as *un fait accompli*, and endeavour to meet and overcome them with inferior numbers, as we did the legions of McDowell, McClellan, Burnside, and Hooker.

Speculation on the future of the war by an unmilitary writer is nothing more, perhaps, than blind guess; but if I may be permitted to place on record my own conjectures, I would say that I think the great battle on which the safety of the Confederate capital must ultimately depend will be fought on the old trodden field of the peninsula below the city. There will be another advance of a mighty host along the path of the Young Napoleon, and the plains of the Seven Pines, like those of Manassas, may be made memorable by a second conflict, which will terminate, let us hope, as did the Manassas struggles, in the utter confusion and rout of the enemy.

You will have learned the mischance which has befallen the gallant John Morgan, over whose capture, many times before falsely asserted, the whole North is now jubilant. The strain of pious gratitude in which the fortunate colonel who took him prisoner announces the fact is quite refreshing, and Lincoln might well proclaim a Day of National Thanksgiving over so auspicious a result. The error of our dashing cavalry leader was in supposing that he could traverse 1,500 miles of a densely-populated country, the people of which will fight readily enough for their farm-yards and "plunder," as easily as Grierson went through Mississippi, which had been almost drained of its male citizens, and was sparsely inhabited at the beginning of the war. It is a high compliment to the qualities of John Morgan, and a striking proof of the great terror with which his name had inspired the whole race of Yankees, that not less than 75,000 men were called out in pursuit of him. That such a force should have succeeded in cutting off his retreat will not astonish mankind.

Seven hundred and seventy paroled Confederate prisoners arrived at City Point this morning from Fortress Monroe. With their accustomed inhumanity the Yankees sent back only such as were sick or desperately wounded, in consequence of which nine poor fellows died on the journey, and many others were so ill as to make their removal to Petersburg by rail a matter of great danger. It has been long notorious that the Yankee is "the cutest chap of the universal air" in a swapping match, and their object in returning the wounded and invalid prisoners was twofold: 1st, not to strengthen our ranks by giving up men capable of fighting; and 2nd, to relieve themselves of the trouble of nursing our incapables—reckless, of course, of any consequences that might result from the fatigues of the journey to men so borne down by wounds or disease. But in this instance the Yankee Commissioner gained no advantage over Judge Ould, who will send back tomorrow 780 sick and wounded Yankees from the hos-

pitals in this city. Not a sound Yankee will be given up, though he will not emulate the barbarism of the enemy by sending off men *in articulo mortis*.

President Davis has issued a Proclamation, a copy of which I enclose, setting apart Friday, the 21st of this month, as a public day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in recognition of the chastening hand of Divine Providence so heavily laid upon us in the recent reverses we have sustained.

Burton N. Harrison, Esq., late private secretary of the President, has resigned that office for the purpose of going into the military service.

RICHMOND, August 8.

THE terrible heat, of which I wrote you last week, continues, and the thermometer has not indicated a lower temperature than 82° at any hour of the day or night for twelve days past. The range of the mercury during daylight is between 86° and 96° in shady spots; fatal cases of *coup de soleil* have occurred on our streets; and the operations in the field have been suspended, as by an informal armistice, till the sun ceases to be an adverse power to both the combatants. Consequently I have little to tell you, which is fortunate, seeing the difficulty which attends writing in such an atmosphere, the demoralisation of the mental faculties, and the physical inconvenience of having the perspiration stream from the hand as the narrative proceeds.

The army of General Lee has fallen back on this side the Rapidan in good order and the finest condition, its right wing extending as far as Marye's Heights at Fredericksburg. Just before this movement was made, a reconnaissance in force was undertaken by the enemy, three brigades having been thrown across the Rappahannock at Kelly's and Beverly's Fords on the 1st inst. The result was a collision with that portion of our advanced guard under the command of Generals Wright and Mahone. The fight was obstinate and protracted, and at first our troops were driven back, but their supports coming up, they pressed the Yankees hard, compelling them to recross the river. The loss on each side was about 100 in killed, wounded, and missing.

On the 5th instant, while the withdrawal of the main body of General Lee's army to the southern bank of the Rapidan was going on, General Stuart, with the view of diverting the enemy's attention, attacked a considerable body of their troops near Brandy Station, and brought on a heavy engagement, in which our loss was less than frequently occurs in a chance combat of cavalry, amounting to not more than six killed and eighteen wounded—while the Yankees suffered severely and were again forced to retire behind the Rappahannock.

On the same day with this very spirited and successful encounter there was a little experiment, in the main satisfactory, made upon the Yankee gunboats in James River by the officers in charge of the submerged defences of Richmond. A fleet, consisting of one iron-clad monitor and two wooden armed steamers, ascended the stream to a point within six or eight miles of Drewry's Bluff and nearly opposite Varina, shelling the woods on shore, when, suddenly, a violent explosion was heard. A mass of water as great as the Athenæum Club-house was lifted into the air, and the foremost gunboat fell into the empty chasm, dashing heavily against the sandy bottom, but immediately afterwards rising to the surface, as the water rushed in to fill the momentary vacuum. The torpedo, of 2,000 pounds of powder, had been discharged just a moment too soon, either from a miscalculation of the position of the vessel, or from nervous excitement on the part of the officer in charge of the galvanic batteries. The gunboat was manifestly very seriously injured, though she had escaped the utter destruction that had awaited these many months the first Yankee craft that should sail over the torpedo—thunder that had slept patiently in its iron cylinder like the geni in the bottle in the "Arabian Nights," and had now burst forth, unhappily not to accomplish all that had been designed for it. The engines of the gunboat refusing to work, she was immediately placed in tow of her companions, and the crippled flotilla slowly made their way back to City Point. At day-break next morning, having stopped during the night below Varina to repair the damages, the flotilla was fired into by a battery of light artillery, which had been moved to a bend in the river known as "Deep Bottom," for that purpose, and again, somewhat later in the morning, at Turkey Island, and all the vessels were more or less disabled. Large pieces of floating timber were picked up in the river. It is supposed that the loss on board the wooden steamers in killed and wounded was considerable. Since the disappearance of this fleet no Yankee vessel has been seen above City Point. Though it is to be regretted that the torpedo did not go off at the right moment, the result of this trial—the first that has been made—of the submerged defences of the capital is highly encouraging, since it establishes both the perfect working of the electric batteries and the immense capacity for destructiveness of the torpedoes.

Since the date of my last letter two most important proclamations or presidential papers have appeared from the chief magistrates of the United and the Confederate States respectively: the address of Jefferson Davis to the soldiers of the Confederacy, and the pronouncement of Abraham Lincoln threatening retaliation should his negro troops captured in the South be treated otherwise than as prisoners of war. Mr. Davis's address is regarded by the enemy as a confession of weakness, and as his last appeal for support to a reluctant fighting class in the hour of extremity; but the language, while it is earnest, is hopeful, and its publication is seasonable when our armies are weakened by the absence or desertion of large numbers of the troops. The amnesty granted by it to those who were held in gaol awaiting their trial for desertion has liberated and sent to the field from the military prisons of this city 1,080 men—enough to make a full regiment. The document of Lincoln, with regard to the treatment of the negroes taken in,



battle, is a very difficult one to deal with. It cannot be denied that the whole question of retaliation is seriously perplexed by the recent reverses to our arms and the vast amount of our territory which has been overrun by the enemy. Where the combatants are so unequal in respect of the damage they can inflict upon each other, it is a solemn thing to commence retaliation, even for such savage atrocities as those of Butler and M'Neil, for it may be returned four-fold; and it is this consideration which gives significance to the brutal threat of Lincoln, that he will execute Confederate soldiers for negroes who are hanged or shot. The wretch first instigates the slaves to rebel and tries to incite a servile war; failing in this, he steals or runs off our negroes and puts them in his armies, declaring that we shall treat them as white men. The civilised world, which stood aghast at the effort of Lincoln to light up the flames of domestic insurrection throughout the Confederate States, must have approved the determination of the Confederate Government, set forth in the proclamation of Mr. Davis many months ago, to execute the officers commanding negro brigades, who should be taken prisoners, as murderers, and deal with the negroes as we should see fit. England, certainly, whose authorities in India blew the leaders of the Sepoy insurrection from the mouths of cannon, must have admitted the justice of this resolve; and yet the negroes taken at Fort Wagner, with the officers commanding them, are retained in our military prisons on the exact footing of prisoners of war. In this case, it is true, a distinction is recognised between free negroes recruited in Boston and slaves mustered into service from Southern plantations; but no instance has yet occurred, so far as I know, in which a negro soldier, or the officer commanding him, has been hanged or shot. The hesitation to enforce the *lex talionis* arises, not from the base motive of fear, but from feelings of the truest humanity, and a natural reluctance to enter upon a course of mutual slaughter, in which the best blood of the country shall drench the scaffold or the parade ground. But the enemy, growing more and more inhuman as their power is extended, have already commenced a system of imprisonments and shootings, in the case of non-combatants, women and children, which must soon result in the raising the black flag. Then, let the responsibility rest on the Christian nations of Europe, which, seeing the inevitable tendency of this struggle, have permitted, may encouraged, the United States to violate all the usages of civilised warfare, and revive in the nineteenth century of our Lord the barbarities which mark the history of the fifth.

In spite of the boasts of the Yankee press, we have reason to believe that the negroes make bad soldiers. At Fort Wagner they gained the parapet in the assault, but they had been previously plied with whisky and they were warned that the white regiments behind them would fire into their ranks at the very first exhibition of cowardice. And yet it is upon the negroes that Lincoln must at last rely to fill up his armies. The draft, which now goes on smoothly in the Northern States, has resulted so far, contrary to all our expectations, in very few conscripts. The Government gets some money, but not more than ten per cent. of the men who are drawn fail to show ground of exemption, and of these ninety per cent. furnish substitutes, who run away at the first opportunity. The negro can show no ground of exemption except physical disability; he cannot pay the \$300, he cannot furnish a substitute, and so he is marched off to the receiving camps, a helpless victim to the Government which had offered him freedom. Of the thousands of poor, ignorant, happy creatures who were taken by force or persuasion during the first year of the war from tide-water Virginia and the banks of the Upper Potomac, the immense majority will be compelled to take up arms to fight their former masters, and Exeter Hall itself may well doubt the philanthropy of an emancipation which takes the slave from the tobacco-field and the cotton-field, and sends him, against his will, to the battle-field. Yet this is the hard fate of the luckless contraband, and such is the improvement in his condition which his peculiar friends have brought about! The consequence will be that, if the war lasts five years, these new *Chasseurs d'Afrique* will be buried under the soil they once tilled, and the race, upon whose properly directed industry in the South the whole world had come to rely for the material of national prosperity, will be exterminated from the face of the American Continent.

The commission for the execution of the monument to Stonewall Jackson has been awarded to Mr. Volk, a young sculptor, till recently employed as a clerk in the Treasury Department. This gentleman has given assurance of his ability to perform the work by very striking and faithful busts of ex-President Tyler, President Davis, General Joseph E. Johnston, and others. He took a cast of Jackson's face after death, and has already produced a study in plaster, which is pronounced an admirable likeness of the original. Mr. Volk has recently sailed for Europe, and, if he escapes the hands of the blockaders, will probably reach London about the time this letter arrives there.

Colonel A. C. Myers, who has discharged the duties of Quarter-master General of the Confederate States since the first organization of the Government at Montgomery, has been relieved of duty in that department. He has been succeeded by Brigadier-General Alexander R. Lawton, of Georgia, late of the army of General Lee.

Among the latest arrivals in Richmond is that of Mr. Soule, who came from Nassau in the last trip of the *Margaret and Jessie*.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 22.  
The Paris press has treated no object of interest during the last week. It has been almost entirely filled with the voluminous official documents relating to Poland. From the daily papers your readers have been able to judge of the unfavourable impression they have

made here and elsewhere. But if they take the utterances of the Paris press—and they are, for once, almost unanimous in anathematising Russian insolence—for the general feeling of the French nation they will make a great mistake. A friend of mine, holding an important political position, has just returned from a tour in the provinces. He describes the general apathy with which the fate of Poland is regarded, and the universal unwillingness to go to war. The French army is, for the most part, recruited from the agricultural population; a war, therefore, is regarded by the masses, especially a war on such a scale of magnitude, as an unmixed evil. The Government, in times of peace, endeavours to lighten the burthen of the conscription, which is for seven years, by giving furloughs to the soldiers who have served for four years. The reserve is only called out for three months at a time. But a declaration of war is accompanied by a call upon all the military force of France, and every man who has fallen to the conscription is required to join his regiment. Apart, therefore, from the perils to which they are exposed, their parents regard with disgust a measure which deprives the farmstead of its most active hands. The only class in France in which the sentiment of family really exists is the farming class, where all live under the same roof, share the same table, and join in tilling the same fields. The loss, therefore, of a son's labour, which must be replaced by that of a hired servant, makes itself felt not only in the family circle, but in the family budget. It is a mistake to suppose that the passion for *gloire* exists anywhere but in the writings of literary politicians, and in the love of excitement which military display creates and nourishes in the operative classes of the large towns. The general feeling of the rural population is, at least on the present occasion, largely shared by the commercial and financial classes. Private fortunes are now so intimately connected with the public fortune—thanks to the great loans of the last years, and to the gigantic financial companies which have absorbed such large sums—that whatever is likely to affect the value of these gives at the same time a blow to the interests of each individual. In the higher sphere of politicians the dread of war is not less lively nor less well-grounded. It is only by careful nursing and lucky operations that the public fortune can be placed on a secure basis, and no one has forgotten the panic which, two years ago, followed the announcement of the proportions which the floating debt had then attained—a panic which was only averted by M. Fould's appointment as Finance Minister. The same causes which render the people averse to a war with Russia, render the same classes impatient of the continued *status quo* in America. The anxieties which attended the Mexican expedition in its outset are now forgotten. With the settlement of a stable monarchical Government a wide field of industry is thrown open, and it is felt that an effective influence is secured in that magnificent region, without the embarrassments which its nearer connection with the Empire might produce. The acknowledgment of the independence of the South is everywhere regarded as the natural corollary to the settlement of Mexico; without the one the other would be precarious; and the benefits to be derived from a well-governed Mexico are as nothing compared with the evils which the prolongation of the American war must produce. Whatever may be the case with the English manufacturers of cotton, the French have discovered that they can look only to America for supplies of the raw material. The manufacturing population of the east and west are therefore equally unanimous in demanding of the Government such measures as shall open this market again. The barbarous war which is waged against the South is not only repugnant to humanity, it is also injurious to the interests of the world. Wherever the Federal armies advance not only are plantations laid waste, cities burnt, and the whole country depopulated, but the stores of cotton which the North has so long been promising to send, instead of being thrown into the market by their advance, are unhesitatingly destroyed. There is not, only therefore daily less chance of new crops being planted and gathered, but even the supplies, for which Europe has so long waited, are daily diminishing. The price will of course rise in proportion, and the value of cotton is above all due to its comparative cheapness. I hear these ideas expressed on every side; but mere ideas, or even facts affecting only a certain class, would not create the feeling which I believe to be now nearly universal in France in favour of some step being taken which shall tend to bring the war to an end. The sufferings which the scarcity of raw material produced in certain districts are now beginning to be felt even in the most distant parts of France. The friend whose remarks I have been using visited, among other parts, the great wine producing countries of Burgundy and the Rhone. He there heard the same complaints, the same hopes, expressed in even stronger language than at Havre or Rouen. France has no Canada into which the infuriated North could pour its hordes, and no one here believes that they have a navy capable of transporting and protecting an army of 30,000 men. It is therefore argued with much plausibility that France is, in a better position than England to take high ground on this question. Now that the Polish controversy is for the present in abeyance, you may expect to see both the provincial and metropolitan press urging these not ungrateful themes on the Government. These are not your correspondent's imaginations, but the remarks of an observer, bound by his position to observe accurately.

The *France* of Saturday evening had an article on the iron-clads in Liverpool, which points out, in clearer language than I have seen elsewhere, the real position of this knotty controversy. The duty of neutrals is to treat both parties with perfect equality. Supplying contraband of war to either belligerent, it being equally open to the other to procure the same supplies for his money, is a perfectly fair and lawful trade, whether such contraband take the form of gunpowder, gun, or gunboats. But all the stress of the question lies on the word *trade*.

The builder or merchant who has a legal right to sell the ship, has no right to use it himself as a privateer; he can only be allowed to run the commercial risk. The vessel may be built, but it must not be equipped for war in a neutral port. If Mr. Laird's iron-clads were to be delivered as articles of merchandise in a Confederate port, there would be nothing to say on the subject, as Lord Russell himself will allow; but as the Florida and Alabama were armed long before they ever entered a Confederate port, so the same thing may be anticipated in regard to these vessels. They would sail, therefore, not a commercial venture, but for naval adventure, and thus England's neutrality would be compromised.

There is a good deal to be said in answer to this theory which threatens to prevail. Allowing even that there were full proof that these iron-clads are destined for the Confederate Government, that they are not intended to leave Liverpool fully equipped for war, so as at once to begin their cruise. Far from this. We admit that they will not steer directly for a Confederate port, because the Federals hold the seas, and the risk would be too great. Where, then, will they go? They will sail as the Alabama and the Florida did, for an intermediate port.

Then the ships will be delivered into the hands of the purchaser, the Confederate Government, and the commercial transaction will be concluded. By what right, in virtue of what law, can the English Government require that goods shall be delivered only at the domicile of the purchaser? If any one have a right to interfere in this matter, it can only be the Power to whom the intermediate port belongs. Let Mr. Laird guarantee that these ships shall not immediately and directly on leaving Liverpool be employed as cruisers, and then the law would not authorise Great Britain to seize these vessels, even though the high seas were designated as the place of delivery, and though the armament were to be completed and the crews put on board in the middle of the Atlantic.

This was the course taken in the case of the Alabama. Either the Queen's Government violated the law then, or it threatens to do so at present.

This morning's *Moniteur* contains the manifesto of the Polish committee, which produced a fall on the Bourse. The pessimists regard this as a first step to the recognition of the Poles as belligerents, which would almost inevitably produce a declaration of war. It is, however, not necessary that such should be the intention of the French Government, it is more probably meant as a reply to the cavalier language of Prince Gortschakoff, which was little expected here. Had the tone of his communication been as polite as he could have made it had he pleased, there is little doubt that its matter would have aroused none of the indignation with which it is regarded. It is hardly possible to believe that the diplomacy of Russia, so long vaunted as the most successful in the world, can have made a mistake in choosing this tone. It is more likely that, foreseeing the infinite complications which a war for Poland must produce, it trusts to the prudence of the Continental Powers to avert the danger, and gives itself the safe pleasure of hard words. Such a calculation is too likely to prove false. There is a powerful, though not perhaps numerous party in every country in Europe, which is interested in producing the convulsions the governments they live under dread; and an insult to national feeling may change even the current of opinion in England, and render war inevitable. The English go to war, not for ideas, but for feelings; and it is notorious that if the co-operation of England were secured, a part of the objections felt here, and of which I have already spoken so lengthily, would fall to the ground.

The Mexican deputation was to leave this morning for Biarritz, its first mission being that of thanking the Emperor for the re-establishment of order. It will, in about a week proceed to the Archduke Maximilian's seat near Trieste to offer him the crown. His acceptance seems now beyond all doubt.

The American corvette *Kearsage*, which has put in at Brest for repairs, will receive the same treatment as that accorded to the Florida.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, September 23.

It would sorely vex Mr. Bright's soul to read some correspondence lately placed in my hands. Nor would many of the homelier letters make entirely pleasant reading for people whose political and personal sympathies are rather more English than Mr. Bright's. You must know that scarcely a hamlet in Lancashire but has its "Southern Club," composed mainly of Mr. Bright's ex-protégés—the working men; and really it is in some sense painful to note the hardly articulate struggles of these poor fellows in making known their crying needs in regard to the American war. If the letters prove anything, they prove that the writers are, to their unbounded credit, all unskilled in the arts and shifts of "agitation." I cull from the heap one of these characteristic effusions as a fair sample of the rest, and try to assure Mr. Bright that in replying to it the honorary secretary of the Central Club in Manchester spared his single-minded correspondent every tyrannical taunt and the faintest smile of derision:—

RAWTENSTALL, September 11, 1863.

SIR,—I received your pamphlet with the greatest pleasure I must also beg pardon from you for not coming to your meeting as I could not get from my work. I was surprised when you sent me a circular with rawtenstall in one of its branches, for we had not then completed one. But now you will see by the annexed page that we have one. please let me know what we shall have to pay to join in with you. there are 36 of us in number, and very likely for a good many more and would be glad to join you; but we have written to you several times and you have given us no definite answer what privileges we shall receive from you. hoping you will now do so by return of post,

I remain, yours truly,

The Secretary of the  
Central Southern Club.

In reporting from time to time upon the gratifying success of the Confederate movement in the Distressed Districts, I am loth to do my subject an injustice by



appearing to lay any serious stress upon its minor, though in their way not absolutely insignificant features. Abstracts of enthusiastic proceedings at Southern meetings are pouring into my hand from town after town throughout the cotton country. But, as a rule, I am unwilling to give any one of these even so much prominence as a mere mention would afford, at the cost, probably, of unfairly isolating any single expression of our general goodwill. Besides, thanks to the Union and Emancipation Society, there is a certain taint of ridiculous doubt attaching to anything coming in the questionable shape of "unanimous resolutions." This consideration alone would quite confirm me against weakening, in the mode I have alluded to, the authority which more general statements, moderate in matter and tone and supported by internal evidences of their truth, rarely fail to command. Having said this much, I need add nothing to explain why I take no notice of Northern paragraphs, stowed away in corners of the *Daily News* and the *Morning Star*, about little packed meetings held from time to time in village temperance-halls, or such other wayside edifices laudably built for mutual improvement purposes. This kind of beer, though of the smallest, may make very sufficient chronicling for such journals as care to keep a tally of it. But, as I have hinted, it seems desirable, as a rule, that our peddling Federal GRACCHI should air unchallenged their new-born horror of sedition; though in doing so they take what I consider an unfair advantage in bringing to bear upon their expositions of that unpardonable iniquity a Jacques-like amount of the too eloquent unction of the experienced and temporary "convertite." In their own obscure fashion, they were all free-footed libertines of political disloyalty only the other day, and now, forsooth, they are busying themselves in doing

Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin. But no doubt, spokesmen as they are of the Rump of the Old League, they will all return to their natural courses, so soon as their present platform totters finally to its fall. My sole anxiety is lest, in casting their next professional programme, they may fail to find a suitable character for their faithful *collaborateur* and Man Friday, President Davis's negro ex-coachman—to whom, by the bye, I mean no improper disrespect in pointing to him as a facetious argument, in his own singularly amusing person, of either the laxity or the favouritism of that capriciously operating instrument, the Fugitive Slave Law.

It was announced some days ago that "the Rev. W. H. Channing, from Washington, and nephew of the famous Dr. Channing," was about to deliver a lecture in this city in praise of a "Free and United Republic." By way of rejoinder to that announcement, some anonymous querist had the self-possession to publish for the better part of a week the following inquiry in the morning papers:—

Why should the Rev. Dr. Channing come to mock us in our distress in favour of the American war and little wages, instead of remaining at home to discharge, like a faithful Federal citizen, his liabilities to the Conscription Act?

The lecture came off in due course, but before addressing himself to his set subject, the reverend gentleman gratified his audience by giving the following answer to that public question:—

The Rev. W. H. Channing, who was enthusiastically applauded on rising, said before commencing his lecture he wished to make a personal allusion. An advertisement had appeared in the local papers asking why the lecturer had foregone his duties as a citizen of a republic, the imputation being that he had shunned those duties in coming to Manchester to advocate the cause of that republic. He should be very glad to see the writer of that advertisement side by side with him on the platform. (Cheers.) To treat a stranger visiting the city by giving utterance to such an insinuation was a mean and contemptible act. (Cheers.) To honest men he begged to explain—(A voice: "Oh, never mind that; he is not worthy of notice," and cheers.) Nevertheless, he begged to explain that the law of enrolment made the limitation of age to those who should be enrolled forty years, and he regretted to say he had passed that limit—(loud cheers)—for he should very much rejoice, although a Christian minister, to be so enrolled, and had sought these two years for an opportunity to take that place. (Loud cheers.) When Washington during the last summer was threatened with invasion, it was his privilege to advocate the enrolment of a volunteer regiment, and, for being the first to do this, he was allowed to write his name first on the regimental list. (Cheers.)

With regard to the reverend gentleman's complaint about inhospitable treatment, he will pardon me for reminding him that he came into our city, not as a fair-dealing stranger, entitled to a stranger's privileges, but avowedly as a sort of political Sinon, who was bringing with him a huge hobby-horse not at all to our liking. Thus it was the adventurous advertiser hurled his spear, not at the man, but at the machine, and apparently with more effect than we read of in the *Æneid*. It seems, however, according to the reverend gentleman's explanation, that it is not for lack of will that he is not now "discharging his liabilities to the Conscription Act." And worse than this—the longer he yearns to gratify his vain ardour, the older he is getting; and no doubt to have passed the grand climacteric would go a serious way in invalidating even a "Christian minister" for the exercise of that agility of movement which is mostly of the essence of rapid Federal strategy. It appears, therefore, on the whole, that the reverend gentleman must content himself with having enrolled his name "first on the regimental list," and generally with being a soldier on paper. The lecture itself was of the customary kind, and needs no further mention just now.

The withdrawal of Mr. Mason to Paris is the chief topic of conversation in political circles and on 'Change. The *Guardian* of this morning contains the following remarks, which may be taken as a fair reflex of public opinion here upon that important and perhaps significant step:—

Whether the interests of the South are likely to suffer—and if so, how much—from the withdrawal of the Confederate Commissioner till now in London, is a question for the consideration of Mr. Jefferson Davis and his ministers. With the best wishes for their success, we can only hope that they have not

made a mistake. Judging, however, from the pains which they took to locate a functionary of this character in the English capital, and from what is known of the manner in which he has been employed, we should have thought that he had been able to do many things for them, both political and commercial, better than they could be done by a private individual, and that some substantial loss of efficiency would be the result of his withdrawal. With regard to the impression which the step they have resolved on is likely to have on public opinion, this, again, is a subject on which we have no right to advise them. Something, no doubt, is to be said on both sides, and it is their business exclusively to weigh the pros against the cons. On the one hand, the formal retirement of the Southern Envoy from the proximity of the English Court, will infallibly be represented as a sign that all hope of recognition from that quarter is abandoned. It will be hailed with immense glee by the liberal and philanthropic spirits on both sides of the Atlantic who gloat over every fresh obstacle thrown in the way of the gallant struggle for independence. The same act, on the other hand, will equally well bear the interpretation of a proof that the courage and confidence of the Southern States are no wise abated by the reverses they have recently undergone. Taken in connection with the constant access to the Emperor Napoleon and his ministers which is granted Mr. Slidell, the removal of Mr. Mason to Paris will be held to confirm the rumours of an early recognition by France; and the resolve no longer to court countenance from England will be ascribed as much to its being no longer wanted as to the consciousness that it is not likely to be given. Time must show which of these conflicting calculations will be proved to be better by the result.

# CLOSE THE RANKS.

Air—Maryland, my Maryland.  
The fell invader is before :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We'll hurl his legions from our shore :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Our wives, our children, are behind,  
Our mothers, sisters, dear and kind.  
Their voices reach us on the wind.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Are we to bend to slavish yoke ?  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We'll bend when bends our Southern oak.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
On with the charge of serried steel !  
We all can die, we none can kneel,  
To crouch beneath the Northern heel.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We kneel to God, and God alone :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
One heart in all, all hearts as one :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
For home, for country, truth, and right,  
We stand or fall in freedom's fight.  
In such a cause the Right is right.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We're here from every Southern home :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Fond weeping voices bade us come :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
The husband, brother, boy, and sire,  
All burning with one holy fire,  
Our country's love our only hire.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We cannot fail, we will not yield :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Our bosoms are our country's shield :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
By Washington's immortal name,  
By Stonewall Jackson's kindred fame,  
Their souls, their deeds, their cause the same !  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
By all we hope, by all we love :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
By home on earth, by heaven above :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
By all the tears and heart's blood shed,  
By all our hosts of martyred dead,  
We'll conquer !—or we'll share their bed !  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
The front may fall, the rear succeed :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We smile in triumph as we bleed :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Our Southern Cross above us waves ;  
Long shall it bless the sacred graves  
Of those who died but were not slaves.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
But God is with us, and our right :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Beyond the dark is glorious light :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We'll give our country liberty,  
And patriot victory shall be  
The guerdon of the brave and free.  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
We scorn their storm of shot and shell :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
And all their hireling works of hell :  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !  
Our battle line for victory set  
By chiefs who never failed us yet,  
On, with the Southern bayonet !  
Close the ranks, close up the ranks !

J. L. O'S.

# HOW TO EXTINGUISH "GREEK FIRE."

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)  
SIR,—If the "Greek fire" used by the Federals is the same as the combustible so called in the middle ages, it is of importance to know that it can be extinguished by very simple materials. "It cannot be extinguished by water," says Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "but is subdued by the sprinkling of sand, and put out by pouring vinegar upon it." Raw hides, too, are said to have resisted its influence. I have no pretension to science; I only refer to historical facts. Very likely others have been before me in communicating the information, but it certainly is worth being stated to the military authorities of the Confederates. I therefore

write to you, in hopes the information, if not known already, may be of use. Obvious means of information are sometimes overlooked; I hope, therefore, you will excuse my troubling you with this letter. I quote the above from the *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library. The two passages above referred to are, the first at page 115; the second (as to raw hides), page 206. There is also in the same volume a note on pages 405-6-7, stating the supposed ingredients of, as well the means of extinguishing, the "Greek fire."

You can of course insert this letter in your paper; but my object is to give information, which may possibly be unknown, how to check the destructive combustibles of your inhuman enemies, and therefore I hope you will let it be known in the proper quarters.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
AN ENGLISHMAN.

# THE JACKSON STATUE FUND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—I take pleasure in acknowledging through your columns the receipt of a contribution of £1 7s. from the inhabitants of Collumpton, Devonshire, towards the Jackson Memorial Fund, collected by the Rev. James M. Foster, and made up by subscriptions limited to 6d.

I need not say how gratified the Committee feel at the receipt of subscriptions of this character, which prove the deep and wide-spread sympathy of the people of this country in the untimely end of so good and brave a man, and how glad we shall be to receive similar contributions, however small. I am yours, etc.,  
W. H. GREGORY,

Hon. Sec. Jackson Memorial Fund  
London, 22nd September.

# CONFEDERATE FINANCES.

LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Treasury Department, Confederate States of America,

Richmond, August 24, 1863.

Hon. R. M. T. HUNTER, Lloyds, Virginia.

SIR,—In reply to your inquiries about the finances, I send you a condensed statement of the issue of Treasury notes and of the funding operations of the Treasury. You will see from this statement that the funding has been eminently successful; and you will learn, also, that the amount of outstanding Treasury notes is still within the limits of the depreciation which I reported to Congress at the last session. My Report then estimated the amount of circulation which the country could probably bear, at \$150,000,000.

The statement now made shows that the outstanding Treasury notes, used as a general currency, amount almost exactly to three times this amount. But when it is considered that a very large portion of these notes are across the Mississippi, it will be apparent that in the Atlantic States the estimate of three to one is rather over than under the mark. Two absorbents are now added, which will keep down the excess from new issues—namely: the taxes, and the sale of cotton bonds; and when the tax in kind begins to contribute its portion to the support of the army there is every reason to believe that the currency can be well sustained.

It is obvious, from this statement, that the popular notion of estimating the value of the currency by a comparison with gold, while the actual currency has only been increased threefold, its proportion to gold rates at more than double that amount. The fact is, as you well know, that, situated as we are, gold is as much a commercial commodity as platinum or tin, and its price is governed by the law of demand and supply. As I have already shown, in the Report referred to, wheat and corn afford much more reliable standards of value, when their price is not controlled by some local obstruction; and, by referring to these, it will be seen that the currency has maintained itself at the ratio which the outstanding issues indicate. You will perceive, by the Statement, that uniting all the various appliances for funding, there has been funded in Bonds \$232,404,670; to which, according to estimate, there is yet to be added about \$70,000,000 more, which are yet in the hands of the Treasury officers to be funded; making in all about \$302,000,000; add to this, \$15,442,000, deposited in the 5 per cent. Call Loan, and we have an aggregate of nearly \$318,000,000 withdrawn from the currency.

This result is certainly very favourable, and shows that the measures adopted by Congress have been quite as successful as any of us had anticipated. It is somewhat remarkable that the Yankee Government should have adopted exactly the same measures for withdrawing their circulation, and, according to a statement published in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* for July, they have funded, in Call Loan and Bonds, not more than \$200,000,000.

These figures show that there is no reason for distrust as to our currency; and if, when Congress meets, you will address yourselves vigorously to measures which will all restrain its further increase, we shall be fully able to maintain our cause. I would suggest to you two matters for consideration: one is, the export duty which I proposed; and the other is a renewal of the Call Loan for all Treasury notes, upon the same principle with the Six per Cent. Call Loan, which was reported at the last session.

It is worth experiment to try whether, by allowing a deposit in the Treasury, on interest, we may not be able to attract and retain there all the Treasury notes not actually required for circulation. Very truly, yours,

C. G. MEMMINGER,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

# STATEMENT OF OUTSTANDING TREASURY NOTES.

August 8th, 1863.

Total of all kinds of General Currency Notes	\$523,114,406
Estimated on hand for cancellation	70,134,600
And probably beyond the Mississippi	452,979,806
	150,000,000
	\$302,979,806
STATEMENT OF BONDS INTO WHICH CURRENCY HAS BEEN FUNDED, INCLUDING AVAILS OF THE PRODUCE LOAN.	
Total of 100-million Loan	\$100,000,000
Funded since February 20th, 1863	124,318,370
Funded of Notes, May 6th, 1861	8,086,300
	\$282,404,670
On hand, to be funded by estimate	70,000,000
Total funded	\$392,404,370
Five per cent. Call, partly funded	15,442,000
Total	\$317,846,670



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—

At Liverpool, to Wm. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Manchester, F. A. Hasleham, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1863.

## The Withdrawal of the Confederate Commissioner.

We are permitted by Mr. Mason to publish his letter to Earl Russell, announcing his recall as Special Commissioner from the Confederate States of America to England, and the termination of his mission.

It will be seen by the extract given in the letter of recall, that it is placed by the Confederate President on the ground of the persistent refusal of England to enter into the relations of amity usual between Foreign Powers—a condition of things which, in the opinion of the President, would make the continuance of the mission "neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity of the Government of which he is at the head." Mr. Slidell, we understand, will remain in France as Special Commissioner to that Government, nor is it at all contemplated to terminate that mission; and yet France, equally with England, has so far refrained from entering into international relations with the Confederate States. All England will admit that the Government of those States is in the hands of able, experienced, and judicious statesmen; and we are sufficiently conversant with Southern circles and Southern men to know that with other marked differences between the sections North and South in America, there exists this: that in the South the general feeling to England has been one of good-will and respect. There must be, then, some over-ruling cause for the difference thus made between France and England in the termination of the mission to the one, and not to the other. To those at all conversant with what is passing in the Southern States this is no mystery. Mr. Slidell has been received, and has been uniformly treated by the Government of France, with every mark of consideration and respect for the Government he represents. There may be grave reasons regarding policy or public law, why France, like England, may not deem it incumbent as yet to recognise those States as an independent political Power; but their representative has been freely admitted to every form of intercourse with the Government of France, to personal interviews with the Emperor whenever he has asked for them, with immediate access to all or any of the Ministry, at first request. This would seem indeed but an ordinary courtesy to a gentleman in his position; the refusal of it would be more than a discourtesy: it would be an actual indignity to those whose representative he is.

In England, Mr. Mason has been held by the Government in the very opposite position. His correspondence with the Foreign Office, laid before Congress at Richmond, we know from the Southern press, produced a feeling of deep and universal indignation. It showed, that with the excep-

tion of a single and formal interview with Earl Russell, on his first arrival, appointed at his residence and not at the Foreign Office, he had been admitted to no intercourse whatever with any member of the Government; whilst a second interview with Earl Russell, asked for some months after the first, was by that minister curtly refused. It showed further, that to all outward or other manifestation, the presence of a Confederate Commissioner in London was no further recognised than by brief replies to such communications as he was from time to time instructed to make to the Minister of this Government.

Whilst we sincerely regret, therefore, the necessity which has imposed on President Davis the duty of terminating the Confederate Commission to England, we are bound to admit that his forbearance has been tested to the utmost.

Earl Russell has now succeeded in establishing absolute non-intercourse with the Confederate States—those States, where our commerce has found sources of incalculable wealth and profitable employment for countless millions of our capital, with like profitable employment for hundreds of thousands of the people of England. We say absolute non-intercourse, because we know through the press that of the three British Consuls who remained in the Southern States, exercising their functions by permission of the Government there, Mr. Bunch at Charleston, and Mr. Magee at Mobile, were recalled by this Government; and Mr. Moore at Richmond was dismissed by the Confederate Government for contumacy.

It remains to be seen hereafter what advantages France may derive from a course of policy more consistent with her own self-respect and with national decorum.

## The Military Operations before Charleston.

THE first gleam of success which has attended the operations of the Federals before Charleston since the day of their landing on Morris Island, nearly ten weeks ago, has sent New York once more into ecstasies, and inspired the Federal organs in this country with new Io Pæans over the decaying fortunes of the Southern Confederacy. Although the capture and occupation of Charleston would exercise as little influence on the issue of the war as the discharge of Greek fire upon the sleeping townsfolk had upon the defenders of Fort Sumter, it is perfectly reasonable that New York, already gratified by the ruin of New Orleans, should rejoice over the destruction of another dangerous rival; nor is it to be wondered that the small section of Federal sympathisers in England should profess to see in the fall of Charleston the doom of the rebellion. But there is in sober reality very little cause for jubilation either in New York or in this country over the murderous conflict that now threatens the fairest city of the South with the fate of Moscow. For every shot fired upon that devoted city severs more widely the commercial links that once bound the trading communities of the North and the South, and is another striking protest against that reconstruction of the Union to which the pseudo-humanitarians of the Bright school look forward. In fact, it but gratifies a sentiment of revenge, carries out the principle of intimidation, and furnishes useful artillery experiments. It is difficult to see how the destruction of Charleston can repay the Federals for the enormous sacrifice they have made of life and treasure in front of its batteries. Its smoking ruins can never be held. An army of 100,000 men and one or two campaigns would be required to occupy it and march inland for the subjugation of South Carolina. The siege must be regarded as an isolated operation, of which the only result, supposing the anticipations of the Federals to be realised, would be the closing of the harbour. And as such, though it may be full of dramatic grandeur, of curious suggestions, and, for the people of the South, of hallowed

memories, it scarcely merits the concentrated attention it has received. Charleston is not a vital point in the defences of the Confederacy. It is not of so much importance as was New Orleans. It is hardly more valuable to the Confederacy, from a military point of view and for present purposes, than Mobile, or Savannah, or Wilmington. To look upon the issue of the battle now raging in its waters as the turning point of the war is a foolish or wilful error. Though Charleston should be lost, there would be no gain to the Federals. Nothing would be changed: there would only be one Southern city the less.

We have spoken of the fall of Charleston as a possible contingency. But it is also a remote one. For ten weeks the whole resources of the workshops and navy-yards of the Federals have been employed, and with what result? They have captured Morris Island and battered Fort Sumter to pieces. They have accomplished this at an awful cost of life, and with the loss of several of their best naval officers. They have advanced, as it were, two steps, and there are twenty to be taken. It is easy to calculate at what date and at what further cost they will reach Charleston if their future is equal to their past progress. For ten weeks General Gilmore has been approaching Fort Wagner. He has assaulted it four or five times, each time meeting with a bloody repulse, the last assault on Forts Wagner and Gregg having been as murderous an affair as the preceding ones. At last, finding the enemy's approach at the very edge of the fosse of Fort Wagner, his means of provisioning imperilled, and his brave and exhausted garrison menaced with an assault from greatly superior numbers, General Beauregard has withdrawn his troops. Nineteen useless guns are the trophies of the ten weeks' siege, not of Charleston, but of Fort Wagner. There is the destruction of Fort Sumter to add to General Gilmore's laurels. That is a feat creditable to Mr. Parrott, but apparently not very useful to the Federals. Fort Sumter is in ruins, but its ruins hold out. Fourteen times its colours have been shot away and rehoisted. At intervals of hours or days, from Morris Island and from the big guns of the iron-clads, there sweeps through its crumbled casemates a great storm of bursting shell. And when the storm has ceased the brave defenders pile up fresh works and man new batteries, and again the struggle has to be recommenced. General Gilmore once more demands the surrender of the ruined fortress. Beauregard's answer is, "Take it." And the attempt is made. The naval forces, piqued into action by the sneers of the army, adventure an assault. They are driven with heavy loss pell-mell from the walls by the garrison, and seven naval lieutenants are left prisoners. As Fort Sumter cannot be taken, Sullivan's Island is engaged. There is no possibility of a *coup de main*. The work must be done by good hard pounding; and so day after day the iron-clads go up within a certain distance of Battery Bee and Fort Moultrie, and a great artillery duel, ships against forts, takes place, which, so far as we know, terminates invariably in favour of the latter. But Fort Moultrie and Battery Bee must be destroyed whilst their batteries dominate the main ship-channel. Gilmore has accomplished very little towards the reduction of Charleston. It is against these positions that the whole fury of the Federal attack is now turned, and sooner or later it must succeed. Then the outer line of the defences of Charleston will have fallen, but only the outer line. There will still remain more formidable works to be carried and stronger batteries to be reduced. The steamers heading up through the harbour to the city, pass within short range of heavy batteries planted wherever the ground is favourable. At more than one point the attacking squadron would be exposed to a terrible cross-fire. The guns of Forts Johnson, Ripley, and Pinckney must be reduced, the powerful steam-rams taken or sunk, the obstructions cleared, before the Federal iron-clads can be moored off the wharves of Charleston. General Gilmore's only chance seems to be the reduction of these defences one by one. We may judge by the resistance of Fort Wagner how long his task will last.



It is not easy to follow the movements of the Federal armies in Tennessee, but there is no reason to doubt that the news brought by the last mail is substantially correct, and that Knoxville and Chattanooga are occupied by Federal troops. The fall of the latter place will be a disappointment to many persons in the South, for its natural strength and its strategical value had always marked it out as the final rallying-point for the defence of Eastern Tennessee; and its surrender without a fight is not to be very easily explained. It was reported at Washington that the army from Chattanooga had moved rapidly northward with a view to overwhelm Burnside's army at Knoxville, and that a portion of Lee's army had been detached South for the same purpose. The distance between Chattanooga and Knoxville is about 100 miles, but the Confederates occupy an entire line, and with railway communication could reach Knoxville and give battle to Burnside before Rosecrans had marched half-way. The movement would be in accordance with General Johnston's tactics; and if it has taken place we may hear within a few days of a great battle having been fought. Another report is, that a large portion of the Tennessee army has proceeded northwards to join Lee's force in Virginia; whilst a third states that the Confederate army, numbering 50,000 men, has fallen back eastward and southward for the defence of Georgia. Time will show which of the three accounts is correct, but we are inclined to place most reliance on the last. Had the Confederates intended to make a stand they would hardly have abandoned Chattanooga without a struggle, or they would have met and crushed Burnside when he emerged from Kentucky. The junction of the two armies of Burnside and Rosecrans raises the Federal army to a strength so far superior to anything the Confederates can bring against it in Eastern Tennessee, that it will be the obvious policy of the Confederate general to avoid an action, and by a rapid movement of retreat to carry his army clear of possible pursuit, or by a bold flank movement on the Federal lines of communication to place Rosecrans himself in danger. Under any circumstances, the Federal army is not likely to make further progress this season. It has obtained a strong position in Eastern Tennessee, an admirable starting-point for next year's campaign, and Rosecrans is too prudent a general to throw away these advantages by a fresh advance into a hostile territory. Meantime the news from Lee's army is still threatening. This continued inaction, this lengthened silence, are supposed, reasonably enough, to portend a storm. All we hear is, that the work of reorganisation and re-equipment is going on steadily, and that when the army of Virginia moves it will be in a state of efficiency such as it has never previously attained. Lee's army has never yet advanced against the enemy in Virginia without a victory. For the sake of both North and South it is to be hoped that this Fall it will be a decisive one.

### American Policy or English Industry?

SOMEWHAT alarmed, apparently, by the effect of his wild recommendation that England should, in default of evidence against Liverpool shipbuilders, go to war to punish the Confederate States for the monstrous crime of buying ships in Liverpool, "Historicus" has taken up his pen once more to soften and explain away the imprudent violence of which he was guilty. He is still in a state of extreme irritation, as is evident by the supercilious sneers he has thought proper to bestow upon his opponents. From the date of his letter, it is probable that these have no reference to ourselves, and we shall leave them to those whom they more immediately concern; while we endeavour to deal with his arguments as if they were advanced with the coolness and good temper which become the literary *condottieri* who lend their pens, now to Lord Russell and now to Mr. Seward, and can no more be supposed to have in their cause an interest

excusing passion and violence, than the gentlemen who are equally ready, in the service of law and justice, to prove the guilt or the innocence of any prisoner at the bar. What, it appears, Historicus ought to have said, and would have said had he not lost his self-command, is, that we have no more right to proceed without evidence in diplomacy than at law; but that if we have no evidence against the offender whom the law can reach, and have evidence against the offender whom we can only reach through diplomatic agency, we are at liberty to proceed first by way of remonstrance, and then, if needful, by way of reprisals, against the latter only. The application of this statement he illustrates by supposing that a belligerent has ordered a ship of Mr. Laird in the name of a neutral, and that Mr. Laird has supplied it in honest ignorance of the real object and real ownership. This is not a very likely case, and we may put it aside altogether. The real case which Historicus means to reach may be stated as follows:—Mr. Laird built the Alabama. It could not be proved, before she sailed, that she was built for the Confederates. After she sailed, this became clear enough. Therefore, though we had no evidence against Mr. Laird, we have evidence against the Confederate Government; let us then proceed against them. The proposition is not without ingenuity. But unluckily it happens that in this case, and probably in every case, the fact which is evidence against the purchaser—the actual use made of the ship—supplies also exactly that evidence which is wanted, if Historicus's interpretation of the law be correct, to convict the seller. It would be perfectly easy to prove, after the fact, that Mr. Laird knew for what purpose the Alabama was bought; and if the Confederate Government, in buying her, did any wrong, it was only because, as Historicus holds, they induced Mr. Laird to commit a breach of the law. Therefore, if there be any case for proceedings against the Confederates, there is equally a case for prosecuting Mr. Laird. Again, take a case which might have occurred already, and which may possibly occur one day or other. John Smith builds a ship at Liverpool for Jacques Bonhomme, of Havre. At Havre, Jacques Bonhomme sells her to the Confederate Government. Now, in this case, has any offence been committed against the English Government? Clearly, if so, it was committed before the ship left British waters; for, once in French possession and within French jurisdiction, England has neither control over nor responsibility for her proceedings. But if any offence has been committed within British jurisdiction, it was by John Smith, and the Confederate Government can only have been guilty as his instigator and abettor. It seems clear, therefore, that wherever there is a case for diplomatic proceedings on account of the sale of armed ships, there will be a still stronger case for legal proceedings against a British subject; and that if the courts of law decide that the ship-builder has done no wrong, they also decide that, *à fortiori*, the ship-buyer has done no wrong; for his only act has been to instigate the builder to do that which, *ex hypothesi*, is declared to be lawful.

It is very plain, however, why the agents of the Federal Government wish to remove this question from the sphere of judicial decision to that of diplomatic action. They know that the law is against them; they know that British tribunals are inaccessible to menace and corruption; and they despair of obtaining from them the exercise of a vigour beyond the law, or the display of a "warm and friendly" neutrality. But diplomatic action depends on Earl Russell; and Earl Russell is liable to be cajoled, bullied, worried, or intimidated into doing anything that Mr. Adams may think fit to extort, provided always he does not see an immediate risk of losing his place thereby. Therefore, abandoning the vain idea of stopping by law the trade in ships between Liverpool and Richmond, the advisers of the Federal Government try to do it by diplomacy; to persuade the Foreign Secretary, their facile tool and creature, to sit as judge in the last resort, and pronounce sentence against the trade; and to obtain from him an order to the

Confederate Government to abstain from buying ships in Liverpool, on pain of the high displeasure of John Earl Russell, and—if he remain long enough in office—the active enmity of England. The impudence of the Yankee diplomatist and the ingenuity of the English special pleader are happily mingled in this notable device; which wants nothing to insure its success, except the concurrence of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues and the permission or ignorance of the British nation.

We are far from denying that there might be a case in which the English Government would be justified in addressing very energetic remonstrances to the Government of the Confederate States. All that we say is, that such a case is not afforded by any of the events supposed by Historicus or by anything likely to occur. It is necessary, in the first place, that the offence should be given by Confederate agents. If Mr. Laird builds any number of vessels on speculation, and sends them forth armed and equipped for war, that is no ground for proceeding against anybody but Mr. Laird. Again, it is necessary that some wrongful act should be committed within British jurisdiction. If a vessel be built in Liverpool and sold to the Confederates, and only armed and equipped when outside of British waters, then there has been nothing done, at least on the part of the Confederacy, of which England has a right to complain; for whatever objection might be taken applies only to what was done on the high seas, where we have no national jurisdiction. Finally, as we conceive, it is necessary that the offence given should be not merely a breach of law, but a violation of sovereignty. If the subject, not being actually the ambassador, of a foreign power, violates our laws, our remedy is legal, not diplomatic; against the offender, not against his Government. For example, when the French Government chartered a transport, our Government held the owner to have been guilty of a breach of the very Act which Mr. Laird is said to have broken; but no one thought that any complaint on that score could be addressed to the Emperor of the French. So, if during the period when the export of arms was forbidden, Mr. George Train or any other of the numerous and equally reputable agents of Mr. Lincoln, had contrived to elude the customs authorities and smuggle a cargo of rifles out of Liverpool, there would have been no ground for addressing a remonstrance to the Government at Washington. But if the Federal Government enlists soldiers in Ireland, or if the Confederate Government fits out and despatches a belligerent expedition from the port of Liverpool, an invasion of our sovereignty has been committed; just as when a Federal captain fires on a ship within three miles from a British coast; and the affront should be dealt with in the same manner.

Such is, we believe, the legal aspect of the matter. But it has also a moral side. We are hardly entitled, in the midst of a war in which the interpretation of our laws and neutral rights has an importance of the highest degree for one of the belligerents, suddenly to give to that interpretation an extreme strictness in regard to matters which have hitherto been dealt with perhaps in too lax a spirit. And assuredly we have no right to press our sovereign privileges severely against one party, while we wink, willingly or not, at their infraction by the other. Now, in the first place, we have hitherto been exceedingly lax in our construction of the Foreign Enlistment Act. No conviction, no judicial decision, has ever been obtained under any of its provisions. More: during the Garibaldian invasion of Naples we allowed a whole regiment, armed, uniformed, and organised, to leave our shores in the face of day, to wage war against a Prince with whom we were at peace, under the flag of an unrecognised chief of guerillas. So we allowed a regiment of Irishmen to go forth and fight the battles of the Pope against Italy. We are scarcely entitled, therefore, to be very indignant because the Confederates are, by what is said on very uncertain authority to be an evasion of this same Act, obtaining a certain assistance in their struggle for independence. Again, we know that the Federals are flagrantly violating our



sovereign rights in Ireland; we know that they have done so in the West Indies, by capturing vessels within our jurisdiction; and we have forbore to press our claims against them, with a lenity which morally estops us from pressing our less certain grounds of complaint, at their instigation, against the Confederates. Finally, so long as we know that the Federal navy is chiefly manned by British seamen—that it is by English sailors that Charleston is bombarded and Mobile blockaded—we should be departing from the spirit of neutrality if we took stringent precautions to prevent the Confederates from obtaining, if they can do so without committing us to a breach of international law, ships of war built in British yards.

We may consider that we have sufficiently answered any argument which Historicus may have to allege in favour of his method for extending the operation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. There are, however, some persons of less violent partialities who honestly argue that, for her own sake, England ought to set the example of prohibiting by law all participation or assistance by neutrals in foreign quarrels, and who will probably call, next session, for such an alteration of our law as may effectually prevent the Confederates from receiving any more aid from our unequalled ship-building resources. We answer, in the first place, that no benefit will accrue to England from a self-sacrifice which America, when her opportunity comes, will be careful not to imitate; and secondly, that a change in our law *durante bello*, directed manifestly to the disadvantage of one of the belligerents, would be an act inconsistent with neutrality. As to the advisability of such a measure on general grounds, without reference to the present struggle, we cannot do better than refer our readers to the following admirable remarks of the *Economist*—a journal which has, by the way, constantly recommended the limitation of the Confederate territory to the States east of the Mississippi:—

No ephemeral object of political expediency can be so momentous as the securing to Great Britain the supremacy in such a branch of trade as the construction of ships of war. No temporary danger can be so great as the suffering this supremacy to pass into other hands. All our efforts should be directed to make ourselves the great war-ship-builders in the world—to surpass all rivals, to engross all orders, to prevent any serious competition from springing up elsewhere. Every fresh experience of actual warfare, every fresh development of naval and military science, alike point to the conclusion that iron-clads and steam-rams and monitors and war vessels of yet undreamed construction, will hereafter be the most formidable instruments both for attack and for defence, and that the nation which can build these best, can build them fastest, can build them in the greatest numbers, will have a superiority inalienable, unassailable, and decisive over all other nations. We need this superiority more than any other country. . . . We have this superiority now; we have every motive for retaining it; we have every facility for clinging to it, augmenting it, improving it into absolute and uncontested supremacy. If our vessels of war are in all respects the best that can be made anywhere—if they are newer, better designed, better constructed, more formidable, and more resistless—we shall gradually acquire something like a virtual monopoly in the art—an art, in the present unfortunate state of the world, about the most important and lucrative that any nation can practise. With such a virtual monopoly we shall be safe. To the acquisition of such a virtual monopoly all the exertions of our scientific engineers, all the enterprise of our manufacturing firms, all the encouragement and facilities legitimately affordable by our Government, ought to be directed in unison. It is not merely the establishment of a profitable branch of trade that is at stake; it is the future security and peace of our native land. If we are right in the high estimate we form of the national value of unquestioned preponderance in the shipwright's art—and who will say that we are wrong?—then surely the notion of hampering or discouraging or punishing those who devote themselves and their wealth and talents to its prosecution, is the very last which an English Government or legislature should entertain; and to forego this needed and desirable supremacy, or run any risk of impairing it, or jeopardising it in any fashion, for the sake of averting the anger of those who were angry with us before the keel of the Florida was laid and who will be angry with us still if a dozen Al-xandras were to be seized, would be the wretchedest bargain ever made on earth since Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.

This view of English interests may be new to most of those who have taken the same line of argument that was adopted by several Liverpool firms in their protest against the doings of the Alabama; but it is none the less sound and conclusive on that account; and we think that so far as English interests

and not American impartialities are really concerned, it settles the question beyond possibility of further dispute. If, for the sake of keeping peace a year or two more with the North, we are to drive all actual or probable belligerents—that is, all good customers—from our dockyards, the building of ships of war will cease to be an English trade, and will become a French or a Yankee monopoly; and we may form a pretty fair idea how, in the first war that may break out, that monopoly will be used.

### American Political Economy.

THERE can be no doubt that Mr. Chase is a clever man, although his financial system is as utterly unsound as the famous South Sea Company or Law's still more famous Mississippi scheme. We are inclined to think him the cleverest man in the Lincoln Administration, for he is the only man who has done, and done well, the business he has undertaken. We ought not to underrate his talent because his work is not what it never was intended to be. If we see a man building, with wonderful dexterity and steadiness of hand, a card castle for the amusement of a party of children, and so building it that it stands while he piles one story upon another and while the little observers dance and shout with delight around the table, we certainly give the operator credit for no common degree of manual cleverness; and we do not the less admire his skill because, though we cannot pretend to say how many more cards may be safely added to the pile, we know that ere long it must come to grief, to the extreme mortification of the wondering spectators. It is only intended to amuse for a few moments, not to be a *κτῆμα ἐς ἄς*. The first severe shock must of course upset it; the mere additions which it is receiving must ere long bring it to the ground; but in the meantime it serves its purpose admirably, and wins merited applause for the careful and patient constructor. So with the finance of the North. We know that a crash may come to-morrow and must come in time; and very probably Mr. Chase knows this as well as we do. But it is not his affair. The card castle will have served his purpose if it last his time; at least it has already achieved more than any one expected from it. It has enabled him for more than two years to make war without credit and without taxes; with little perceptible damage to the prosperity of the country and with great benefit to his own popularity. The surprise universally felt that a crash has not come long before this, is the highest testimony to the ability of the ingenious financier who has contrived to outdo all his most reckless predecessors since finance began; and reducing the trade of the *chevalier d'industrie* to a regular political method, to spend about ten millions a month out of an income of one million, without borrowing and without taxation. Some punctilious moralists are heard to murmur that this kind of finance is, after all, only a gigantic swindle; that it is a sort of treason to the nation which is thus, at unawares, being cheated out of its capital; and that when the day of retribution arrives myriads of ruined families will curse the now popular Secretary of the Treasury as the author of their unmerited misfortunes. Murmurs of this kind only prove the utter incapacity of the European mind to appreciate the men and the ideas of America. A theological writer who has just achieved a nine days' reputation, tells us that the sharp distinction drawn between truth and falsehood, fact and imposture, is altogether a Western notion, perfectly unintelligible to the mind of an Asiatic. Similarly, the distinction between fraud and good faith, swindling and mere acuteness in money matters, is altogether of European origin, and finds no place in the ethical or political code of the New World. There, "it behoves a man to be smart;" and Salmon P. Chase, as the smartest man America has yet produced, will probably be honoured in Yankeeedom long after Washington is forgotten as a myth or doomed to execration as a slaveholder. And in good sooth we must admit that his countrymen have little

right to complain of him. *Populus vult decipi*. The Yankees would have war at any price, and they would not have taxation on any account; they have found in Mr. Chase a man who taxes them without their finding it out, and provides funds for the expenditure of the biggest war that modern times have seen, without bringing home to the consciousness of his countrymen the painful fact that war must be paid for. Moreover, he has the further excuse, that in one contingency—the probability of which it is treason to question—a crash may yet be averted, and the edifice of cards suddenly turned to solid stone. If the South should be conquered and its lands forfeited, they may be sold at a fixed price, and greenbacks be made receivable for this purpose and no other. As the Northerners will not admit that the war can have any other issue, they have no right to blame Mr. Chase that he has taken them at their word, and devised a system of finance which, in this, and in no other case, may prove finally successful.

At present, it is certainly more successful than could have been expected. The premium on gold has never risen above fifty—that is, the paper dollar has never been worth less than about 67 cents; commerce is active, and there are no general complaints of suffering from the poor or of danger and embarrassment among the rich. How comes it that a scheme of finance confessedly rotten has worked so little practical distress during the first two years of its operation?

We must observe, in the first place, that an over issue of paper, with the prospect of indefinite further issues, has in itself a tendency to quicken trade. Prudent men wish to get rid of their money as quickly as may be in exchange for property of which the actual value will not be affected, while its money value will rise with any further issues of paper. And thus there is a double enhancement of the price of good investments: first, that apparent enhancement which arises from the depreciation of money; and secondly, that real enhancement which arises from the desire for security. And this rise of prices, to owners of property and to the commercial classes constitutes "prosperity." It would no doubt injure the working classes and produce much discontent; but this tendency is counteracted by the fact that the war has taken away directly nearly a million of men from the labour market and checked emigration; while there is, at the same time, a vast Government demand for goods and for labour; and thus wages are raised by a simultaneous diminution of the supply of human muscle and sinew and by an increase in the demand. This, by the way, is the phenomenon which has given rise to the paradox that "war stimulates business and promotes prosperity." The classes in receipt of money incomes fixed by agreement, law, or custom suffer in both ways; the value of their incomes is reduced by the depreciation of money, and yet further reduced by the effect of the rise of wages and the increase of demand upon goods; but this class is not numerous enough in America to make itself heard or felt. Meantime producers and merchants receive increased money prices for their goods, workmen receive increased wages, secure investments of all sorts rise rapidly in price, and no one fully understands how much of the increase is merely nominal and how certain it is that what is more than nominal is only the measure of insecurity and the recompense of risk.

The smallness of the actual depreciation of paper is a yet more curious phenomenon than the apparent prosperity which seems compatible with financial rottenness. Mr. Chase has let loose on the country an enormous flood of paper, multiplying the circulation to three or four times its natural extent. How comes it that the depreciation founded on this excess is so small? To some extent, no doubt, it may be greater than is apparent, as Mr. Chase is said to have skillfully rigged the market, and kept down as far as possible the premium on gold. But this is not a principal or powerful counteractive. We believe, also, that he has driven a great deal of bank paper out of circulation by legislative oppression. But the main counteractives of the tendency of



excessive issues to produce depreciation are two: the extension of circulation always required by war, and the contraction of credit produced by a sense of general insecurity. Into the reasons of the former we need not enter: suffice it to say that both theory and experience teach us that in time of war governments have need of large supplies of gold. Now, fighting partly on his own frontier, partly in a country which he treats as his own, and on which he forces his money, the Yankee makes greenbacks fill the place of gold, and thus establishes at once an outlet for a vast amount of paper-money. Again, in ordinary times, in all commercial countries, and especially in America, credit to a great extent takes the place of cash; inasmuch that all speculative rises of general prices are accomplished not through the medium of an extended circulation, but simply by a great expansion of credit. Every economist, every man who has studied the machinery of business, knows that if a given amount of business, hitherto carried on with so much credit and so much circulating medium, has to be done without credit, a great increase of circulation will be necessary. Thus in America, the state of the nation has greatly contracted credit, without, as usually happens, contracting business; and thus room is made for the absorption of an amount of currency sufficient to supply the place of that credit which, on account of the general want of confidence, has been annihilated. The withdrawal of that credit is equivalent to the destruction or hoarding of so much money in its effect on commercial transactions; it creates a need for additional money to supply its place; and thus room is made for Mr. Chase's currency. Thus it is that there has been much less depreciation from over issue than might have been expected; because, in fact, the need for currency had increased, owing to the unhealthy state of public affairs; and the excess over the usual circulation is very much greater than the excess over the actual requirements, which last is the cause and measure of depreciation.

There is one point which we must not leave out of sight. In the case of ordinary commodities—take iron as an example—value is regulated by two things: the relation of supply and demand immediately, and the cost of production in ultimate resort. It so happens that the former is always more fluctuating than the latter; but this is accidental, not essential. What is noticeable for our present purpose is, that cost of production gives value, and the relation of supply and demand regulates value for the time being. Now in the case of a paper currency demand is not very variable, and the proportion of value which depends on supply and demand may therefore be said to depend upon supply. This value, by excessive supplies, Mr. Chase has lowered. Now, as this depreciation cannot diminish except by contraction of supply, and as there has been recently no contraction of supply, the amount of depreciation attributable to this cause must be measured by the highest recent value of paper; say gold at 125, or a depreciation of twenty per cent. The depreciation attributable to excess of supply may be less than this; it certainly is not greater. Whence, then, the depreciation exceeding this amount? From a source answering in this case to cost of production. The origin of value, in the case of paper money, is confidence in Government; this performs in its case the function generally belonging to cost of production; only that whereas cost of production is seldom a very variable quantity, confidence fluctuates rapidly and extremely. The range of the premium on gold, between 125 and 150, or that of the depreciation of paper, between 80 and 67, is attributable to fluctuations of public confidence in the will or power of the Government to maintain the value of the currency. And here we come at once to the indication of that which must, sooner or later, bring a crash. Increased issues will lower the value of the notes, first slowly, then rapidly; and by this process ruin must come in time. It may be enormously accelerated or instantly precipitated by any circumstance which spreads in the North the conviction that the Government will be speedily forced either to repudiation or to enormous issues, or to any act

which would destroy the intrinsic value of the currency. Defeats, severe and evidently fatal, would accomplish the work at once; delay, slowly sapping confidence, would do it by slow degrees; but sooner or later, repudiation of the greenbacks, if the war last long, or permanent depreciation, if it terminate quickly, must be the resort of the Government. And when once the close approach of either alternative is discerned, the factitious prosperity of the North will come to the ground in one universal and all-destroying "smash."

We do not know if any of Mr. Chase's admirers are really ignorant enough to suppose that the North is less impoverished by spending paper than by spending gold. Of course, in either case, what is really spent is that portion of Northern wealth of which Mr. Lincoln gets hold, and which he spends on buying arms and powder, on feeding his army, on building monitors, and casting cannon. Making all allowances for what is saved to the national wealth by swindling contractors, who prevent the Government from destroying the full value of its expenditure, the Yankee nation is certainly the poorer every month by ten millions sterling of wealth absolutely destroyed; and also by all that the million of men taken away from the plough or the factory would have produced, if left at home, above the amount of their own consumption. It is taxed, too, even though it may not be aware of it; taxed to the whole extent of the difference between its present and past circulation, and taxed with utter disregard of equality and of equity. It cannot have war without paying for it, and paying handsomely; and though the payment may seem to be postponed indefinitely, we may be sure that one day the bill will be presented. The Secretary of the Treasury will place the last card on his castle, or some sudden gust from Europe or from the South will shake its foundation. It will fall without remedy and without warning, and great will be the fall thereof.

#### MR. MASON'S LETTER TO EARL RUSSELL.

24, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,  
September 21, 1863.

The Right Honourable Earl RUSSELL,  
Her Majesty's Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs.

MR. LORD,—In a Despatch from the Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America, dated 4th day of August last, and now just received, I am instructed to consider the commission which brought me to England as at an end, and I am directed to withdraw at once from this country.

The reasons for terminating this mission are set forth in an extract from the Despatch, which I have the honour to communicate herewith.

The President believes that "the Government of Her Majesty has determined to decline the overtures made through you for establishing, by treaty, friendly relations between the two Governments, and entertains no intention of receiving you as the accredited Minister of this Government near the British Court."

"Under these circumstances, your continued residence in London is neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity of this Government; and the President therefore requests that you consider your mission at an end, and that you withdraw with your Secretary from London."

Having made known to your Lordship on my arrival here the character and purposes of the mission entrusted to me by my Government, I have deemed it due to courtesy thus to make known to the Government of Her Majesty its termination, and that I shall, as directed, at once withdraw from England.

I have the honour to be  
Your Lordship's very obedient Servant.  
(Signed.) J. M. MASON.

#### CONFEDERATE BOOKS.

THANKS to the kind attention of Messrs. West and Johnston of Richmond, we are in receipt of some of the works which that firm has published since the commencement of the war, and which we believe have not hitherto found their way to Europe. They all relate to the great conflict in which the South is now engaged. Whilst the battle of liberty is being fought, there is little leisure for literature, and naturally no inclination to treat on any other than the one engrossing topic. The duty of every man is to do battle for his country with the sword, and the army of the Confederacy is recruited

from all classes of citizens. Mr. West, for example, has left his publishing business, and entered the military service. It is creditable to the industry of the people that under such circumstances there should be any publishing business to transact. What is now written, though necessarily hurried and imperfect, gives promise of a brilliant future, when the people of the Confederate States will have a literature worthy of their glory in arms and of their descent.

\* A Manual of military instruction, by Professor Gilham, of the Virginia Military Institute, is a profusely illustrated volume of about seven hundred pages, printed by Messrs. Evans and Cogswell, of Charleston, and had it been entrusted to a first-class London house it could not, under the most favourable circumstances, have been turned out more creditably. Professor Gilham does not undertake to treat of the whole art of war, but "to aid the inexperienced so far as to enable them to become familiar with such principles and practical details of the military science as are absolutely essential to those who would be competent officers, whether in the line or staff." Assuredly warriors ought to serve a long apprenticeship. A raw recruit may be turned into an infantry soldier in two months; but a glance at this work will convince the most sceptical that for an officer an elaborate course of instruction is desirable, and that it must take years of service to turn a raw officer into a skilful commander.

† The Royal Ape is a dramatic poem of which the theme is the Federal defeat at the first battle of Manassas and the consequent confusion and dismay in Washington. There are here and there some vigorous passages, but what might have been a smart satire is marred by inexcusable personality. It is to be regretted that even in an avowed fiction a Southern writer should attempt to cast the slightest slur upon the domestic life of Mr. Lincoln. No doubt Mr. Lincoln has been guilty of the most atrocious crimes against the South; that he is the patron of Butler, Gilmore, Milroy, Turchin, and McNeil; that he has endeavoured to stir up a servile war; and that he has brutally violated the sanctity of Southern homes. No doubt Mr. Lincoln is the tool of the faction that has belied the South for half a century. But for such offences gallant men cannot retaliate in kind. If Mr. Lincoln were personally immoral—which he is not—it would still be indecorous to drag his private life into a public controversy.

‡ War, a poem by Mr. John H. Hewitt, betrays a want of finish, but the author is unjust to himself in describing it as "bordering on doggerel." We will, in vindication of our favourable opinion, quote two passages from it, which are fair specimens of the whole. The first tells its own story, and needs no introduction:—

In time to come, when Peace again shall smile,  
The lisping child may ask whose sturdy arm  
First fell'd a foeman on Virginia's soil  
And died a martyr in the opening storm?  
'Twas Jackson—he who shot young Ellsworth down,  
And then was slain, all covered with renown.  
A valiant man was he—a patriot bold;  
No suppliant knee he bent, no pow'r of gold  
Could buy him o'er, no threats could make him quail.  
When he resolved he did not dream of fail!  
When Alexandria's streets rang with the yells  
Of armed foes—as if a thousand hells  
Had open'd their gates and let their devils run,  
The Southern flag streamed brightly in the sun  
Above his house. He'd sworn that he should pay  
The forfeit of his life who tore't away.  
The daring Ellsworth, with his Zouave band,  
Climb'd to the roof, and with unflinching hand  
Tore down the "rebel" ensign, trampled on  
The glorious bars, and claim'd the trophy won.  
Flush'd with his victory—burden'd with his prize,  
He stood before the madden'd patriot's eyes;  
Quicker than thought a bullet made its path,  
And Ellsworth fell beneath the hero's wrath.  
A moment—and a score of bullets flew.  
Felling the patriot; bayonets pierced him through.  
His gallant soul departed with a sigh,  
Scorn on his lips, defiance in his eye.  
Thus fell brave Jackson; many as brave a man  
Has since that day fall'n in the battle's van;  
Many a youth, whose thirsting spirit drank  
At Glory's fount in conflict's foremost rank.  
Thousands still live whose dying shout will be:  
"Our homes all ruins—or our country free!"

The following stanzas are supposed to be addressed by a veteran to a recruit, who is disheartened by the victory gained by General McClellan at Hanover Court-house:

An old man stood upon the battle-field  
When all was still, save dying warriors' groans:  
The lips of many a gallant youth were seal'd,  
While there lay gaping flesh and shatter'd bones  
In dread array; skulls riven, limbs torn apart,  
And glassy eyes that tolt of madden'd brain;  
While some would on a pool their glances dart,  
And cry for "Water!" o'er and o'er again.

\* Manual of Instruction for the Volunteers and Militia of the Confederate States, by William Gilham. Richmond: West and Johnston.

† The Royal Ape: A Dramatic Poem. Richmond: West and Johnston.

‡ War: A Poem, with Copious Notes, founded on the Revolution of 1861-62 (up to the Battles before Richmond, inclusive). By John H. Hewitt. Richmond: West and Johnston.



A sorrowing youth spoke out to that old sire,  
Who mused, and ran his fingers thro' his hair :  
"Our cause is lost, soon will the flame expire ;  
Nought have we now but sorrow and despair."  
The vet'ran stood erect, with haughty pride  
He scann'd the doubting youth, and thus replied :

Tho' our roofs be on fire, tho' our rivers run blood,  
Tho' their flag's on the hill, on the plain, on the flood ;  
Tho' their bayonets bristle and shots rend the air,  
Faint heart ! do not utter the cry of despair !

The red moon looks down on the field of the slain,  
The gaunt vulture soars o'er the desolate plain ;  
By the lov'd ones that, mantled in glory, lie there,  
Arouse from thy stupor and never despair !

We have mountains that lift their grey peaks to the skies,  
We have rifles whose crack to the war-yell replies ;  
We have sinewy arms, we have souls that will dare :  
While these are our safeguards, why, doubter, despair ?

The great God is just, and he blesses the right,  
He makes the weak rise like a giant in might.  
When he strikes for his home and the tender ones there,  
There's hope in each blow, there is shame in despair !

Then, shoulder to shoulder, push on with a tread  
That will shake the loose earth that is heap'd o'er the dead ;  
Bear the torch and the sword to the proud tyrant's lair ;  
Let the wild battle shout drown the wail of despair.

Despair—while the old man can flourish his staff ?  
Despair—while the boy at th' invader can laugh ?  
Despair—while our daughters and wives kneel in prayer,  
And our mothers scream out "Don't despair—don't despair?"

Go preach to the rock on the lone ocean shore,  
And tell it to battle the billows no more !  
While there's life, there is hope—for the death-blow prepare.  
It is glorious to battle—it is base to despair !

The last book on our list is

\* "CAUSE AND CONTRAST."

This little work, which was mentioned in an article we published from the *Richmond Enquirer* in our issue of the 16th of April, is intended as an introduction to the history of the Second War of Independence, and it treats upon the institution of slavery as it exists in the Confederate States and upon the disruption of the Union. We need not suppose that any Englishman, from perusing this work, will change his views as to the abstract question of the ethical right of slavery, whilst we are confident that no honest man can read and consider the array of facts adduced by our author without feeling utterly disgusted with the gross injustice that has been done the South by the vile slanders of the North—and, let us add, by the thoughtless manner in which we Europeans gave credence to the wicked and absurd inventions of New England. What Mr. MacMahon now tells with much force and perspicuity the civilised world has been learning since 1861 ; but there is no conceivable reason why these things should not have been known twenty years ago, and so have made it impossible for the Boston Barnums to have succeeded, as they did, in duping us.

The Abolitionists unequivocally consign the slaveholders to everlasting perdition. Mr. Newman Hall, who is a representative of Abolitionism at home and in the United States, has placed on record his solemn conviction that the Southern slaveholders are irretrievably damned. So far as social intercourse is concerned, he treats them as lepers, saying that he will not admit them into his house. In point of religion he regards them as heretics, declaring that he would not receive them at the Lord's table. And further, he avows that for them there is no salvation, that there is no hope of turning them from the error of their ways ; and therefore he, a Christian minister, will not aid them with his prayers. Now mark the inevitable conclusion to which we are driven if we accept this doctrine of damnation. Slavery is not a Confederate invention. Mr. MacMahon reminds his readers that it has existed in all ages and in all countries. The Egyptian Pharaohs, the Hebrew Patriarchs, the free republics of Greece, Rome the sometime mistress of the world, all adopted it. Nor did it cease with the advent of Christianity. It continued in Europe for centuries, and was only done away with by the gradual enfranchisement of the serfs and vassals. And be it observed, this was the slavery of white men, not the subordination of an inferior race. Moreover England and New England have grown rich by slavedealing, and it is only within the memory of living men that we Englishmen ceased to be slaveholders, and that the Yankees reluctantly, and under the compulsion of Southern votes in Congress, gave up the profitable traffic in negroes. What follows ? Why, if the Abolition creed enunciated by Mr. Newman Hall is sound doctrine, then we must look upon mankind—slaves perhaps excepted—as damned, until these latter times ; we must not believe in the salvation of our forefathers ; and for example, we must hold that both Wesley and Whitfield, being slaveholders, were impious personages, who were not fit to come to the Lord's table—for whom Christians ought not to have prayed, and who (and surely this is the utmost depth of degradation) were not worthy to enter the house of such a person as Mr. Newman Hall ! We may agree to differ with the Confederates if

we choose, about the expediency of continuing the system of negro slavery, and we may, without offence, think the system wrong because we think it is no longer expedient ; but we cannot, without discarding the Bible and ignoring history, regard it as a sin, or as a crime that should make us shun intercourse, personal or national, with slaveholders.

Our author dwells upon the inferiority of the negro, and whatever may be our opinion as to the propriety of his emancipation, we must confess that this is a strong plea in defence of his enslavement. Without entering into the physical distinctions of the races, the history of the negro is sufficient to stamp him with inferiority. In all ages and in all countries, even in his native land, he has been a slave. The difference between the negro in the Confederate States and in Africa, is that in one case he is a civilised Christian slave, and in the other a savage heathen slave. So far as civil freedom is concerned, he would be no better off in Africa, and in every other respect he is much better off in the South. All travellers concur in describing the negro as naturally savage ; and as our author observes, the race has done nothing, literally nothing, to distinguish itself, or to make history ; its existence has been so far a perfect blank :—

The great sandy desert, called "Sahara," joyless, soundless, lifeless—is not more barren of objects to interest the naturalist, than is the negro race of incidents interesting to the philosopher or the historian. Having "never invented a reasoned theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art,"—as Hamilton Smith expresses it—we have to depend upon observation, and the writings of travellers, naturalists, and men of science, for information relative to it.

This manifest inferiority of the race is, we know, rather a painful subject to those who have been taught that human equality is inseparable from human happiness. Now, the negro has a wonderful capacity for enjoyment, and we believe that the slaves in the Confederate States are the most joyous and happiest people on earth. Again, the negro is, as well as the white man, fit to become a member of a Christian Church. His physical and intellectual inferiority does not make him unhappy on earth, or in any way exclude him from participating in the hope of future blessedness. There is nothing cruel or unlovely in the Providential plan.

Mr. MacMahon replies to the charges of Southerners ill-treating their slaves. The events of the last three years have rendered any such refutation almost superfluous, yet there may be a few persons to whom it will be useful. When the North undertook this war it was in the expectation that the slaves would rise in revolt. Nor was the anticipation unreasonable. San Domingo proved how readily the savage instincts of the black race might be aroused. Was it likely the negroes in the South, instigated by the malignant arts of New England and assured of protection in the Federal lines after they had perpetrated crimes of murder and rapine, would remain loyal ? That they have done so is astounding testimony of the kindness with which they have been treated, and of the strong bonds of love that bind them to their masters. Our author, after showing the advantages that the Southern slave enjoys, draws a gloomy picture of the evils that co-exist with our free labour system in Europe. Whilst denying that such evils are the necessary result of free labour, we cannot gainsay his assertions. We must confess that our streets swarm with fallen women, that our hospitals are crowded with victims of vice, that crime abounds amongst us, that our working classes too often end a life of labour as paupers, that our peasantry are worse housed than the farm horses, and that our rule in Ireland has not been productive of happiness. We are sorry that Mr. MacMahon should hold our nobles and rich men responsible for these things, for the corruption and tyranny of our upper classes exist not, save in the imagination of Mr. John Bright. In this country wealth is worthily employed ; the jewelled hand of aristocracy is stretched out to help the wretched, and peers labour zealously in back slums and alleys to ameliorate the condition of the poor. Still, we must not complain too loudly of the injustice of Mr. MacMahon. He unfairly accuses us of being responsible for evils in our social system that do exist, whilst we have unfairly accused the Southerners of being responsible for imaginary evils.

We shall not follow Mr. MacMahon in the second part of his work. We suppose no one now doubts the lawfulness and necessity of secession ; and how the North obliged the South to strike the first blow by its infamous duplicity with respect to Fort Sumter, has already been told in our columns in the words of President Davis. We are wearied with recounting the hideous atrocities of the Federals, but one we may here notice, because it shows that from the first the Lincoln Government resolved on a policy of brutality. Mrs. Greenhow, now in London, the widow of the late Pro-

fessor Greenhow, and formerly principal translator in the United States Department of State, was arrested without any warrant, except the order of Mr. Seward or one of his colleagues. Mrs. Greenhow wrote to Mr. Seward, and said :—"We read in history that the poor Marie Antoinette had a paper torn from her bosom by lawless hands, and that even a change of linen had to be effected in sight of her brutal captors. It is my sad experience to record even more revolting outrages than that ; for during the first days of my imprisonment, whatever necessity forced me to seek my chamber, a detective stood sentinel at the open door." Nor is the motive of this shameful policy a secret. The Republican faction feared a constitutional reconstruction of the Union, and therefore determined, by perpetuating the most horrid brutalities, to render it impossible.

#### A PARODY ON THE BIBLE.\*

The New Orleans *Picayune* of August 27 says, "It is significant of the degeneracy of the times that a New York publisher has printed a Bible burlesque 'in language imitative of the Scripture style,' entitled 'The New Gospel of Peace.'" This infamous parody has been republished in England. We will not pollute our columns by describing, much less by quoting from it.

#### THE CAMPAIGN ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, August 22.

SINCE I last wrote you Herron's men have come down the river from Port Hudson, and are now in camp at Greenville, a little way above this city. Part of Ord's corps is encamped on the swamp two miles this side of Carrollton, and the rest, with a few negro companies, are at Camp Parapet and across the river, within seven or eight miles of New Orleans. Altogether, the force is nearly, if not quite as large as Banks's army was before he made the advance across Berwick Bay last April. These men are recovering from the fatigues incident to the protracted sieges of Port Hudson and Vicksburg. Camped so closely together, they seem like a large army, and every day we hear in the streets that they are going to Mobile, to Brownsville, Texas, or across Berwick Bay again. None of these movements will take place at present. The navy, the transports, and a much larger army are all waiting before another Federal advance begins. Meanwhile we have advices from all the threatened points, and we learn that the people there are preparing for resistance to the feared invasion.

From the three threatened points we had news, almost in the same hour, yesterday. From Mobile, a schooner from Pascagoula, across Lake Pontchartrain, brings us late Mobile papers—the first we have received for many days. The news is not important. The Mobilians are confident the gathering of Federal troops here is for the purpose of an attack on their city, and they announce themselves prepared to meet it. From Brownsville, Texas, a schooner arriving with refugees, (as they are called), sent to this city by the United States Consul at Matamoras, we learn that General Bee also looks for a Federal attack. He has ordered that no more cotton shall be brought to Brownsville, but hereafter it is to be taken across the river at Rio Grande city, one hundred miles or more above. Enormous quantities have been brought down and sold on account of the Confederate Government or for individuals, at 20 cents per pound, payable in Mexican silver or in foreign goods. There have been from one hundred to one hundred and fifty foreign vessels lying at the mouth of the Rio Grande nearly all the time, for months past, and the Federal fleet at that point has been daily favoured with a view of numberless lighters, coming down with cotton and going back with arms, ammunition, everything in fact needed to carry on the war—in the small town of Matamoras. At present, as you are aware already, nearly all the Texan troops are in Louisiana prepared to meet Banks if he again crosses Berwick Bay, and equally ready to move rapidly into Texas when that State is threatened. Duff's battalion is at Brownsville ; Wood's regiment is at Goliad and King's *rancho* ; Lockett's 3rd Texas regiment is at Galveston ; De Brays' is in part at Galveston and the rest at Houston ; Holley's men are at Corpus Christi and at Port Lavaca ; Gurley's regiment is at Waco ; Speight's battery is at Sabine Pass, and Fox's battery is at Brownsville. These troops are scattered about for the convenience of feeding them, and they can readily be concentrated at Brownsville or at Galveston, if either of those points is threatened.

The boasted "cutting in twain of the Confederacy" by the opening of the Mississippi, and the temporary suspension of army movements in the East, have led to the formation of a large Confederate army, and to a vigorous conscription on the west side of the Mississippi. Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas are gathering and massing men. General Kirby Smith is fortifying at Trinity on Black River. The war has scarcely touched these States as yet—for in Louisiana it has thus far been only a war of robbery and plunder, and has covered but a portion of the State. It will be a long while before these States are conquered or driven into the Union ; and in the case of Texas that "long while" will be never.

The Federal movement from this point may be towards Mobile for the sake of the cotton, or to the Rio Grande to stop the contraband trade at that in-and-outlet ; or to the western part of this State, again, for the double purpose of securing the very small crops to be made

\* Cause and Contrast: an Essay on the American Crisis. By T. W. MacMahon. Richmond: West and Johnston.

\* The New Gospel of Peace. According to St. Benjamin. (Manchester: Abel Heywood, London: Bacon and Co.)



this season, and to force at the point of the bayonet the election of one or two Massachusetts men as loyal representatives of the loyal State of Louisiana in the next Congress of the loyal United States. Once more, however, the movement will not be made, I think, at present. It will require some time for Banks and his men to heal the sores accumulated during their recent "victories."

Pending the next movement—which is a source of far more anxiety to Banks and his army than to any one else—the Federals have turned their attention with renewed zeal and earnestness to the picking up of pennies. General Banks has just issued the following order:—

Head-quarters, Department of the Gulf.  
New Orleans, August 17.

Special Orders, No 202.  
[Extract.]

7. The several banks and banking corporations in the City of New Orleans will, without delay, pay over to Colonel S. B. Holabird, Chief Quartermaster, or to such officers of the Quartermaster's Department as he may designate, all moneys in their possession belonging to or standing upon their books to the credit of any person registered as an enemy of the United States, or engaged in any manner in the military, naval, or civil service of the so-called "Confederate States," or who shall have been or may hereafter be convicted of rendering any aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States; and all moneys in their possession or standing upon their books to the credit of any corporation, association, or pretended government in hostility to the United States.

These funds will be held and accounted for by the Quartermaster's Department, subject to the further adjudication of the Government of the United States.

8. The Chief Quartermaster will require Messrs. Ernest Quertier and Co., E. Rochereau and Co., Anatol Cousin, Abat, Generes and Co., and J. Levois and Co., and all other persons refusing to comply with the provisions of General Orders Nos. 55 and 105, of 1862, and No. 7 of 1863, from these Head-quarters, at once to pay over to such officer of the Quartermaster's Department as he may designate the amounts of the assessments imposed by the said orders upon them as subscribers to the loan raised for the defence of New Orleans against the rightful authority of the United States. By command of  
MAJOR-GEN. BANKS.

RICHARD B. IRWIN, A. A.-General.

This Order calls for \$428,000 due by the banks of New Orleans to depositors now registered as enemies to the United States, and the amount includes \$73,000 due by the Citizens Bank to the Confederate Government. The banks do not know who of their depositors are "registered enemies" and ask to be furnished with a list. The deposits were made mostly, if not wholly, in Confederate money, and the collecting agent says he will take nothing but currency or greenbacks—thus actually defrauding the stockholders by confiscating their property instead of that of the "registered enemies." The stockholders care nothing about this. The Federals have rendered the banks nearly worthless by withdrawing their coin, forcing them into liquidation, and by totally destroying the business of the city. A large amount of these stocks is owned at the North and in Europe, and poor people here who hold currency in small amounts will suffer by-and-by. Never mind! Let the banks go—with the books and pictures stolen from private houses, ostensibly to found a public library, but really to send North—with the wasted plantations, with the ruined crops, with the stolen and murdered negroes, with the total destruction, worse than death, that everywhere follows the footprints of the Federal armies in the South.

The second clause of the Order refers to the uncollected balance assessed by Butler upon those who contributed to the fund of the Committee of Public Safety for the defence of New Orleans against a Federal invasion.

Everything relating to restoration, to the suppression of rebellion, to the establishment of Federal rule over the whole country, means one thing only—money. Money, for the almost beggared Federal Government—money for the army of thieves and beggars who have left the shoe-shops of New England to command companies and regiments, and to fill Federal offices in a State that has no sympathy with the Federal Government, and where only a small part of the population is held in subjection by the iron rule of martial law. No matter how fine the phrases, how patriotic and pious the proclamations, all this talk about restoring the South to the Union means "money;" and when the South is stripped and ruined, all talk about the Union and the negro will cease. The South can then go and be—happy.

The New York papers may have given you the official correspondence relative to the Federal occupation of the city of Natchez, Mississippi. The Federals call it a capture. Natchez is on the river, 265 miles above New Orleans and 110 below Vicksburg, with a population, before the war, of about 12,000, and was one of the liveliest commercial cities between here and St. Louis. General Ransom, with a force of infantry of 1,200 men, and Battery F of the 2nd Illinois Artillery, landed above Natchez at 4 o'clock in the evening of July 13. He marched his men down, stationing pickets at all the roads leading out of the place, and as there was no opposition whatever, he walked in, raised the flag of his Government over the Court-house, and took possession of the city. From friends who have been there and back again since the occupation, I learn some particulars that have not been published.

Ransom found in the Post Office and Telegraph Station a large amount of correspondence, not official, of which he took possession. He found in one store 312 new Austrian muskets, and his men, in prowling about the town, discovered in one of the cemeteries a new-made grave indicating the resting-place (so said the head-board) of "Major Parrott, wounded at Vicksburg, and died at Natchez, aged 46 years." The name was suspicious, and the exhumed body proved to be a fine new Parrott gun! There were no defences in the place, and beyond a few arms taken from citizens, the Austrian muskets and the Parrott comprise all the captures of war material there. Ransom heard that an ammunition train had crossed the

river on flat-boats to General Kirby Smith, and he sent a steamboat-load of troops across, in time, it is stated, to cut off the rear of the train and to destroy several thousand rounds of ammunition.

Logan had been for some days hovering in the rear of Natchez, and only the night before Ransom's arrival, he crossed the Mississippi with 1,200 cavalry, the horses swimming the river, while four pieces of artillery were carried across on flats. These pieces, by-the-by, were cast from plantation bells, which have been largely devoted to this purpose throughout the Confederacy. In Natchez, there were about thirty Confederate officers and soldiers at home on furlough. Among them were Captain George Rawlston, Tom Harrison, and Frederick A. Boyer, of Connor's battery, and George Nichols, of Logan's cavalry. Captain Rawlston was riding in his own carriage to a place two miles out of the city, with an officer whose name I could not learn, when the carriage was stopped and both were taken prisoners. The few prisoners taken were at once paroled.

Mr. A. L. Wilson's fine house on top of the hill was taken by Ransom for head-quarters. Messrs. Stanton and Stockman's warehouse was devoted to commissary stores. Every carriage horse, riding horse, and pony in the city was taken by the Federals for army use. The Confederates have made Natchez the principal point lately for receiving the cattle from the other side. Almost every evening, for months past, hundreds of cattle have been driven to a point a few miles above on the opposite side, and men on horseback have followed and guided the swimming cattle over the river. Several thousand head were crossed in this way, even after the fall of Vicksburg. When Ransom arrived there were about 1,500 head of cattle in Mr. Bingham's pastures. These were guarded by twenty or thirty men, who "vamosed" at the approach of the Federals. Ransom issued the most stringent orders, forbidding the plunder of private houses, and the property of the citizens has been respected. It was even said that the fruit hung over the walls and fences untouched. You can understand all this. There is scarcely a Southern city which contains so much wealth, refinement, and what is called "good society," as does Natchez. There is hardly an adult there who has not travelled and who is not known abroad. The pillage and destruction of this place, as in the case of Jackson and other Southern cities, would have created a very great sensation in London and Paris, as well as in America. Ransom knows this. His courtesy to the people has even made him popular. His men are spoken of as exceedingly well-behaved. The citizens are all strong secessionists, and they do not conceal their sentiments; but Ransom permitted the mayor and authorities to remain in and exercise their offices, and Confederate money continues to circulate in the markets, shops, and among the people. Indeed, they have no other money, and when that is gone, or when its circulation is prohibited, there will be much suffering in that city.

Grant came down from Vicksburg and made a visit for a day or two. More Federal troops are coming down on the boats. The collectors of internal and infernal revenue, the sharks, the thieves, the adventurers, the "agents" of all sorts, are preparing to go up from here. The work of "restoration" has commenced; and here, as in every instance where the Federal power has secured a foothold, there will be a scene of utter ruin and desolation—another Confederate corpse—one more Federal "restoration,"—beyond all hope of resurrection.

One of the late Federal Memphis newspapers says that the baggage of sundry Federal army officers going North from this city by steamboat up river was examined at that place, and the custom-house officials there pretend to be surprised that these officers' trunks contained large quantities of silver spoons, teapots and milk-jugs. It would have been much more astonishing if nothing of the sort had been found. Thieves carry their booty with them when they are going home. The police and the marines are searching the city now for a volunteer commander of a gunboat who is suspected of stealing the plate from Dr. Duncan's house at Natchez. This search is not so much for the thief who stole a "rebel's" silver, as because the same officer loaded his boat with cotton, which he sold here for six thousand dollars. A few evenings since, three men in Federal soldiers' uniform committed a highway robbery. Not long after, a Government official was knocked down in a street in this city at night and was robbed of a large sum of money. There was never so little security to life and property in New Orleans as there is now under the law-and-order rule of the Federal Government.

In the case of the slave, shot because he tried to escape the negro press-gang, a verdict of wilful murder has been returned by the coroner's jury against the negro sergeant who shot the slave.

Mr. H. M. Renthrop has been found guilty of the murder of his slave George, though the only evidence introduced by the prosecution was slave testimony, which is illegal; and though the defence proved clearly that the planter acted in self-defence, and that the slave witnesses were half a mile from the scene when the alleged killing of the negro occurred. Most singular of all is the fact that the court, after finding Mr. Renthrop guilty of murder, offered to accept bail to the amount of \$25,000.

General Gardner is now with his wife and daughter in a private house where ex-Governor Mouton is also residing. They are all prisoners. There are no movements indicating the release of the officers from Port Hudson. Whenever it is necessary to move these officers from one part of the city to another they are paraded through the streets under an armed nigger guard. In fact the Federals seem reckless of public opinion here, and in every act render themselves as offensive as possible. In the absence of other amusements, a Federal band took "Yankee Doodle" to a select audience of negroes on one of the public squares two or three evenings in the week.

The Confederate steamboat Grand Duke is reported to have been destroyed by fire on Red River last week.

The news may reach you by other sources, but a schooner arrived here yesterday, six days from Tampico, and reported the occupation of that place, August 9, by the French forces.

NEW ORLEANS, August 29.

For several days past there has been an unusual activity in this Department. A few regiments with large quantities of stores have been sent to Ship Island. More stores have been sent to Baton Rouge, Port Hudson, and Donaldsonville up the river; and almost every night a train heavily laden with provisions and ammunition has gone by railway to Brashear City. All these things indicated an immediate movement—not necessarily upon Mobile, as the Ship Island concentration would suggest, nor towards Texas; though the accumulation of large quantities of stores at different points, and quartermasters' advertisements for vessels for charter show that all the vessels in the Department will be needed shortly to carry soldiers and horses to some point on the Gulf.

While people have been puzzling themselves about the precise point to be first attacked by the Federal Army of the Gulf, the next movement of General Banks has been indicated to him by circumstances. His next advance is not one of his own choosing, but of compulsion. So far as Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas are concerned, the opening of the Mississippi and the division of the Confederacy have resulted in the concentration of a by no means small army west of the Mississippi. These men have been massed in Western Louisiana. Their camps have extended from Alexandria on Red River to the extreme limit of the Federal lines, which extend no further westward in this State than to Brashear City on Berwick Bay.

The Confederates have been near enough to inform themselves daily and thoroughly with regard to all the Federal movements in this Department. Only two or three days ago two Confederate officers came across the lake above Brashear, changed their uniforms for citizen's clothes at a farm house, and made a personal examination of the numbers and position of the Federal force on the Lafourche. Now and then, a Texan deserter from Colonel Major's advance has crossed Berwick Bay, and has come into the Federal camp at Brashear. From these men, and from other sources, Banks has learned enough about the Confederates across the Bay to convince him of the necessity of making a movement in that direction if he would secure the very small amount of territory he holds in this State from the disasters attendant upon another invasion. For several days he has been preparing to cross Berwick Bay, once more to "drive out the rebels," and to make one more attempt to recover a portion of the Attakapas country, which is already reckoned by Northern Abolition journals as one of Banks's "successes" in the South. The Confederates have prepared for the expected invasion of their territory. They have sent into Texas every able-bodied negro not needed for labour in the camps or upon the defences. Hundreds of mule teams have been for weeks employed in hauling the salt mined on Petite Anse Island, near New Iberia, into Texas. This salt mine is worth more to the Confederacy than a gold mine. It was not discovered till after the outbreak of the war that there were salt springs on the island, and in attempting to improve one of them it was discovered that there was a substratum of pure rock salt, forming undoubtedly the base of the whole island. Works were at once erected, and while the Northern papers were prating about the scarcity of salt in the South, enormous quantities from these mines were sent throughout the whole Confederacy.

When Banks made his march through the country to Red River last April, he sent a force to destroy the works erected at the mines. They burned the buildings and destroyed the steam-engine and machinery, but so soon as the Confederates recovered the country they resumed operations, and by blasting and mining have secured at least sufficient salt to cure all the Texas beef needed by the Confederate army west of the Mississippi the coming winter.

And while Banks has been preparing for another raid along the Teche, the Confederates have not waited to see the head of his advancing column without making a movement of their own. The last deserters who came into the Federal lines reported that as soon as the Confederate officers returned from their tour of inspection in the Lafourche, the whole column began to move from the New Iberia down to Berwick Bay. The plan was to divide the force near Franklin, sending part of the men across Flat Lake to Napoleonville for a double movement towards Plaquemine on the Mississippi, and down to Weitzel's brigade near Thibodeaux. The rest of the force was to concentrate opposite Brashear City to repel Banks's advance, should he attempt to cross the Bay.

That this movement has been made as indicated is quite evident from the fact that very early yesterday morning the advance by way of Napoleonville fired upon Weitzel's pickets above Thibodeaux and drove them into their camp. There was a panic, of course. A special messenger came in to Weitzel who was in this city, and a telegraphic despatch later in the day announced that 8,000 men had crossed, that they would fight Weitzel's brigade, and then move upon Bayou Boeuf and Brashear, "gobbling" the two regiments there and carrying away the immense stores accumulated at that point.

This would be only a repetition of the brilliant movement made by a Confederate force of less than 1,000 men only a few weeks ago. There are reasons that operate against such a movement now. There are four or five gunboats in Berwick Bay which could shell and destroy Brashear before the Confederates could carry away the stores accumulated there. It is noticeable that they crossed to the Lafourche this time by a route inaccessible



to the gunboats. They were and are out of harm's way till they choose to risk an engagement with Weitzel's brigade. Meanwhile, it was reported last night that a force was already in Plaquemine, and we may expect to hear to-day that a battery is firing upon the boats passing up and down the Mississippi river.

The Confederate force engaged in the new movement consists of Walker's division, Henry McCulloch's division, Green's brigade of cavalry, Major's brigade of cavalry—a total force, as estimated, of 5,000 cavalry, from 5,000 to 8,000 infantry, and 75 pieces of artillery. It is the most formidable Confederate army yet concentrated in Western Louisiana. We do not know to-day how many men have crossed into Lafourche. Enough are on the other side to hold the defences at Camp Bisland, three miles above Pattersonville, on the Teche, against the advance of the Federals.

Banks had his first fight in Louisiana at Camp Bisland last spring. It was a short but bloody affair. The Confederate force at that point then comprised only a few hundred men, and Banks advanced with a column numbering nearly 23,000 well-armed troops. They left along the line of the Teche and sent back to the hospital at Brashear nearly as many killed and wounded as there were Confederates in the field against them during the entire march to Alexandria. Indeed the whole route of the Federal advance to Red River is marked by graveyards. There are a very different army and far more formidable fortifications on that route now; and if Banks sends an army through that country again, the United States Paymaster's duties in that division next quarter-day will be exceedingly light.

The Confederate advance was undoubtedly for the purpose of preventing Banks from making an immediate movement upon Mobile or towards Texas, as he intended. A mere raid through Lafourche would be otherwise objectionless, as only a few weeks have gone by since Taylor's men completely stripped the whole region from Donaldsonville on the Mississippi to Berwick Bay, closing the campaign by a general clearing out of everything in Brashear City. The presence of a large force close to and actually within the Federal lines will warn Banks of the impolicy of withdrawing his troops from Louisiana at present, and thus exposing New Orleans even to the danger of an invasion. Meanwhile, the Confederates, who are now hovering about Weitzel's brigade, near Thibodeaux, and in the rear of two or three towns occupied by the Federals, on the Mississippi river, are well aware of the danger of an advance of Augur's Division (which Weitzel is to command) now at Baton Rouge. This force could cross to Donaldsonville and march down the Lafourche Bayou road upon the Confederates. But Colonel Jim Major's men, who are believed to be the invaders, are all mounted on good horses, and have no doubt secured a safe retreat to the Teche again, if a retreat should be necessary. We look for lively days in that direction very soon, and we do not look immediately for the feared and expected movement upon Mobile.

Banks has commenced another wholesale "gobble" of negroes for his army. I enclose his order for a general black conscription. You will note that he proposes to conscript the slaves in such number as may be required for the military defence of the Department—that is, he intends to raise a black army large enough to leave here while he withdraws his white soldiers for operations elsewhere. God help us all when we are exposed to the "defence" of these bayonet-armed slaves!

#### TRADE IN SHIPS OF WAR.

The following, from the *Times*' City Article of 23rd, is the most concise and complete exposition of the common-sense view of this subject that we have yet seen in print:—

Much surprise is excited among the impartial merchants in the city at the doctrines promulgated by casual writers from day to day on the question of neutral obligations and the Liverpool iron-clads. The international law on the subject, as the commercial world at present understand it, is, that according to all the statutes respectively by the United States and England, and the decisions of their Superior Courts, vessels of war may be built here for any State, whether belligerent or otherwise, that chooses to order them, provided they are not built and sent to sea with the intention that British subjects should use them for hostile purposes. This being the law recognised by both countries, the natural impression would be that a strict regard for neutrality would induce us to observe it to the very letter, and that at all events even those who might consider the condition of the law too lax, and that it would be expedient for us to alter it before we are certain that the United States are prepared to make a similar alteration, would at least insist that the Government should not to favour any party stir a step against it, or outside of it, until it had been duly changed by Parliament. Yet writers are to be found who declare that this scrupulous adherence to our law of neutrality would be "an offence against neutrality," and that if such vessels are allowed to depart the United States will have a title to complain—a statement which simply amounts to an assertion that we shall violate our obligations to them if we act upon their own admitted laws of neutrality whenever the operation of such laws does not happen to be in their favour. The aim of all these persons would appear to be not to promote but to prevent the exercise of neutrality. They make no demand that measures should be enforced for stopping the supply of munitions of war to the Northern States, which now constitutes one of our important branches of trade, nor to the enticing of British subjects from Ireland and elsewhere to recruit the Northern armies. The Confederates may be shot down by English-made cannon, but the Federals must not have their cotton and tea seized by English-built ships; and all kinds of sophistical and special pleading is resorted to to establish some fanciful distinctions between these respective classes of belligerent supplies, although it is plain that we enter a path of danger the moment we attempt refinements of that description. In matters of this sort the only safe plan must be to declare that we are ready to build or make any instruments for which we can find customers to pay us, even including a supply of Greek fire if it should be wished for. Even the Federals themselves scarcely go so far in their pretensions as some Englishmen are found to go for them; and only three weeks back the *New York Journal of Commerce* admitted that if England stopped the iron-clads it would be only fair she should stop the supply

of arms and ammunition to themselves. As to the argument that an international law to prevent vessels being built for a belligerent might at a future time prove highly beneficial to ourselves, all that can be said with regard to it is that there will be time enough to consider it when the United States have signified their wish to change their present law, since there can be few who will suppose that, if we now without some guarantee set an opposite precedent, that precedent will be held sacred in our favour, supposing at any time we should be at war with them. There would be no objection to a discussion of the whole matter in Parliament, where the paramount necessity of keeping open our trading rights, and of not allowing them to be sacrificed to suit the desires of a Government to avoid temporary disquietude, would be duly argued; but it is felt by many persons that these constant exhortations to the Ministry to stretch or override the actual law in anticipation of Parliamentary action are likely to prove very injurious, and also that they bear an unpleasant resemblance to the views of the Federal politicians who are ready utterly to disregard every point of their own Constitution on the plea of exigency. If there is true impartiality in any circle in the world, it is among the traders of the city of London. Merchants cannot afford to take sides. They want neutrality in its rigid sense—not a neutrality that is to be set aside or relaxed when one of two parties threatens war if we are stubborn. It may be remarked, moreover, that among our well-informed merchants there is no sentiment even of concealed partisanship. They have their opinion of the Federal conduct of the war, and they express it, but they do not fancy that the South loves us more than the North, or suppose that Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and those that they represent, have changed the views they have proclaimed against England for the last twenty years. Neither do they forget that, come what may throughout the future, all our great trading relations with America must as heretofore be with the North. But they know the Americans well enough to see that just in proportion as we give way to any unjust pretensions or manifest the slightest desire to purchase peace by timid words or acts, so do we encourage their aggressive tendencies, and beget the very danger it is wished to deprecate. When it was lately sought on high authority to frighten us into a seizure of the iron-clads—with or without law—on the ground that their departure would be a signal for the United States to attack us, a blow was struck at the cause of peace which it would be difficult to repair. Every one must have noticed that the wild threats against this country with which the New York press inflame their ignorant and credulous readers have gained strength with every concession made, while the submission to France in face of her bold defiance of all their most cherished ideas and dogmas is developed precisely to a similar extent. We received some civility after the affair of the Trent, and people in the city, remembering the tone of all their correspondence at that period, and contrasting it with that which they get at present, feel they have reason to apprehend that if the cry of concession for expediency sake be suffered to increase, the peril will become beyond control. A system which tends to stimulate the worst points of the Northern character is more cruel to the North even than it is hurtful to ourselves, and hence it is among the real friends of the respectable portion of the American public that the greatest regret is felt at any absence of dignity that may be betrayed on this side.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAPTURES ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*, August 26.)

From a participant we have obtained some particulars of the capture of the Federal gunboats *Satellite* and *Reliance*, at Stingray Point, mouth of the Rappahannock, on Saturday night last. The expedition, numbering some sixty men, under command of Lieutenant John Taylor Wood, Confederate States Navy, left Richmond on Wednesday, the 12th of August, and proceeded to the Rappahannock, where preparations were at once made for the work which was so successfully completed on Saturday night. Having secured four open boats, the expedition embarked on Saturday night, and proceeded to the point designated, which they reached about half-past twelve o'clock. On approaching the boats they were hailed by a negro guard, to whom they replied satisfactorily, and in a few moments were under the bows of the boats, cutting away the nettings and clearing the way for boarding the Yankee crafts. The crews having in the meantime become aroused offered resistance, but they were so taken by surprise at the audacity of the undertaking that they were soon overcome by the gallantry and rapid movements of the men under Lieutenant Wood, and finally yielded, surrendering the boats, crews, guns, and everything pertaining to the vessels.

In the night we had three men wounded, including Lieutenant Hoge and Midshipman Cook. The enemy had one killed—a negro—and six or seven wounded. Lieutenant Hoge was severely wounded in the neck in a hand-to-hand fight with the captain of the *Reliance*. The captain was also wounded. The armament of the *Reliance* consisted of one 32-pound Parrott gun and a 24-pound howitzer; that of the *Satellite* of a 32-pound smooth-bore gun and a 12-pound howitzer. Their crews numbered forty men each. They had no opportunity of firing their heavy guns, our men being too close to them when the alarm was given. Among the captured were seven negroes, who, with the rest of the prisoners, are expected to reach Richmond as soon as they can be brought. Our informant left the boats on Sunday morning at Urbanna, on the Rappahannock river, and it is probable that since then they have been run further up that stream.

We saw yesterday, at the office of the chief clerk of the Navy Department, some of the captured trophies, consisting of flags, sextants, glasses, and charts of the rivers and coast of Lower Virginia.

The following is the official report of the affair:—

C. S. S. *Satellite*, August 23, 1863.—Sir: I am thankful to report to you the capture last night, off the mouth of the Rappahannock, of the United States gunboats *Satellite*, two guns and forty men, and the *Reliance*, two guns and forty men. Lieutenant Hoge dangerously wounded.

Midshipman Cook and three men slightly.

Captain Walters, of the *Reliance*, dangerously wounded, and some seven or eight others of the enemy; one or two killed.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. TAYLOR WOOD,

Lieutenant Commanding.

Hon. S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, August 29.)

Another brilliant exploit took place last Tuesday, in the Bay, off the mouth of the Rappahannock, which resulted in the capture of three Yankee sailing vessels—the *Coquette*, *Golden Rod*, and *Twin Brothers*. One of the ships was laden with

coal, and the other two with anchors and chains. The *Golden Rod*, drawing too much water, was, in consequence, destroyed, but the other two were safely anchored in a Confederate port. Fifteen Yankees were captured at the same time, and have been received at the Libby prison. Lieutenant Wood has thus secured five prizes and made about ninety prisoners. The last expedition was attended with no loss on our side.

#### AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, September 23.

There would at present appear to be no prospect of a reduction in the rate of discount. If a chance shall take place, it will be at or about the time of the payment of the dividends in October, and then it is questioned if it will prove of more than a temporary character. A good deal of reliance is placed upon the large sum to be released by the India Council just before the dividend payments, and this, with the distribution named, will, it is thought, leave considerable totals in the market for employment. We shall, nevertheless, find no doubt, after all, that the great proportion will have been absorbed; and if this surmise shall turn out correct, the balance will not be sufficient to produce any permanent effect. The remarkable course of speculation which is showing itself in the principal second and third class foreign securities will, there is reason to believe, be followed by the introduction of several new miscellaneous companies; and the natural result of this must terminate in sinking capital in a variety of channels, which may or may not, according to circumstances, become immediately reproductive. Trade is likewise steadily advancing, and, despite the difficulties presented by the cotton question, will, it is thought, further increase as the winter approaches. The latest rate this evening for first-class paper in Lombard-street was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent., but the chief transactions were at the latter quotation. The demand has latterly again become strong at the Stock Exchange, where the prices have ruled from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 for loans on the best English securities.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week has been only £199,000, against which there have been withdrawals to the extent of £105,000, of which £45,000 was for Mauritius and £60,000 for Alexandria. The arrivals of bullion have again been rather extensive, reaching £567,222, of which only £119,935 is from New York and the bulk of the remainder from Australia. The silver market remains very firm, there being an increased demand from Bombay, and the steamer on Friday will take out a large amount. The bar silver brought by the last West India mail has been sold at  $91\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz., being an advance of about  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on previous purchases. The Mexican dollars brought by the same vessel have not yet been disposed of, but the price remains nominally at  $5s. 3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per oz. The only gold ships at present known to be on their way from Australia are the *Wave of Life* with £162,000, and the *Wellesley* with £131,000.

##### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

In the early part of the week business in the English Securities was tolerably active, and prices were well sustained, though there was no positive improvement, but within the last day or two there has been less animation, and prices have slightly receded. This has been chiefly caused by the receipt of lower quotations from Paris, the decline there being attributed to the unfavourable interpretation of the note of Prince Gortschakoff, with regard to the Polish question. Consols closed this evening at  $93\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  for money, and  $93\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  for the account, which, as contrasted with the prices of this day week, is a decline of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Exchequer Bills remain very quiet at par to 3s. prem.

##### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The business transacted in American Government and Railway Securities has this week been on an unusually limited scale, the general tone of the recent advices from America tending in a great measure to repress anything like a speculative movement. Yesterday there was not a single transaction recorded, and to-day there have not been more than two or three bargains. The dealings comprise Virginia State Five per Cents., at 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Do. Six per Cents., 42 and 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Atlantic and Great Western Railway, 78. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 79, 78, and 78 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Erie Shares, \$100, all paid, 73, 74, 75, and 74. Do. Seven per Cents., preference, 70. Illinois Central \$100, \$90 paid, 13, 14, 13, and 12. Do. do. all paid, 77, 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 74, 77, 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 76. New York Central, \$100 Shares, 90, 89, and 90. Panama Railway, Second Mortgage, 102, 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 102. Pennsylvania, First Mortgage, convertible, 73 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 74. Do. do. \$50 Shares, 44.

##### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A rather extensive business has been transacted in English Railway Securities, and prices in the majority of cases showed a steady advance; but within the last day or two, in sympathy with the other departments, there has been less firmness exhibited, but nevertheless, as compared with last week, quotations generally show a favourable contrast; for instance, there has been an improvement in Edinburgh and Glasgow and Glasgow and South-Western of 1 per cent.; in London and South-Western of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and in Great Eastern (East Anglian Stock), Great Northern, Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, and Metropolitan, of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On the other hand, Caledonian and North British exhibit a decline of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and Great Eastern, Lancashire and Yorkshire, and London and North-Western, each  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In other shares there has been no alteration. In Foreign Railway shares the dealings have been to a fair average extent, but without any material alteration in values. In the shares of British Possessions there has been more animation, Indian and Canadian being in good demand at full prices.

##### NEW LOAN FOR COLUMBIA.

Proposals have just been issued for a small loan of £200,000 for the United States of Columbia (formerly New Granada) in a six per cent. Stock at 86, with dividends from the 1st October next, and redeemable by a sinking fund in 1874. The objects of the loan are,—the construction of roads within the territory of the republic, the improvement of the river Magdalena, and the general promotion of commercial resources. Payment is secured by special mortgages of 15 per cent. of the gross revenues accruing from the salt mines of the country; and from three of the mines alone the hypothecated amount will be sufficient to provide for the dividends and the redemption of the bonds at par. The instalments are to range from 5 per cent. on application to 6 per cent. on the 1st April next (less the dividend of 3 per cent.), the intervening payments varying from 10 to 15 per cent.

##### THE NEW ZEALAND LOAN.

The Bank of New Zealand have notified that they are prepared to receive tenders for the first instalment of £100,000 of the loan for £500,000, recently authorised by the Provincial Government of Auckland, New Zealand, for raising funds to purchase from the natives the waste lands of the province, and



for encouraging immigration. The debentures, with coupons attached, are to be issued in sums of £100, £250, £500, and £1,000, the interest commencing on the 1st April, 1863, to be redeemed in thirty-three years by a sinking fund of £2 per cent. on the amount borrowed. A deposit of £5 per cent. on the total of each tender must be previously paid to the Bank of London. The highest bidders will be deemed the purchasers, provided the prices are not lower than the minimum placed on the table. The adjudication is to take place on the 1st October.

LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY PREFERENCE STOCK.

Tenders were opened on Friday last by the Directors of the London and North-Western Railway for the £2,197,666 Preference Stock. It was considered that the stock was quite worth £115, and accordingly that was the minimum fixed upon. A large amount was tendered for at sums ranging from £110 to £114 10s., and there were also a number of tenders, some for large amounts, at par. The tenders, however, at and above the minimum price only amounted to £161,536, the highest being for £17,000 at £117 12s.

MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

An Extraordinary General Meeting of the shareholders in the Oriental Inland Steam Navigation Company was held on Thursday last for the purpose of considering and determining as to the propriety of removing Mr. John Bourne, the managing director, from his office, pursuant to the powers given to a General Meeting of shareholders; also as to the expediency of removing that gentleman from the office of an ordinary director. The chairman (Colonel Grimes) having recapitulated the grounds of dissatisfaction with Mr. Bourne, which mainly regarded his want of discretion with regard to the management of the affairs of the Company, and which it was alleged had reduced the Company to its present unsatisfactory position, Mr. Bourne defended himself at some length, and reiterated some of the charges he had made against his co-directors. A lengthened discussion ensued, and eventually it was agreed that Mr. Bourne should at once tender his resignation upon the charges preferred against him being unreservedly withdrawn. This having been done officially, Mr. Bourne's resignation was accepted, and the proceedings terminated.

THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In most descriptions of American produce, transactions continue restricted, and prices nearly stationary, cotton forming the only important exception. This article still attracts great attention, and is again dearer. Another week of fine weather, with the harvest, even in the northern districts, drawing rapidly towards completion, has increased the depression in the grain markets. English wheat has fallen 2s. to 3s. per quarter, and American 1s. to 2s. Flour is saleable only in small quantities at 6d. to 1s. per barrel decline. At the close of business to-day, however, the tendency was towards reaction. The American provision trade has not presented any new feature; quotations remain in all cases the same as last week, and the dealings upon the smallest possible scale. Holders of petroleum are firmer, owing in some measure to the advanced rates advised from America; but any very important buoyancy in the market is checked by the disinclination of dealers to purchase beyond the requirements of the moment. The quotation of 80s. for French spirits of turpentine noticed in our last was the culminating point of the market; and, with a decided pause in operations, there are now more sellers than buyers at 2s. per cwt. decline. American remains nominally at 100s. For sperm oil the demand is a trifle better at the previous currency. The tallow trade continues sensitive and unsettled. The tone was depressed until Saturday, by which time prices had further given way 1s. per cwt. Since this, the current has set in a contrary direction, and the decline has been more than recovered. Nothing new politi-

cally has occurred to account for the recent fluctuations, and the market is alone swayed to and fro by the heavy speculative account which is now open. Meanwhile the trade, as usually is the case under the circumstances, keep aloof—not that the present range of prices is considered in itself unsafe, but, with extensive speculative engagements to be arranged, there is always the danger of collapse—one which might at any time carry prices much below their legitimate level. The tobacco trade is not so active, but a fair moderate demand prevails, and as sales are not pressed quotations are generally maintained. The drugs sales have manifested a full average amount of orders, both home and export, and the terms obtained have in every instance equalled those of the previous week. In dyes there is nothing new to note, except that Bengal turmeric is cheaper. With continued activity in Scotch pig iron, the price has touched 59s. 9d. to 60s. per ton, being a fresh advance of 2s. to 2s. 6d.; but to-day there was a reaction, and the closing rate was 58s. 6d. In other metals the variations have been unimportant.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	1863.				1862.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.
COTTON, per lb.—	0	1	11	0	2	4	0	1
American, gd. ord. to fr.	0	1	11	0	2	4	0	1
CHEMICALS—								
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0	1	5	0	1	5	0	1
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0	16	6	0	17	0	0	17
Iodine, oz.	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0
Potash, bicarbonate, lb.	0	0	5	0	0	9	0	0
Hydrochloric, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	9	0	0
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0
DRUGS—								
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1	10	0	2	10	0	1	0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Peru, lb.	0	4	9	0	4	10	0	4
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0	7	0	0	9	6	0	8
Quinine, lb.	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3
Castor Oil, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Brown, cwt.	4	5	0	4	15	0	5	0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	0
Lemon-grass, oz.	0	0	8	0	0	10	0	0
Orange, lb.	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Citronelle, oz.	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0	18	6	0	19	0	0	19
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0
Alexandria, lb.	0	0	3	0	0	8	0	0
Suakroet, lb.	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0
Spermaceti, lb.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
DYES—								
Safflower	3	15	0	7	5	0	3	0
Turmeric, Bengal	1	10	0	1	12	0	0	18
Madras	1	14	0	1	16	0	0	14
Yellow Berries	1	10	0	4	5	0	6	0
GUMS, cwt.—								
Animi, medium	7	10	0	9	0	0	8	0
Gutta	1	15	0	1	13	0	1	6
Kowrie	2	0	0	2	8	0	1	2
METALS, per ton—								
Copper, American	98	0	0	100	0	0	..	..
Iron, Scotch, Pig	2	18	6	..	..	..	2	17
Tin, English	115	0	0	..	..	..	111	0
OILS, per ton—								
Sperm, American	80	0	0	..	..	..	85	0
Lined	43	6	0	..	..	..	42	0
Rock Oil, Crude	21	0	0	21	10	0	..	14
PROVISIONS, cwt.—								
Butter, American, fine	3	12	0	4	2	0	3	14
Cheese, do., fine	2	4	0	2	16	0	2	0
Bacon Sides	1	10	0	2	8	0	1	14
TALLOW, per cwt.—								
North American	2	1	0	2	6	0	2	7
South do.	2	1	6	2	3	0	2	8
Wax do.	8	10	0	8	15	0	8	10
TOBACCO, lb.—								
Maryland	0	0	5	0	0	9	0	0
Virginia	0	0	10	0	1	2	0	0
Kentucky	0	0	6	0	1	7	0	0

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 23.

The Cotton Market this week has exhibited increased excitement, and prices have daily advanced under the influence of a greatly increased demand. The trade generally have been large buyers, being stimulated thereto by the buoyant state of affairs at Manchester, and speculators have shown increased activity, with extreme confidence in their purchases both on the spot and for cotton to arrive. At one period the market showed rather a declining tendency, but it speedily regained its strength, and the upward movement still continues. The sales during the week have amounted to 82,000 bales, of which 40,300 bales have been taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 1,802,400 bales, against 2,217,820 bales down to the corresponding period last year. The total imports this year have been 1,075,862 bales, whilst in the same period in 1862 they were 725,917 bales. The exports this year have amounted to 328,060 bales; at the same time last year they were 330,954 bales. There have been taken for consumption this year 965,100 bales, and in 1862 942,800 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 450,950 bales; last year, 888,480. Computed stocks at the present time, 172,080 bales, and at the same period last year 91,060 bales. More attention has been paid this week to American cotton than for some time past, in consequence of the very limited supply, and the probability of the future arrivals being further diminished; the advance in price has, therefore, been greater than in other descriptions. The latest quotations were—Middling Orleans, 27d. to 27½d.; Upland, 26½d. to 27½d.; Mobile, 27d. to 27½d.; Surat, 15½d. to 25d.; Egyptian, 27½d. to 28d.; Pernambuco, 27d.; Bahia and Macao, 26d. to 26½d., and Maranham, 28d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 22.

The amount of business transacted during the past week, although large, does not equal that of the week previous, still prices are advancing steadily and keeping pace with the rapid advance of the Liverpool market. Spinners and manufacturers are well engaged under contract, and not in a position to take further orders for early delivery.

There has been some heavy buying of water-twist for China at prices never before paid for that market—say 2s. 6d. per pound, for 16s. to 24s. in bundle.

The continental agents are increasing their purchases more and more every day, their clients being almost starved out for want of yarns of all kinds.

Home trade yarns from 32s. upwards are in good request, at an advance of from ½d. to 1d. on the prices of last Tuesday.

Orders for cloth have not been so plentiful this week as a few days back; but this is owing entirely to the inability of producers to deliver at an early date, and not from a lack of orders in the hands of merchants.

THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

There has been very little business doing in this Stock, and this may be ascribed to the heaviness in other Securities, consequent on the decline in French Rentes. The fluctuation in prices has not been considerable. The opening price yesterday was 31 to 29 discount, but at the close it was rather firmer, the quotation being 30 to 31 discount.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Sept. 17, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS, AND THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF MEXICO.

DROPPING THE MASK.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

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The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. Courts and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathise with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

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# THE INDEX

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[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
MEXICO AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE IMPENDING BATTLES.  
THE PRESS ON MR. MASON'S WITHDRAWAL.  
LORD RUSSELL AT BLAIRGOWRIE.  
THE PRICE OF GOLD IN THE SOUTH.  
POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE CONFEDERATE STATES.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.  
BELLIGERENT RIGHTS AT SEA (FROM THE "BOSTON COURIER").  
THE "NEW YORK DAILY NEWS" ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.  
AFFAIRS COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

MR. LINCOLN, after having murdered liberty in the United States, has formally decreed its death. He has proclaimed the suspension of the *habeas corpus* throughout his dominions at the discretion of his officers, civil and military. We are told that "the public generally treat the matter with the greatest unconcern," and such indifference is natural. Practically the *habeas corpus* has long been a dead letter, and Mr. Seward hardly indulged in his habitual exaggeration when he said that by touching a bell on his right hand or on his left he could effect the arrest of any citizen in any part of the Union; and as the injury has been so meekly borne, the insult is not likely to be resented. What Mr. Lincoln's motive can be in adding insult to injury, and reminding his subjects of their degradation, is not very clear. Perhaps he is a little nervous, and administrators this last kick to be comfortably assured that there is no vitality left in his prostrate victim; or, if there is, he may be warned in time to take proper measures of security for the coming elections.

A public man, troubled with a large private correspondence, adopted the plan of only opening his letters once a week, as he then found that the majority of them no longer needed answering. It is much the same with the Federal reports of military movements. At least half of them are contradicted before they are a week old. As there was no news from Charleston—at least none of a very pleasant complexion—it was announced that the Federal troops occupied half James Island, and that Fort Moultrie had been surrendered. The next mail declared that these assertions were not correct. Up to the 15th September the position was unchanged. Sumter had been almost unmolested since the assault which was so gallantly repulsed. What was the Federal loss in killed and wounded in that affair we have no means of ascertaining, but General Beauregard reports that he captured 113 officers and privates, four boats and three flags. Morris Island is found to be anything but comfortable quarters. The Confederates keep up a constant fire upon the enemy's works, and have exploded a large magazine in Fort Gregg. In the most exposed situations black troops have been placed, which is a proof of Yankee prudence if not of Yankee love. It is cheaper to have negroes shot than to expatriate them, according to Mr. Lincoln's benevolent intention. The casualties reported on the Confederate side are, the explosion of a magazine on James Island, by which a lieutenant and five privates were killed, and the bursting of one of the huge Blakely guns. It is said that General Beauregard does not approve of monster ordnance.

We hear very little about the Federal fleet, except the rumour of a dispute between General Gilmore and Admiral Dahlgren, and that the monitor *Patapsco* has been towed to Port Royal for repairs. The iron-clads are not altogether shot-proof, and now the rough weather

is coming on it will, unless they retire, be seen that they are not storm-proof.

Putting aside the speculations of Wall-street on events to come off and the various guesses about the strength and position of General Bragg's army, the military intelligence of the week from Northern sources is very cheering to the Confederates. The report of the Federal occupation of Little Rock is confirmed, but there is every indication that the enemy will not enjoy quiet possession of the city. The Federals had a skirmish on the 11th of September with General Wheeler, and the Confederates had to retire before a superior force. General Pleasanton is said to have crossed the Rapahannock and captured 100 prisoners and three guns, but another mail is tolerably sure to make the capture of men and guns much less. These are the only advantages claimed by the Federals, and on the other hand they admit a long list of disasters. General Franklin, with a portion of the Texan expedition, attempted to land at Sabine City, was repulsed, and had to retire. One of the Federal gunboats, the *Clifton*, was destroyed; and another, the *Sachem*, was captured with all on board. At Dug Gap, Tennessee, there has been an engagement, and the Federals were driven back. General Buckner has captured 300 Federals. The Federal General Neyley has been driven back at Fair Gap for three miles and a half; but it is stated that the next day he recovered his ground, with the loss of 35 men. The Confederates have crossed the Rapidan and captured 150 men of the New York Cavalry. There is a feeling of uneasiness about the army of Rosecrans. We are also told that a body of 8,000 Confederates in Western Virginia are preparing for an expedition, and that "guerillas" are swarming all along the banks of the Mississippi, so that the river is only open to ironclads.

The *Boston Courier*, in an article the essential portion of which we reproduce elsewhere, boldly challenges Mr. Sumner to cite the authority or usage, under the law of nations, which requires a man-of-war to be fitted in, or sail from, a home port. And it most opportunely brings to mind two facts which had been overlooked in the recent discussions on the subject of belligerent rights at sea. The *Bonhomme Richard*, Paul Jones's famous ship, which destroyed the *Serapis* in the first American Revolution, never was in a home port of the flag she wore. The *Essex*, so efficient under Commodore Porter against this country in the war of 1812, never was in a home port of the flag she wore. Similarly, it challenges the authority which requires, under the law of nations, that prizes should be brought into port for condemnation. We commend this fearless argument of one of the oldest-established and ablest journals in the Federal States to the attention of the Federal apologists in this country.

From a statement in the *New York Times*, copied into the *Washington Intelligence*, the semi-official organ, without contradiction, and which we give elsewhere in full, it appears that Mr. Lincoln has virtually yielded the point of the right of the Confederates to refuse to exchange the officers of negro regiments, and has in practice abandoned his threats of so-called "retaliation." "Officers of such regiments" are informed that they "knew when they entered the service, the peculiar risks incidental to their position, and for the present must endure the disagreeable consequences."

The Alabama Legislature adjourned on the 29th of August. The Act for the reorganization of the militia was passed. It provides for the enumeration of all males from sixteen to sixty, and divides them into two classes. The class first embraces all from sixteen to seventeen, and forty-five to sixty. These constitute the county reserves.

The second class comprises all from seventeen to forty-five. Three districts in North Alabama are exempted from the operation of the law as regards the first class, on account of the presence of the enemy. State and Confederate officers, and others deemed necessary to the community, regardless of age, are included in the first class. A joint committee reported a resolution in favour of the proposition to employ slaves in the military service of the Confederate States. After discussion in the House, the resolution was adopted by a vote of sixty-eight yeas to twelve nays, after striking out the word "military" before service, and "soldiers" at the end of the resolution. The resolution, as amended, reads as follows:—

That it is the duty of Congress to provide by law for the employment in the service of the Confederate States of America, in such situations and in such numbers as may be found absolutely necessary, the able-bodied slaves of the country, whether as pioneers, sappers and miners, cooks, nurses, and teamsters.

Hon. W. C. Rives, of Richmond, a prominent member of the Whig party, so long as parties existed in the South, and who, on account of his former party connections, had been charged by the Northern press with a secret desire for reconstruction, has written an eloquent letter on the present aspect of the struggle, which is published in the *Richmond Whig* of the 1st September. Mr. Rives calmly reviews the position of the belligerents, paints in graphic language the terrible consequences of subjugation; and, comparing the struggle of the South with other memorable contests for independence, draws from the comparison encouragement for renewed efforts and bright hopes of the ultimate issue. We hope in our next impression to find space for this interesting document. General Robert Toombs, of Georgia, has also written a letter in reply to insinuations somewhat similar to those made against Mr. Rives, in which he says, "I can conceive of no extremity to which my country could be reduced in which I would for a single moment entertain any proposition for any union with the North, on any terms whatever."

Governor Letcher's address to the Virginia Assembly is mainly directed to the question of defence. After noticing the ferocity of the invader and his avowed design of desolating the South, the Governor suggests that all able-bodied persons, with the exception of foreigners temporarily residing in the State, shall be enlisted in the militia. He explains that local defence does not mean merely protecting certain counties or cities, but that the militia is liable to serve in any part of Virginia. The Governor recommends the repeal of an Act passed last session, which provided that no Confederate issues of a date anterior to April 6, 1863, should be received for State taxes. The object of this enactment was to induce people to fund their notes, but in practice it is found inconvenient. Governor Letcher announces that a requisition has been made upon him by the Confederate Secretary of War for 5,340 slaves to work on the defences of Wilmington. He directs attention to the necessity of repairing the railroads, and concludes a thoroughly practical address by advising, as a means of putting an end to extortion, the re-enactment of a law passed in 1777 for a similar purpose.

In the course of a debate in the Virginia Assembly on the sequestration of the property of deserters from the army, Mr. Hall, of Wetzell, severely criticised the conduct of the officers in Richmond, and expressed a hope that the Legislature would rebuke President Davis before it adjourned. However ill-founded may be Mr. Hall's censures, and however unjust his imputations, his utterances will do no harm and ought not to excite surprise or anger. License to abuse the Government is inseparable from perfect liberty of speech and publication. Mr. Hall cannot say more bitter things about the Con-



federate President than did some staunch patriots against General Washington during the first War of Independence. The difference is, that Washington had to deal with a powerful opposition, whilst Mr. Davis's policy is only disparaged by an insignificant minority.

In the Virginia Senate, on the 11th instant, Mr. Garrison, of Accomac, submitted a preamble and resolutions, the former representing the propriety of declaring what is the present purpose of the Commonwealth in regard to the war. The resolutions set forth:—

1. That it is the settled determination of Virginia never to yield, come what may.
2. That this being her purpose, every effort to secure peace upon any terms other than the independence of the Confederate States, is treasonable in its efforts, &c.
3. That reverses should nerve the people to greater exertions; and all attempts to sow the seeds of discontent should be boldly resisted and discountenanced; and the 4th reiterates the declaration made by the preceding Legislature in regard to maintaining the integrity of the State.

Mr. Collier has proposed in the Senate of Virginia that, in the event of a majority of the Confederate States agreeing to take similar action, the General Assembly of Virginia shall appoint three Commissioners to proceed to the several United States governors, to appeal from the Federal Administration, and to ask those States to decide by the ballot-box whether or not they will continue to wage war against the South, or will recognise her separate existence without further dispute. Mr. Collier submitted, that if the Confederate Commissioners were refused admission into the Northern States—(the *Richmond Sentinel* suggests that if Mr. Collier were to start on such a mission “he would have abundant leisure to felicitate himself on his practical wisdom in the dungeons of Fort Warren”)—that arbitrary (but in our opinion perfectly justifiable,) act on the part of the Federal Government would demonstrate to the Northern people “the fearful extent of absolute rule over them.” The Northern people need no such demonstration that they are living under an irresponsible despotism. Mr. Collier concludes by a resolution that whilst these peace propositions are being made the military exertions of the Confederacy are not to be relaxed “to advance and establish the course to which we are pledged in our fortunes and by our victories, to the utmost of our talents, to use them in support of the separate independence of these States.” Now, if these harmless, though ridiculous, resolutions had been passed by the Assembly, it would not have implied any want of firmness on the part of the South. All along, the Confederates have been seeking peace, not dominion, at first by negotiation and then by the sword. The blunder that Mr. Collier makes is to suppose that what would have prevented the war will stop it. In 1861 the Northern States might, and would, had they been far-sighted, have refused to plunge into hostilities to please the dominant faction; but now their power has passed away, and can only be recovered by a revolution. But if the acceptance of these foolish resolutions would have been no proof of faintheartedness, the refusal to discuss them, by a vote of 38 to 1, is a demonstration of the determination of the South not to sheathe the sword which the North compelled her to draw, until her enemy acknowledges that her independence is unconquerable.

Remembering the romance of “The Richmond Bread Riots,” which an ingenious Yankee composed to make Europe believe that the South was being starved out, we do not attach much credit to the report of the bread riots in Mobile, particularly in view of the late superabundant harvest. Likely enough there may be a little fire to account for the prodigious puff of smoke that is directed from Memphis to blind our eyes. However this may be, the clumsy Northern version of the affair informs us that the Confederate soldiers, unlike the Federal soldiers, refuse to make war on women and children. And further, the Northern despatch tells us incidentally, and doubtless accidentally, that the civil, not the military, force was protecting the public peace. A merchant, we are told, who struck a woman, was arrested by the police and punished. The peaceful citizens of the North have good cause to envy the mild and considerate treatment of evil-disposed citizens in the South.

The telegraph has this week brought us what boys call stale news. It has given us a summary of Mr. Seward's circular, which was discussed in the English papers about a month since; and it has announced that there is no truth in the reported death of General Pemberton—an item of intelligence which we communicated to the public in our issue of last Thursday.

The *Mobile Register* says that General Lee has proceeded southward, and that in his absence the command of the Army of Virginia has devolved on General Joseph Johnston.

Mr. Sumner's speech was fairly summarised by the telegraph. It is a tissue of virulent, vulgar abuse, against

England, France and the Confederate States. Earl Russell is right in assuming that the object of it is to stir up a foreign war, and Mr. Sumner is right in thinking that the domination of his party depends upon a continuation of hostilities. It will be sufficient criticism of this speech to record that even our contemporary the *Daily News* denounces it as “a disclosure which will be lamented by good patriots in America for a long time to come,” and says that Mr. Sumner has employed an opportunity of promoting peace between the two countries “to lash the irritation of his fellow-citizens into rage, and to obscure and pervert the facts of history in the making, by looking at and handling them under the distortion of his own prejudice and passion”—that part of his speech is “sadly childish”—and that he has applied all his powers “to raise and kindle the passions of his countrymen” against England. There is, however, a still more decided condemnation of Mr. Sumner. The *Morning Star*, the organ of Mr. John Bright and of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, is frantic in its praises of the villifier and abuser of England. It applies to the speech such terms as “prodigious eloquence,” “periods of classic beauty,” “fervid strength,” and avows that, so far as the British Cabinet is concerned, the recognition of the Confederate States as a belligerent Power “was purposely premature. It was intentionally offensive to the one party and pleasing to the other.” The *Star*, however, deserves credit for so frankly confessing the intensity of its anti-English sentiment.

Mr. Stanton has ordered that if any civil power attempts to arrest a military officer for disregarding a writ of *habeas corpus* it is to be resisted by any and all means at command; which is an intimation to State authorities that no interference will be permitted with Mr. Lincoln's decrees, and an encouragement to the soldiery not to be sparing in the use of ball and bayonet. Judge Betts, who in the Prize Courts has already proved himself a pliant tool of despotism, has decided that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation not only prevents the further issue of writs of *habeas corpus*, but puts an end to all pending cases for which writs have been issued. This is a curious illustration of the truth of Earl Russell's declaration, that “in the courts of justice in America the common law of England is constantly studied—the same spirit of liberty animates us both.”

The *Charleston Mercury* says the Confederate casualties in the struggle for Morris Island have been 700 killed, wounded, and missing.

We elsewhere publish the proclamation of Governor Vance, of North Carolina, in reference to meetings that have been held to oppose certain acts of the Confederate Congress. Such opposition is no doubt untimely, but it is a different affair from what the Northern press has represented it to be. Even the unimportant minority that is opposed to the Confederate Administration does not betray the slightest desire to return to the Union.

The clamour for war with England and France is growing louder and louder, and is not confined to the press or the mob. The municipality of New York has offered a public reception to the officers of a Russian frigate visiting New York as a mark of appreciation of Russian fidelity, as distinguished from the conduct of other European Powers.

The Hon. D. W. Voorhees, member of Congress from Indiana, was lately travelling in the same train with a party of soldiers from his own State. The soldiers attempted to hang him because he is a Democrat. He was rescued by the officers, but obliged to leave the train. An incident like this shows what terrible and bloody discord Mr. Lincoln and his faction are sowing in the North.

Some soldiers have mobbed the office of the *Raleigh* (North Carolina) *Standard*; and some citizens have paid the like compliment to the *State Journal* office. In both cases quiet was restored by the presence and entreaties of Governor Vance. These newspaper riots in Raleigh are very suggestive of the difference between the political positions of the North and South. In the United States papers are suppressed by military authority in spite of the wishes of the people; in the Confederate States the free expression of opinion is strictly upheld, and journals, whether for or against the Administration, are protected from outrage, although, as in the case of the *Raleigh Standard*, treasonable articles have made them unpopular. Another difference is, that in the North angry recriminations are settled by bullets, and in the South by words.

There has been a considerable advance in the price of gold in New York. The latest quotation was 35 per cent. premium.

## ENGLAND.

On Saturday, September 26th, Earl Russell was entertained at dinner in the new Town-hall of Blairgowrie by the tenantry on the Meikleour estate and their friends in honour of his Lordship's visit to the district. At the cross of the town an address was presented by the Chief Magistrate, and at the new Town-hall, after the company had assembled, another address was presented by the United Presbyterian minister of Coupar-Angus. After dinner the Earl of Airlie gave “the health of Earl Russell,” and his Lordship replied in a speech of considerable length. At the commencement of his oration his Lordship naively remarked that the people of this country no longer indulged in much excitement about Reform, and cared only for foreign affairs. With regard to these his Lordship first enjoyed a little self-gratulation on the freedom of Italy, to the consummation of which he clearly supposed that he had contributed in an equal degree with Count Cavour or the Emperor of the French. As to Poland, his Lordship said that neither the obligations, the honour, nor the interest of England required that we should go to war for that country. Earl Russell spoke at length on the subject of America. We elsewhere give that portion of his speech.

Alfred Styles, formerly a lieutenant in the Garibaldian army, surrendered to take his trial last week before the Recorder of London to answer the charge of having induced one John Gregory to enlist as a soldier for a foreign Power, to wit, Poland, without the leave and license of Her Majesty the Queen. Not many weeks since this individual appeared before a Metropolitan Magistrate on the same charge, and on that occasion a full account of the method of enlistment employed, the success obtained, and the discovery of the system by the Russian Government, appeared in these columns. In answer to the advertisements published by Mr. Styles 1,100 persons had applied for the imaginary situations, and 250 had been selected as worthy to fight beside the Poles. The prisoner on being arraigned pleaded guilty, and thereupon Mr. Poland, who appeared for the prosecution, stated that on behalf of the Russian Government he proposed that no penalty should be inflicted on Mr. Styles, but that he should merely be required to enter into his own recognisance to appear when called on. The Recorder assented to this course, and the prisoner entered into his own recognisance of £100 to appear. Of course this is a mere safeguard against future activity on the part of Mr. Styles, and should he desist from such attempts he will undoubtedly hear no more about the matter.

The Bishop of Oxford on Thursday last distributed the diplomas of honorary certificates awarded by the University of Oxford to the successful candidates at the Brighton examination held in July. In his address his lordship pointed out with admirable ingenuity how completely the ancient University had adapted herself to the advanced wants of the age by extending her influence among the middle classes and testing the education bestowed upon them. There can be no doubt that the bulk of the middle classes of England is consigned to the care of masters of small schools; that the difficulty of testing the excellence of the respective institutions is too great for parents to solve; and that the Universities, by offering the test of examination to all the private schools of England, have done much to remedy this evil.

The vacant seat in the Court of Exchequer, consequent on the appointment of Baron Wilde as Judge Ordinary, has been filled up by the nomination of Mr. Serjeant Pigott, M.P. for Reading, to the judicial office. Mr. G. Shaw Lefevre, nephew of Viscount Eversley, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, is a candidate for the borough of Reading, and has issued an address declaring his adhesion to Lord Palmerston. At Tamworth two candidates are in the field, namely, the Hon. Mr. Cowper, the son of Lady Palmerston, and Mr. Peel. The former is backed by the influence of Sir Robert Peel, the senior member for the borough. The general impression of Mr. Peel's supporters seems to be that Sir Robert has exercised coercion over his tenants in favour of Mr. Cowper, and many of the electors seem also to consider Sir Robert a mere satellite of Lord Palmerston. Sir Robert has, upon his honour, denied that any coercion has ever been sanctioned by him.

Before the Channel Fleet left the Mersey the leading men connected with the commercial enterprise of Liverpool displayed their liberality and good sense by giving an entertainment to 1000 of the petty officers and sailors marines, and marine artillery of the fleet. Of all the banquets, balls, and scenes of mutual hospitality exercised by the fleet and the people of Liverpool, this dinner must carry off the palm, as indicating the mos



real kindness of heart and the soundest patriotism. The dinner was given in St. George's Hall, and about 200 gentlemen of the Royal Mersey Yacht Club sat down with the 1,000 sailors to a dinner of roast beef and mutton, Allsopp's ale, and grog. The shouts of the men at the loyal toasts, and the stentorian voices joined in the chorus of the popular naval songs, produced a marvellous and unprecedented effect. The toast of "The petty officers and seamen of the fleet" was responded to by a sailor, in one of the most characteristic and eloquent speeches imaginable, and the entertainment was brought to a close with the song of "Rule Britannia." A thousand of the sailors were also invited to the Theatre Royal and the Royal Amphitheatre by the lessee. The fleet has left Liverpool, and is now lying in Kingstown Harbour. In anticipation of its arrival the corporation of Dublin held a meeting, at which Alderman Hudson moved the adoption of an address to the Admiral and officers. The motion having been seconded, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, proprietor and editor of the *Nation*, moved an amendment in a speech of considerable length. Mr. Sullivan, having denounced the report of the committee as one of the meanest instances of evasion he had ever met, and the address as nauseous and flatulent, denied that the visit of the fleet was calculated to awaken recollections of the glories of the past. What glories? When did a British fleet come to Dublin Bay except for invasion? When the address spoke of the British fleet aiding every tyrant-trampled country, such language could not be held by Irishmen. In the time of famine the British Government refused to lend two ships out of its great navy to carry food for Ireland. But there was a Government who heard the wail of Ireland and came to help. That was the Government of free America, who stripped its war ships of their armament, and sent to these shores the produce of American soil. He could understand the Irish people welcoming to their shores such a fleet, but the people of Dublin had no right to use this language to the Channel Fleet. Mr. Martin in reply told Mr. Sullivan that his own speech proved that Ireland was the freest country in the world, for in no other country would a man be permitted to utter such sentiments. On a division the address was carried by an overwhelming majority, only four members having voted against it. The Fleet arrived in Kingstown Harbour on Saturday morning, September 26, and at ten o'clock a.m. the Admiral received deputations from the Royal Irish Yacht Club and the members of the Ballast Board. At noon the Lord Mayor of Dublin, accompanied by large numbers of the Corporation, presented the address to the Admiral, and invited him and the officers to a banquet at the Mansion House. The Liverpool remains in the Mersey to watch Mr. Laird's iron-clads.

The parish of Sible Hedingham, in the county of Essex, has produced and destroyed a wizard. Many a village in England selects the poorest, most retired, and most miserable of its inhabitants to fill that character, but few are eager to destroy their solitary specimen of a race now well-nigh extinct. Curiosity and awe are invariably excited by him, but malice rarely; and his principal value is, that his dread name is an unailing remedy for the correction of intractable children. However, this is, we suppose, a point of civilisation to which Sible Hedingham has not yet attained; and so, just as if the 16th century were still in existence, superstition has succeeded in ducking an unlucky old man to death. It seems that in that village there dwelt a Frenchman more than four-score years of age, deaf and dumb, and poverty-stricken. His dwelling was a miserable hut, and his means of livelihood were the fruits of charity and of his art. No one knew his name or his origin, whence he came and when was matter of obscurity, but at least he was not without cunning, and eager enough to take advantage of the character for witchcraft attributed to him. By silent and savage mutterings and curious signs he gained power over his neighbours, and extorted money from them. Among his victims, imaginary or real, was one Mrs. Smith, of whom the old Frenchman had written that she should sicken in ten days' time. She had so sickened, and remained ill ever since. One evening she met the old man at a public-house and besought him to remove the curse from her, promising him lodging and gold. He obstinately refused to do so, and thereupon the men present proceeded to jostle him about, to drag him to an adjacent brook, from the brook to the deep water of a mill-head, and there to test his powers by the ancient and approved method of "swimming" him. After a complete ducking he was dragged out, and some charitable persons helped him home, but the shock to his system was great, and he died after a few days' illness. The woman Smith and a man named Samuel Stammers, the ringleaders in the affair, were subsequently brought before the magistrates, and were committed for

trial on a charge of manslaughter. It is not a little remarkable that nearly all of the sixty or seventy people concerned in the outrage were of the small tradesman class, and that no agricultural labourers were mixed up in the affair. But, whoever the ringleaders or participants might be, it was, as the magistrates said, a fearful and disgraceful fact, that at the present day an old man should meet with such a fate, and that no one of all the crowd of men and women present should have interfered to save him, or even have told the police of what was going forward. During the trial immense difficulty was found in inducing the witnesses to speak to the facts, and the woman Smith was obviously in the utmost terror. The people of Sible Hedingham were afraid of their wizard even after they had killed him.

In various parts of England Agricultural Associations have been holding their annual meetings. Shows of horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, root crops and machinery, flowers and vegetables, draining and ploughing matches occupy the morning; and the evening is enlivened with a dinner, at which the agriculturists of the neighbourhood attend to converse over the state of the corn-market and the agricultural interest, and to hear addresses from the members for the county and the local magnates. At Walton, in Norfolk, Mr. G. W. P. Bentinck pointed out to his audience the want of representation on the part of the rural districts of this country in the House of Commons, and urged that, in the event of a Reform Bill being introduced, the agriculturists should unite as one man and claim their own rights. At Hitchin Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton presided at the meeting of the Hertfordshire Association, and discoursed on the cattle disease, on drainage, and on the utilisation of sewage, with the art of a philosopher and the experience of a practical farmer. He dwelt forcibly on the advantages of peace to all classes of the community, and the importance of maintaining the British fleet in the highest state of efficiency. Of the American war he said, that "it was unprecedented for the merciless waste of treasure and of kindred blood, and was animated by passions which appear to us at a distance so void of reason, that at this moment the newspapers of the Northern States of America are actually wishing Canada to exchange the disorders and oppressions of British dominion for the mild blessings of American peace and brotherhood."

#### THE CONTINENT.

THE King of Prussia has replied to the sovereigns and the burgomasters of the Free Towns who wrote to him communicating the Austrian project of Federal Reform. He cannot recognise in the project the expression of that real situation and those real needs a respect for which can alone give life and duration to a work of this kind. He cannot, therefore, hesitate to declare, although he does so with regret, that his duty as King of Prussia and German Prince will not permit him to accept the project as the basis of a new Federal Constitution. The preliminary condition of his assent to a radical reform of the existing treaties must be an agreement on these three points: 1. A veto of Prussia and Austria, at least against every Federal war not undertaken to repel an attack upon the Federal territory. 2. Full equality of Prussia with Austria in the presidency of the Bund and the direction of its affairs. 3. A representation of the people, issuing, not from the delegation of assemblies, but from direct elections, according to the population of the several States, and whose attributions in its deliberative concurrence in Federal affairs should form the object of negotiation, but must in any case be more extended than the Austrian project proposes. He has charged his Minister of Foreign Affairs to enter into negotiation with the Austrian Government on the subject.

This letter, which is countersigned by Herr Von Bismarck—King William has a constitutional fit upon him—is only the expression of the conclusions of an elaborate report from the Ministry to the King upon this question. The report commences by claiming for Prussia the initiative of the movement for a development of the Federal Constitution corresponding to the national requirements. It complains that the Austrian Government has not been careful enough, in times like the present, in which the value of the outer and inner security which the Bund assures to every member is so especially evident, to preserve the existing unity and confidence in the guarantees of the existing Federal treaties. On the contrary, the alteration of the Federal Constitution has been asked upon grounds the exposition of which materially shakes confidence in the value and stability of these treaties. The report then criticises the manner in which the Austrian proposals were made, the neglect to consult Prussia in the first instance, the abruptness with which the invitations were issued.

"We cannot," the Ministry say, "resist the impression that the object of the Austrian Cabinet was, not the participation of Prussia in the common work, but the realisation of the separate league, which already, in the first communication to your Majesty of the 3rd August was held in prospect for the case that Prussia should not agree to the propositions of Austria." Coming to the project itself, the Ministry recommend his Majesty to refuse his consent to it, and proceed to subject it to a critical examination. "The relative weakness of the Bund in comparison with the innate strength of the German nation lies in the difficulty so to establish the Central Power, and to provide it with such attributions, that it shall be strong and effective, but at the same time shall spare and maintain the independence of the separate States and the importance of the separate members of the Bund, according to the measure of their own independent power relations." The difficulties of the problem which is stated by Herr Von Bismarck, in the words we have quoted, very clearly, are then referred to. Amongst others, neither Prussia nor Austria can renounce the freedom to regulate their positions to questions of European politics according to the interests of the whole of their monarchies. The Austrian solution of a decision by a majority of votes, is dangerous and unacceptable. "It seems to us indispensable that the Bund should interfere in the relations of European politics only with the concurrence of the two great Powers, and that to each of those Powers should be given a veto at least against a declaration of war, so long as the Federal territory is not attacked." The report proceeds to assign reasons for the requirement of this veto—reasons of considerable weight, but which our space will not allow us to give—and then claims the formal equality of Prussia with Austria in the Bund;—a claim which it founds upon the fact that Prussia has a larger population in the Bund than Austria; and finally declares, that "the element called to reconcile the separate interests of the single States with the interest of the whole of Germany, is only to be found in a representation of the German people;" a representation which must be endowed with larger attributes than those proposed by the Frankfort project; and instead of being composed of delegates from the different Chambers, must proceed from the direct election of the people, according to the measure of population. Herr Von Bismarck then proceeds to dilate in a most edifying manner upon the virtues of popular representation, the only security that the interests of Prussia will be guarded in the new Bund, and reserving all criticism upon the details of the project, recommends his Majesty to refuse his assent to it, and enter into negotiations with Austria for the preparation of a new reform plan on these bases. The report concludes with two most remarkable paragraphs. It says "that the approaching meeting of the Landtag will give the King's Government the opportunity of learning the opinions of the Prussian representation upon the reform project and the principles maintained by the Government in opposition to it; and it does not doubt that the representation of the country will let it be decidedly known that only such alterations of the existing Federal treaties can reckon upon its constitutional assent in which the dignity and the position as a great Power of Prussia, and the interests of the whole German nation, find an equal measure of regard." "The Prussian people forms so important a constituent part of the German and is in its wants and interests, as in its wishes and sentiments, so closely identified with the whole of the German nation, that the vote of the Prussian Landtag will also supply the hitherto wanting bases for estimating the acceptance of the proposed institutions on the part of the German people."

The Prussian Landtag, therefore, does speak the opinions of the Prussian people. Herr Von Bismarck, who has treated it with derision, denied its rights, and threatened it by his organs with suppression, now seeks its support. That he will obtain it so far as the endorsement of the memorandum goes, we have very little doubt. It panders to the Prussian prejudice against, we might say hatred of, Austria, and it adopts, although, of course, without the slightest sincerity, the *nostrum* of a German parliament, controlling everything. That the Prussian deputies will allow their approval of the German policy of the Government, to beguile them into an assent to its violation of liberty in Prussia, is hardly probable. So the Reform question enters upon a new stage. Austria will hardly consent to enter into negotiations upon the basis of Herr Von Bismarck's memorandum—the most valuable document however, which, has yet appeared upon the subject, because it proves, without intending it, that German Unity, as dreamed by Germans, is impossible.

The publication in the *Moniteur* of the despatch of the Polish National Government to Prince Czartoryski has



revived the hopes of the war party in France. It is regarded as a reply to the last Russian despatch and an intimation that the Emperor does not mean to rest content with the failure of the diplomatic intervention. Rumours of changes in the Ministry have been current. The retirement of M. Drouyn de L'Huys has been spoken of, but apparently without any foundation. A more probable rumour points to the speedy retirement of Baron Gros from the London Embassy, and his replacement by Count Walewski, who, it will be remembered, has before occupied the post. This appointment would be construed by the Poles as a favourable sign. In reply to some attacks upon M. Drouyn de L'Huys in the *Presse*, attacks which proceeded upon the principle of Ministerial responsibility, which the existing constitution repudiates, the *Moniteur* has published a note to the effect, that "in comprising in the same blame the general direction of affairs and the manner of treating them, the journal in question misunderstands the spirit of our institutions. Under the present régime, it is from the Sovereign that the idea which directs affairs emanates. The Minister is only responsible for their execution."

The waters in the Rhone and its tributaries have risen to a height which they have not reached since 1849, and most devastating inundations have been the result. The French journals contain accounts of a great destruction as well of life as property. By the last reports the water had fallen.

There is no war intelligence of importance from Poland. The attempt to assassinate General Berg has led to severe measures on the part of the police, by which all persons witnessing any such attack, or residing in a house from which it is made, are held *particeps criminis*, if they do not exert themselves to arrest the offender, and cannot prove that they had no part in his act. According to some accounts the palace of Count Zamoyiski, opposite to which the attempt on General Berg was made, has been handed over to the fury of the soldiers. All accounts speak of the feeling between the soldiers and the population of the city as extremely excited, and presage some dreadful collision in which Warsaw may be reduced to a heap of ashes and corpses.

The speech in which the Emperor of Russia opened the Diet of Finland—assembling now, after fifty years desuetude—is very liberal in its tone. He promises that projects of law for the introduction of necessary reforms shall be laid before it, and gives it what it theoretically possessed before, but did not practically enjoy—the power of the purse.

The Rigsgaad, or Parliament for Denmark proper, has, upon the proposition of the Minister of the Interior, passed a bill empowering the Government to prorogue it, the only mode in which it could be legally made, until January. The reason for this measure was the convocation of the Rigsgaad, or Parliament for Denmark and Schleswig, originally for Holstein and Lauenburg; and the Government and the Rigsgaad did not think that they could profitably legislate, whilst the important business to be submitted to the Rigsgaad was pending. The session of the Rigsgaad was opened on Monday. The Royal speech, read by the President of the Council, promised bills for a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig. These bills have been already presented, and a telegram speaks of them as "showing great progress in the development of liberal ideas in Denmark." The speech further states that the dispute between Denmark and the Federal Diet appears to be approaching a decision. "The Government" says the King, "had declared its readiness to carry out the resolutions of the Diet in Holstein, if they were found compatible with my sovereignty over the federal provinces, and did not impede independent legislation in the other parts of the kingdom." "In case our hopes should not be realised, it is obvious that it would no longer be a question of the federal rights over Holstein, but of the independence of Denmark, who is firmly determined to protect herself against any attack."

The Swedish Government has addressed a note to the Cabinets of Paris and London, drawing their attention to the threatened execution in Holstein, and the danger of a war, which must break out if they do not protect Denmark. In such a war Sweden might be compelled to take an active part, inasmuch as the subjugation of Denmark would endanger her interests.

The King of Holland opened the Dutch Chambers on the 21st ult., in a speech of a very satisfactory character. The relations of the country with other Powers are most amicable; the harvest has been abundant; the produce of the fisheries satisfactory; the situation of the finances of the State is favourable. Projects of law for the revision of the inquest system, for a new code of criminal instruction, for a new organisation of the National Guard,

for colonial reform—the great battle-ground of parties in Holland—for the augmentation of the number of members of the second Chamber in accordance with the increase of population, are to be presented to the Chambers.

The last relations of the Italian Government with the Papacy are now broken. Although the two Powers have long ceased to be represented at their respective courts by Ministers, both have maintained consular agents. A decree, published in the *Turin Gazette* of Saturday, withdraws the *exequatur* of all the Pontifical consuls in the kingdom of Italy. The quarrel is a very pretty one. The Junta of Naples, a body instituted under the new and Draconian laws against brigandage, thought fit to order the Pontifical consul-general at Naples to leave the kingdom immediately, on the ground that he was privy to the brigandage. The Papal Government retorted by withdrawing the *exequatur* of the Italian consul-general in Rome and sending him his passports; and the Italian Government, in its turn, makes a clean sweep of the whole Papal consular service. No doubt these acts of vigour give popularity to the Government, but it is very questionable whether the solution of the Roman question is advanced by them.

The child Queen, Maria Pia—she is not yet sixteen—gave birth to a boy, heir to the throne of Portugal and the Algarves, on Monday.

### ST. DOMINGO.

THE Spaniards found the reconquest of St. Domingo easy enough. Its retention is not so light a task. It will be seen by the following extract from a private letter that the new colony is in a very disturbed condition:—

3rd September, 1863.

The political cauldron is again in a state of ebullition, and the Lord only knows what serious incidents may bubble up before it settles again. An insurrection, to all appearances of a very grave character, has broken out in the Cibao. The head men are not mentioned; it is supposed that they got arms from abroad. The Spanish troops that marched from Santiago against them were beaten with considerable casualties, including the loss of two pieces of artillery. Buceta had a narrow escape; they were obliged to concentrate themselves in Santiago to await the arrival of troops. Porto Plata was attacked on the 27th by the rebels, but the timely arrival of two battalions from Cuba prevented the place from being taken. There was fighting in the streets. The *commandante* in chief of the Cuba battalions was killed. The number of slain and wounded was considerable. Moca, Macoris, and Vega are in arms in favour of the rebellion. The *Comandante da Armas*, Don Esteban Roca, the *Administrador*, *Alcalde*, Mayor, &c., all have got here to-day. They were obliged to leave rather in a hurry. Moya and Pape Pontes are also here, running away from the danger. The villages to the east, as well as to the west, are thus far quiet. Here we are under martial law, but everything tranquil. Santana is here, a little indisposed. As yet no troops have arrived here, but it is said that several battalions are awaited from Cuba and Porto Rico. Spanish blood has flowed this time abundantly. The Lord have mercy on us!

A steamer has just arrived, bringing nineteen wounded from Porto Plata. It is said that families are quitting Porto Plata for Turk's Island. Shops and stores are abandoned.

### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 29.

THERE has been a passage of arms between M. de Girardin and the Direction of the Press, which has furnished the subject of much remark in these dull times, when the vacation still drags its, to journalists, weary length. M. de Girardin has not ceased from the commencement of the diplomatic correspondence with Russia to predict its failure, while he is equally averse to an appeal to arms, his solution for the difficulty being a free Poland in a free Russia. The result having answered his prediction he has sung *Io Pean* rather too loudly, and incurred the indignation of the Foreign-office for his strictures on the Minister. The first idea was to inflict a warning on the *Presse*, but M. de Girardin's pen is so keen a weapon, so skillfully handled, that even the most courageous may be excused for shrinking from such an encounter. The warning was converted into a *communiqué*, a form of censure which carries with it no penalties, and, being only an *ex-officio* contradiction of the article blamed, is no answer. This also was abandoned, and in its place a note was inserted in the *Moniteur* to the effect, that whereas "the *Presse* has thrown the responsibility of the foreign policy of France on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and has blamed the general direction of these affairs as well as the manner of treating them, it has thus misrepresented the spirit of our institutions. Under the present régime the initiation in all affairs (*la pensée qui dirige*) emanates from the sovereign: the minister is only responsible for their execution." This oracle, so far from closing the discussion, has only given rise to a new one. Where does the *pensée* end, and where does the execution begin? For the next few days, unless a new utterance impose silence on the disputants, we are likely to be entertained with a logomachy, such as only French ingenuity could devise.

The *Mémorial Diplomatique* may be considered the official organ of the new empire of Mexico. It announces

positively the Archduke's acceptance of the crown. It gives a positive denial that any guarantee has been required from France or any other country for the loan about to be contracted, the resources of Mexico itself being fully equal to meeting all its engagements. With nearly eight millions of inhabitants and a debt in 1858 of about twenty-nine millions sterling, the revenue was only between eight and nine millions of dollars, or less than two millions sterling, the taxation, direct and indirect, being thus little more than five shillings a head. The value of the imports and exports was seven millions sterling. But under the Spanish Government the mines of gold and silver gave an annual return of six millions sterling, and even now, notwithstanding the abandonment of the greater part of the mines, the produce of those worked exceeds four millions and a-half. Coffee, vanilla, sarsaparilla, and cochineal, with many other valuable productions, are among its exports even now, and only await the application of European capital and energy to yield almost unlimited returns. England is at present in possession of the largest share in the commerce of Mexico. Next comes France, which absorbs one-third of the produce, excepting of the precious metals, and has one-fifth of the whole commercial movement, while that of the United States is only one-tenth. The *Mémorial* contributes also a letter from the Bishop of Puebla, now Archbishop of Mexico and member of the Provisional Government, in which he gives his first impressions of a visit to the Archduke Maximilian at Miramar in 1862. The whole letter is a capital specimen of Spanish phraseology. It would be too long to ask for a place for it *in extenso*, but I cannot resist treating you to the first paragraph:—

My first souvenirs are for you. I arrived here last night at ten o'clock, and at eleven was presented to the most amiable prince, the sight of whom enchants, whose conversation attaches and instructs, the sweetness and gravity of whose manners have such a charm that one forgets the fatigues of the journey, the lateness of the hour, and the want of refreshment, and that to prolong such an interview one would with pleasure give up even the repose of the night. For in this countenance there is ever the profound expression of unparalleled modesty and of the self-denial which sacrifices everything to the happiness of a people whom this prince does not yet know, but whom he nevertheless loves already.

It takes one's breath away to write so long a paragraph, but Spaniards, and this Mexican bishop seems to be true to his origin, have always been famous for the orientalism of their hyperboles. An old French writer of the time of Henri IV. hits off this peculiarity in a capital sketch of a visit to Spain. His half-a-dozen short sentences, hardly taking so much space as the bishop's one, may perhaps find grace with your readers.

Methods that Spain is derived from Sparing by a slight transposition and omission of letters, such as the doctors in philology teach us to look for when we study the origin of words. We visited many of the grandees, and by all were grandly feasted—at least with fine words. Never saw I such banquets of paraphrases. The words were dressed in all sorts of fashions. There were venison pasties, fulsome words encased in a crust of dignity, and there were dry words to be eaten with fresh bread. The entries were composed of those little words, syllables, and letters which are current in prose and verse. Assuredly with these they made us great cheer, but it all passed in apostrophes through our ears. For sweetmeats and dessert we had bowing and scraping, and the stirrup cup was a jest and the password.

I have no wish to lead your readers into error regarding the probability of a speedy recognition of the Confederate Government by France; but, as my last letter was intended to show you, such a step would be highly popular with almost all classes. That it is feared by the revolutionary press, may be judged by articles which have appeared in the *Opinion Nationale* on the Confederate navy and on the present desperate condition of the South. With regard to the navy, after long maintaining that the Florida and Alabama were privateers, in spite of all that had been written proving the contrary, the *Opinion* now concludes, that "it is beyond question that these vessels belong to the military navy of an irregular State, which for two years has gone begging for admission into the family of nations." But the *Opinion* thinks no better of them for this, on the contrary it finds in the quality it at length concedes to them an aggravation of the offences of which it complains. "If they were corsairs their conduct would be most blameworthy, but as ordinary men-of-war it is perfectly odious." The bitterness of such language proves that this party grows daily more apprehensive of the near approach of a decision which they know can only be delayed, but it by no means follows that the step is immediately contemplated. The Emperor has too often shown his wish to act in concert with England on all great questions for it to be safe to calculate that he will again, as in the one case of Italy, act separately. His wishes on this score have been made sufficiently public, and it has been said of him that what he wishes he wishes long and well, but it has been seen that the more steadily his eye is fixed upon an object the slower are his movements.

Captain Maffitt of the Florida is now in Paris, suffering from an old disease which imperatively requires repose. The highest confidence is expressed by those who know his successor in his talents and daring, and we may hope that the Florida has still a long career of success before her. Her new commander's best praise will be that he diminish our regrets for the temporary loss of the old one's services.

The rumours of the recall of Baron Gros from London, with the nomination of M. de Walewski as his successor, are neither confirmed nor altogether contradicted. M. de Walewski's nomination would be considered here as a first move in favour of Poland, to which country he in some sort belongs. It is, however, not probable that for the present at least there will be any change, still the rumours are so persistent that there is reason to suppose they must have had some grounds.

I forgot to mention that the *Constitutionnel* has reproduced the letter in which General Cluseret, of the



Northern army, brands the brigand-like organisation of the corps he has served in. Coming from such a quarter, it is the strongest evidence of the barbarous character the North has given to the struggle, and its appearance in a semi-official journal sufficiently indicates the impression it has made here. The Government Mr. Dayton represents has hardly received a severer blow from the French press, in which the *Constitutionnel* may be considered the highest authority.

#### EARL RUSSELL ON AMERICA.

The following is the portion of Earl Russell's speech at Blairgowrie relating to American affairs. :—

Well, gentlemen, I come now to another question, a question interesting to us all, a question on which I must beg for your attention, because I wish to explain some circumstances in which the character of this country I think has been maligned. I am speaking of what has occurred in what a few years ago were the United States of America. A few years ago we were exulting in the prosperity of that country; we were happy to see a people derived from the same ancestors as ourselves enjoying free institutions, enjoying apparent harmony among one another, and with whom we had, at least just before the civil war broke out, hardly a difference—a difference only with regard to the small island called St. Juan, and which we had proposed to refer to the arbitration of the Swiss Republic. This was the state of affairs when that which we certainly had no part in broke out; when, if I remember rightly, nine of the Southern States of America declared that they would form an independent Republic. Our course on the subject has been attacked and blamed in the bitterest terms—blamed sometimes by the Federals and sometimes by the Confederates. The first offence was felt by the Federals. They said we had no right to grant—so far as we were concerned—to the Confederates the rights of belligerents. Well, now, gentlemen, that question of the rights of belligerents is a question of fact. I put it to you whether, with 5,000,000 people, 5,000,000 I mean of free men declaring themselves in their several States collectively an independent State, we could pass over that as a petty rebellion. Our admirals asked whether the ships they met bearing the Confederate flag should be treated as pirates or no. If we had treated them as pirates we should have been taking part in the contest. (Cheers.) It was impossible to look on the uprising of a community of 5,000,000 people as a mere petty insurrection (hear, hear), or as not having the rights which at all times are given to those who, by their numbers and importance, or by the extent of the territory they possess, are entitled to these rights. (Cheers.) Well, it was said we ought not to have done that because they were a community of slaveholders. Gentlemen, I trust that our abhorrence of slavery is not in the least abated or diminished. (Loud cheers.) For my own part, I consider it one of the most horrible crimes that yet disgraces humanity. (Cheers.) But then, when we are treating of the relations which we bear to a community of men, I doubt whether it would be expedient or useful for humanity that we should introduce that new element of declaring that we will have no relations with a people who permit slavery to exist among them. We have never adopted it yet, we have not adopted it in the case of Spain or Brazil, and I do not believe that the cause of humanity would be served by our adoption of it. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, it was said that these Confederate States were rebels—rebels against the Union. Perhaps, gentlemen, I am not so nice as I ought to be on the subject. But I recollect that we rebelled against Charles I. (a laugh), we rebelled against James II., and the people of New England, not content with these two rebellions, rebelled against George III. (Hear, and laughter.) I am not saying now whether all these rebellions were justifiable or whether they were wrong—I am not saying whether the present rebellion in the Southern States is a justifiable insurrection, or is a great fault or a great crime. But I say that the mere fact of rebellion is not in my eyes a crime of so deep a dye that we must renounce all fellowship and communion and all relationship with those who have been guilty of rebellion. (Loud cheering.) But, certainly, if I look to the declarations of those New England orators—and I have been reading lately, if not the whole, yet a very great part, of the very long speech by Mr. Sumner on the subject, delivered at New York—I own I cannot but wonder to see these men, the offspring, as it were, of three rebellions, as we are the offspring of two rebellions, really speaking, like the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, or Louis XIV. himself, of the dreadful crime and guilt of rebellion. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Well, gentlemen, there came another complaint, and the complaint came this time from those so-called Confederate States, who said that we had, contrary to the Declaration of Paris, contrary to the general international law, permitted a blockade of 3,000 miles of the Southern coast of America. It is quite true we did so. It is quite true—and here perhaps there seemed at least a plausible reason for complaint—that though this blockade was kept up by a sufficient number of ships, yet these ships—many of them adopted into the United States navy and sent to sea in a hurry, and ill-fitted for the purpose—did not keep up that blockade so effectively and so thoroughly as it must have been held an effective blockade required. But still, looking to the law of nations, it was a blockade; it was a blockade which we as a great belligerent Power in former times should have acknowledged. We ourselves had had a blockade of upwards of 2,000 miles, and it did seem to me that we were bound in justice to the Federal States of America to acknowledge the blockade. But there was another reason, I confess, that weighed with me—our people were suffering, and suffering very greatly, for the want of the material which was the great support of their industry. It was a question of self-interest whether we should not break that blockade, but, in my opinion, the name of England would have been for ever infamous if for the sake of interest of any kind we had violated the general laws of nations, and made war with those slaveholding States of America against the Federal States. (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, I am not speaking the sentiments which are peculiar to myself, or to those who have no immediate interest in the question, but these are, I am convinced, the sentiments of that noble-hearted people of Lancashire, who have lived and flourished by their industry, but who would not, I am sure, allow a single spot on the escutcheon of their nation in order to maintain that industry (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well, there came new complaints—a complaint on the part of the Federals that we allowed a ship to leave the port of Liverpool, which afterwards committed depredations on their commerce. Gentleman, it would lead me far if I were to go over all the particulars of the question, but you must know that in order to prove an offence you require such evidence as can be sifted in a court of justice; and it was not till the very day

the Alabama left Liverpool that in the opinion of lawyers we had evidence sufficient to keep the vessel and crew; then I doubt whether if we had brought the evidence before a court of law it would have been found that we had sufficient evidence to condemn her, because, by an evasion of the law, the ship was fitted up without the arms necessary for her equipment, and these arms were conveyed to her in the waters of a foreign country, very far from the jurisdiction of England. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, these questions must be weighed, and I think they will be weighed, as they frequently have been weighed by the Government of the United States of America, in the balance of equity. We know that the Foreign Enlistment Act and the whole law respecting the subject is very difficult of application. The principle is clear enough. If you are asked to sell muskets you may sell muskets to one party or to the other, and so with regard to gunpowder, shells or cannon; and you may sell a ship in the same manner. But, if you, on the one hand, train and drill a regiment with arms in their hands, or allow a regiment to go out with arms in their hands to take part with one of two belligerents, you violate your neutrality and commit an offence against the other belligerents. So in the same way, in regard to ships, if you allow a ship to be armed and go at once to make an attack on a foreign belligerent, you are yourself, according to your own law, taking part in the war, and it is an offence which is punished by the law. But these questions lead, as you will see, to most difficult problems—as to whether, for instance, a thousand persons here may go out as labourers to the Federal States, and in the next place a thousand muskets may go out in another ship, and when they arrive in America these thousand labourers, having had an understanding before, may make a formal engagement and be armed with these thousand muskets; though if that had been done in the territory of the Queen, and on the soil of this country, it would have been an offence. There are other questions with regard to ships that have lately been prepared in this country, because these ships are not like ships which receive the usual equipment known in wars in times past; but they are themselves, without any further armament, formed for acts of offence and war. They are steam-rams, which might be used for the purposes of war without ever touching the shores of the Confederate ports. Well, gentlemen, to permit ships of this kind knowingly to depart from this country—not to enter into any Confederate port, not to enter into the port of a belligerent—would, as you see, expose our good faith to great suspicion; and I feel certain that if, during our war with France, the Americans had sent line-of-battle ships to break our blockade at Brest, whatever reasons they might have urged in support of that, we should have considered it a violation of neutrality. Such is the spirit in which I am prepared to act. Everything that the law of nations requires, everything that our law, that the Foreign Enlistment Act requires, I am prepared to do, and even, if it should be proved to be necessary for the preservation of our neutrality, that the sanction of Parliament should be asked to further measures. In short, to sum up, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to do everything that the duty of neutrality requires—everything that is just to a friendly nation, taking as a principle that we should do to others as we should wish to be done to ourselves. (Loud cheers.) But this we will not do—we will not adopt any measure that we think to be wrong. We will not yield a jot of British law or British right in consequence of the menaces of any foreign Power. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) And now, reverting again to the complaints that have been made, it is singular to observe how jaundiced the minds of some of those who speak in the New England States are on this subject of our conduct. There were some persons, members of the House of Lords, who thought fit to complain on an apparent case of grievance—and not one case, but many cases—of ships of ours that had been seized; ships in some cases passing from neutral ports, in other cases on the sea, but apparently on a legitimate voyage; and it was urged that we ought not to submit to have our vessels thus seized and our commerce thus interrupted. I had to deal with that case, and my answer was that, according to the law of nations, if a ship had an ostensible voyage to a destination which was not her real destination—if she was bound, in fact, to an enemy's port with munitions of war, the belligerent had a right to stop that vessel on the high seas. I said the law had been laid down by Lord Stowell and other great English authorities, and that now we were neutrals I did not think it fit we should depart from a law we had laid down as belligerents. (Cheers.) I said that in America, although there were some of the local courts which had not the authority of such men as Lord Stowell and Sir William Grant, yet there was a Court of Appeal, there was a Supreme Court in the United States which contained, and had for many years contained, men as learned and of as high reputation in the law, and of as unsullied reputation for integrity, as any that have sat in our English courts of justice, and that we ought to wait patiently for the decisions of those tribunals. Now, what is my surprise to find, and what would be your surprise to find, that Mr. Sumner is so prejudiced that he brings these declarations of mine against me, saying that I have diminished the reputation of the American Courts, and that I showed myself biased against the Federal States by the declaration I then made in Parliament? (A gentleman from the Southern States here ejaculated, "He is not to be believed.") I will not detain you further on these subjects; but one remark I must make on the general tendency of these speeches and writings in America. The Government of America discusses these matters very fairly with the English Government. Sometimes we think them quite in the wrong; sometimes they say we are quite in the wrong; but we discuss them fairly, and with regard to the Secretary of State I see no complaint to make. I think he weighs the disadvantages and difficulties of our situation in a very fair and equal balance. But there are others, and Mr. Sumner is one of them, his speech being an epitome almost of all that has been contained in the American press, by whom our conduct is very differently judged. With regard to all these matters there are difficult questions; we may have reason to complain in some instances, and the Federal Republic of America may have reason to complain also. But let us recollect that we are, as I have said, descended from the same ancestors, that in the courts of justice in America the common law of England is constantly studied, and the decisions of our great judges constantly referred to as decisions to be there respected; that our Shakespeare and our Milton are to them classical books as they are to us; that we have the same inheritance of freedom; that many of our institutions, as you may see by reading that excellent book of M. de Tocqueville on America, are identical; that the same spirit of liberty animates us both; that we, after our revolutions chose a constitutional monarchy as the best form of Government, and they after their revolutions chose a republic; but that thus united,

having the same spirit of law, having the same spirit of literature, having the same spirit of freedom, we ought, when this unhappy contest is over, to embrace one another as friends, and that we in the Old World and they in the New ought to be the lights to promote the civilisation of mankind. (Loud cheers.) Now, gentlemen, with these feelings I own I almost lose my patience when I see men, in what is called an oration, heaping up accusation after accusation, and misrepresentation after misrepresentation, all tending to the bloody end of war between these two nations. I cannot but say, are they not satisfied with the blood that has been shed in the last two years?—with that field of Gettysburg where 10,000 corpses of men, most of them in the prime of manhood, were left lying stretched on the ground? Are they not satisfied with that bloodshed, but would they seek to extend to the nations of Europe a new contest in which fresh sacrifices are to be made of human life, of human interest, and of human happiness? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I trust that that will not be the case. I know, at least, that my efforts, such as they are—weak they may be, ineffectual I hope they will not be—will be directed to keep peace between these two nations, and to do everything which I think is just and right towards this people; and, ready to meet attack if we are unjustly attacked, ready to bear our part in the contest, if contest there must be; but yet believing that we ought to make every effort that all these various conflicts may end in peace, in union, and in friendship, I shall at all events have the consciousness that I have done my best to preserve peace between these mighty nations. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is a great subject; it affects the people of this part of the world and of America; it affects the future stage of civilisation; it affects the well-being of the black race, whom it was the crime of our ancestors to introduce to America, and who, if these matters end well, will be, as I believe they are fitted to be, peaceable and intelligent members of a free country (cheers), on behalf of whose welfare we have been ready to make great efforts and to sacrifice much. But we will not sacrifice any of those views of ours to mere pretence. We have as strong feelings for the good of mankind as any people can have; we must maintain our own position; and my belief is that the people of what were the United States, whether they are called Federals or Confederates, will finally do us justice, and that they will observe—as, indeed, they cannot help observing—that in this free country, where there is so much discussion and so much difference of opinion, there are parties, very considerable in number, who sympathise with the Confederates, and other large masses—I believe superior in numbers—who sympathise with the Federals; but whether sympathising with the one or the other we have all embraced in our hearts that sentiment of justice—justice we will do to others, justice we expect for ourselves, and I hope I am interpreting the feelings of your minds when I say that justice ought to prevail.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS IN THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN has issued the following proclamation :—

"By the President of the United States.—A Proclamation.

"Whereas the Constitution of the United States has ordained that privileges of writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it; and whereas a rebellion was existing on the 3rd day of March, 1863, which rebellion is still existing; and whereas, by a statute which was approved on that day, it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled that during the present insurrection the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require, is authorised to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States or any part thereof; and whereas, in the judgment of the President, the public safety does require that the privilege of the said writ shall now be suspended throughout the United States in cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command, or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, or soldiers, or seamen enrolled, draughted, or mustered or enlisted in or belonging to the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war, or to the rules and regulations prescribed for the military or naval service, by authority of the President of the United States, or for resisting a draft, or for any other offence against the military or naval service :

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States in the several cases before-mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one, to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified and revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval service of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension and give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern themselves accordingly, and in conformity with the Constitution and the laws of Congress in such cases made and provided.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed this 15th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1863, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 88th.

"By the President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.  
"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

THE Richmond papers appear to have anticipated the evacuation of Morris Island and the batteries which have held General Gilmore at bay so long. They also concede that Sumter will be abandoned, as it is no longer tenable; but they contend that the safety of the city is in no wise involved in the loss of these outworks—the universal belief at Charleston being that the city would not be taken. It may, and doubtless will be, partially, if not wholly, destroyed by shells thrown from batteries soon to be constructed at Cummings' Point; but its destruction does not include possession of its site or of any portion of the mainland. The *Richmond Dispatch* states, on the authority of a gentleman who left Charleston on Friday of last week, that the troubles of the attacking forces "have not yet commenced, nor will commence, until they get into the harbour"—the opinion of the informant being that the iron-clads "would never get out of the harbour if they once got in."—*Baltimore Gazette*.



## THE HON. EDWARD ELLICE ON AMERICA.

(From the Times, of September 21.)

Not half-a-dozen living Europeans so early travelled and traded on the Northern American continent, or had personally seen so much of the growth and progress of Transatlantic population, trade, and commerce. Mr. Ellice at that time formed the acquaintance of many of the families of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and, we need scarcely say, of the principal merchants and capitalists of the States. He made several voyages to the New World, and, lastly, in 1859, he again visited the Northern continent, purely from the interest of a traveller desiring to see with his own eyes the social progress since his preceding visit—an interval of some years; and if he had not been restrained by his friends he would have recrossed the Atlantic last year from interest in the causes and probable consequences of the deplorable civil war now raging in the States. He had for years said that he had outlived the American race of statesmen—that Calhoun, Webster, and Clay were the last of that class. He said the old Anglo-Saxon material was still left in sufficient abundance for a fresh supply; but that the intelligent, instructed, and wealthy classes had thrown away the staff from their hands by the concession of universal suffrage, and an equal vote to every foreigner who had landed twelve months on the shores of America. This fatal political mistake he said was aggravated by the weakness of the Executive in a Federal Union with separate States' Rights. For years past he had openly said in society, and written to every correspondent at home and abroad, that a political crisis was impending, which could only involve an internecine civil war—that a contest between Protection and Free Trade, between Slave and Free Labour, and between the gentry of the South and the men of the North, must ensue, terminating in a mortal civil war. He was at Nice when the first blood was shed, and he wrote his opinion home that the contest would be of considerable duration; that it was one practically for boundaries between the two classes of States; that in its earlier courses it would necessitate an inevitable paper currency ending eventually in national bankruptcy and grievous suffering; and that the war must be fought out until it ended in the ultimate independence of the Southerners, or in their temporary conquest and social ruin. The latter result, through good and evil report, he disbelieved; but he held that if the North succeeded by their naval supremacy in subjugating or destroying the South, it would have eventually the worst results for the Confederation. Indeed, he viewed the civil war, as a fact, as proof positive that such a vast extent of territory and increasing population never could many years longer hold together in one nationality; that conflicting interests had and would early rend the States in twain, and that certainly their Federal form of Government was the least calculated to keep together such dissimilar interests; and that the "Rebellion" was a precedent of revolution, which would probably end in three or four distinct governments. Mr. Ellice, in uttering these far-sighted views, declared that for a quarter of a century past some of the most able public men of the South had expressed to him their conviction that the growing and boundless extension of the States had altogether revolutionised the representative system and would render it unmanageable. Ex-Presidents confessed to him that they had not in truth been successors of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. Mr. Ellice was therefore of opinion that the success of the North against the South would be the most fatal consequence of the civil war, and would only hasten the ultimate dissolution of the original Federal Union. We have dwelt thus long on this great Transatlantic subject of the day because the words and correspondence of such a political seer as Mr. Ellice are of much interest and moment. His private correspondence with the States we know has been received with great interest and respect. He never kept exclusive American society. Last year he received Mr. Mason at Glenquoich. The past month he was the host of the Federal Ambassador, Mr. Adams. Mr. Ellice's mind was not contracted; he opened it to men of all opinions, and he used the telescope, not the microscope, in viewing his fellow men and their several governments. Time and another Transatlantic generation will test the truth or fallacy of Mr. Ellice's strong apprehensions.

**SOUTHERN CONFIDENCE.**—The *Baltimore Gazette*, in its news summary, thus discourses on the state of feeling in the South at the latest advices. "There is a fearful amount of incredulity prevalent among the Southern people in regard to their powers of resistance and the eventual result of their struggle for what they are pleased to call 'independence of Northern domination.' Judging by the tone of their papers and by the reasoning—foolish as it may be—of such men as William C. Rives, of Senator Toombs and others, they labour under the lamentable delusion that the cause which Northern journals and Northern politicians declare to be lost is not lost at all. They are even beginning to accept their recent reverses—deeply depressing as they were at first—with a degree of fortitude which is really astonishing in a people that, as we are taught to believe, are on the verge of subjugation. They talk about their armies in the field; the fine spirits, the increasing numbers and abiding confidence of the men composing those armies; and they actually look forward to future victories and final triumph with a placid assurance that is absolutely astonishing to contemplate. It is nothing but sheer hallucination of course; but it seems to have taken the chronic form, and will be correspondingly difficult to eradicate. The loss of Morris Island and its batteries does not appear to seriously distress them; the loss of Knoxville and Chattanooga they regard as only a temporary deprivation of a strip of territory, which Rosecrans and Burnside will be greatly troubled to hold; and they even have the audacity to speculate upon the probability of both these Federal generals being defeated by the numerically weaker forces of Bragg and Buckner.

"Their reliance, too, on the skill of General Lee and the valour of his troops continues to be unbounded, and whilst they deplore his failure to capture the greater portion of the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg, they have still the presumption to imagine he will yet retrieve that disaster by a signal victory at some point not very remote from Washington.

"It is a matter for deep pity that such delusions as these should prevail so extensively throughout the whole of the States south of the Potomac; but candour compels us to say that, so far as we can learn from the articles in their newspapers and the letters of their public men, they are—with here and there an exception—all pervading; and that whilst Northern journals and Northern politicians are discussing how they shall be ruled when they are brought back into the Union, these fanatical Confederates are busying themselves for a continuation of the struggle with the avowed determination to control their own destinies."

## THE UKASE—SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS.

(From the New York Daily News of Sept. 16.)

The writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the land. The entire North has been outlawed, and our judicial structure, by one sweep of the Presidential pen, has been demolished. We live hereafter under martial law. Anyone wearing the Federal uniform can arrest a citizen "for any offence against the military," and the Courts of law shall have no power to intervene. The once free and independent States now form one vast military camp, and all that remains of a Republican Government is a memory and a name.

The *Tribune*, announcing upon its bulletin this intention of despotism, says: "God bless him!"—Abraham Lincoln, Suwarrow, proclaiming the fall of Ismael, wrote "Glory to God and the Empress." The imperial prostitute whose name he thus linked with Divinity was the reproach of the age she lived in, and the curse of her country. The *Tribune's* exploration goes for nothing, if not for sacrilege, when associated with this violation of the most sacred right of American citizenship. We too say, God bless Abraham Lincoln! Bless him with more wisdom, patriotism, and humanity than his proclamation evinces as his attributes. Bless him with a conception of the misfortune he has wrought and the wrong that he is contemplating. Bless him with endowment of reverence for the institutions of his country, and with appreciation of his duty and the obligations of his official oath. But, assuredly, unless repentance and atonement interpose between him and retribution in lieu of blessing, his portion will be the imprecations of his countrymen to the last generation.

What means a suspension of *habeas corpus* upon the eve of momentous State elections? The Federal arms are everywhere in the ascendant. The Administration has passed scatheless, except of moral injury, the ordeal of conscription; the most odious, thus far, of its measures. The North is inoffensive in the face of provocation; sullen, perhaps, but submissive; passive and deprecatory of further injustice and insult. The people are willing and anxious to submit their cause to the ballot-box, and neither turbulence nor violence menace the general repose. Why, then, suspension of *habeas corpus*? Is it to provoke the collision that the people would avoid? Is it because the masses are too obedient and humble, and by their calm propriety thwart the intentions of tyranny and leave no pretext for oppression? Does the despot chafe at the good nature and forbearance of his subjects? If not intended as a goad to popular resentment, the proclamation seems strangely inopportune.

Perhaps, like Gessler's cap, it conveys but a challenge to startle the Tells of the Republic from their apathy, that they may be marked and dealt with. If it means anything it means danger to the Elective Franchise. "Bend, slaves, to Gessler's cap!" if you will, but cling to your Elective Franchise. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are more difficult than Maine to be moulded by fanaticism. Therefore the proclamation.

What will Governor Seymour do to ward off this last blow at State sovereignty and judicial independence? He has promised much, what will he do? His words are excellent; they flow like the gentle streams and please the ear like the melody of harps. But they will not satisfy the demands of the public common sense and love of liberty. What will he do, and when will it be done?

**THE OFFICERS OF NEGRO REGIMENTS.**—A Washington letter dated the 8th of September, published in the *New York Times*, has the following important information relative to an important question which has been interposed by the Confederates in providing for a general exchange of prisoners: "A gentleman from New York, the father of an officer in one of our coloured regiments who is now a prisoner in the hands of the rebels, called on the President to learn what policy would be pursued by the Government in regard to exchanging prisoners, and urged upon the President to consent to no exchanges being made unless the rebels exchange white officers of coloured regiments as other prisoners of war. The President said he would do all in his power to effect the release of these officers and all others who are now prisoners in the South, but he was not prepared, nor would he consent to make the release of officers of coloured regiments an indispensable condition to the renewal of exchanges. This Government was prepared to exchange man for man with the rebels, even should they refuse to release officers of coloured regiments in their hands. This would be done because this Government considered it unfair to make the cases of a few officers a test question, when a much larger number would be benefited by the resumption of exchanges, and the question of exchanging these officers was left open for future consideration. He wished sincerely that they could be released speedily, but Jeff Davis was a party to be consulted, and they could not be exchanged unless by agreement with rebel authorities. The question raised in regard to these officers was not covered by cartel, and officers of these regiments knew, when they entered the service, the peculiar risks incidental to their position, and for the present must endure the disagreeable consequences. The President, however, assured the gentleman that any unusual or barbarous treatment of such officers or the coloured soldiers, would cause retaliation on our part upon the rebel prisoners in our hands."—*National Intelligencer*.

The editor of the *Savannah News*, who was in Charleston the night Gilmore commenced shelling the city, thus describes the scene:—"The scene, as the Yankee incendiary shells came hurling through the air, crushing through the chambers of sleeping women and children, or bursting in the streets, scattering their fragments in every direction, and lighting up the darkness with a sudden glare, was shocking in the extreme. Shell after shell followed at intervals of some ten minutes, each preceded by the sullen roar of the far off battery. Soon the streets in the vicinity where they struck were filled with men, women and children; the former as firemen or soldiers repairing to their alarm posts for duty, the latter hastening—they knew not where—somewhere for safety. While the streets were thus filled with terrified families the rain poured down, adding to the horrors of the scene. The shelling continued for about an hour and a quarter, when it ceased. At two o'clock, when we retired to our chamber in the Mill House, Meeting street was comparatively quiet. From the door of our hotel every shell could be distinctly heard and the point at which it struck pretty nearly determined. We heard of several houses and one church in different parts of the city which were more or less damaged by the shells; but no instance of injury to persons was reported when we left the city yesterday morning. We heard of one very narrow escape, a shell having passed through a chamber in which two young girls were sleeping. The bed was struck and a part of the mosquito bar torn away; but, providentially, neither of the sleepers were hurt."

## THE OUTRAGES OF THE NORTHERN ARMY.

The following memorial has been forwarded to the Foreign Office, for the presentation to Earl Russell:—

To the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The memorial of the executive committee of the Manchester Southern Club humbly sheweth,—That your memorialists desire to call your lordship's attention to a subject of serious and urgent importance. Your memorialists have watched with anxiety the progress of the war in America, by which the Government of the United States designs to subjugate the people of certain seceded states, commonly called the Confederate States, and to deny to them those principles of constitutional liberty, progress, and self-government which have long been regarded as the basis of union between the North American States. Lamentable as the consequences of this war have been, your memorialists, adhering to her Majesty's proclamation of neutrality, have hitherto borne with patience the serious evils inflicted upon them by the derangement of commercial relations between this country and the United States, in the hope that the enlightened people of that country would adopt a reasonable view of their political differences, and agree to a cessation of hostilities. Your memorialists, however, see with grief and alarm that no mitigation of bitterness between the contending parties has yet appeared, but, on the contrary, the warfare has assumed an unrelenting and an exterminating character, so much so, indeed, that notice must be taken thereof by the governments of Europe. Your memorialists believe that, whilst her Majesty's government maintains a strict neutrality, it is not contrary to the usages of nations, much less to the claims of humanity, civilisation, and Christianity, to protest solemnly against the outrages that have disgraced the Federal arms, and rendered all hopes of political reunion utterly impossible. Of these outrages your memorialists especially complain:—Wherever the Northern armies have gone their progress has been marked by a meanness and barbarism which have no parallel in the history of civilised warfare; their robbery of private property; their wanton pillage; destruction of towns and villages, of manufactories and workshops; their revengeful demolition of unprotected farmsteads, agricultural implements and produce; and their massacre of peaceful citizens, and outrages on helpless women and children. If it were necessary to cite special cases for your lordship's examination, we might refer you to the destruction of Pensacola by fire, by the 28th Maine Regiment, on being ordered to New Orleans. For three days and nights the place was enveloped in smoke and flames, the infuriated soldiery pillaging the stores and seizing the property of citizens who had offered no indignity to the Federal troops. Your lordship will remember the wanton destruction of the city of Jacksonville, the particulars of which were given in the *New York Tribune*. The writer says the city with its splendid mansions, warehouses, trees, and orange groves, was committed to the flames by the 6th Connecticut Regiment; and he asks, as if pointing to the vandalism of the fifth century, 'Is not this vindictive, unrelenting war? Have we not attained the European standard? The town of Darien, in Georgia, was burnt by negro troops under command of Colonel Montgomery and officers from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The churches and building had turpentine sprinkled on the floor, and were then set on fire; cattle were shot in the streets, and their carcasses left to rot; all the negroes were forced to accompany the Federal troops at the point of the bayonet, and any attempting to escape were shot through the head. The conduct of too many of the Northern officers has been after the examples of Generals Butler, Turchin, and McNeil; and even General Meade, by a recent order, declares that for any damage to the roads under his command the people residing within ten miles shall be held responsible, and if this be not enough, the entire population shall be forcibly removed beyond his lines, and their property seized for Government use. A London correspondent, speaking of the use of Greek fire in the present siege of Charleston, says:—'Although as an agent of destruction it has no equal, civilisation until now, by that tacit, understanding among Christian nations which respects the use of unnatural weapons, has refrained from its employment, even in the most bloody and desperate campaigns. It has been left for this administration to conjure up this liquid demon, as a fit ally to their purposes of extermination.' Another demoralising proceeding is the exaction of an oath of allegiance from private citizens under conflicting military pressure. This refined degradation has even been exulted in by certain officers of the Northern army. Your memorialists believe such acts to be arbitrary, inhuman, and unjustifiable, even in a military point of view, and calculated to produce only embitterment, retaliation, hatred, and savageness. Your memorialists, therefore, pray your lordship to take these matters into your serious consideration, and to instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington to present a friendly but firm remonstrance to the proper authorities, that if, unhappily, the war must be continued, it may at least be divested of unnecessary cruelty towards unoffending and helpless people. And your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed)

R. G. BEESLEY, Chairman.  
M. N. ELLIOT, Vice-Chairman.  
JAMES ARMSTRONG, Treasurer.  
MATTHEW CHADWICK and T. M.  
WALKER, Hon. Secs.

The following is the reply of the Foreign Office:—

Foreign Office, September 25, 1863.

SIR,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge receipt of the memorial, dated the 15th instant, of the Executive Committee of the Manchester Southern Club, in which they urge the propriety of Her Majesty's Minister at Washington being instructed to present a remonstrance to the United States Government respecting the unrelenting and exterminating character which the war in North America has assumed.

I am to state to you, in reply, that Lord Russell fears that no representation of Her Majesty's Government will do good, but that his Lordship will instruct Her Majesty's Minister at Washington to report on the statements made in your memorial.—I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

E. HAMMOND.

Richard G. Beesley, Esq., Manchester Southern Club.

**THE JACKSON STATUE FUND.**—The total of the contributions for the memorial in honour of Stonewall Jackson, which have at different times been acknowledged in our columns, exceeds £900, and the amount contributed, but not yet paid in, or not yet reported to the treasurer by the collector, are estimated to swell the amount to within a few hundred pounds of the sum required for the projected statue and pedestal. The successful execution of the plan is therefore assured.



ORDER FOR FURLONGHS IN THE ARMY OF  
NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

General Lee has issued the following order relative to furloughs to his command:—In order to allow as many of our brave soldiers to visit their families and friends as can be done consistently with the good of the service, and at the same time give some reward for meritorious conduct, a system of furloughs is hereby instituted in this army. These furloughs will be granted, in the first instance, at the rate of two for every one hundred men present for duty; subsequently, at the rate of one for every one hundred men present for duty. This system will be continued as long as the exigencies of the service will permit. Should the effect not be found prejudicial, commanders of regiments and battalions will forward on each occasion the most urgent and meritorious cases from those recommended by the company officers, for the approval of their superior commander. The time will be regulated according to the following table: Virginia, 15 days; North Carolina, 18 days; South Carolina, 20 days; Georgia and Tennessee, 24 days; Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, 30 days. Furloughs will be granted equally to soldiers from States and districts with which communication is cut off, but in no case will these furloughs carry permission to go within the enemy's lines or pass through them. The time for such cases will be regulated by the number of days allowed for the State in the above list which they intend to visit. The men furloughed will be authorised to bring back stragglers and recruits who may come in their way.

By command of R. E. LEE.

W. H. Taylor, A. A. G.

## BLOCKADE-RUNNING STATISTICS.

List of Vessels entered at the Port of St. George's, Bermuda, from the Port of Wilmington, North Carolina, Confederate States of America, from January 19 to August 25.

Jan. 19.—Cornubia.	July 9.—Robert E. Lee.
Feb. 19.—Cornubia.	July 18.—Venus.
Mar. 23.—Cornubia.	July 21.—Gladiator.
Mar. 24.—Gen. Beauregard.	July 27.—Cornubia.
Mar. 27.—St. George (schooner).	July 27.—Advance.
April 16.—Robert E. Lee.	July 27.—Banshee.
April 21.—Cornubia.	July 27.—Eugenie.
May 22.—Robt. E. Lee.	Aug. 10.—Phantom.
May 29.—Eugenie.	Aug. 13.—Elizabeth.
May 29.—Cornubia.	Aug. 14.—Ella and Annie.
June 11.—Emma.	Aug. 19.—Robert E. Lee.
June 22.—Lady Davis.	Aug. 25.—Eugenie.
June 24.—Eugenie.	

I hereby certify that the above-named vessels have been entered at this office with cargoes of cotton and other merchandise, since the 19th January, 1863.

A. J. M. LITTERT,  
Controller of Customs and N. Laws.

In connection with the above, the following "APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC," published in the *Charleston Courier*, deserves attention:—

CHARLESTON, August 1, 1863.

In July, 1861, the British (Mr. Bunch) and French (M. Belligny) Consuls here received instructions from their Governments to ask the Confederate Government to adopt the principles of the Treaty of Paris of 16th April, 1856, so far as the same referred to the maritime rights of neutrals and to the establishment of blockades.

This was agreed to by the Confederate Government, and an Act in accordance passed by their Congress and approved by President Davis, 13th August, 1861: their assent to the first Article, in relation to privateering, not being asked.

The stipulations of the Treaty of Paris are as follows:—

"Article No. 1.—Privateering is, and remains, abolished.

"Article No. 2.—The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

"Article No. 3.—Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

"Article No. 4.—Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

The parties then remained mutually bound to observe and enforce the second, third and fourth Articles of the Treaty.

The word "really," used in the fourth Article, must mean that the condition thus explained should be interpreted in the strictest manner, both as to the letter and to the spirit; or else the word means nothing at all.

Appended herewith are lists of the arrivals of steamers with cargoes from foreign ports, at Charleston (43) and Wilmington (49), from commencement of the present year, that is, for seven months; there were also numerous arrivals of small sail vessels, of which we have no memorandum. The arrivals at the other ports in the Confederacy we have not here the means of furnishing.

Now, how can England acknowledge the blockade of these two ports of Charleston and Wilmington to be effective, with the fourth clause of the treaty before them in one hand, and these long lists of "access to the coast of the enemy" in the other?

The Confederates say that England, in acknowledging this blockade to be effective, dishonours her signature—treacherously; inasmuch as she disclaims the obligation entailed on her by her signature, after she had asked and obtained the Confederate Government to adopt the treaty, thereby securing to herself the advantages accorded to neutrals under the second and third clauses; whilst she treacherously declines carrying out the fourth clause, the honest enforcement of which was the inducement to the Confederacy for granting the concessions asked for, and contained in the second and third clauses. (See Consul Bunch's despatch to Lord Lyons, dated Charleston, August 16, 1861.)

And the Confederates further say, that the conduct of England in the matter is most unjust, inasmuch as by her thus shirking fulfilment of her written obligation a serious advantage is secured to the Northern Government.

In hope of calling the attention of the British public to this particular point this statement is laid before them; from which they can clearly understand the responsibility of England in the matter, and see how that responsibility is evaded by her present Government.

Arrivals of Steamers with Cargoes from Foreign Ports  
in Charleston—1863.

Jan. —Herald.	May 11.—Britannia.
Jan. 22.—Calypso.	May 13.—Antonica.
Jan. 28.—Flora.	May 13.—Norseman.
Jan. 27.—Douglas.	May 15.—Calypso.
Jan. 29.—Thistle.	May 20.—Margaret & Jessie.
Feb. 14.—Leopard.	May 20.—Ella and Annie.
Feb. 14.—Ruby.	May 20.—Kate.
Feb. 14.—Annie Childs.	May 22.—Beauregard.
Feb. 24.—Havelock.	May 23.—Orion.
Feb. 14.—Ruby.	May 25.—Britannia.
Mar. 1.—Margaret & Jessie.	May 26.—Atlantic.
Mar. 15.—Flora.	June 11.—Antonica.
Mar. 16.—Gertrude.	June 11.—Racon.
Mar. 17.—Ruby.	June 16.—Margaret & Jessie.
Mar. 18.—Calypso.	June 27.—Alice.
Mar. 23.—Antonica.	June 28.—Fannie.
Mar. 24.—Eagle.	July 8.—Junio.
Mar. 24.—Margaret & Jessie.	July 10.—Antonica.
April 10.—Ella and Annie.	July 20.—Margaret & Jessie.
April 12.—Havelock.	July 22.—Alice.
April 26.—Eagle.	July 23.—Fannie.
April 28.—Ella and Annie.	

Total number of vessels .. 43.

Arrivals of Steamers with Cargoes from Foreign Ports in  
Wilmington, North Carolina—1863.

Jan. —Cornubia.	May —Eugenie.
Jan. —Giraffe.	May 22.—Flora.
Feb. —Cornubia.	May 26.—Sirius.
Feb. —Giraffe.	May 28.—Banshee.
Feb. 20.—Eagle.	June 10.—R. E. Lee.
Feb. 21.—Douro.	June —Cornubia.
Feb. 22.—Emma.	June 12.—Gladiator.
Feb. 25.—Granite City.	June 14.—Banshee.
Mar. 3.—Cornubia.	June 15.—Eugenie.
Mar. 15.—Britannia.	June 17.—Arabian.
Mar. 19.—Giraffe.	June 18.—Venus.
Mar. 23.—Lizzie.	June 22.—Flora.
Mar. 29.—Emma.	June 28.—Clyde.
April 1.—Cornubia.	July 7.—Banshee.
April 15.—Flora.	July 11.—Ella and Annie.
April —Pet.	July —Elizabeth.
April 23.—Margaret & Jessie.	July —Hebe.
April —Merrimac.	July —Emma.
April —Charleston.	July 13.—Eugenie.
April 30.—R. E. Lee.	July —Pet.
May 13.—Banshee.	July 14.—Cornubia.
May —Pet.	July 16.—Cronstadt.
May —Cornubia.	July 17.—Phantom.
May 18.—Victory.	July 28.—R. E. Lee.
May —Emma.	

Total number of vessels .. 49.

## PROCLAMATION BY GOVERNOR VANCE.

The Governor (Vance) of North Carolina had issued the following proclamation:—

Whereas, a number of public meetings have recently been held in various portions of the State, in some of which threats have been made of combined resistance to the execution of the laws of Congress in regard to conscription and the collection of taxes, thereby endangering the public peace and tranquility, as well as the common cause of Independence which we have so solemnly engaged to defend; and whereas it is my sworn duty to see all the laws of the land faithfully executed, and quiet and order maintained within our borders:

Now, therefore, I, Zebulon B. Vance, Governor of the State of North Carolina, do issue this my proclamation, commanding all such persons to renounce such evil intentions, and warning them to beware of the criminal and fatal consequences of carrying such threats into execution.

The inalienable and invaluable right of the people to assemble together and consult for the common good, together with its necessary concomitants—the freedom of speech and the press—are secured to you, my countrymen, by the most sacred compact. They shall never find a disturber in me. Yet you will remember that the same instruments which guarantee these great rights also limit you to the exercise of them within the bounds of law, and impose upon me the solemn duty of seeing that these bounds be not transgressed. The Constitution of the Confederate States, and all laws passed in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land. Resistance to them by combination is treason, and without combination is a high crime against the laws of your country. Let no one be deceived. So long as these laws remain upon the statute book they shall be executed. Surely, my countrymen, you would not seek to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another. You will not, knowingly, to the present desolating war with the common enemy, add the horrors of internal strife and entire subversion of law and civil authority! You must not forget the enviable character which you have always maintained as a sober, conservative, and law abiding people; nor would I have you to forget the plain, easy, and constitutional method of redressing your grievances. Meet and denounce any existing laws, if you think proper; you have that right, and instruct your representatives in Congress or the State Legislature, as the case may be, to repeal them. Your own chosen servants made those obnoxious laws: they can repeal them, if such are your instructions. If you regard them as unconstitutional, our Supreme Court sits ready to decide upon all cases properly brought before it. Its decisions are final in the State of North Carolina, and shall be executed while the power remains in your Executive to enforce any law. There is no grievance to redress and no proposition to be made but can be most beneficially effected in the way our fathers marked out by the ballot-box and the other constitutionally appointed means. In times of great public sensibility like the present any departure from this legal channel is revolutionary and dangerous, and tends to the division and distraction of our people.

It is my great desire, and I hope that of all good citizens, that our people should remain united, befall us what may. Should we triumph in the great struggle for Independence, let no feelings of revenge, no bitterness, mar the rejoicing of that glorious day. Should we fail, and come short of that great object for which we have struggled so long and bled so freely, let not our strifes and domestic feuds add to the bitterness of defeat.

Attempts suddenly to change the existing order of things would only result in bloodshed and ruin. I therefore implore you, my countrymen, of all shades of political opinion, to abstain from assembling together for the purpose of denouncing each other, whether at home or in the army, and to avoid seeking any remedy for the evils of the times by other than legal

means and through the proper constituted authorities. We are embarked in the holiest of all causes which can stir the hearts of patriots—the cause of liberty and independence. We are committed to it by every tie that can bind an honourable people. Multitudes of our bravest and best have already sealed it with their blood, while others, giving up all earthly possessions, are either languishing in dungeons or are homeless wanderers through the land, and all have felt, in a greater or less degree, the iron hand of war. A great and glorious nation is struggling to be born, and wondering kingdoms and distant empires are stilled with listening hope and admiration, watching this greatest of human events. Let them not, I pray you, be shocked with the spectacle of domestic strife and petty malignant feuds. Let not our enemy be rejoiced to behold our strong arms and stronger devotion, which have often made him tremble, turned against ourselves. Let us rather show that the God of Liberty is in His holy temple—the hearts of freemen—and bid all the petty bickerings of earth keep silence before Him.

Instead of engaging in this unholy and unpatriotic strife, and threatening to resist the laws of the land and endangering the peace of society, let us prepare diligently and with hopeful hearts for the hardships and sufferings of the coming winter. Heaven has blessed us with abundant crops, but thousands of the poor are unable to purchase. Let us begin in time and use every effort to provide for them and secure them against suffering. And let us exert ourselves to the utmost to return to duty the many brave but misguided men who have left their country's flag in the hour of danger, and God will bless us and our children, and our children's children will thank us for not despairing of the Republic in its darkest hours of disaster, and still more for adhering to and preserving, amid the fiery trials of war, conservative sentiments, and the rights and civil liberties of the young Confederacy.

In witness whereof Zebulon B. Vance, your Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-chief, hath signed these presents and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed.

Done at the city of Raleigh, this 7th day of September, A.D. 1863, and in the year of American Independence the 88th.

Z. B. VANCE.

CHARLES SUMNER.—In reference to the recent philippic of this notorious personage against England and France, we find the following just appreciation of the man himself, and of the political significance of his words, in the *Standard* of 23rd ult.—"Individually he is entitled to no sort of credit. He, in some part, gained his fame and political position by being severely caned, and by parading, after the fashion of Mr. James Gordon Bennett, the marks of his stripes before Europe and America. The harangue which provoked the chastisement, the meek forbearance with which it was received, and the pitiable appeal with which the sufferer proclaimed his misfortune and begged the compassion of the world, sufficiently inform all those who have cared to learn the real history of the affair what manner of man this senator from Massachusetts is. But in his political character he is a personage of some consequence. He is chairman of the Senatorial Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in that position, as a supporter of the present Administration, is acquainted with its views, and holds an office almost equal in dignity and importance to that of Mr. Seward himself. In this capacity he has just been haranguing an audience of women and clergymen—the most bellicose and ferocious elements of Northern society—upon the state of the foreign relations of the Union. His speech seems to have been one long tissue of abuse of England and France, and particularly of the former. We need not be surprised that such a man should accuse us of unfriendly conduct in recognising the belligerent position of the South; for though the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee is well aware that, in the first place, we could not do otherwise, and that, in the second place, but for that recognition, we must have disallowed the blockade, his auditors are ignorant of this, as of many other simple but important facts. But when we find a man in his position openly declaring that England shall be held accountable for the damage done by Confederate cruisers which happen to have been built by English shipwrights, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Federal Government is not far from a declaration of war. We may not be entitled to demand from Mr. Seward an explanation of this language, for Mr. Sumner is not officially a member of the Cabinet. But it is our duty to take note of it, as virtually proceeding from the Federal Government; nor can we doubt that the wild menace that the empire of Mexico shall be swept away by the rising tide of the American people will be accepted by Napoleon III. as a warning to hasten the measure that shall finally deprive the 'American people' of all means of aggression in that quarter. A Southern Confederacy, relieved from the blockade by the French navy, and secured by French aid in possession of the Border States, will be a bulwark against which the Northern 'tide' will break and recoil harmlessly, with as much chance of overwhelming Mexico as of submerging Paris."

ANOTHER MASSACRE BY NEGRO SOLDIERS.—We have unquestionable authority for the truth of the statement below, horrible as it may seem to those who call ours the age of Christianity and civilisation. We give it in the words of the writer:—"On Tuesday night, the 25th ultimo, a party of thirty-eight negro soldiers murdered nine peaceable citizens in cold blood. The facts are as follows, and were related to me by Mr. A. M. Gwin, a planter residing at Brunswick Point, Mississippi.—The party of negroes got to the Hill place about 11 o'clock at night and arrested Mr. Sims and Mr. Hill. They took them with them and proceeded to Mr. Fore's, arriving there at sun-up; arrested him, and started up Deer creek. When a short distance above Mr. Fore's place the prisoners were ordered to stand on the side of the road. When Mr. Fore saw they were to be shot he sprang into the cane; at the same instant the prisoners were fired upon. Mr. Sims and Mr. Hill fell dead. Mr. Fore was shot through the shoulder. They proceeded up the creek to Mr. Clark's place and killed him at his house. They next went to Mr. Johnson's and killed him in the presence of his wife. They next shot Mr. Chaney. They then returned down the creek. The negro in charge of the squad ordered that nothing should be taken from any of the places. Mr. Fore made his way, in great suffering, to the river. A negro man from the Hunt plantation gave the information of what occurred after Mr. Fore made his escape. The wives of the murdered men are at their homes unprotected. Four more were murdered by the same party before they arrived at Hill's plantation, on their way up. Their names I did not learn. All the negroes were in full uniform and armed with muskets, and pistols in their belts. Deer creek is in Issaquena county, Mississippi, and empties into Yazoo river at Haines' Bluff."—*St. Louis (Missouri) Republican*.



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—

At Liverpool, to Wm. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Manchester, F. A. HASTENHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MÜLLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to St. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Navo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), G. W. WHITE, Esq.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1863.

The Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

R. T. Chapman, Esq. . . . .	£ 1 0 0
H. S. Hancckel, Esq. (additional) . . . . .	10 0 0
Miss Prioleau (collected) . . . . .	20 0 0
James Adger, Esq. (additional) . . . . .	50 0 0
B. Smith, Esq. . . . .	1 0 0
Capt. Gale, ship "R. D. Shepherd" . . . . .	3 0 0

The Impending Battles.

THE great armies of the North and South have by this time, in all probability, closed once more in deadly conflict. After months of desultory fighting—the ordinary prelude to those terrific engagements on which in Europe the fate of nations would depend—the opposing hosts have slowly approached each other's lines, with concentrated and recruited strength, and by the next mail we may learn that a fresh blow has been struck at the Confederacy, or that the advancing Federals have again been hurled back, bleeding, shattered, and panic-stricken, by the soldiers of Independence. It would be idle to attempt to shadow forth the grave issue which four-and-twenty hours may reveal. We shall content ourselves with tracing out the movements of the different armies to their battle-field, and leaving our readers to form their own conclusions as to the chances of a struggle in which so many circumstances, that we can take no account of in this country, may powerfully affect the result; observing only that the tone of Southern correspondence, the reports of the condition and numbers of the Southern armies, enable us to look forward with confidence to their present efforts.

It would appear that general actions, at the date of the last despatch from New York, were imminent in Virginia and Eastern Tennessee. In both States the advanced troops of the armies had been in collision, and their lines were almost within rifle-shot. In one or the other a great battle is certain, in both it is probable; but it is difficult to say whether the first blow will be struck on the banks of the Rapidan or in the hilly district of Tennessee. For the moment, however, Rosecrans's advance takes precedence in interest, and the defence of Eastern Tennessee claims to be the turning-point of the conflict. Hitherto, a strange mystery has surrounded the doings of the Confederate armies in this region. Since the battle of Murfreesboro' Bragg's forces have been comparatively idle. From time to time their cavalry under Forrest dashed into the Federal lines, capturing here and there a detachment, and on one occasion a whole brigade; and more than once the correspondents of the New York papers announced a forward movement of the whole army. But the lines of Murfreesboro' were too strong for attack. It was only when Rosecrans issued his order, announcing that the time had come for active operations, and moved forward upon Tullahoma, that the real fighting began. The earliest movements of the Federal army met with little resistance. The Confederates fell rapidly back, contesting now and then a strong position, but giving way before any serious attack; and Rosecrans made cautious but steady way into Eastern Tennessee. It was rumoured and generally

believed that the Confederates would make a stand at Chattanooga, a place of remarkable natural strength on the Tennessee. Chattanooga was reported to be strongly fortified, and capable of six months' resistance to 100,000 men; when it was surrendered without a blow the exultation of the Federals was intense. Bragg's army was declared to be broken up, the General superseded, his soldiers demoralised, in open mutiny, and deserting by thousands, and the backbone of the Confederacy broken. It is not likely that so wary a commander as Rosecrans was deceived; but the faint opposition he met with at Chattanooga led to a further advance of a portion of his army into Georgia. On the road to Lafayette he finds the enemy in considerable force, his numbers increasing daily, and evidently prepared for a great battle. The truth is, that Chattanooga, though easily defensible, was easily turned. Rosecrans' army was numerous enough of itself to mask Chattanooga and make a flank movement, which would have cut off its defenders from Georgia and the Cotton States; and General Bragg drew off the garrison almost without the loss of a man. Simultaneously, however, with Beauregard's advance, Burnside's army of Kentucky moved upon Knoxville, about 100 miles north-west of Chattanooga, and occupied that town, the Confederates retiring before him, but so slowly as to inflict upon his advance a severe blow and capture 300 prisoners. At the latest date Burnside's army was in communication with Rosecrans, and according to Northern accounts their united forces would reach 100,000 men. But these figures are far above the numbers either of them could bring into line of battle. At the latest date Rosecrans had been compelled to take up a defensive position a few miles south-east of Chattanooga. His advance had pushed within a short distance of Lafayette, and had there met with a serious check from a superior force of Confederates, of which the Yankees say very little. It would seem that Bragg's army was slowly closing up for a general action. Of the strength of the Confederate force we cannot attempt to give anything like an exact estimate. The Yankees say that it exceeds the numbers with which Bragg fought at Murfreesboro', and they are doubtless correct. Since that battle the Confederate army of Tennessee has not remained intact, it is true. It is supposed to have given reinforcements to Generals Lee in Virginia and Johnston in Mississippi. But Johnston's army, relieved of any immediate fears about Mississippi and Alabama, has hastened north to Lafayette; troops have been poured in from North and South Carolina; Buckner is in the neighbourhood with a formidable division. Finally, it is stated that three veteran divisions of the army of Virginia, under Longstreet, have been conveyed by railway to East Tennessee. If this be the case, Rosecrans is in a position of considerable peril. His line of communications extends over 250 miles of country, the greater part of it through an intensely hostile population. The Confederates have a superior force of cavalry with which they may seriously impede his transport, and, in the event of his defeat, almost annihilate his army. The locality in which he now finds himself brought to a standstill has been occupied by Bragg's troops for months, and is at all times ill-calculated to sustain an army. He can, therefore, hardly sit down for any length of time and await attack, but he will probably be compelled to remain the assailant. If the Confederates have anything like the strength imputed to them, he will not fare so well as at Murfreesboro'. The fact is, the contraction of the defensive lines of the Confederacy is beginning to tell in their favour. Complete railroad communication between Virginia and the South enables their commander-in-chief to throw superior forces at any given point along the line of railway. General Lee can send 20,000 troops to Lafayette in a quarter of the time that would be necessary to march 5,000 men from Louisville to Chattanooga; and on the day of battle this advantage will tell.

The question is, whether General Lee can spare reinforcements for Tennessee. General Meade appears determined to try. The latest news from the

Rapidan is to the effect that the whole Federal army was moving forward, and that a great battle was expected. It remains to be seen whether Lee has seriously reduced his forces, or whether the rumour of his despatch of troops southward is not a trap. The activity of the Confederates on the Rapidan does not mean much. That might either be dictated by the desire to inspire the belief in an offensive move, or be in itself the commencement of such a movement; it is impossible with our present information to decide which. But there is certainly no reason why General Lee should not have despatched 20,000 men to Bragg, and yet be in a condition to repulse Meade. There are twenty positions between the Rapidan and Richmond where battle might safely be given by an army of 50,000 men against twice the number of assailants; and if these were forced there are the lines of Richmond to fall back upon, a Torres Vedras on a small scale, which remove all anxiety about Richmond. If Meade should persist in an attack, we have little doubt that the result will be, as it has always been upon Virginian soil, a Confederate victory. For the time, the two Confederate armies of Virginia and Tennessee may be regarded as the two wings of one great line of battle; and Lee's tactics would seem to be, according to Northern accounts, a change of front by means of his railway communication, and the massing of a large force to overpower the enemy upon his extreme left. In a few hours we shall know something more precise about his movements, if indeed we do not hear that a great battle has been fought at each extremity of his line.

With these issues pending in Virginia and Tennessee the siege of Charleston has materially lost its interest. What news we have from thence is favourable to the besieged, and promises a very tedious task to the Federals. Fort Sumter still held out, so did Forts Moultrie and Bee. The repulse of the assault upon Sumter was a most brilliant and well-managed affair, and one that for some time will cripple the Federal naval force at Charleston. There was nothing left to General Gilmore but to carry out Mr. Lincoln's instructions and burn Charleston. The destruction of the city and the stone blockade will be lasting records of Mr. Lincoln's administration. At Sabine Pass the Federal army has met with another reverse, two of their gunboats having been captured with their crews in the attempt to force a passage, and the whole expedition having returned *re infecta* to New Orleans. It is in Virginia and Tennessee, however, not at Charleston nor in Texas, that the great battles of the Confederacy are to be fought, and any day may bring us the news that they have been fought and won.

The Press on Mr. Mason's Withdrawal.

NEARLY every paper, great and small, in the country has had its say about the recall of the Confederate Commissioner. It would be interesting to the people of the Confederate States, as well as to our readers, had we the space at our command for reproducing and placing into juxtaposition the various comments of the exponents of British public opinion sitting in judgment on this Southern vindication of national self-respect. As it is, we can only briefly glance at a few of the opinions which, either intrinsically or from the character of those expressing them, best deserve attention. Among these we should place first on the list the *Morning Herald*, as the earliest and most consistent, though by no means blind, friend of the cause of Southern Independence. The *Herald* more than questions the policy of the step taken by the Confederate Government, and indirectly censures President Davis for having been "too sensitive and too precipitate in resenting an affront," and for "having been urged on by popular clamour to an act which his better judgment must disapprove." Our contemporary seems to think that the importance of having the Confederacy represented by a man whose age, antecedents, and personal distinction entitled him to meet Earl



Russell as an equal, and who would be in a position to take advantage of any changes in the disposition of Her Majesty's Government, should have overruled at Richmond all other considerations. At the same time it frankly admits that "when the circumstances of the young Republic are considered, and the provocation which it has received taken into account, President Davis cannot fairly be blamed for it." "The Government of the Confederate States could less afford to overlook a premeditated affront than the Government of a more powerful or more settled kingdom. It is more dependent on self-assertion; it must be more tenacious of its dignity and its rights because some are prepared to outrage them. The nation is young, undeveloped, and struggling with adversity. It had the right to expect more sympathy than it has received in Europe." The *Herald* is, however, severe in its strictures upon Earl Russell, whom it charges not only with an undignified truckling to the threats of the Federal Minister, but with a lamentable want of tact in withholding from the representative of so important a Power those courtesies which would not have committed the Government to political recognition.

It would have been interesting to contrast with this the opinion of the *Morning Post*, which, representing very different political views, has yet been scarcely second to the *Herald* in friendly sympathy for a people who sacrifice so much and fight so gallantly for the sacred right of national independence. The *Post*, however, for some unaccountable reason, has not thought proper to give its comment, and it is the only prominent journal in England or on the Continent which has not even alluded to Mr. Mason's withdrawal. The *Globe*, another Ministerial organ, takes the withdrawal in extremely ill part, and as its tone on this occasion differs from that which it usually adopts towards the South, it is, perhaps, fair to assume that it speaks the sentiments of one less friendly disposed than the Editor. "It is not the practice," says the *Globe*, "to enter into official relations with any State whose independence it does not publicly acknowledge, and all underhand relations, not official, necessarily partake more or less of the nature of intrigue." We cannot see the logic of this reasoning, or its applicability to the case before us. Her Majesty's Minister receives and replies to the memorials of Liverpool shipbuilders, Emancipation Committees, and Anti-slavery Societies, without its being inferred that he commits himself to the peculiar views of such memorialists. It is deemed his duty to inform himself accurately, through all the channels open to him, whether official or unofficial, of all that it imports the State to know, and to take cognizance of whatever interests the public service, in whatever manner it is brought to his notice. But it is not deemed essential to the official dignity of a Minister, or to his independence of action, that he should treat with studied incivility those who from their public or private position have a right to approach him, even though they should be the representatives of an unrecognised Government. Earl Russell's political virtue must be of a very susceptible character if he could not be civil to Mr. Mason without falling under the suspicion of "intrigue." Or does the Foreign Office live so in dread of Mr. Seward and his representative here that it is prudent to guard even against their unjust suspicions? "Mr. Mason," the *Globe* continues, "has lived among us and has used his opportunities to serve the cause he so fitly represents. It passes our comprehension to understand how he, a statesman, bred up under a constitutional Government, or his employers, also men accustomed all their lives to constitutional practices, could have anticipated that we should set aside those practices in order that he might occupy an anomalous position, the advantages of which would be with him, the disadvantages with us. It was no doubt politic to make the attempt, but we cannot believe the originators of the design ever expected that it would succeed." Again we fail to discover any contradistinction between constitutional practices and good manners, unless it is intended to be inferred that statesmen bred up under a constitutional Government should

appear to be ill-bred in their intercourse with foreigners—which is a view that we had supposed confined exclusively to the City of Washington. The *Globe* assures us that "it is not courtesy, but policy, which opens the doors of the French offices and reception-rooms to Mr. Slidell; there is no courtesy or discourtesy about the matter." But we should have preferred its being a trifle more explicit when it adds, "For reasons which he alone knows, the Emperor of the French confers with Mr. Slidell; for reasons which we all know, Earl Russell has not conferred with Mr. Mason." However, we are thankful to the *Globe*, especially in the face of Earl Russell's recent startling declaration, for saying that "the sympathy of the British people is with the Slave State Confederacy," and will not question too closely into its description of the policy of the British Government. The "Confederate agents" will no doubt also take in good part the *Globe's* disinterested hint, "that they are not serving their cause when they attempt to create a hostile feeling against Lord Palmerston's Government."

The *Times*, as usual, sees deeper into the millstone than any one else, and it has discovered a solution of the riddle which has certainly the merit of being plausible and ingenious. It argues that the recall of Mr. Mason cannot proceed from any pique at the cool treatment of Earl Russell, nor from disappointment at the non-success of his mission.

"Such a supposition," it says, "is entirely at variance with the past policy of the Confederate leaders. Whatever their faults may be, hastiness and want of self-restraint are not among them. No men have borne bitter disappointment with more outward calm and impassiveness than they. When the stroke of calamity was sharpest they did not wince, and when baffled hopes and falsified predictions must have tried their courage and their temper they preserved a cheerfulness which must have cost them a strong effort. Similarly the attitude of England has never drawn from them any expression of impatience. . . . If, then, President Davis and his advisers have had their prudence overborne by anger, it is strange that their indignation should not have exploded sooner. If they bore with patience the coldness of Lord Russell and the unfriendly obstinacy of his Government at a time when the star of the Confederacy was in the ascendant, how is it that now, when grievous reverses have been undergone, they should be unable to control themselves? The most trying times to their self-restraint have been when the battles on the Chickahominy or the Rappahannock, the expulsion of the Federals from Texas, and their defeat at Charleston, were unable to move the British Cabinet, though they commanded such admiration and confidence in the French Emperor's mind that he revealed even to casual guests his desire for recognition. We must, then, give up the idea that the withdrawal of Mr. Mason is to be accounted for by any pique or mere angry feeling on the part of the Confederate leaders. These politicians are not the men to show their vexation; if they were, they would undoubtedly have shown it sooner.

Equally untenable is the notion that they think there is so small a chance of their successfully resisting the Federal invasion that it is useless for Mr. Mason to remain. Certainly the Confederate Government is not likely thus to blazon its despondency to the world even if it felt any, which, in spite of the late reverses, is contradicted by its acts and by the testimony of foreign observers in the South."

Hence it concludes:—

The true reason is, we think, to be found in the hopes which the Confederates have conceived of the French Emperor owing to the establishment of a monarchy under French protection in Mexico. The idea that an alliance with France may be formed on terms of mutual advantage—namely, the recognition of the Confederacy by France and Mexico, with, perhaps, some more substantial assistance hereafter, and, on the other hand, the guarantee of the Mexican territory by the Confederacy, and the acceptance of the Austrian monarchy as a neighbour—has, no doubt, prompted the Confederate statesmen to address themselves at last wholly and exclusively to France. They probably think, and it may be with truth, that in sending a pair of Commissioners, and thus taking for granted the united action of France and England, they committed a mistake—unavoidable at the time, but to be remedied as soon as its reality and importance are discovered. Slidell and Mason were always associated in men's minds, and so also were the Cabinets of Paris and London, as regarded American affairs. The South appealed to the two Powers, and it could not be a matter of surprise that one of them should hesitate to decide the case without the other. Now things have changed. One of those Powers has taken a position on the American continent which actually enables this poor, harassed, unrecognised Confederacy to confer a favour. The South has a new neighbour; the distant neutral State to which Mr. Slidell was sent two years ago is now a sort of natural ally, with a common antagonism to the Federal Power. Can it be wondered at, then, that the Confederate politicians desire to free the French

Emperor from any shackle that may repress his liberty of action? The presence of Mr. Mason in London, typifying the unsuccessful appeal to the Anglo-French alliance, has no doubt been considered by the Confederates as such a shackle. "As long as we ask both Governments to recognise us," they think, "England will restrain France, and we shall effect nothing." Another policy is now in action, and the appeal is to France alone, as the protector of Mexican monarchy and the bold challenger of Federal supremacy on the Continent.

Among the cheap daily press, the two rivals for popular favour and "largest circulation" take very opposite views. The *Standard* regrets the withdrawal of Mr. Mason, thinks that it tends to alienation between two countries which have both the highest interests in being mutually friends, and throws the burden of the blame upon Earl Russell. The *Telegraph*, on the other hand, has a theory of its own, and one in which it stands alone in the Press. It intimates that the withdrawal is altogether Mr. Mason's act, and caused solely by his individual disappointment. It says:—

Distinctions have been drawn between the reception accorded to Mr. Slidell in France and that of which his colleague has complained here; but all such comparisons are fallacious, and calculated to mislead even those who make them. There may be differences between the two which would account for the difference in the works they exhibit; but we have nothing before us by which we could judge. It would, indeed, be a very idle affectation to ignore the well-known character of any public man; and it was at an early date assumed that the Commissioner selected to go to France had special qualifications for the more difficult duty; while a sort of antiquated—and, shall we say, obsolete—idea suggested that a gentleman of reserved and dignified manners, distinctly belonging to what is called "the old school," would be peculiarly suitable to aristocratic England. Now we are divulging what is no secret when we say that even in society, in the drawing-room of statesmanship, our departing visitor "made no way." He used no reserves as to the disagreeable circumstance of his having nothing to do, though compatriots of his, as well as of Cavour and of Canning, have declared that they could visit no place without learning something useful to their country, or finding out some way to serve it. However that may be, Mr. Mason seems to have reported home that he was of little use, and could not support "the dignity of his Government" so well as friends and connections had anticipated.

We quote this passage because we are in a position to assert that, however indignantly Mr. Mason has protested against the treatment he received from the Foreign Office (as was shown in the intercepted Confederate despatches), he never spoke except in the most grateful terms of his social reception in this country. On the only occasion he had for publicly expressing his thanks, he used it for this purpose and this alone. Unless the writer in the *Telegraph* was utterly unacquainted with those circles, with which he pretends to be so familiar in the above passage, he must have known that no American minister, and very few ministers of any foreign country, have to a greater extent enjoyed the boundless hospitality and social courtesy for which these islands are famous. It is well known, also, that Mr. Mason is deeply impressed with the kindness shown him by all classes, and is warm and sincere in his acknowledgment of it.

We have space for but few more quotations. One, however, we cannot pass by, because it is from pre-eminently "a people's paper," a penny weekly which has probably few rivals in circulation among the weekly press, and which, moreover, though not generally unfair, is not specially partial to the cause of the South. We quote from the *Sunday Times*:—

We can well believe that Mr. Mason has had to writhe under the supercilious behaviour of Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary. Earl Russell is not a courtier, by nature or by habit. He is simply a cold-hearted egotist; and he would treat Mr. Mason with an appearance of disdain, offensive no doubt to the feelings of a sensitive gentleman. Moreover, we have come to believe that Earl Russell either lives in dread of Yankee ferocity, or else sympathises strongly with the cause of the North. Certainly he has yielded everything of late to the demands of the Administration at Washington, and seems more and more inclined every day to let them have their own way with this country. In these matters we most cordially detest and despise his policy. And so do the great majority of thinking Englishmen.

Another quotation we make on account of the singularly eccentric view which it embodies. The *London Review* concludes an otherwise well-reasoned article:—

Much as we admire the gallantry the Southern States have displayed throughout this war, the sacrifices they have en-



dured for a just cause, the magnificent stand they have made against an enemy having the command of the sea, and superior to them in numbers, equipments, and resources of all kinds, we cannot regret the conduct of our Government, which has decided President Davis to put an end to Mr. Mason's mission. With the Emperor of the French the case is different. It has suited his purpose to conciliate the Confederate States in the person of their Commissioner. Whenever he has appeared to depart from a position of neutrality it has been to take a step in the interests of the South; and for obvious reasons. We have not that interest in the establishment of the Mexican Empire which he has. *If the hope of alliances in the New World were to influence our policy we should rather lean to the North.*

But for the fact that the same idea obviously underlies the whole of Earl Russell's last manifesto in Scotland, it would scarcely be worth while to treat seriously an eccentricity to which even the Anglo-Federal press would hesitate to plead guilty. That the North, with all its interests in rivalry and antagonism to those of Great Britain, with eyes of eager cupidity fixed upon Canada, should be the natural ally of this country, while the South, which in its wildest dream of territorial aggrandisement could never trespass on an inch of British soil, which sells everything that this country needs to purchase, and buys all it has to sell, should by implication be regarded as a rival or a possible enemy, is a hallucination with which we did not expect to meet in the columns of the *London Review*. If, as there is only too much reason to fear, this idea guides the present foreign policy of England, God preserve the ship of State with a blind pilot!

### Lord Russell at Blairgowrie.

THOUGH delivered on a trivial occasion, and to an audience not very numerous or very important, Lord Russell's speech at Blairgowrie is an exposition of policy fuller and more explicit than he has yet thought proper to afford to the House of Lords, or to make public in his despatches. As such it has been treated both by his opponents and his admirers in the Press; as such it seems to deserve from us a notice of some of its most important passages. For now at last we know, from his own mouth, what is the American policy of our Foreign Secretary, what are the principles on which he professes to deal with the two belligerents, and how he considers it right to apply those principles in reference to some of the most important questions raised by the events of the war.

He speaks throughout in a tone of self-vindication; and it is worthy of remark that the charges against which he thinks it is his duty to make a defence are almost uniformly of one kind—charges of a lack of friendliness towards the United States. He scarcely takes notice of the Confederate States; he seems to put them out of court altogether, as if they either had no reason to complain of him, or as if their complaints were altogether beneath his attention. As the Commissioner of those States had but a day or two before notified to the Foreign Secretary the order of recall received from his Government, we can hardly suppose Lord Russell ignorant of the fact that that Government conceives itself to have just cause of dissatisfaction with the policy pursued by England. We must therefore suppose that its dissatisfaction is a matter of such profound indifference to the Foreign Minister of Great Britain that he thinks it unnecessary to allude, in vindicating his American policy before his country, to a matter so insignificant. To his exalted vision, the Confederate States are of no more consequence than Brazil, and the withdrawal of Mr. Mason, on account of the want of courtesy displayed by Lord Russell towards him and his Government—a withdrawal which any statesman of a less lofty spirit would have felt either as a severe rebuke or an exasperating affront, according as he felt it to have been deserved or not—is of no more moment in the eyes of the Foreign Secretary than the absence of M. Moreira in consequence of the affronts offered to his country by the representative of Great Britain. We do not complain of this contempt; we say nothing of the feelings which it is likely to awaken; we express no opinion as to the danger of

breeding ill-will between two nations more closely bound to one another by political and religious sympathies, by the ties of blood, and by mutual dependence, than any others in the world. We simply note the fact that, in defending his own American policy, Lord Russell speaks of the Confederate States almost as if they were not a political entity, certainly as if they were of no account in reckoning up the advantages and disadvantages, the justice or the injustice, of the course he has pursued. It is only of the Federal States that he thinks; them only he desires to conciliate; towards them only does he care that his countrymen should believe that he has acted fairly and in a friendly spirit. It is not that the Confederacy permits the existence of slavery; that ground is distinctly disclaimed. It must be, then, that Lord Russell ranks it with Brazil and Denmark and Greece, as a Power too weak to be reckoned with, too insignificant to have any rights which may interfere with the interests of the strong.

At the same time, we do not believe that this is the general opinion in England of the power or of the rights of the Confederate States; and it certainly is not our own. We shall take the liberty, therefore, in reviewing Lord Russell's speech, to supply its marked and evidently intentional omissions.

Lord Russell's American policy is founded on the principle that we should do as we would have others do by us. This is his avowed purpose; and with this view he recognises an invalid blockade; he allows the export of arms to New York and the enlistment in Ireland of recruits for the Federal army, while he allows supplies destined to find their way to the South to be intercepted on a legitimate voyage to a neutral port, and forbids the sailing of ships thought likely to find their way into the Confederate service. No doubt this is dealing by the Federal Government as we should like it to deal by us. If we were at war with France or Russia we should be very glad if the Federal Government would virtually render itself our ally. But there is another side to the question. If we were at war with a League sufficiently powerful to exclude us from the sea, how should we feel towards a Power which gave to our enemies all they asked and withheld from us all we required? Should we think that Power friendly, or neutral? If not, are we dealing by the Confederates as we would be dealt by? The golden rule is an excellent maxim for a neutral Power; but it is a rule of impartial application. True, we are more likely to stand in the position of the Federals than in that of the Confederates; but to say that we should deal by others as we are likely to have need that they should deal by us is a version of the Christian precept with which Lord Russell would hardly have ventured to scandalise a Scottish audience.

It was hardly necessary to vindicate the recognition of the Southern States as a belligerent Power; for Mr. Lincoln's own faction in the Supreme Court has decided, in the case of the *Hiawatha*, that such recognition was practically accorded by the President before our declaration was issued; the proclamation of blockade virtually acknowledging a state of war, and therefore the existence of two belligerents. But we should like to ask Lord Russell, why this recognition was not followed up in a more consistent spirit? Why was the concession of belligerent privileges in neutral waters so regulated as to give every possible advantage to the Power possessing the stronger navy? Why have the complaints of the Federal Government against the very limited belligerent rights accorded to the South been entertained so respectfully and allowed to prevail so largely? Why, above all, has the representative of a belligerent Power, able to send nearly half a million of men into the field, and twice to invade the enemy's territory, been treated with less attention and courtesy than is usually accorded to every distinguished foreign politician who may have matters of importance to communicate to the British Government? It is easy to show that the recognition accorded was no wrong to the Federal Government; is it so easy to prove that the courtesies refused and the restrictions imposed afford no ground of com-

plaint to the Confederate States? Wisely, on this point, has his Lordship judged assumption easier than proof.

We have elsewhere pointed out the wrong done to the Confederates by the recognition of a blockade which, independently of all other considerations, is certainly invalid by the Articles of the Treaty of Paris accepted by the belligerents at the request of the British Government. Lord Russell omits this consideration entirely; he confesses the inefficiency of the blockade, even while he declares it "valid by the law of nations," and alludes to precedents set by ourselves in the days when, in revenge for the utterly illegal and outrageous proceedings of Napoleon, we ventured on measures not sanctioned by the law of nations, justifiable only by way of reprisals, and which immediately involved us in war with America. We do not think it necessary to say more on this head; but we must notice the very curious reason which Lord Russell gives for respecting the blockade, whether valid or not. We had so strong an interest in breaking it that it was incumbent on us not to do so! No doubt it would have been "infamous" for interest's sake to break the law of nations; though no nation has ever yet deemed itself bound to tolerate belligerent operations which made neutrality less advantageous than war. But what was required was, not to break, but to enforce the law. Lord Russell seems to be aware that his case here is weak; for he drags in a sneer at "those slaveholding States" entirely at variance with his previous declarations. With very little pretence to Quixotism, England has always been a chivalrous nation, in a dull and practical way; but this notion of honour, which forbids us to redress wrong and enforce law because we should make our own advantage by so doing, far exceeds the wildest flights of knight-errantry, and is so far outside the bounds of practical statesmanship that we can hardly suppose Lord Russell to have propounded it for any more serious purpose than that of escaping from a difficulty or eliciting a cheer.

It is true, again, that it would have been wrong to protect blockade-runners against the manifest right of the Federal cruisers to seize ships which, with a destination ostensibly neutral, were really carrying munitions of war to a Southern port. But no one proposed that such protection should be afforded. Lord Russell can scarcely have forgotten that the real complaint preferred was that the *bond fide* trade to Nassau and Matamoros was intercepted by Federal cruisers, not now and then by mistake, but deliberately and systematically; and that, while Mr. Seward pleaded that the vessels seized had really for their destination a Confederate port, the captors and their Prize Courts seized and condemned them simply as carrying contraband of war to ports whence it might find its way into the hands of the Confederates. The demand of British merchants was, not to be protected against the application of international law, but to be secured in the rights which that law allowed them; not to be permitted with impunity to break the blockade of Charleston, but to be defended by their Government against the blockade established at Nassau. Nor can Lord Russell have forgotten the answer he gave to those complaints and demands: that the trade to Nassau justly excited the suspicion and jealousy of the Federal Government, and if British merchants wished to escape annoyance they had better abstain from a trade which was displeasing to the United States. Many are the despatches which have been written, and written in vain, to undo the effect of that reply; which has been caught up and reiterated by the Federal Secretary of State as a rejoinder to every complaint which Lord Russell may make of vexatious seizures and illegal condemnations.

But this matter concerns only our interests; we turn to another in which our national honour is involved. Anxious to "do all that the duty of neutrality requires," Lord Russell has striven to comply with the demands of the Federal Government in regard to purchases of ships made by the Confederates in English ports. If he did not seize the Alabama, that was not his fault. He knew that the law was against him, and that she would not be con-



demned; but he would gladly have seized her in despite of the law, and he has seized and will seize all ships that may in future be reported to be intended for the same purchasers, and if need be will alter the law for that purpose. As the alteration of the law will require the consent of Parliament; as Parliament will probably think that to alter the law for the advantage of one of two belligerents is inconsistent with neutrality; and as, moreover, it may probably question the consistency of such a measure with Lord Russell's lofty promise "never to yield a jot of British law or British right in consequence of the menaces of a foreign Power"—we need not discuss that question now. But we must express our doubts whether "the duty of neutrality" is a thing so wholly onesided as Lord Russell seems to suppose. We believe that there are two parties to this war; that the duty of neutrality is not to do for one of those parties everything we should like him to do for us in like case, and against the other everything that the first probably would do against us, but to hold the balance even between them; not to relax one part of the Enlistment Act to allow the Federal agents to recruit in Ireland, and strain another clause to prevent the Confederates from buying ships in Liverpool; but to allow to each the privileges which are consistent with neutrality, and no more; full freedom of purchase and export, but no liberty to usurp the rights of sovereignty, to enlist soldiers on our shores, or fit out warlike expeditions in our ports. We believe that it is the duty of neutrality to allow the Federals to export cannon and the Confederates to export ships; both trades being equally lawful and equally "contraband of war," but not to allow the Federals to cajole Irishmen into their army, nor the Confederates to despatch an armed expedition from the Mersey. We believe, moreover, that it forms no part of the duty of neutrality to inquire minutely either what are the ultimate intentions of Irish emigrants, or what may ultimately become of ships which have been built in Liverpool for the account of a private speculator who happens to be a citizen of a neutral country. If Lord Russell's views of neutral obligations materially differ from ours, it is probably because he looks at the question only on one side. To him the disproportion of size and strength between the belligerents seems so vast—the United States so big and the Confederate States so small—that he drops the latter altogether out of consideration. The natural consequence is, that his idea of neutrality, succinctly stated, is, to do nothing disagreeable to the Federal Government: an idea which hardly harmonizes with the views generally entertained by his countrymen.

We regret to learn that he is very ill satisfied with the return he has received for the "warm and friendly neutrality" he has shown to the United States. The ingratitude of the North to England is base; but her ingratitude to Lord Russell is simply silly. He is so easily satisfied, that it is hard not to give him all he requires. He is perfectly content with Mr. Seward, who, in civil phrase, and with the appearance of being convinced now and then by the cogent logic of Downing Street, admits every principle laid down by his correspondent, accepts without reserve his interpretation of international law, and takes his own course or allows his colleagues, to take theirs, as if neither Lord Russell, nor international law, nor the displeasure of England, had anything to do with the practical business of politics. Why cannot Mr. Sumner and the Northern press be equally civil? Lord Russell does not care what they do, so long as they say nothing disagreeable. They are welcome to seize English ships, send English residents to gaol without trial, fire on English shores, confiscate English property, and stop the shipbuilding trade of England, if only they will not abuse the Foreign Secretary of England, nor wound his sensibilities by threatening to go to war with us. Nay, so unconquerable is his patience, so long-suffering his attachment to the Federal cause, that even the probability of war does not drive him to think of the necessity of taking precautions against it; and he would shrink with horror from the suggestion that, as he has tried for two years with no sort of success

to conciliate the North, he would do wisely to turn to those whose goodwill has not been effectually alienated from their mother country by all the discourtesy and all the unfriendly acts of her Government, and of whose assistance he may ere long stand sorely in need. Surely so staunch a partisan deserves better treatment than the angry denunciation of Mr. Sumner and the fierce railings of the *New York Herald*.

### The Price of Gold in the South.

A LETTER from the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury to Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, published in our last impression, gives certain important explanations concerning the amount of the Treasury notes in circulation, and suggests considerations in regard to their depreciation which seem to require from us some words of comment.

It appears that the whole debt of the Confederate States, of all kinds, is about seven hundred and seventy millions of dollars, or about a hundred and eighty millions sterling; and of this amount some ninety-five millions sterling, or less, is represented by Treasury notes in the hands of the people; the remainder consisting in moneys, chiefly of the same sort, funded or about to be funded in interest-bearing securities.

Mr. Memminger conceives that the amount of circulation which the country "can bear" is about a hundred and fifty millions of dollars, or above thirty-one millions sterling; and he admits that three times this amount is in circulation. One passage in his letter would appear to convey the idea that this ought to be taken as the measure of the actual depreciation of the currency; *i.e.*, that an issue of three times as much money as the country "can bear" can only, independently of other causes, reduce its value to one-third of its nominal amount—*i.e.*, depreciate it by 66⅔ per cent. But this can hardly be his real meaning. The effect of an increase in supply on the value of any commodity is not necessarily, and in practice rarely is, exactly proportioned to the additional amount thrown upon the market. Take corn, for instance; a diminution of one-third in the supply might so quicken competition as to treble the price; or it might so happen that an increase of 50 per cent. in the supply should so reduce the price that 150 quarters should fetch less than 100 formerly did. Money, though its value probably approximates more closely to that which would be given by a comparison of the amounts in circulation at different times, is still liable to fluctuate in this respect, like other commodities, to an extent far exceeding that of the addition or diminution suffered by the general stock; and Mr. Memminger can hardly have meant to say that, by trebling the quantity in circulation, it is certain that the value will be exactly divided by three.

But what he does say, and what it is necessary to bear carefully in mind, is, that there may be circumstances under which the depreciation of paper money is not fairly measured by the difference between its value and that of gold.

In one sense, we grant, this difference is an exact measure of depreciation. Where gold is the standard, paper-money represents, or professes to represent, the right to receive so much gold; and even where silver is the standard its value in regard to gold is so nearly uniform that we may take the difference between gold and paper as, for all practical purposes, equivalent to the difference between silver and paper. In either case, a note professes to represent so much metallic money; generally it is in form a promise to pay the bearer a certain sum of metallic money. And if, by reason of its non-fulfilment, or of a postponement in its fulfilment, or of a doubt whether or when it will be fulfilled, this promise is of less value than the money promised, the note is said to be depreciated; and it is depreciated to the exact amount of the difference between itself and the metal it represents; that is to say, as we have just seen, to the exact amount of

the difference in value between gold and paper money.

But the word "depreciation" is never used of the currency of any country without a certain implied reproach towards its Government. In the first place, as we know, the existence of even nominal depreciation implies that the paper money is not immediately exchangeable for gold. Now it is held, and justly held, not only by political economists but by all practical men of business—we need not trouble ourselves with the various forms of insanity manifested by currency crotcheteers—that this immediate convertibility of the note is essential to commercial security, and is the best and surest guarantee of the good faith and solvency of the issuers. Therefore no Government which wishes to preserve its credit issues an inconvertible paper when it can avoid so doing; and the issue of inconvertible paper is held to indicate—as in the case of a private firm the issue of bills at an unusually long date would be held to indicate—either bad faith or embarrassment on the part of the issuers. But embarrassment is a fate which may befall almost any Government in the world. Even England has seen a suspension of cash payments; but, having ultimately paid in full, and having meantime done little wrong to any one, she is conceived to have maintained intact her financial honour—the more so that the authority which suspended the convertibility of the note had not the power of issue. Mere inconvertibility, therefore, though it implies that a Government is hard pressed, implies no more; and the Confederate Government need not be ashamed to own that, in the hour of its sorest need, it has been forced to do that which England did after but a few years of war with the French Republic.

Secondly, depreciation is a word of reproach because it involves wrongs, legal or equitable; and in order exactly to understand the value of such reproach, and its applicability in the present case, it is necessary that we should consider the paper money in two different lights: first in regard to its representative, and secondly to its monetary character.

First, then, if paper be of less value than gold, it is depreciated in regard to gold; and the result of this is always a certain amount of legal wrong. A bargained with B, in 1861, to receive in 1862 a certain sum—say 1,000 dollars; that is, as both parties meant, about 830 ounces of silver. Meantime paper takes the place of silver as legal tender; and A receives 1,000 dollars in paper, worth only 500 ounces of silver. It is clear that in this way a legal wrong is done to all creditors on money contracts; to all annuitants, mortgagees, commercial creditors, fundholders, rent-owners, and other persons entitled to receive fixed sums in money.

Secondly, if the purchasing power of paper be less than the purchasing power of gold used to be it is clear that there has been a depreciation of paper in regard to commodities in general; and by this a substantial wrong is done to all persons falling under any of the classes just specified. As, if A be a recipient of 1,000 dollars yearly, which in 1860 would buy him 300 quarters of corn, or 4,000 yards of cloth, or 2,000 pounds of coffee, or 10,000 pounds of meat, and if his 1,000 dollars in paper will now only purchase half of any of those quantities of goods, it is clear that A has sustained a very serious practical injury by the low value of money now as compared with its value in 1860. Fortunately this class of persons is rare in the Confederate States, and therefore comparatively little mischief has been done by the fall which has undoubtedly taken place in the purchasing power of money.

It is clear that the first kind of depreciation, that which inflicts legal wrong, is measured exactly by the difference in value at the present moment between paper and gold. It is clear, that the second kind of depreciation is measurable by the difference between the value of paper now and of gold before its supersession by paper. It is clear, too, that it is this last sort of depreciation only which entails serious practical evil and injustice. And this may or may not be equal in amount to the first, which may be called the nominal or visible depreciation. Whether



it will be equal, or greater, or less, and what the relation between them may be, will depend on the changes that may have taken place in the value of gold since it ceased to be effectively the basis and standard of the currency.

Suppose that a people, inhabiting a land in which iron is not indigenous, used an iron currency. Suppose that in process of time this currency became too cumbrous, and that notes were issued representing, and convertible on demand for, hundred-weights of wrought iron. A war breaks out, a strict blockade is instituted, no more iron can be had; a Government, wanting all that there is for artillery, suspends the payments of its notes during the war. It is supposed that no increased issue takes place; and we know that, as the notes were formerly convertible, there was no excess before the war. What phenomena shall we see? Undoubtedly a vast discrepancy between the values of iron and paper—a vast depreciation of our first kind; but no diminution in the general purchasing power of paper; that is, no depreciation of the second kind. So long as this continues no harm has been done. Legal wrong is compensated by substantial equity. Here is a depreciation reflecting no discredit on the issuers; a depreciation arising simply from a sudden and enormous rise in the value of the represented metal, caused by a sudden and enormous increase of demand, coupled with a suspension by war of the ordinary relations between demand and supply. But the war goes on, the Government wants money, and it is forced to over-issue. Another depreciation takes place, inflicting real and substantial wrong, no doubt, but such wrong as is inseparable from many measures that are habitually adopted by a belligerent fighting on the defensive. What is the measure of this depreciation—the depreciation for which the Government is really responsible, which alone is operative and real? Not, as we have seen, the mere amount of over-issue. Certainly not the difference between the present values of iron and paper: for that difference was great before yet the real depreciation had begun. Clearly, then, the difference between the present value of paper and the original value of iron; or, if that be not ascertainable, the difference between the present and past purchasing power of the currency.

This is the distinction of which Mr. Memminger claims the benefit for the Confederate States: that is to say, he argues that gold has risen, as well as paper fallen in value. Gold in the Confederate States is in the position of iron in the case supposed. By the suspension of specie payments on the one hand it has ceased to be anything more than a commodity purchasable in the market; by the action of the blockade on the other hand it has lost its quality of a commodity of determined and invariable value, arising from the universal and equable demand for it in all countries. Under these circumstances it has become liable to unlimited enhancement in local value; and a great enhancement has taken place for the following reason. The exportable commodities of the Confederate States are generally bulky; it is difficult to carry them away through the blockade; also, though there has been an enhancement in the value of gold, there has been a much greater enhancement in the value of other foreign commodities. Therefore, it does not pay to any body to import gold into the South in order to purchase cotton and other goods difficult of export; while it does pay admirably to import arms, clothing, medicines, luxuries. Hence the supply of gold is cut off. At the same time, when a blockade-runner wishes to realise his profits, he does not like to buy cotton, or tobacco, or other bulky commodities; indeed, he could not in this way obtain a return cargo nearly equal in value to that which he has sold. He therefore buys gold, as containing enormous value in little bulk, and his profits are so great that he can afford to pay a high premium. Hence a great demand for gold, coinciding with the absence of all supplies from without to produce a great enhancement of value. Gold, therefore, has risen in value while paper has fallen; and the difference between them no longer truly measures the real depreciation of the latter. If, as Mr. Mem-

mingers's letter seems to imply, paper will purchase one-sixth only of the amount of gold it professedly represents, there is a nominal depreciation of above 83 per cent.; but if, as he also implies, gold will purchase twice as much as before of all commodities, or of all not affected by the blockade, then the purchasing power of paper is one-third, and not one-sixth, of what it was, and the real depreciation is 66½ per cent. This is about double the lowest depreciation reached by the Northern currency; a difference which, considering the vastly superior wealth of the North, and the far greater room for an expansion of currency there, leaves the Confederacy no cause of shame.

Of course this depreciation will be reduced to nothing whenever the convertibility of the note is restored; and the expense of doing that—the cost of paying off the superfluous currency—added to the debt actually funded, represents the amount to which the Confederate Government has drawn upon future generations for the purchase of national independence, for which the present generation has freely given its blood. We do not think that posterity will complain of the burden. The bitterest grumblers against the national debt are silenced by the answer that it is the price which, in fulfilment of our ancestors' contracts, we pay for not being a province of France; and the people of the South are never likely to grudge the cost incurred to save them from becoming the bondsmen and dependants of the Yankees.

#### POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—The closing of the Confederate Legation in London makes it very desirable that persons in the Confederate States wishing to communicate with friends in Europe about whose address they are uncertain, should have some place to which to direct their letters. I would therefore suggest to you that you will receive all letters from the Confederacy directed to your care, and where you cannot find the owners for them advertise them periodically. I will be responsible for your outlays of postage, as well as the charge for advertising.

In return, any letters for the Confederacy, directed to you, I will undertake to forward, of course without guaranteeing their arrival, but only my best care for their safety and despatch. In this case I shall require a shilling postage-stamp, or its equivalent in foreign postage-stamps, to be enclosed, per single letter of half-ounce, to pay the British postage to the most convenient colonial port to which I may find it expedient to send such letters. The remaining postage to any place within the Confederacy must be paid there on receipt, as there is no arrangement by which it can be prepaid here.

Yours, &c.,

HENRY HOTZE,

17, SAVILE ROW, W., C. S. Commercial Agent.  
LONDON, September 30.

[We need hardly add that we shall be happy to carry out Mr. Hotze's suggestion.—ED. INDEX.]

#### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, September 15.

THERE has been quite an excitement in town since yesterday, created by the accounts from New Orleans of the actual departure of a large expedition from that port, bound for the mouth of the Rio Grande. Seventeen regiments are said to have been already sent forward, and more are to follow. Imagination has already connected the movement with a design to meet the French intervention in Mexico at once, by the counter assertion of the Monroe Doctrine, supported by a competent force. There is wild talk of the speedy occupation of Matamoros by an American army in concert with Juarez, as the constitutional chief of Mexico, and a determination to defeat the Napoleonic project of an Empire, and to establish and maintain a Republic there, as the only form of government to be tolerated on this continent by the Master Republic of the North. Gold went up—or, more properly speaking, the value of the Government currency fell—several per cent. in the anticipation of immediate difficulties with France and the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the war on the Southern States by a French recognition of their independence, to be supported by an alliance, offensive and defensive.

It is possible that these consequences may follow this

military advance upon the Rio Grande frontier, and also possible that the French Emperor, from motives of his own, may not be indisposed to accept such an issue. But there is nothing in the state of the question or in the course of the Administration towards it, as developed to the public, to justify the opinion that they seek a conflict with France at this time on the vague abstraction called the Monroe Doctrine, or any question arising out of affairs in Mexico, or that it will not carefully abstain from any course of action which would bring on war with France.

Indeed, although it is now forty years since Mr. Monroe enunciated in his annual message to Congress what is popularly talked of as the Monroe Doctrine, the Government has never officially defined what was then meant by it, or is understood as the fixed public policy of the country in respect to it; and public men of the highest authority have disagreed widely as to the extent and objects of the declaration. Mr. Calhoun, who was Secretary of War in Mr. Monroe's cabinet at the time, took great pains to explain in the Senate of the United States, during the debates on the Oregon difficulty with England, his understanding that it was not meant to declare a permanent purpose to resist European interposition in the affairs of American States, or to resist European forms of Government, except to prevent the subversion of American republics by absolute external force, where such interposition might be treated as immediately affecting the stability of our own system. The declaration against colonization denied only the right of seizing on any part of the Continent simply as unoccupied. Mr. Monroe himself did not apply his own declarations to the case of a monarchical government in Mexico, for the Empire of Iturbide was established there during his term, without the expression of any dissent by him. The language of his message was exceedingly guarded, so as to present no distinct assertion of purpose which would bring on discussions with foreign Powers; and it has been repeatedly shown, by diplomatic revelations since made, that he had a special purpose, which he had concerted with the English ministry, of which Mr. Canning was the chief, to deter Spain and her European allies from prosecuting a joint plan then under discussion among them, for recovering by force of arms the revolted provinces of South America, which had been for a long time practically independent. The popular interpretation of it, as a perpetual national pledge to drive out European influences and exclude monarchical forms from America, has figured extensively in party journalism and congressional declamation, and been hinted at in diplomatic communications vaguely, and in conferences which were especially and strictly defined to be altogether unofficial; but it has not, in my belief, ever been placed in a formal and authentic form before any foreign Government, so as to demand an acknowledgement or require their assent. There is an apparent exception to this in the circular which was sent in December, 1860, to the diplomatic body in the City of Mexico, on the occasion of the apprehended interference by the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, for mediation between the two internal parties who then disputed for the Government of Mexico. It was in the form of a letter from "the Legation of the United States in Mexico to the representatives of the European Powers," by Mr. Henry La Reintree, as special agent acting under the instructions of Mr. Robert McLane, then United States Minister to Mexico. After treating on the state of parties in Mexico, and the several projects for foreign intervention, the circular goes on to say:—

I am therefore instructed to inform you that all these matters have been fully and duly considered by the Government of the United States, and that the policy heretofore adopted by the Liberals in their intercourse with European Powers in relation to these negotiations for peace, has been approved and adopted by it, and that it has determined to resist any forcible attempt to impose a particular adjustment of the existing conflict against the will and sanction of the people of Mexico, and also any forcible intervention by any Power which looks to the control of the political destiny thereof.

This determination on the part of the Government of the United States has already been explicitly though respectfully declared to all the Powers of Europe.

The Government of the United States does not deny to the European Powers the right to wage honourable warfare, for a sufficient cause, anywhere or against any nation; nor does it deny their right to demand redress for injuries inflicted on their respective subjects, and, if need be, to enforce such demand; but it does deny them the right to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the political independence of the Republic of Mexico, and it will, to the extent of its power, defend the nationality and independence of said Republic.

This settled policy of the Government of the United States I believe is well understood by all the representatives of European Powers in Mexico. It is also fully understood and appreciated by the constitutional Government at Vera Cruz; and, under my instructions, it becomes my duty to cause it to be well understood by all those who, from their public character and the circumstances that characterise the political condition of the Republic, are charged with the responsibilities of political authority, in order that said policy may neither be misunderstood nor misrepresented, to the prejudice of either Mexico or of the United States.

I am further instructed to state in the most explicit manner, that the Government of the United States earnestly desires the pacification of Mexico, and that it will recognise and support any Government that is adopted and accepted by the free choice of the people thereof, and that it will always encourage the friendly efforts of any foreign Power that have for object such a result, notwithstanding its resolution to abstain from all direct participation in any such mediation, and its adherence to the relations already established between it and the constitutional Government of the Republic.

The phrases here are carefully worded, so as to exclude any idea of the right to interfere, or the intention to interfere, except to secure to the Mexicans, against foreign force, the right to choose between their own parties, and the right to select their own form of government. There is not a word to sustain the in-



terpretation of the Monroe Doctrine of excluding monarchical forms from States which might select them for themselves.

This was under the Administration of Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Lincoln was already chosen; and his Cabinet, with Mr. Seward as Secretary of State, came into power in March, 1861. Mr. Corwin was sent immediately to Mexico, and on arriving there he found this among his official papers. He forwarded a copy at once to the Department of State, with the following request for the instructions of the Government upon it anew. It is found in his despatch dated July 29, 1861.

I beg to call your attention to a paper addressed by Mr. La Reintree, acting as special agent of this Legation, under instructions from Mr. McLane, to all the foreign ministers at this place, under date of December 20th last. It must or should be in the State Department, as well as the instructions of Mr. McLane, on which it is based. I wish to know if the Government concurs fully in the views and principles therein set forth.

Mr. Seward did not fail to respond to this immediately in the following terms, under date of August 24. It will be seen that the American secretary took exceptions to some parts of this despatch, and decided that the time was altogether inopportune for the Government of the United States to renew its action in favour of those parts of the declaration to which he yet gave general and vague approval.

To answer this question broadly in the affirmative would be to commit it (the United States Government) to the opinions expressed by the writer of that paper concerning the merits of domestic political parties in Mexico, in transactions which, since that paper was written, have been fully completed and ended.

Again, I am very sure that this Government cherishes the actual independence of Mexico as a cardinal object, to the exclusion of all foreign political intervention, and is willing to take decided measures favouring that independence, as is seen in another despatch to you of this date; yet the present moment does not seem to me an opportune one for formal reassurance of the policy of the Government to foreign nations. Prudence requires that in order to surmount the evils of faction at home we should not unnecessarily provoke debates with foreign countries, but rather seek to repair, as speedily as possible, the prestige which those evils have impaired.

Perhaps it will be sufficient for me to say that it is our wish and our purpose, so far as our action can bear upon the question, that the people of Mexico shall, in every case, be exclusive arbiters of their own political fortunes, and remain free and independent of all foreign intervention and control whatever. I hardly know how it can be necessary for the Government of the United States to say this, in view of the policy and principles set forth in the instructions under which your mission to Mexico began.

The purport of this letter was, that Mr. Corwin should abstain from agitating these questions at all during the continuance of the Southern war in this country. This is more noticeable, because at that very time Mr. Corwin was instructing the Administration on the coming intervention by France, Spain, and Great Britain, and the urgency of immediate interposition by the United States to save Mexico from the consequences. The despatch to Mr. Corwin, referred to by Mr. Seward as of even date with this letter, is not published with the other papers. There is a hiatus in Mr. Seward's letters from No. 16 to No. 21. What the suppressed papers contain is only to be guessed at; but it is inferable that they refer to the only form of relief to Mexico which occurred to Mr. Corwin and Mr. Seward—that of lending her the means to satisfy her foreign creditors, and thus take away the plea for interposition. We know that this failed in both quarters it was proposed. The three Powers declined it as insufficient; and secondly, the Senate of the United States refused to give its assent to the attempt. The intervention came, and has ended in the Empire. Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln did nothing and are pledged to nothing.

I infer, therefore, that Mr. Seward at least does not intend, by the movement on the Rio Grande, to open war with France if he can help it; and I doubt whether the Administration has primarily any design except to seize Western Texas, stop the current of supplies into the Confederacy by the way of Matamoros, and help on its own political schemes at home by subjecting Texas to the military process, by which representatives and senators in Congress are manufactured to support the Administration party against the threatened change of popular sentiment in the loyal States. Texas, under the Resolutions of Annexation, may be divided into four States, and the opportunity will be seized to make this division by some *coup d'état*, and bring in eight Republican senators, and the corresponding representatives, in the other House at once.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, September 30.

LEST another and a better opportunity should not soon occur, it seems right now to point the moral of a speech recently delivered by Mr. W. E. Forster at Leeds, and just reprinted and circulated for our special behoof at Manchester. The better to do this, it is not at all superfluous to observe that Mr. Forster, as a member of Parliament, is looked up to by his friends in the north of England with an amount of respect which, perhaps, has more than a provincial value. In spite of his strong American tendencies, he is believed to have some genuine love left for the institutions of his own country. With all his intellectually cultivated radicalism of the *Daily News* and *Manchester Examiner* complexion, we still credit him with rather more political fairness than purely party men, committed to advanced doctrines, are supposed to be capable of. In short, though he is "views" as to republic, we remind ourselves he is at least a Briton; while, in that honourable character, his patriotism has not yet been blown upon like "John Bright's." This much being kept in sight, it is a significant fact that the Union

and Extermination Society have resorted to the expedient of enlisting a man like Mr. Forster actively in their service just now. Evidently John Bright was too "howling a monster" to be safely entrusted to tell their present ticklish story. Besides, was not Mr. Bright engaged in soliciting Scottish trout-streams? And did not his gentle craftsmanship furnish materials for Court circular paragraphs in English republican journals? Who, then, during the distinguished angler's pensive retirement—who so happy as a chief speaker as the hon. member for Bradford? Or who, on personal rather than vicarious merits, could be so advantageously put forth as the eloquent Federal Mercury to the temporarily sequestered Federal Dove?

Of course we in Manchester have no right of quarrel with Mr. Forster for holding a brief from the professional Unionists of this city. But we have every right to exclaim against him for lending his voice and credit in circulating to our prejudice what we will temperately call the orientalisms promulgated by that body. The notorious "public shindy" in our Free Trade Hall—the true character of which I was at the pains to place beyond doubt in previous letters—is once more flourished in our faces, and by Mr. Forster too, as a unanimous expression of Federal feeling in Manchester. Applying himself to that rough-and-tumble demonstration, Mr. Forster is reported to have argued thus:—

For every nobleman, for every man who has a title before his name, who has taken the side of the South, there have been ten, twenty, and even a hundred hard-working men who have taken the side of the North and freedom. (Cheers.) And they have done so with every temptation and every inducement brought to bear upon them to take the other side. They have been told by ingenious men—I will not say sent for the purpose—that their sufferings—and many of them have been suffering deeply—have been caused by this war, and that the war has been caused by the action of the Federals; and yet such has been their instinctive feeling—they know what liberty is, and ill will it be for England when the working-men forget what liberty is—such was their instinctive feeling that they have refused to be misled, and I do say it will be ungenerous of America to remember anything against England when we can point to that large meeting of the half-starving working men of Manchester in the Free-trade Hall—(cheers)—when they took the lead in saying, "No matter what the sufferings we may endure, no matter what the sacrifices we may have to undergo, we will not allow our Government to depart from the strict principle of neutrality on behalf of the slave-holding Confederacy."

Yankee generosity (for by "America" Mr. Forster obviously means Yankeeedom) may be one of the handsome virtues, if, like Mr. Forster, we could only understand the terms. But, however doubtful that may be, there is one thing very certain, that, if "America" has nothing better to be generous to us for than the great Free Trade Hall meeting about which we hear so much, then indeed we must look to it, or it will infallibly go hard with us. But perhaps, after all, the hon. gentleman was only indulging in a little irony when he pointed to that physical-force row as an argument why Mr. Seward, in his moments of gratitude, should refuse to "remember anything against England." If, on the other hand, Mr. Forster was not joking, then let him be assured that the Union and Emancipation Society have made him the victim of the funniest hoax. To say that no such meeting took place as that described would be to say something very tame and vapid upon a lively theme. Unanimity was strenuously struggled for, but certainly not achieved. On the contrary, it was almost a police matter to separate large numbers of Northerners and Southerners engaged in actual and violent conflict. The uproar that prevailed throughout the hated proceedings was quite unequalled in these latter days of our city, except perhaps on a certain *Sunday*, a few weeks afterwards, when, in the same world-famous building, Mr. Moncreux Conway had to pause for ten minutes in his proselytising sermon to allow some several sets of political Horatii and Curiatii practically "to have it out" on the floor, the fine Free Trade Hall organ (in the words of the *Guardian* next morning) accompanying the *mêlée* it could not drown in a "vigorous tune."

Mr. Forster's friends are loth to believe that he could have made such a speech against his own better knowledge. The Union and Emancipation Society most certainly got at him. Everything he said betrayed its source of inspiration, and nothing more so than the mode in which he deprecated America's wrath by laying the Manchester "demonstration" as a sham peace-offering or a worthless bribe on the altar of his idolatry. But over and above Mr. Forster's constitutionally violent propensity to humble himself before the free and united Republic, there was an especial motive for the hon. gentleman's worship on the occasion in question. The nephew of the famous Dr. Channing was then and there on the same platform. To suppose that this bodily presence had some effect in warming the political devotions of the member for Bradford, is not to make too much allowance for the infirmities of human nature. Moreover, we have the hon. gentleman's own word for it, that the face-to-face contemplation of the rev. gentleman from Washington had all the impressiveness of novelty as well as of fact. "I have now," said Mr. Forster, "what I scarcely ever had before, the opportunity of speaking to an American [clergyman], and Mr. Channing must allow me to say a word or two to him, and, through him, to some of his fellow-countrymen." And Mr. Forster did say a few more words accordingly; but inasmuch as his sayings did not misrepresent Lancashire more than any other English county, we have no particular concern with them, only to remark that they bear a singular family likeness to the calumny he was instrumental in propagating to the discredit of Manchester. Perhaps, therefore, I may fitly dissent the subject with an extract from his *l'été-à-l'été* with Mr. Channing, in the course of which, by the way, the fate of the famous Rochuck motion was amusingly made to do duty in quite a foreign service.

I don't mean to tell Mr. Channing that there are not men in England who have taken the side of the South; but all we ought to be judged by is the action of the country. Mr. Channing and his friends must recollect that although there may have been expressions—talk in favour of the South—there has been no action. There has been talk in the House of Commons in its favour. I have felt when, in advocating a neutral policy, I stated what I considered to be the just claims of the North, that I had not got the feeling of the House on my side; but, on the other hand, if anyone tried to get the House of Commons to press upon the Government to depart from the principles of neutrality and adopted the side of the South, the common sense of the House was proved to be against him. (Hear, hear.) I say, therefore, to the Americans, as wise men you must pay little attention to mere talk or mere writing; you must go by actions; and judged by them we, as a nation, have done nothing against you.

Earl Russell has sent a reply to the memorial recently submitted to his lordship by the executive of the Southern Association here, urging him to instruct her Majesty's Minister at Washington to present to the Federal Cabinet a remonstrance upon the unrelenting and exterminating character of the war they are waging against the Confederate States. The tone of his lordship's reply at least speaks well for the status of the Manchester Southern Club; nor indeed, all things considered, would it have been possible for the Foreign Minister to have turned a deaf ear to representations so modestly yet tellingly set forth as in the memorial emanating from that influential body. At the same time, however, his lordship, though acceding to their request, holds out but faint hopes that any such representations will be attended with appreciable effect. But, whether the remonstrance fail or succeed, the delegates from the Southern Societies throughout the distressed districts have done but their duty in requesting Earl Russell's good offices in the affair; and it is matter for congratulation to find that their efforts have been met by his lordship with something of the generous sympathy which prompted them in the first instance.

Earl Russell's recent review of his own foreign policy is the chief topic of the day. It is remarked that the tone of that portion of his speech which relates to the Confederacy is not quite so comfortable as we had well-nigh grown accustomed to expect from him. After all, the *Star* may be right when it came out yesterday with the pacifying reassurance (to the Yankees) that "*Earl Russell really has principles*." But, lest it should be thought that the Foreign Minister is quite right in his division of public feeling in regard to Federals and Confederates, I cannot do better than let the *Guardian* speak, at least for Lancashire, upon that very important subject:—

It is not easy to conceal traces of the offence which such truculent and dishonest speeches as that recently delivered by Mr. Sumner must give to statesmen of honourable and delicate character, on whose notice such productions are thrust by the prominent position of their authors. The asperity with which Lord Russell refutes the misrepresentation to which he has been personally exposed may be readily excused, but we fear he will have to bear more of it from the same source, unless its power of annoying him be more carefully concealed. As a nation, it has been our lot throughout the whole struggle to be occasionally found fault with by both sides, but by far the more persistently and virulently, of course, by that party which has most abused our generosity and profited by our indulgence. We can only pursue our course, as the Foreign Secretary shows that we have done with impartiality and justice. It is not a theory usually sanctioned by our practice that rebellion is a crime depriving those who are guilty of it of the rights pertaining by law and usage to compact and self-sustaining communities of free men. Having never given countenance to that doctrine in our history, or in our dealings with the subjects of established monarchies, we cannot choose as the most fitting occasion for changing our policy, a case in which the so-called rebels are sovereign States, and the power with which they are contending is a Federal republic, itself the offspring of a comparatively recent revolution. To go even a step out of our way in order to facilitate the ruthless suppression of such a "rebellion" as this would be a course that could not be palliated or excused by any amount of antipathy to slavery; and, if Lord Russell had been rightly supposed to convey that the opinion of a majority of Englishmen could ever wait upon such a course with favour, we should take the liberty of thinking that he was entirely mistaken.

EVENING.

The astonishing announcement has just been made public that we are threatened with another disgraceful riot in the Free Trade Hall. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is to venture, it seems, upon the perilous enterprise, some evening next week, of attempting to lecture Manchester men into Unionism. It may be imagined with what glee the "unsettled humours" of the city are hailing the prospect of another tussle to prove to Mr. Seward, how much they are of one mind. It is possible, however, that the mayor, profiting by past experience, will very properly spare us so severe a test of our unanimity by forbidding the meeting. Failing this, his worship will probably have the satisfaction, after it is all over, of learning that a good many of his fellow-citizens were of Hotspur's thinking as to the free currency of "crack'd crowns," and that, too, on an occasion which, in the interests of the public peace and of good repute, the chief magistrate might have discreetly prevented.

THE Yankees have escaped destruction at Gettysburg, and they have taken Vicksburg, and this they call crushing the Southern Confederacy. What would they have said if they had gained as many triumphs as the Army of the Potomac? Do they imagine that we have less constancy, courage, and endurance than themselves? If they can persevere in a bad cause after a score of defeats, do they suppose that we shall give up home, country, and independence after one or two reverses? If the men of the Revolution could fight on through seven years, with all their cities and a great part of the country in the possession of the British, the Tories, and the Indians, are we going to give up because some of our seaboard towns fall into the hands of the enemy?—*Richmond Dispatch*.



## BELLIGERENT RIGHTS ON THE SEAS.

(From the Boston Courier.)

Notwithstanding the discouragement which would assail us at the outset, in any attempt to read through Mr. Sumner's voluminous speech, there may be a point or two, as we glance at it, worthy of some attention. For example, the celebrated Captain Kidd's case, cited by Mr. Sumner in his late speech, involved no question of the law of nations, as applicable to our relations with Great Britain. Had not the legal studies of his youth been obscured in his recent career as a rascal, the doctrine of "necessity," which knows no law, Mr. Sumner would have seen that his citation proves nothing. Captain Kidd sailed under a commission from the King of England, in command of an English cruiser, and after some years was arrested and charged by the king's prosecutor with piracy on the high seas, and with the murder of one of his crew. Kidd pleaded his commission in defence to the charge of piracy, and it was replied to him that the commission directed him to have the vessels and goods which he captured condemned, and that as he had not followed it, it could not protect him.

This principle, that an agent must follow the authority under which he derives his appointment, is as universally recognized now as then. If the acts of the Alabama were disowned by the Confederate authorities, then, as in Kidd's case, the commission of the captain would not protect him against the charge of piracy; but we cannot see what bearing this case has on the proposition it is cited in the speech to sustain.

Mr. Sumner again becomes very obscure from confounding public armed vessels and privateers, and talking about home ports. A public armed ship, or man-of-war, has no commission whatever. Her character is determined by the commissions of the officers of the Government whose flag she bears. The real question is the legitimacy of the commissions of her officers. As to the home port, what authority or usage is there, under the law of nations, which requires a man-of-war to be fitted in or to sail from a home port? We have never seen any. The *Bonhomme Richard*, in command of John Paul Jones, which captured the *Serapis* in the American Revolution, never was in a home port of the flag she wore. The *Essex*, Jr., so efficient under Commodore Porter, in the war of 1812 against the British, never was in a home port of the flag she wore.

It is the commission and orders of the commander, and not the place of building, nor the mode of acquisition of a man-of-war, which determines her legal character. The law of nations does not require that captures on the high seas should be brought in specie into a home port, for condemnation. Prize proceedings in the practice of England and of the United States frequently occur, where the property is not in custody of the Prize Court. Indeed, we would ask whether any prize proceedings are necessary, except in cases where it is desired to transfer the title of property captured?

If hostile expeditions are fraudulently fitted out in a neutral port, there is just ground for reclamation; but as this is not a proceeding against individuals, but between nations, the material point is, what constitutes a hostile expedition? and what proof exists of one? Mr. Sumner does not meet Lord Palmerston's argument at all. He does not claim that selling contraband of war to a belligerent is a violation of neutrality. Our Government have been as open purchasers of contraband as the Confederates, in English markets. Where then is the line between the legal (?) right to sell contraband of war to a belligerent, and the illegal fitting out of a hostile expedition in a neutral port?

This is the only vital point for public discussion, where the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations might enlighten the public and confound the subtle orators of the English Cabinet. Mr. Sumner is not up on the point, and, evading the issue where the picked men of England stand to guard the gap, he runs off in trashy sentimentalities and wordy vituperations. Mr. Sumner, will necessarily have to lead his committee for the next two years on this subject. The honour of our country for diplomatic ability, and possibly our peace abroad are to a great degree in his hands. His budget of facts and metaphors is before the public. But he is short of ammunition. Could he cut the umbilical cord that binds him to the negro, and devote the few weeks between now and the meeting of Congress to the pruning of his speech, and give it the addition of some solid and clearly stated responses to the English positions, he might thus contrive to serve his country better than he has ever heretofore done.

DEPARTURE OF MR. MASON.—Mr. Mason, the envoy from the Southern States of America, left London last evening by the mail train for Paris. Mr. Macfarlane remains for a few days to wind up some unimportant matters of a financial nature. Previous to the departure of Mr. Mason, several members of the *personnel* quitted London for the French capital.—*The Morning Post*.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, September 30.

The press upon the Bank and the brokers in Lombard-street for money throughout the week, shows that there is no immediate expectation of a reduction in the official rate. Three causes have promoted the scarcity.—First, the revenue payments for the quarter just terminating; second, the withdrawal of large sums by the India Council, preparatory to the settlement of the claims of dissentients who would not accept the late conversion; and, third, the amount of capital temporarily required to arrange the differences, completed this evening, through the late account in foreign stocks. It is quite evident that the money market will remain in a disturbed condition until about the 8th October, when we shall see what will be the influence of the circulation of the dividends, and the release of the funds to be paid by Sir Charles Wood. Many seem to think that it will be questionable after all if we shall experience any great extent of ease, such as was predicted would probably be the case three weeks or a month ago; and if an influx of capital should be witnessed it is believed that increasing trade, notwithstanding the consequences of the American difficulty, will absorb it. Nothing can be stronger evidence of the improvement in this respect than the Board of Trade returns, published yesterday; and the results speak eloquently in favour of the steady recovery from prostration which existed at the end of last year. To-day such was the call for accommodation, both at the Bank and in the discount market, that the rate was quite up to 4 per cent. for first-class paper; second class was charged  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and the joint stock banks, for their advances, obtained  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent. The jobbers at the Stock Exchange secured fabulous quotations for any surplus capital they possessed, terms in many instances, being a matter of arrangement.

## BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week has been larger than for some time past; including £68,000 sent in this afternoon, it reaches £330,000. On the other hand there has been withdrawn £106,000, for transmission to the East. The arrivals of specie have also been large, viz., £799,437, in addition to which £22,051 is announced as having arrived at Lisbon en route to this country from the Brazils. Of the above arrivals the greater portion—about £700,000—is from the West Indies, and about £90,000 from New York. The steamer which sailed for the East on Monday took out £567,600. Bar silver has been in good demand at 5s. 1½d. per oz., but since the sailing of the steamer the inquiry has not been so urgent. Mexican dollars are quiet, though there has been a small sale to-day at 5s. 3½d., but the general quotation is 5s. 3½d. The only gold ships at present known to be on their way from Australia are the *Wave of Life*, with £162,000; and the *Wellesley*, with £131,000.

## THE JOINT-STOCK DISCOUNT COMPANY.

The Joint-Stock Discount Company (Limited) have just announced that, in consequence of largely increasing business the capital is to be augmented by the issue of 40,000 additional shares of £25 each at £1 per share premium, to be distributed *pro rata* to the proprietors, subject to the payment of £2 per share on or before the 13th October, £2 on or before the 19th November, and £2 on or before the 23rd December. It is thought that the £40,000 thus obtained in premiums will be carried forthwith to the reserve fund.

## THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The news received at the end of last week from the States had a good effect on this Stock; from 31 to 29 dis. an advance was obtained to 28 to 26 dis. There was since a partial relapse, but to-day (Wednesday) there is again a strong market, the quotation this afternoon being 27½ to 26½ dis., and large orders in the market.

## THE COLUMBIAN LOAN.

It is officially announced with regard to the Columbian Loan, that Earl Russell has sanctioned the appointment of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota (if agreeable to all parties) to act as agent for the receipt and transmission of the revenues to be held at the disposal of the bondholders. This announcement has given general satisfaction to the subscribers, and at the same time shows the good feeling existing between Her Majesty's Government and the United States of Columbia.

## HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The market for English Stocks has been particularly quiet throughout the week, nothing having occurred either of a political or commercial character to cause the slightest excitement or speculative movement; in fact the dealers at present appear to be directing their attention entirely to foreign undertakings. Consols closed this evening at 93½ to 94 for money, and 93½ to 94 for the account, which is precisely the same as on this day week. Exchequer Bills are steady at par to 3s. prem. A very large and speculative business has again been transacted in some of the leading foreign securities, but without anything particular having occurred to give a stimulus to prices, though for all descriptions quotations are firmly sustained. Greek Stock has been moderately dealt in, but the variation in prices has been but trifling. Mexican and Spanish have been more extensively sought after, but the highest quotations of the week were not maintained at the close. Turkish leave off slightly better. The closing quotations were, Greek Stock, 37½ to 38; Mexican, 46½ to 46½; Spanish Passives, 36½ to 36½; do. Certificates, 14½ to 14½; Turkish Six per Cents (1854), 95½ to 95½; and, do. (1862), 70½ to 71.

## AMERICAN SECURITIES.

There has been rather less business than usual doing in American Government and Railway Securities, but prices on the whole show an improvement. The dealings have been confined to United States Five per Cents., at 69 and 68. Virginia State Six per Cents., 41½ and 40½. Atlantic and Great Western (New York Section) 78 and 77½. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 77, 77½, 79, 78, 79, and 81. Erie shares, \$100, all paid, 74, 73½ and 74½. Do. Seven per Cents., Preference, 70. Do. Fourth Mortgage, 71. Illinois Central Seven per Cents., 77½, 77, and 77½. Do. \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 14, 13½ and 13½ dis. Do. do. all paid, 76, 77½. New York Central, \$100 Shares, 88, 89, and 88½, and 89. Panama Railway, Second Mortgage, 102, and 102½.

## RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A rather extensive business has been transacted in English Railway Securities, at, in many instances, an advance in prices, particularly as regards the leading descriptions. The majority of the purchases have been for investments, there being but little doing at present of a speculative character. The most important variation has been a rise of about 3 per cent. in Metropolitan, which is attributed to the completion of the junction with the Great Northern, London and North-Western, Sheffield, Great Northern and South-Eastern, are 1 per cent. better; Midland ½ per cent.; Great Eastern, Great Western, Lancashire and Yorkshire, and North British ½ per cent., and North Eastern (Berwick), ditto York, about ½ per cent. In Foreign Railway Shares about an average business has been transacted, at very steady prices, the tendency being good. For the shares in British possessions there has been rather less demand than usual; the transactions have been below the average; but nevertheless, quotations are well sustained.

## THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY OF CANADA.

The following circular, signed by the Secretary of the Great Western Railway Company of Canada, has been issued this afternoon:—"I am desired to inform you that from the accounts of the half-year, ended July 31, 1863, the net earnings of the line (including the balance brought from last half-year) amounted to £7,954 15s. 3d., which the directors recommend should be carried to the credit of the current half-year.

## MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Panonia Leather Cloth Company, a satisfactory statement was presented, showing that, including the purchase of the 70 years' lease of the premises at Clapham, the Company was fairly started at an outlay not exceeding £8,500. Of the first issue of shares 2,000 have been taken up, and on those a call of £1 per share will be made in October. With the present appliances the Company is able to turn out and finish from 10,000 to 12,000 yards of leather cloth weekly. It was stated that the material meets with general approval in the various branches of trade to which it is applicable, viz.: as an artificial leather for boots and shoes, for leggings, travelling bags, and waterproof purposes generally. The Chairman having congratulated the shareholders on the favourable prospects before them, the report was unanimously accepted.

## THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In these departments business progresses slowly, but, as a general rule, steadily. Purchases are for the most part confined to the requirements of the moment; and the aspect of the markets is therefore dull, but sufficient is passing even in this way to prevent any undue accumulation of stocks; and as holders do not force sales, prices are free from any depression worth naming. A pause has at last taken place in the advance in cotton, but there are no indications of a reaction. The grain trade is still heavy, but no further reduction has occurred in prices. Lined cake has been in better demand, and New York barrels have made £10 ex ship; best bags are scarce at £9 10s. to £9 12s. 6d.; and Westerns have sold at £9 2s. 6d. to £9 5s. per ton. Cured provisions continue in only limited demand. American bacon is, however, firmly held, owing to some extensive operations in Liverpool. Boneless and short middles are also taken to a fair extent from our market at full late rates. Choice qualities of India and prime mess beef are scarce. American butters have found their way to this market *via* Liverpool, and fine have realised 94s. per cwt. Fine American lard sells steadily at 40s. to 40s. 3d. per cwt. Petroleum, after remaining dull for some days, has receded 20s. per ton for crude, and 1d. to 2d. per gallon for refined, the closing price for the latter being 2s. 5d. per gallon on the spot. The reduction has led to only a trifling extension of business. French spirits of turpentine have further given way 5s. per cwt., bringing the present quotation to 73s. per cwt. In the nominal rates for American there is no change. Spermin oil continues to find a moderate sale at £80 for American fishing. The tallow market, whilst still unsettled, has not fluctuated so widely this week; and as speculative operations have been chiefly for a rise, quotations have for the time moved in that direction. From Russia there has not been any news, political or commercial, to exercise any important influence. Business in all growths of American tobacco is upon a very moderate scale, holders showing no inclination to relax their terms. For substitutes of required qualities the demand is very active. In drugs and chemicals the variations have been slight. Aloes maintained the late advance. Bichromate and hydriodate of potash quoted easier. American oil peppermint, hotchkiss brand is also rather lower. In dyes, Bengal turmeric has given way 3s. to 4s. per cwt., from some forced sales of speculators' parcels. Safflower, on the contrary, has risen 5s. per cwt. and Cochineal 1d. to 2d. per lb. Gums of all kinds move off in moderate quantity at the previous currency. The Scotch pig iron market has been stimulated by the decision of the Staffordshire masters to raise their prices £1 per ton, making £2 from the lowest point. On the first announcement the price of Scotch pig went up to 60s. 6d., but has since graduated down to 59s. 9d., showing still an advance of 1s. 3d. on the quotations in our last report.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	1863.				1862.			
	£	s.	d.	q.	£	s.	d.	q.
COTTON, per lb.—								
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0	11	10	2 4	0	1	8	0 2 3
CHEMICALS, per lb.—								
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0	1	5½	0 1 5½	0	1	8	
Arsenic, lump, cwt.—	0	16	6	0 17 0	0	17	6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz. . . . .	0	0	4½	0 0 4½	0	0	5½	0 0 6
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0	0	8½	0 0 8½	0	0	7½	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0	0	4½		0	0	5½	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0	6	0	0 6 0	0	7	6	0 8 0
DRUGS, per lb.—								
Aloes, Cape, cwt.—	1	10	0	2 10 0	1	0	0	2 3 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.—	0	1	0		0	1	4	
Peru, lb.—	0	4	9	0 4 10	0	5	0	0 5 2
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0	7	0	0 9 6	0	8	0	0 11 0
Quinine, lb.—	0	3	0	0 3 8	0	3	9	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.—	0	0	4½	0 0 4½	0	0	6½	0 0 7½
Tartar, Grey, cwt.—	5	0	2	5 0 3	5	12	0	5 15 0
Brown, cwt.—	4	5	0	4 5 0	5	0	0	5 10 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0	9	0	0 15 9	0	7	6	0 13 3
" Lemon-grass, oz.	0	0	8½	0 0 10	0	0	5½	0 0 8½
" Orange, lb.—					0	5	0	0 6 6
" Citronelle, oz.—	0	0	5	0 0 5½	0	0	5½	0 0 5½
Opium, Turkey, lb.—	0	18	6	0 19 0	0	19	0	
Senna, Bombay, lb.—	0	0	2	0 0 3	0	0	2½	0 0 3½
" Alexandria, lb.	0	0	3½	0 0 3	0	0	4	0 0 4
Snakeroot, lb.—	0	3	0	0 3 3	0	2	6	0 2 9
Spermaceeti, lb.—	0	1	0	0 1 1	0	1	0	0 1 0½
DYES, cwt.—								
Safflower, . . . . .	3	15	0	7 5 0	3	3	0	6 15 0
Turmeric, Bengal . . .	1	9	0	1 10 0	1	3	0	1 4 0
" Madras . . . . .	1	14	0	1 16 0	0	14	0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries . . . .	1	19	0	4 5 0	5	10	0	6 5 0
GUMS, cwt.—								
Animi, medium . . . .	7	10	0	9 0 0	8	10	0	9 10 0
Gedda . . . . .	1	12	0	1 13 0	1	6	0	1 8 0
Kowrie . . . . .	2	0	0	2 8 0	1	2	0	1 4 0
METALS, per ton—								
Copper, American . . .	93	0	0	100 0 0				
Iron, Scotch, Pig . . .	2	19	9		2	16	6	
Tin, English . . . . .	115	0	0		111	0	0	
OILS, per ton—								
Sperm, American . . .	80	0	0		85	0	0	
Linseed . . . . .	43	0	0		42	0	0	
Rock Oil, Crude . . .	20	0	0					14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—								
Butter, American, fine	4	10	0	4 14 0	3	14	0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine . . .	2	6	0	2 18 0	2	0	0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides . . . . .	1	10	0	2 8 0	1	14	0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—								
North American . . .	2	1	6	2 3 8				
South do. . . . .	2	2	0	2 3 6	2	7	0	2 8 3
Wax do. . . . .	8	10	0	8 15 0	8	10	0	
TOBACCO, lb.—								
Maryland . . . . .	0	0	5½	0 0 9	0	0	4½	0 0 9
Virginia . . . . .	0	0	10	0 1 2	0	0	5½	0 1 0
Kentucky . . . . .	0	0	6½	0 1 7	0	0	4½	0 1 1½

## PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

Hotel Companies appear just now to be the chief objects of attraction, with regard to Joint Stock undertakings, two having been announced during the week. The first is to be called the Prince of Wales Hotel Company, and is to be located at Upper Norwood, where it is intended to erect a first-class hotel for the accommodation of the increasing visitors to that locality. The Company have obtained for £16,500 the possession of ten acres of the best land in Upper Norwood and a spacious mansion where the temporary business of the hotel will be at once proceeded with. The capital is to be £100,000, in 10,000 shares of £10 each, and of which £30,000 was at once bespoken. The other undertaking is the London Tavern Company, the object being the purchase and working of the well-known London Tavern in Bishopsgate-street. The undertaking is brought forward under very favourable auspices, the directors being composed of practical men of business, including among them Mr. J. W. Chater, the present proprietor, and the management is to be entrusted to Mr. J. Funge, who has been connected with the establishment for many years. An arrangement has been made by which Mr. Chater gives the directors the option of purchasing the freehold within three



years, or leasing the property at a fair rental. The stock-in-trade, goodwill, wines, plate, furniture, &c., are estimated at £30,000, and the proprietor guarantees a minimum dividend of 10 per cent. on that amount for three years. The Company are to take possession to-morrow, and the profits will accrue forthwith. The proposed capital is £120,000, in 12,000 shares of £10 each, the first issue being confined to 6,000 shares. The prospectus has also been issued of the East London Bank (Limited), with a capital of £600,000, in 12,000 shares of £50 each, with power to increase by new shares; but it is not intended in the first instance to call up more than £150,000, or £12 10s. per share. The object of the undertaking is to afford increased banking accommodation to the large commercial establishments in the eastern districts of London, where, eastward of a line drawn north and south across Fenchurch-street, there is not, with the exception of three branches, one private or public bank, notwithstanding that in extent it comprises nearly one-half of the metropolis.

**THE TRADE OF THE COUNTRY.**  
The Board of Trade returns for the month and eight months ended the 31st August have just been issued, and contrast very favourably, as compared with previous returns. That the general commerce of the country is in a satisfactory condition is beyond dispute, almost the only drawback being with regard to the continued falling off in the exportation of cotton and cotton manufactures consequent upon the war in America, but even in this respect the present returns show a considerable improvement. The total declared value of the exports for the month last past was £14,088,814 against £12,829,627 in 1862, and £12,337,441 in 1861, which is an increase of £1,259,187 as compared with the former period, and of £1,751,373 as contrasted with the latter. For the eight months of the present year the total is £89,751,851, against £82,276,107 in 1862, and £82,575,126 in 1861; being an increase of £7,475,744 over 1862, and of £7,176,725 over 1861. With regard to imports there is no special feature to notice, but on the whole the balance is favourable.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 30.

The cotton market during the past week has been more quiet than for some time past, but the continued good inquiry for both yarn and cloths at Manchester has caused a further advance of from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. There has been far less speculation going forward, though a moderate quantity has been taken for export. The sales this week have been only 46,000 bales, of which 21,000 were on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have now reached 1,866,970 bales against 2,228,039 bales to the corresponding period in 1862. The imports this year have been 1,147,051 bales; and to the same period in 1862, 728,894 bales. This year there have been exported 339,417 bales, to the same period last year 333,734 bales. Taken on speculation this year 450,950 bales; same in 1862, 890,710 bales. For consumption there have been taken this year 995,500 bales, to the same period in 1862, 949,100 bales. At present the computed stocks are 201,450 bales, and at the same period in 1862, 85,030 bales. The chief demand this week has been for American descriptions, and for which the inquiries still continue good. The latest official quotations were; Middling Orleans 27½d. to 27¾d; do. Mobile 27½d. to 27¾d; do. Uplands 27d. to 27½d; Surat 21½d. to 21¾d; Dhollerahs 21d.; Egyptian 25 to 25½d; and Smyrna 21d. to 21½.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 29.

The total amount of business transacted in the market during the past week is only small as compared with that of two or three weeks ago, yet trade is going on satisfactorily and whenever a manufacturer is open to take orders to deliver in a moderate time, it is easy for him to secure contracts at the highest prices obtained up to the present period. Home trade yarns continue in steady request at the extreme prices of last Thursday.

In export yarns we have to report, if anything, a slight advance in India nules and water twist for China. The continental demand continues steady at the full prices paid last week.

**APPEAL "TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND."**  
—A paper with this heading, avowedly coming from English sympathisers with the South who style themselves the "London Confederate States Commercial League," and bearing the signature of a highly respectable city merchant as Honorary Secretary, has been extensively placarded in the streets of London. We have no doubt of the earnestness and genuineness of the motives which dictated this appeal, and are grateful to the authors of it for their active sympathy with the Confederate cause, but we cannot otherwise than regret the vehemence of style into which they have been betrayed. The fact that the *Daily News*, the bitterest enemy of the South, has conspicuously reproduced the Address, should warn those who appeal to the British public, that the language of passion is not the best calculated to effect their objects.

**Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Sept. 24, are—**  
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY.  
LETTERS FROM NEW ORLEANS, AUGUST 22ND AND 23TH, PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONER.  
THE JACKSON STATUE FUND.  
THE MILITARY OPERATIONS BEFORE CHARLESTON.  
AMERICAN POLICY OR ENGLISH INDUSTRY.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, AUGUST 1ST AND 5TH.  
CONFEDERATE BOOKS.  
LETTER OF THE CONFEDERATE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.  
MR. MASON'S LETTER TO EARL RUSSELL.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAPTURES ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.  
HOW TO EXTINGUISH GREEK FIRE.

TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT

OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country, and the peace of the comprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and labelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armour-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over frontier from this country both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice her commercial interests to a fear of the North, and the so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, renounced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South should declare war, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States is recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should be blot out of the map, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle them to be of then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of action and activity, and the friends of this movement are earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire. Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Mildred's-court, Fenchurch-street, E.C. Meetings on Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place, James YEOHANS, Hon. Sec.

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NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That the HALF-YEARLY DIVIDEND, due 1st September next, upon Bonds of the above Loan, will be PAID on that day, or any succeeding day, at the counting-house of Messrs. J. Henry Schroder and Co., 145, Leadenhall-street, between the hours of eleven and two o'clock. The Coupons must be left two clear days for examination.  
J. HENRY SCHRODER AND CO.  
London, Aug. 17, 1863.

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Holders of Paid-up Scrip of this Loan are hereby informed, that the BONDS will be READY for DELIVERY, in Exchange for Scrip, on and after MONDAY, the 24th August, between the hours of eleven and two o'clock. The Scrip must be left two clear days for examination.  
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London, Aug. 17, 1863.

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It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

The eminent sculptor, J. H. FOLEY, Esq., R.A., has undertaken to execute a Marble Statue, heroic size, of the General, for £1,000, while £500 may be required for pedestal, inscription, and other extras. Accordingly, for £1,500 a complete Statue of "STONEWALL" JACKSON, by one of our most distinguished sculptors, may be prepared for transmission to his native country when the unhappy war shall have ceased. Towards raising this sum, the Subscriptions of our countrymen and countrywomen are earnestly solicited. Central and Local Committees, with auxiliary Ladies' Committees, are being formed to collect the necessary funds.

The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COUTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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3. THE REVOLUTION IN POLAND.  
4. EMIGRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.  
5. FOUNDLINGS.  
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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathise with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

Contributions will be received by J. H. ASHBRIDGE, Treasurer, Walmer Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool; or in London, by HENRY HOTZE, Esq., 17, Savile Row, W.; in Paris, by H. O. BREWER, Esq., 6 Rue Circulaire; and DANIEL HUBBARD, Esq., 2½, Rue Lord Byron.

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# THE INDEX

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## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.  
THE BLOCKADE.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
MANCHESTER SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION.  
CHICAMANGA CREEK.  
THE EMPEROR OF MEXICO.  
SPEECH OF MR. LINDSAY, M.P.  
THE DESCENSUS AVERNÆ.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.  
MAGAZINES FOR OCTOBER.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

On the 19th September the Confederate army under General Bragg attacked the Federal army under General Rosecrans at Chicamanga, about six miles from Chattanooga. The battle commenced at 11 o'clock in the day by a simultaneous assault on both flanks of the Northern army, that on the left being the most desperate. At 2 o'clock the Confederates charged upon the Federal centre and broke the line. The divisions under the Federal Generals M'Cook and Crittenden were beaten and scattered, and but for the firmness of the division under General Thomas, who seems to have displayed admirable conduct and courage, the Confederate victory would have been at once complete. The fighting was continued until dark, when it terminated without any decisive result. Next day the battle was renewed. The right and centre of the Federals were first driven from the field, and retreated on Chattanooga; the division under General Thomas showed more fight, but was at length also beaten, and retreated on Rossville. On this day the victory was complete. The Federals lost at least 10,000 in killed and wounded, 50 pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of small arms and ammunition. In the absence of Southern accounts, we can do no more than record the results of the battles of Chicamanga. We do not know what were the exact numbers on either side; but we learn from the telegraphic summary of General Bragg's official statement that the report of his being heavily reinforced from every part of the Confederacy is as false as the previous reports of the demoralisation of his army. He writes on the 21st, "The victory is complete, and our cavalry is pursuing. With the blessing of God, our troops have accomplished great results against greatly superior numbers." The Confederate loss is heavy, but we anticipate that the estimate of 5,000 killed and wounded is an exaggeration. Generals Preston Smith, Helm, and Deshles were killed. Generals Hood, Adams, Gregg, and Brown were wounded; and we regret to hear that the gallant Hood has since died from his wounds.

General Rosecrans is said to be in a "safe" position, but a defeated army in an enemy's country cannot be very secure; and it is not surprising that the assurances of his safety do not inspire the Northern people with confidence. On the 24th a reconnaissance discovered the Confederates in force in his front, and guerilla bands were threatening to harass his line of communication.

The safety of Rosecrans was supposed to greatly depend upon his being joined by Burnside, and it was announced by the authorities at Washington on the 21st of September, that the junction would be immediately effected. Up to the 24th, however, Burnside had not reached Chattanooga, and fears were entertained that he might be cut off. We may judge of the anxiety on this head by a rumour that the whole of Burnside's force had been captured being prevalent. The Northern journals censure the Government for scattering their forces, and there is some ground

for the complaint. But, on the other hand, how can the Federals hold the long line of the Mississippi, and hold military possession of 800,000 square miles of territory, inhabited by a bitterly hostile and warlike race, without scattering their forces?

In our leader columns the important military news of the week is discussed.

As yet no Southern account of the Federal defeat at Sabine Pass has been received, but the Northern version of the affair, though it does not indicate the extent of the loss in killed and wounded, admits that the failure was complete and disastrous. The object of the expedition was to capture Sabine City, which is situated at the mouth of the Sabine River, and is about forty-five miles from Galveston, and sixty miles from Houston, the capital of Texas. The fleet of transports was escorted by four gunboats—the Clifton, the Arizona, the Granite City, and the Schem. Berwick Bay was selected for the rendezvous. Some delay and much confusion was caused by the pilots depending upon sighting the Federal blockading vessel supposed to be stationed off Sabine Pass for an indication of their having reached the appointed spot; but the blockader had gone on a cruise (it is not at all uncommon for the Federals to trust to a purely paper blockade), and the gunboats overshot their mark. At length all things being ready, the attack was made on the afternoon of the following day—the 6th September. The gunboats opened on the fort, but though forty or fifty shells were thrown there was no reply. The boats approached nearer and nearer, and there was an idea that the fort had been abandoned. The Federals were soon undeceived. The Confederates had reserved their fire until it could be delivered with effect. The Schem attempted to pass to the rear of the fort, and this sealed her fate. She was struck by a shot that crushed in her side; there was an escape of steam, and when that cleared off the flag was lowered. The Clifton was not more fortunate. She attempted to run towards the fort, got slightly aground, and in that position found herself exposed to a raking fire from a hitherto unsuspected battery, as well as to the fire of the main works. A few minutes were sufficient to disable her and to play havoc with her crew; and the white flag was run up. On the Clifton, besides the crew, there were seventy-five sharpshooters and three of the signal corps; and these, as well as all on board the Schem, fell into the hands of the Confederates. General Franklin, in command of the expedition, withdrew as soon as the boats surrendered. He had no option but to retreat; for not only had he lost two out of his four supporting force, but the Arizona had been considerably damaged. Some interesting details of the affairs will be found in our New Orleans correspondence.

The defeat of Rosecrans, and the defeat at Sabine Pass, though the prominent, are not the only events that discourage the Federals. The second division of the Texas expedition under General Herron has been defeated; and the third division, under General Washburne, has been unable to advance, from the want of gunboats to protect his crossing at Berwick Bay, and if he could have crossed we presume he would not have done so, if he had known the fate of the other two divisions. Meantime the siege of Charleston is suspended, and for twenty days General Gilmore had ceased his cannonade. Under these circumstances the cry of "On to Richmond" is again raised, and the Federal commander is urged to go forward, as "Richmond is left nearly defenceless." We wish that General Meade would believe and act upon the report of the defenceless condition of the Southern capital. We fear that he is not so easily imposed upon as General Pope. He may, however, be forced, for political reasons, to advance. Something must be done, or the position of the Washington Government will be anything but "safe."

We are reliably informed that the Confederate Government has decided hereafter to grant no clearances to vessels intending to run the blockade, except on condition of their taking one-third of their outward cargo on Government account. It is urged at Richmond, and is the opinion of good business men here, that this measure does not go sufficiently far to remedy the existing evil of the abnormal price of foreign exchange in the Confederate States, that the Government should take the purchase of supplies abroad exclusively into its own hands, and altogether prohibit the exportation of cotton on private account, except such as is pledged to the holders of the Confederate loan.

A singular illustration of the contempt of the Confederates for the blockade is reported. Certain very valuable stores were ordered from Mississippi to the southern frontier of Texas, but, the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson intervening, it was deemed too hazardous to cross the river at that particular time with a train, and the supplies were deliberately embarked at Mobile in a Government vessel to run the blockade there and into a convenient Texan port. They arrived safely. A Confederate General, assigned to a command on the Rio Grande, with his staff, took the same route, and with equal success.

On the 15th September General Gilmore issued an order of the day, in which he congratulates his army upon the achievement of taking possession of the evacuated battery Wagner in terms that would be ridiculous if he had gained the most glorious victory in the annals of war. But in spite of himself he manifests a consciousness that he has not so very much to boast of. So he devotes two long paragraphs to the victory over Fort Sumter, and only one short paragraph to the occupation of Wagner and Gregg. He says:—

It is with no ordinary feeling of gratification and pride that the brigadier-general commanding is enabled to congratulate the army upon the signal success which has crowned the enterprise in which it has been engaged. Fort Sumter is destroyed. The scene where our country's flag suffered its first dishonour you have made the theatre of one of its proudest triumphs.

The fort has been in the possession of the enemy for more than two years, has been his pride and boast, has been strengthened by every appliance known to military science, and has defied the assaults of the most powerful and gallant fleet the world ever saw. But it has yielded to your courage and patient labour. Its walls are now crumbled to ruins, its formidable batteries are silenced, and, though a hostile flag still floats over it, the fort is a harmless and helpless wreck.

What marvellous indecency, not to wait until he has taken Sumter, before he triumphs! But we must not expect such a man to be decent, or able to appreciate, and respect the heroism of an enemy. If Sumter is so utterly destroyed, how honourable and glorious to the Confederates that they yet hold it! But surely that the Confederate flag waves over the ruins is no credit to the Federal forces. If Sumter is doomed to fall, the glory of its defenders will not be obscured by the barren triumph of the enemy. General Gilmore does not think it beneath his dignity to indulge in a grim joke. He tells his soldiers, "The city and harbour of Charleston lie at the mercy of your artillery." There is something hideously comic in Gilmore using the word mercy, even in jest. He is evidently proud of the plot he laid to roast women and children in their beds with Greek fire, and he evidently anticipates being hereafter able to gratify his fiendish passion for the slaughter of the helpless and innocent. We confidently predict that he will be disappointed. General Beauregard now knows the kind of enemy he has to deal with, and will not leave women and children to his mercy.

There was a grand review in General Lee's army on the 9th September. Besides General Lee, Generals Ewell, Longstreet, Hill, Stuart, Wilcox, and others were present. The condition of the troops was excellent, and the only



fault the strictest disciplinarian could find was the irrepressible manifestations of affection for the Generals. The number of troops reviewed is not stated, but that the number was considerable we may infer from the fact that in passing along the lines and returning to the starting point, the various Generals had to gallop over fully nine miles.

The conscription in the North has not yielded many soldiers, and of these not a few are being shot as deserters. A shocking but significant scene took place at one of these executions. Two substitutes, sent from Boston, were condemned to death as deserters, and the 18th of September was fixed upon for carrying out the sentence. With the usual parade the men were brought to the place of execution, their eyes bandaged, and one was seated on his coffin, and the other, kneeling beside his, audibly engaged in prayer. The word was given to fire, but though sixteen guns were discharged at the agonised men the fire was ineffectual. One was slightly wounded, and the other, uninjured, jumped up and tore the bandage from his eyes. The reserve was brought forward, fired, but missed the men. Then the provost-marshal took out his revolver, went up to the victims, and blew out their brains. After this the troops were marched past the corpses. Of course the men were missed intentionally and not accidentally, and the despots of the North may well tremble when they find that their troops regard deserters with so much favour. Mr. Lincoln may rely upon it that such a spirit will not be exorcised by bloody pageants. The men were substitutes from Boston, and it would be interesting to know for whom amongst the Abolitionists of that city they were substituted.

The New York papers have circulated a story to the effect that Vice-President Stephens is coming to Europe to negotiate an alliance with the Emperor of the French, on terms supposed to have been offered by his Majesty in December last—the cession of Texas to France. We are not aware that Mr. Stephens is entrusted with any mission to Europe, and certainly, if he were, the object of his mission would not be communicated to Northern newsmongers.

On the 17th September, the seventy-sixth anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution by Washington, the Hon. W. B. Reed addressed a Democratic meeting at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on the condition and prospects of the country. After dwelling on the risk that any person incurred who ventured to speak the truth, Mr. Reed declared that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was in imminent danger, not of invasion from without, for if that were threatened the citizens would rally to arms and repel the invader, but of Federal usurpation. The men at Washington cling to office, not merely for the love of place and for the emoluments thereof, but because they remember the fate of other deposed usurpers, and are afraid to part with power. Therefore, Mr. Lincoln and his adherents are intent on preventing the voice of the Democracy being heard at the forthcoming elections; for this they have suspended the *habeas corpus*, a proceeding which no English monarch ever ventured on in Pennsylvania, or indeed in any of the Colonies; for this, liberty has been replaced by the most oppressive tyranny, so that Mr. Reed is able to say, with perfect truth, "If Mr. Lincoln were to order a Federal marshal to handcuff me, and beat me, and put me in jail, and keep me there, as he and his secretaries have better men than me, I could have no redress; for such an order is made a good defence, involving double costs on the litigant." Mr. Reed denounced the Federal paper currency as a huge engine of ultimate misery, and as a confession of weakness on the part of the Government. "No government," he says, "that felt itself strong, and was not on the defensive, ever made such an experiment. We did it in the Revolution because we were the defending as well as the resisting Power. The French Republic did it when the monarchs of Europe were in league against it. The Southern Confederacy does it because it, too, is on the defensive. We do it with all our boasted prosperity because, in point of truth, the sources of real and substantial credit are cut off by our own insanity; because no one abroad will lend us money, and no one at home will, if they can help it, pay taxes." Mr. Reed observed that the conscription had proved a total failure as a military measure, and that, for example, from his part of the country not a single conscript was obtained. But as a measure of taxation the conscription had been to some extent successful. The rich and the poor had contributed to the exemption fund, and, speaking of the experience of his own neighbourhood, Mr. Reed said that the demand for exemption money was like a sharp poll-tax, which was levied on Democratic citizens only. Mr. Reed pointed out the only means by which the country can be saved from the threatened ruin. If those who value liberty, if the Democratic party would offer a united resistance to the Administration, the designs

of the Republican party might be frustrated. There was, he assured his hearers, no time to be lost, and the battle must be fought at the ensuing elections. In conclusion, Mr. Reed intimated plainly that the first duty of Pennsylvanians was to their State. If Pennsylvania could remain in the Union without losing her rights she did not wish to resume the limited power she has entrusted to the Federal Government; but whether in the Union or in a new Confederacy, or alone, Pennsylvania is bound, at any sacrifice, to maintain her sovereign independence.

The Federal Government has found that the conscription is a failure. For instance, of 1,127 men drafted in the city of Hertford, only four have gone to the army, and of these two were negroes. Of those that go to the army a large percentage desert, and hunting and shooting deserters occupies a large force. True, Mr. Lincoln gets plenty of exemption money, but that is of small advantage. Money he can make with printing presses, and what he wants are men to recruit his armies. It is said that more men were obtained under the volunteer system, and it is proposed to return to it; but it must be remembered that the conscription was resorted to because the volunteering had been exhausted.

An act of patriotism is mentioned in the Southern papers that deserves more than a passing record. Colour-Sergeant John Brent, of the 21st Virginia Regiment, lost his right arm of Chancellorsville; upon returning to his regiment he was offered his discharge, but he refused to accept it, and asked his colonel to be allowed to carry the colours of his regiment in his left hand. The colonel consented, and General Johnston hearing of the affair took the colours and, in person, presented them to the gallant soldier.

Mr. Chase's presses are constantly at work, yet they cannot turn out greenbacks fast enough to meet the enormous expenditure of the Government, and there are heavy arrears in the navy as well as the army. On the 17th ultimo there was much excitement in Brooklyn Navy Yard by the arrival of between 200 and 300 United States sailors, lately of the *Brooklyn*, who came to demand their arrears of pay, or at least so much as would enable them to redeem their hammocks and bags, which they had been obliged to leave in the hands of their landlords. Captain Meade, of the *North Carolina*, pacified them by assuring them that he had made arrangements by which they could receive half what was due to them, a third of that half to be paid on the following morning.

The *New York Herald* is constantly being charged with blustering and ranting, but upon an emergency it can beautifully modify unpleasant facts. In a leader upon the battle of Chattanooga, it asks, "How was it that Rosecrans, with all his experience, prudence, and sagacity, was drawn into the snare from which he has so narrowly escaped?" A disastrous defeat was never more delicately described. The effect is, however, a little spoiled by the answer to the question: "We have no doubt," says the *Herald*, "that this bloody misadventure was due to that oft-repeated mistake at Washington of underrating the strength, resource, recuperative powers, skill, and tenacity of the enemy." The Washington authorities might rejoin that the *New York Herald* and other Federal papers had made the same mistake. At all events we know that Mr. Lincoln's English organs have done so.

The *New York Times* notes that the cotton plantations in Southern Illinois have proved a failure. The frost "has ruined the meagre and weakly stock of cotton that had been secured, and not a bale will be raised north of the Ohio." The same journal exposes what in this country would be called a swindle, but in the North a smart piece of business, on the part of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, an enterprise in which some or at least one distinguished Anglo-Federal is interested. It says the Company "would do well to revise their illustrated maps, in which their Illinois lands are represented clothed with such robust and gorgeous stalks of growing cotton. It is not in accordance with fact, and is hardly fair to innocent purchasers."

Mr. Carl Benson, in an article on "Political Retrogression," published in the *New York Times*, observes sarcastically that in 1858 "Mr. Buckle was congratulating the world that the reign of wars was nearly over, and that for a great war to be possible in the future one at least of the parties must be a semi-barbarous nation." It occurs to us that if Mr. Buckle were living, he might vindicate his judgment by citing the war in America. He might say, without fear of contradiction, that a nation which included such men amongst its commanders as Butler, Pope, Turchin, Milroy, and a long list of names more or less infamous; that sanctioned the use of Greek fire to burn women, children, and sick persons in their beds; that gave up its liberty to such a despot as Abraham Lincoln, was at the very least semi-barbarous.

The *New York World* says a collision is expected at the mouth of the Rio Grande between the Federal and French gunboats, on matters connected with cotton and supplies of the Confederates. We may be sure that the chance of such a collision is extremely remote. The North may bluster, but any act that would lead to war with France will be studiously avoided.

It has been reported, and appears to be confirmed, that a Confederate steamer—the *Sumter*—having been mistaken by the forts for an enemy's vessel, was fired into and sunk in Charleston harbour; and that of 600 persons she had on board, 20 were killed or injured. It is scarcely probable that this is the Gibraltar, the old *Sumter*, which lately ran the blockade at Wilmington; for though the double blockade-running from one Confederate port into another has recently become no uncommon occurrence, it is inconceivable that a vessel under those circumstances should have so large a number of passengers on board. The ill-fated vessel is more likely to have been a river steamer plying inside the harbour.

Gold in New York has advanced five per cent. The latest quotation was 39½ per cent. premium.

## ENGLAND.

SHORTLY after 3 o'clock, a.m., on Tuesday, a shock of earthquake was felt in the midland, western, and north-western counties of England, and in Wales. The tremor was sufficient to awake people from their sleep, to make windows rattle, and in some cases it is reported that bricks were loosened. The shock consisted of an oscillatory motion from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and it lasted from three to ten seconds. Some accounts describe two shocks, of which the last was the most severe. The vibration was accompanied by a rumbling noise, but the testimony on this head is not so certain as it is with regard to the motion. Mrs. Somerville, in her "Physical Geography," states that 255 earthquakes have been felt in England, so that the phenomenon of Tuesday night is not so rare as generally supposed. One shock which was felt throughout England occurred in 1089; a shock was "severely felt" at Lincoln in 1142; another was felt throughout England in 1274; and "the greatest ever known" in this country happened on the 14th of November, 1828. An earthquake was felt in London in 1580, when part of St. Paul's and the Temple Church fell; and another shock was "severely felt" in Ireland in 1690. The most violent shock in modern times took place in Scotland on the 23rd October, 1839. The last shock in England until Tuesday was on the 9th November, 1852. In that instance the convulsion was felt in Manchester, Liverpool, North Wales, and in some parts of Ireland. On Tuesday the earthquake was not preceded or accompanied by any change of weather.

Throughout the past week in various parts of England agricultural associations have been holding meetings, and agriculturists have dined and listened to the speeches of their members. At Maidenhead, Mr. Walter, M.P., addressed the Royal East Berks Association on the social state of the agricultural classes. At St. Neots, General Peel, M.P., and Lord Robert Montagu have done the like. At Woodstock, the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Henley, M.P., have discoursed on the progress and wants of agriculture. With one exception, however, the several speakers have abstained from more than a passing allusion to home or foreign politics. At King's Lynn, Mr. G. W. P. Bentinck, M.P., who with Mr. Gurden, M.P., was present at the meeting of the Marshland Agricultural Association, took the opportunity of alluding to the present state of affairs in America. After recalling to the mind of his hearers that last year he had held the opinion that the policy and duty of this country was at once to recognise the independence of the Southern States of America, Mr. Bentinck adverted to the horror excited for two years past by the tyranny practised by Mr. President Lincoln, and by the brutalities practised by General Butler. They had, said he, formed the topic of conversation and the scandal of Europe, and there was no limit to the strong expression of disgust with which the accounts of the transactions in that country had been received in what he, in contradistinction to them, would term the civilised world. He thought that England had learned from America the useful lesson that civilisation and humanity are not compatible with democratic institutions. As to Poland, Mr. Bentinck thought that the aim of France was to drag England into a war, the end of which would be an accession of territory to the former Power, while this country would be left in the lurch. At Shepperton, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer and Mr. Lindsay, M.P., attended the meeting of the Middlesex Agricultural Association, and, while the Chief Baron talked learnedly on agricultural science, Mr. Lindsay spoke at considerable length on the state of



affairs in America. Mr. Lindsay denied the statement of Earl Russell, that the sympathies of the majority of this country were in favour of the Northern States. Mr. Lindsay dwelt forcibly on the fallacy that the war was one of Abolition, on the abhorrence entertained towards the negro by the Northern people, and on the impracticability of emancipation, either at home or by exportation. He also spoke of the massacres and barbarities which appeared to be the natural result of the President's proclamation. He contended that if the North was to be supplied with cannon and ammunition it was injustice to refuse ships to the South. He held that the South must eventually succeed, and that the separation would not end in a mere division of North and South. Mr. Lindsay's opinions were greeted with unanimous applause.

The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia arrived at Dover on Wednesday the 30th of September, and at once proceeded to London. On the following day their Highnesses proceeded to Edinburgh, where they met the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were passing through the city on their way to England. On Friday, the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia proceeded to Balmoral on a visit to the Queen. The Prince and Princess of Wales have arrived at Marlborough House.

His Majesty George I., King of the Greeks, arrived at Dover on Monday last, on board the packet *Samphire*. He was met at Dover by the Greek Ambassador, and at the Victoria Station by his brother-in-law, the Prince of Wales. The King will be the guest of his Royal Highness at Marlborough House during the stay of his Majesty in London.

The Channel Fleet left the Bay of Dublin on the 1st of October, and is now lying off Plymouth. Prior to the departure of the ships, Mr. S. Graves, commodore of the Royal Mersey Yacht Club, who was on board the *Edgar* as the guest of Admiral Dacres, was presented with a silver claret jug and an address of thanks, in testimony of the kindness and hospitality shown by him to the petty officers and men of Her Majesty's ship *Defence* during her stay at Liverpool.

The *Great Eastern*, having survived the accidents of fire and flood, seems destined to succumb to the powers of the Court of Chancery. The *Great Ship Company* is in a state of considerable embarrassment. On Friday last a meeting was held, at which the report of the directors was read. In that document the actual receipts for the year are set down at £37,308, or £20,000 less than they would have been had not the rates of last year been reduced. The latter sum represents also the excess of the expenditure above the receipts for the current year. In fact, as the report says, immediate steps must be taken either to raise additional capital for the prosecution of the undertaking or to dissolve the company. Notice, moreover, had been given to the effect that the ship would be compulsorily sold in a fortnight. Proceedings, however, have been taken by one of the mortgagees in the form of an action at law, and, inasmuch as an order of adjournment has been granted by a judge at chambers on a summons in the action, the sale will be stayed, and the fate of the great vessel will probably remain in doubt for some time to come.

The Bishopric of Nassau, which became vacant some months since by the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Caulfield, has been filled by the nomination of the Rev. Addington R. P. Venables. The see of Nassau, which comprises the Bahamas, was founded in 1861, and Dr. Caulfield was the first Bishop. The nomination is vested in the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary for the Colonies, subject to the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sir William Atherton has resigned the office of Attorney-General. He was offered the judgeship vacant by the appointment of Baron Wilde to succeed the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell; but it is alleged that his state of health compelled him to relinquish all official work. Sir Roundell Palmer, the present Solicitor-General, will succeed to the office of Attorney-General, and Mr. Collier, Q.C., will, it is supposed, be appointed Solicitor-General.

The Liverymen of the City of London, convened on the 29th of September last in Common Hall, elected a citizen to fill the office of Lord Mayor for the year commencing on the 9th of November. According to custom the Lord Mayor went in state from the Mansion House to Guildhall, and thence, accompanied by the Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the chief officers of the Corporation, proceeded to the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, and, after the hearing of the sermon by the Lord Mayor's chaplain, returned to the Guildhall. There the Common Serjeant read over the names of the aldermen eligible for election, the show of hands was duly

taken, and the Sheriff's announced that the choice of the Livery had fallen on Alderman William Lawrence and Alderman Hale. Of these the Court of Aldermen, in virtue of their right, chose Alderman Lawrence, citizen and carpenter, who was then declared to be the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year. After the Alderman had returned thanks, a resolution was submitted to the meeting, embodying an expression of satisfaction on the part of the Common Hall at the mark of Royal favour shown to the Corporation by the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The resolution also deplored the attempt made to deprive the citizens of one of their most valued privileges by amalgamating their police with the metropolitan force, which it regarded as an unconstitutional and dangerous proceeding. The Lord Mayor, in his address, said that he believed the country was now thoroughly alive to the importance of the principle of local self-government, and to the dangerous tendency of that centralising system which aimed at the creation of a Minister of Police. From an official document recently compiled by Sir Richard Mayne, it had been inferred that there was an intention on the part of the Home Secretary to renew the struggle in the matter of the police amalgamation. If that were so, he warned the Government that the Corporation of London would again enter the lists with them in defence of a principle which they believed to lie at the foundation of popular freedom.

The first of the three autumnal meetings at Newmarket has passed off with considerable success. Thirty races were decided in the four days, and 207 competitors took part in the struggles for the various prizes. The Great Eastern Railway Handicap, being a subscription stake of £15 each, with £100 added by the Railway Company, attracted ninety-four subscriptions and brought twenty-five horses to the post. The race was won rather easily by Sir Alexis, a son of Stockwell, and the property of Sir Joseph Hawley, against whom the odds at starting were 17 to 1. This horse figured somewhat ingloriously in the Derby of 1862, and for some time was degraded to the position of a mere "hack" in the training establishment. His success was therefore a considerable surprise; but inasmuch as the distance of the race was but three-quarters of a mile, and the weight carried by him only 102 lbs., he is not to be esteemed an animal of decided merit. On the second day of the meeting the Ranger, who won the Grand Prix de Paris in May, beating the famous mare *La Touque* and Lord Clifden, but who did not maintain his reputation in the Doncaster St. Leger, contested two races. In the first of them he was defeated by Mr. Ten Broeck's mare *Tornado*, the daughter of the Wild Dayrell, and also by Turcos; and in the second contest he with difficulty defeated *Early Purl* for the Newmarket St. Leger Stakes. Assuredly these performances do not justify the rank he occupied in the spring among the finest champions of the turf, but it was obvious to the most superficial observer that neither the condition of his legs nor the state of his health were compatible with a just exhibition of his powers. In the race for the Queen's Plate, over a distance of more than four miles, *Isoline* maintained the reputation gained in her victory for the Goodwood Cup, by defeating, through indomitable courage, Mr. Savile's *Harlequin*, who but two days before had beaten *Hurricane*. This performance deserves especial attention. The exact distance traversed by *Isoline* was four miles one furlong and 173 yards, the weight carried by her was 113 lbs., and the time occupied in the journey was 8 min. 10 sec. *Isoline* can scarcely be considered equal to Lord Clifden, *Maccaroni*, or *Asteroid*, and she is but three years old. Yet the finest American performance on record is scarcely superior to that of *Isoline*. For it is recorded that on the 2nd of April, 1855, a time match was run at New Orleans between *Lecomte* and *Lexington*, in which the latter, who won, did the four miles in 7 minutes and 19½ seconds. In this race both horses were four years old, and carried 103 lbs., or 10 lbs. less than *Isoline*. Had they started in the race for the Queen's Plate they would have carried 133 lbs., or 20 lbs. more than *Isoline*. The only other race to which attention need be drawn is the Newmarket October Handicap, for which twenty-one horses came to the post, and which was won by the Monk, who, curiously enough, carried off this very prize two years ago. The gallant *Man-at-Arms* was second, and Lord William Powlett's beautiful mare *Eleanor* was third. The weather during the week was generally fine, the company considerable, and many of the races were well contested. After an interval of a week, Newmarket will again form the object of attraction to the racing world, the great *Cesarewitch* Stakes being fixed for the 13th October. The final meeting commences on the 26th October, at which the race for the *Cambridgeshire* Stakes will be decided.

The seventh annual meeting of the National Association for the promotion of Social Science was opened yesterday at Edinburgh by Lord Brougham, who delivered the inaugural address in the Free Church Assembly Hall. His lordship, in glancing at the aspect of affairs abroad, dwelt at some length upon the war in America. He said "the term Civil War is now hardly applicable to this miserable contest. The people of the South are banded against those of the North, exactly as any two European nations, differing in all respects save language, have been banded against each other—the Austrians and Prussians, for example." He declared that with the North emancipation is a hollow pretext. "Hollow we may well call it, for those who proclaimed emancipation confess that it was a measure of hostility to the whites, and designed to produce slave insurrection, from which the much-enduring nature of the unhappy negro saved the country. My esteemed friend, the prelate, who exalts by his eloquence and his virtues the name of Wilberforce, which he inherits, declared that the authors of the measure cared as little for the black's freedom as for the white's; and now they call for extermination of the one race to liberate the other." His lordship denounced Northern vanity and lust of empire. He said, "Man who is a prey to vanity thirsts not for the blood of his neighbour. How fearfully otherwise is it when a nation is its slave! Magnifying itself beyond all measure, and despising the rest of mankind—blinded and intoxicated with self-satisfaction—persuaded that their very crimes are proofs of greatness, and believing that they are both admired and envied, the Americans have not only not been content with the destruction of half a million, but been vain of the slaughter. Their object being to retain a great name among nations for their extent of territory, they exulted in the wholesale bloodshed by which it must be accomplished, because others were unable to make such a sacrifice." The noble lord drew a graphic picture of Northern despotism, and declared that the hatred to this country in the United States prevails in a degree "almost amounting to mental alienation."

The General Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England for the year ending the 1st November, 1862, has been published. The Board was appointed some fifteen years ago, with the object of applying the superfluities of the temporalities of episcopal sees and capitular corporations to the endowment of new livings or the augmentation of small benefices. To effect these purposes, all estates belonging to episcopal sees became, upon the death of the Bishop in possession at the time of the passing of the Act, vested in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and a large proportion also of the capitular estates has, by consent of the Deans and Chapters, been vested in the same Board. The Acts of Parliament setting forth the powers of the Board are numerous, complicated, and ill-drawn; and, inasmuch as they culminated in the Act of 1860, which, without contradiction is the worst of all, little regret need be felt at their impending annihilation. The Commission consists of fifty members, Bishops, Judges, and "persons of distinction," but the working members are three in number. From the report it appears, as may be expected, that the cost of administration is enormous. Thus, for the year the expense of management was £58,476, while the total amount applied to the endowment and augmentation of benefices and the general purposes of the Commission was but £196,408. The official establishment consumed £18,000, and the legal expenses £14,000. This year has moreover, not been an exceptional one, for during the last twelve years the funds administered for the purposes of the Commission have amounted to £1,710,453, while the expenses of management have reached the sum of £619,533. Probably the great blot in the structure of the Commission is its cumbrous character, inevitably leading to the drifting of the entire management into the hands of the officials.

#### THE CONTINENT.

FRANCE is not content with the failure of the intervention for Poland, and as the newspapers have not the slightest idea of the course which the Emperor intends to pursue, they are driven in their impatience to invent one for him. Thus we have had positive statements that the three Powers have addressed, or are prepared to address, a circular to their diplomatic agents, declaring that Russia has forfeited all her rights to Poland by her repudiation of the treaties of 1815—a story which can have no other foundation than the language of Earl Russell at Blairgowrie. No negotiations can be actively pursued at the present time. The Emperor has been at Biarritz; Earl Russell is still in Scotland; and his Lordship would hardly venture to commit England to a policy which involves so many dangers without consulting the Cabinet.



The three Powers have certainly not agreed to anything at present unless it be to put up with the rebuff they have received. It is rumoured that the Emperor means to consult the Corps Legislatif as to the course which he should pursue in this question, and that for this purpose the Chambers will be convoked for the 4th November. The convocation of the Chambers about that date is probable enough, but it is not likely that the Emperor will delay his decision to consult them. As himself the elect of the people, entrusted with full power and charged with the whole responsibility, he has no need of the approbation of the Corps Legislatif for war or peace. M. Billault, the President of the Council, the minister upon whom will devolve the onerous task of defending the Government against such skilful debaters as Thiers, Barryer, Jules Favre, and Marie, in the next session, has been unwell. Exaggerated statements created some disquietude, but according to the *Moniteur* his illness at no time presented a serious character, and he is now quite convalescent. Prince Napoleon is in London, but not, as was rumoured, upon any political mission.

A telegram from Thorn says, that an order of the day of the revolutionary Town Captain of Warsaw announces that the attempt upon the life of General Berg took place by order of the National Government, and that the measure was adopted with the view of compelling the general to declare his policy of extermination, which he would otherwise have carried out gradually and imperceptibly. To murder a man, as the National Government attempted to do, is rather an Irish way of inducing him to declare his policy. The excuse is a very pitiful one. Morally and politically such acts are perfectly indefensible; and the Poles will find that if they continue to have recourse to them they will tire out the long suffering sympathies of Europe. With reference to the conduct of the Russians towards the inmates of the Zamoyiski palace, the most conflicting accounts reach us. In the Polish version of the affair, the inmates of the palace were guiltless of all participation in the attempt upon the General, and were treated with a barbarity which is described in most luxurious detail. According to the Russian version, the bombs must have been thrown from the palace, and many of the inmates must have been privy to the attempt. Many of them had packed up their things, and had prepared for an immediate departure. Large stores of weapons, powder and ball were discovered, together with a powder manufactory, and a laboratory, in which it is supposed the bombs were made. Executions and murders are, however, the staple of the intelligence from Warsaw. On the one hand, the Russian Government shoots Polish *gendarmes* and the few executioners of the National Government's decrees it can find; on the other hand, the National Government continues to employ its agents to assassinate all persons who show any fidelity to the Russian Government. From all parts of Poland come stories which prove that both sides have abandoned all regard for humanity or decency: the struggle is carried on by the most revolting barbarities. A note has been addressed to the newspapers by Grabowski, an active agent of the National Government, a Prussian Pole, who has eluded prosecution by a timely flight, announcing that the National Government has appointed General Mieroslawski Organiser-general of the Polish troops. If the announcement be correct the "reds" have triumphed over the "whites," and the contest will henceforth be guided by the Polish democracy. The National Government ought to be the best judge in such a matter; but foreigners cannot help regarding this as a most injudicious appointment. It will disgust the Polish nobility, who have hitherto, by their great pecuniary sacrifices, found the means to keep up the contest; and it certainly will stimulate the Prussian Government to use severer measures of precaution. It is also said that Prince Ladislaus Czartoryski has resigned his post as agent of the revolutionary government, for two reasons: the one, probable enough, the attack made upon him by the Polish democracy; the other, quite incredible, an approximation of Russia and France, putting an end to all chance of French help. On the other hand, it is said by the *Patrie*, which probably speaks by the book, that the Prince is taking formal steps in the name of the Polish National Government to obtain from England and France the recognition of the Poles as belligerents. Taking formal steps "means, of course, no more than making a formal application" which is likely, for the present, at least, to be met by a refusal.

The dates of the Prussian elections are fixed. The primary elections, that is to say, the choice by the constituencies of the *Wahlmänner* or election-men, are appointed for the 20th of this month, and on the 28th the so-selected electors assemble and choose the deputies. The Minister of the Interior has addressed a circular to the Presidents of the Provinces relative to the conduct of

public functionaries in the elections. Count Eulenberg calls upon the presidents to watch very closely all functionaries, especially those of high rank, and to take care not only that they do not oppose the Government but that they work actively for it. "He who has sworn respect, fidelity, and obedience to the King his most gracious lord, is not released from that oath either as elector or elected, and when his Majesty points out positively the constitutional road upon which functionaries ought to accompany him, all are obliged to obey him; but those whom the royal grace has called, by a special confidence, to important political functions, are bound, moreover, to actively support the policy of the Government." The Minister concludes with this significant sentence: "The questions now at issue are of too great importance, the differences which are manifested are too considerable for the Government to renounce the rights which it has over its functionaries, and show [the same] clemency to which it might be disposed under other circumstances. In allowing the enemy to act in its own camp the Government would become a traitor to the cause which it is charged to defend with conviction and conscience." And the name of this minister is at the foot of the ministerial report we summarised last week, in which a German parliament was pronounced the sole remedy for the evils which afflict the German nation. No doubt the Government will act up to the threats of this circular and strain the law as much as possible to punish recalcitrant officials; but all its efforts will only obtain a small increase of its supporters in the next Chamber. The vast majority of the old members will be re-elected, and such changes as may take place will be the substitution of men of Democratic opinions for the old or moderate Liberals.

The Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath has adopted a motion for the abolition of the necessity of a government and parochial permission for marriage. In a large part of Germany a man is not allowed to marry unless he can satisfy the authorities of the parish that he can support a family and that his marriage is not likely to entail any burden upon the parochial funds. A telegram announces that the Minister of Finance has laid before the House a plan for the complete reform of the system of taxation.

The most important event we have to record this week—the most important event, perhaps, which we have recorded this year—is the adoption by the German Diet of the resolution of its committee recommending federal execution in Holstein and Lauenburg. Long threatened, it has come at last, and come at the most dangerous moment. A slight spark would now set Europe in a blaze, and in all human probability the entry of the federal soldiers into Holstein will supply that spark. The Diet, it will be remembered, summoned the Danish Government, under the threat of execution, to withdraw the ordinance of the 30th March, and fulfil the stipulations of 1851-52, according to the German interpretation, or accept the proposals of Earl Russell's despatch of September, last year. On the 27th August, the Danish Government made its reply, which amounts to a refusal. The Diet has now charged the governments of Hanover and Saxony to supply 6000 men, who are to occupy the Duchies, and to appoint two commissioners to administer the Government in the name of the King Duke. The occupation is to be prolonged until the Danish Government complies with all the demands of the Diet. As it is possible that Denmark may resist the occupation as unwarranted by the federal constitution, Austria and Prussia are called upon to supply a sufficient number of troops to overcome any opposition that may be offered. Three weeks are given the Danish Government to comply with the demands of the Bund. What course Denmark will take is not clear. She certainly will not comply with the summons of the Bund; but whether she will resist the occupation is not yet known. Most probably she will not. In any case it may be considered certain, that unless England and France interfere in an energetic manner the execution will take place, and then it is, humanly speaking, almost impossible that a war, certain to develop into a general one, should not break out.

The bills which the Danish Government has laid before the Rigsraad for a reform of that body may perhaps be described more correctly as a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig. Provincial affairs are to continue to be determined by the separate assemblies of the kingdom and of Schleswig. The Rigsraad, which now consists of only one house, which, since the abolition of the common constitution for Holstein and Lauenburg in 1858, has only sixty members, is, according to the new project, to consist of two houses, or "Things," the Landething and Folkething—the names of the two houses of the Rigsdag, or Parliament of Den-

mark Proper. The Landething is to be composed of the princes of the Royal house of age, and seventy-five members, of whom twenty-five—nineteen resident in the kingdom and six in Schleswig—are to be appointed by the King for twelve years. Forty of the other fifty members are to be elected from the kingdom and ten from Schleswig. The electoral qualification is an income of 1200 rix-dollars—rather more than £130—or the payment of 200 dollars taxation. The Folkething will consist of 130 members—101 for the kingdom and twenty-nine for Schleswig, elected by a suffrage which is pretty nearly universal.

General Montebello, the commander of the French army of occupation, has felt himself obliged to publish an order of the day which is a severe condemnation of the Papal Minister of War, Monsignor de Merode.

The order explains the causes of the difficulty. "On Thursday, the 10th September, on the banks of the Sacco," the boundary between the Italian and Papal territory, "within 200 metres of a French post, the pontifical *gendarme* Samorini fired twice, without any provocation, at inoffensive Italian soldiers"—two officers of the Italian frontier post, who were bathing. "The General commanding the division, having for his mission at the frontier to prevent any disturbance, decided that the *gendarme* should be tried by the divisional council of war. It was his right, his duty, but the culprit has been withdrawn from him. It remains for him to fulfil a duty of honour: to brand publicly an act, the repression of which escapes him, and to repel all connivance in the impunity which has been arranged for it." This step of General Montebello's will probably lead to his recall. The Pope will not brook such an insult as the publication of this order, and the Emperor will not break with the Pope.

Prince Humbert, the eldest son of the King of Italy is to reside in Naples this winter. The step is a very judicious one. Much of the discontent of the Neapolitans has its origin in the feeling that the city is reduced to the condition of a mere provincial town.

Sicily is in a very deplorable condition. Assassination and robbery are perpetrated with impunity. The attention of the Government is devoted to the seizure of the recalcitrant conscripts. The conscription is felt in Sicily as an evil which more than counterbalances all the advantages of the Garibaldi liberation. Flying columns traverse the island, surrounding the towns, and committing—if the organs of the Party of Action are to be believed—the most horrible atrocities.

By way of Berlin, we have the news that the Marquis Pepoli has concluded a treaty of commerce with the Russian Government, by which Italy is placed upon an equal footing with the most favoured nations. From Turin we hear that the minister will shortly arrive there on leave of absence. If the statement, with respect to the treaty, should be confirmed, the extreme party in Italy will cause a great commotion. To have treated with Russia at such a time will be pronounced treason to the cause of Poland and nationalities.

The public was informed in the daily papers of Saturday, by a despatch from Madrid, that the Democratic committee had issued a proclamation recommending the electors to abstain from voting—a resolution adopted a long time since—and that the Ministry await the result of the elections with confidence:—as well they may, when nearly all their opponents, convinced that they have no means of resisting the pressure exercised by the public functionaries upon the electors, have resolved to let them have everything their own way. The influence of the Government in Spain upon the elections is always enormous; but this time it seems that the agents of the Ministry have carried their zeal so far as to make all opposition a farce in the sense of its inutility, and something of a tragedy so far as the consequences to independent voters and candidates are concerned. A curious illustration of the severity of the *régime* under which the Spanish press suffers is afforded by a Royal decree, highly creditable to the Ministry, which restores to the family of Senor Calvo Assensio, the editor of the Progressist journal *La Iberia*, the fines paid by the deceased since the promulgation of the law. The amount to be refunded has been estimated at £6000 sterling.

M. James Fazy is one of the leaders of the Swiss Democracy, and has long enjoyed an enormous influence in the Canton of Geneva. Of late, however, his party has lost ground, and the majority of the Grand Council is Conservative. M. Fazy has long been the object of attack on the ground that he is the owner of a gambling house, and the authorities of Geneva have been exposed to much reproach for their determination to screen the leader of their party against the laws in force against such



houses. The Grand Council, discussing the report of the Council of State, the executive power of the Canton, noted a formal censure against that body, for not having applied a particular article of the penal code, interdicting games of chance, against M. Fazy's house. This resolution, which was carried after a stormy sitting, in which the galleries, filled with radicals, partisans of M. Fazy took, so far as noise was concerned, a very active part, was resented by the Council of State, which closed the session of the Grand Council. As both these bodies are appointed by direct election, it will be for the people to decide between them at the next election.

The session of the Ionian Parliament was opened on Thursday, and on Monday it voted the annexation to Greece, accompanying the vote with an expression of thanks to England—the first civil thing it has said of the protectorate. King George, after having visited St. Petersburg and Berlin, joined a family party at Rumpenheim, near Frankfurt, and paid his respects to King Leopold, has arrived in England. The Greek community intend to *fête* him. His Majesty is enjoying the sweets of royalty, and he is right to take what he can of them; he will find bitters enough in Athens.

### MEXICO.

The deputation of notables sent to offer the throne of Mexico to the Archduke Maximilian had an interview with that prince at his residence, at Miramar, near Trieste, on the 3rd inst. They appear to have been received in regal state, as appears from the account of the *Times'* Trieste correspondent:—

The Archduke had been obliging enough to hire for them the whole of the first floor of the principal hotel of the town, where two chamberlains were in attendance to show them their rooms. It appears the leading citizens of Trieste disputed with each other the honour of placing their equipages at their orders. They drove out to Miramar on Saturday in the archducal carriage, and were received by the future Emperor, surrounded by his aides-de-camp, chamberlains, and household, all, of course, in gala-dresses. After the usual compliments, they exhibited the vote of the "notables" of Mexico engrossed on parchment. It was enclosed in the handle of a sceptre of solid gold which had been sent from Mexico, and had been made at the shortest notice by Mexican artists. This emblem of sovereignty represents two eagles supporting the Imperial crown, with a serpent in their beaks, encircled with a garland of laurels and olives. M. Gutierrez de Estrada was the spokesman on the occasion. He described the events and vicissitudes which had led the Mexican nation to seek in the re-establishment of monarchy the term of their discords, which he showed to be the necessary consequence of all that has occurred since the emancipation of the old Spanish colonies. As a matter of course he paid a just tribute of homage to the Emperor Napoleon III. (and to France) who took so leading a part in the great and noble task of Mexican regeneration. He added, that in making choice of an Austrian Prince, the "notables" had only rendered homage to the popular traditions of the country, and that the most prosperous period ever known by the Mexicans was while they were under the domination of the Archduke's ancestors. M. Gutierrez de Estrada grew warm with his theme. The finger of God, he said, by endowing the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian with the richest and rarest qualities, pointed and designed him as the object of the unanimous choice of the people. The Archduke could not refuse the crown thus spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to him without opposing the designs of Providence; and if Providence had brought out to light the gifts and merits of the Prince, it was clearly in order to direct them towards the fulfilment of the great work: the salvation and regeneration of Mexico.

The Archduke's reply was in effect an acceptance of the proffered crown, with such reserves as became the dignity of a prince of the oldest sovereign house in Europe, on such conditions as might have been expected, and, indeed, were accepted. Although we cannot approve of the principle of universal suffrage for a people, more than one-half of whom are Indian serfs, and at least, a third of the whole half-castes, the Archduke cannot be blamed for desiring an additional and more formal expression of the national will. The Stock Exchange has found the reply not quite satisfactory, simply because it believes to read in Earl Russell's speech that England will withhold even that moral guarantee which is all that is asked of her. We believe that in this respect the Stock Exchange attaches undue importance to the Blairgowrie manifesto. We subjoin the text of the Archduke's speech, on which we comment elsewhere more at length:—

The wishes of the Mexican Assembly of Notables have touched me deeply. It cannot but be exceedingly flattering for our House that they have turned their eyes to the descendants of Charles V. Although the mission of maintaining the independence and welfare of Mexico on a solid foundation, and with free institutions, is a most noble one, I must, nevertheless, in complete accordance with the views of the Emperor Napoleon, declare that the monarchy cannot be re-established on a legitimate and firm basis without a spontaneous expression of the wishes of the whole nation. I must make my acceptance of the throne dependant upon a *plébiscite* of the whole country. On the other hand, it would be my duty to ask for guarantees, which are indispensable to secure Mexico against the dangers which threaten her integrity and independence. Should these guarantees be obtained, and the universal vote of the nation be given in my favour, I am ready to accept the crown, subject to the approval of the Emperor, my brother. In case Providence should call me to this high mission, I must at once declare that it is my firm intention to

open the path of progress by a Constitution, as was done by my brother, and after the complete pacification of the country to seal the fundamental law with an oath. By such means only can a new and really national policy be called into existence by which all parties, forgetting old disputes, would co-operate with me in raising Mexico to a prominent rank among nations. Carry back with you these frank declarations to your fellow-citizens, and act in such a manner that it may become possible for the nation to declare what form of government it desires to have."

### ST. DOMINGO AND HAYTI.

THE latest news from Havannah show that the fears expressed in the letter from St. Domingo which we published last week had but too good foundation. The revolt is described as spreading, and although Puerto Plata had been retaken from the insurgents by an assault, in which the Spaniards, according to the bulletin, performed prodigies of valour, made a great slaughter and sustained a trifling loss themselves, the Spanish forces under the command of Santana are, it is admitted, closely pressed by the insurgents.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the island President Jeffrard has been opening the Parliamentary session. His speech to the senators and representatives of the Haytian Republic is a lecture to the representatives after the Prussian fashion. It seems, according to the President, that "the representatives of the people of the 10th legislative period have not been penetrated with the thought that without a complete accord between the Executive and the legal representatives of the nation, the development of our institutions is an impossible work." On the contrary, in spite of all the President's "moderation and patience during two sessions," they put him "by their blind and systematic opposition in the painful necessity of dissolving the Chambers." He appeals to the new representatives to lend him a loyal co-operation. "The political struggles of persons and of *amour propre* in creating a sterile antagonism can only hinder the march of public affairs and become fatal to our independence. Let us escape from this fatal road of agitation and conflict." It is curious to see how glibly this language, of which we have had so much in Europe, falls from the lips of a black creature of universal suffrage. Who shall say that the blacks are not equal to the whites when they can so soon pick up this jargon? The President goes on to say that his relations with foreign powers are excellent, and to promise that the secretary of state will give a full account of the reforms and ameliorations *already realised*. President Jeffrard is a clever man. He puts his laws into execution, and then asks parliamentary assent further.

### NEW ZEALAND.

A telegram, giving news from Melbourne to the 25th of August, says that the war in New Zealand is spreading, that the Maories are appearing in great numbers, and that reinforcements are necessary. This want of reinforcements, the *Globe* announces, has already been provided for.

### ANOTHER FEDERAL BLUNDER AND DISASTER.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, September 12.

THE extensive reinforcements lately sent from Vicksburg to New Orleans were indicative that Banks was preparing for a vigorous, perhaps important, fall campaign in this Department. The entire force concentrated here within a few weeks past cannot fall far short of 40,000 men. For some days past a large number of these troops have been in motion for the next grand movement. A week ago last Friday the movement commenced. General Washburne's column of 15,000 men was sent to Brashear City. At the same time Herron's division, say 7,000 men, moved from Port Hudson up the Mississippi towards the mouth of Red River, while Franklin, with 3,000 men, went down the river to the Gulf from this city. There were thus three distinct columns on the march at once, while a fourth column, the 19th Army Corps (Ord's), was preparing to move, a large part of the regiments belonging to that corps having already been sent to Ship Island. In addition to all these movements, which were supposed to be secret, Banks chartered a number of transports which lay at the Levee under orders to be in readiness to sail at any moment.

What did all this mean? Our Mobile friends, in view of the sudden concentration of troops at Ship Island, and knowing that the Federal force at Pensacola, Florida, had lately also been reinforced, looked for an immediate advance upon their city. They expected the advance from the three points—Pascagoula and Pensacola on the coast, and from the interior, *via* Montgomery, by a division from Grant's Vicksburg army. The Mobile newspapers seemed quite anxious about it, and warned the people to look for the attack at any time. That they have not been idle, in making preparations for the expected assault, is evident from the following, which is taken from an editorial in the *Mobile Register*, September 1:—

All accounts from New Orleans state that the Federals are coming over here very soon, to "gobble up" Mobile. They affect to be quite sure of an easy job of it. Vicksburg has

made them vain again and turned their heads. Well, Mobile has been taking lessons too, and her studies do not date from the fall of Vicksburg, but from the sacrifice of New Orleans. We have here prosecuted branches of practical engineering similar to those described at Savannah. We have hemmed ourselves in and the Yankees out with Chinese walls above ground, and with hospitable preparations to receive the promised visits under and on top of earth, which afford us the perfect assurance that "our house is in order" for all the eventualities of war. Many people in the interior take it for granted they Mobile must knock under to the Yankees as soon as that knock at our doors. They are as much mistaken as the Yankees are. If Mobile is half as well defended as Charleston has been, the gridiron flag will never fly over it. Vicksburg was supposed to be impregnable by these people, and when it fell the bottom of the tub of defensive engineering fell out with them, and nothing could be held against the Yankees. Yet a sand battery on Morris Island has for forty days resisted a fire to which that of Sebastopol was but play. Our unhelpful friends in the interior will perhaps be surprised to hear the opinion that Mobile is stronger than Vicksburg, both in the means of offence and defence. That is our opinion, and when the trial comes it will be verified. Governor Shorter lost his election mainly by his patriotic efforts to supply the labour to work on Mobile defences. First and last he sent to our engineers from 8,000 to 10,000 hands. What do the doubters suppose these hands have been about under the direction of the best engineering talent in the Confederacy? Let them come and see, and change their opinions.

Now leaving Mobile alone for the present, as I have before written you the Federals will do, let me note what was undoubtedly intended by the late movements of the Federal army in this department.

The movement did not indicate an immediate advance upon Mobile; it did look like a march upon Texas, and in the following order: Franklin's column would go by the Gulf to Sabine Pass, while Washburne's column crossed the Bay at Brashear City and attacked the Taylor-Mouton army on the Teche; Herron being in readiness to cut off the retreat of the Confederates towards Red River, while Franklin would be equally in position to prevent them from retreating into Texas. The movement thus contemplated the "gobble" of the 10,000 or 15,000 men on the Teche, or their destruction as an army, and then a triumphal march through Western Louisiana into Texas; to Houston first, which was to be reduced and occupied, and then by land to Galveston, which was to be besieged and reduced at leisure. Meanwhile, when this grand movement had sufficiently progressed towards a favourable completion, the chartered transports would be sent from here to bring back a greater part of the troops from Texas, to carry them eastward to Pascagoula and to Pensacola, and then to invest Mobile in the rear.

This plan, which looks very well on paper, and which is believed to have been dictated by Halleck himself, makes no allowance whatever for the fact that the Confederates might possibly do all they could to prevent its accomplishment.

Franklin, with Weitzel, Emory, 3,000 men, 13 transports, and 2 gunboats (the Arizona and Crescent City), left this city last week to commence the Texas campaign. Washburne's column having arrived at Brashear City, and at Bayou Boeuf near by, the Federal force there was large enough to permit the two gunboats in Berwick Bay to depart and join the Texas movement. The Schem and Clifton accordingly sailed away from Brashear, and joined Franklin's expedition in the Gulf. The whole Franklin force arrived at Sabine Pass, the boundary between Texas and Louisiana, last Tuesday. The Clifton crossed the bar first, the Schem following, and the first transport, the Banks, which had on board Weitzel's 500 men, who were to make the first landing to assault the work on shore, was about one hundred yards in the rear. On board the Clifton were 130 sharpshooters belonging to Weitzel's brigade, who were taken on board from the camp at Brashear City.

It had been reported to the Federals that the Confederate defences at Sabine Pass consisted solely of a small earthwork, mounting two old-fashioned 24's and two old 32's, with perhaps a piece or two of field artillery. Instead of this, they found a very fine work, mounting, as they soon discovered, seven large siege guns. What followed can be narrated in as brief time almost as the events occurred. The Clifton and Schem were allowed to fire several times, but as soon as they were in proper position the battery opened upon them both with terrible effect. A shot went through the steam drum of the Schem, and at the same moment she grounded. The Clifton was terribly cut to pieces. She also grounded, and showed the white flag. Seven men who escaped from this gunboat swam to the shore and were taken off by boat and brought to one of the transports. They say that thirty men were killed and wounded on the Clifton. At the same time there were four Confederate gunboats above the work in Sabine Lake, which did not need to take part in the action. Two of them came down and took the prisoners and property from the two grounded gunboats. The whole action did not last fifteen minutes.

The whole Federal fleet was witness to this short but sharp affair, and as soon as the Schem and Clifton were lost, the expedition returned, minus those two boats, to the Gulf. The capture of the guns, on the Clifton especially, is a most valuable one to the Confederates. Driving back the whole expedition from Texas is an immense success. The Federals all came back, part of them to Brashear and the rest to this city, arriving last night and to-day. As soon as Banks heard of the disaster and failure of the expedition he ordered the immediate discharge of the chartered and seized transports that were to join in the movement upon Mobile. Washburne's column has not yet crossed Berwick Bay; Herron is believed to be marching back to Port Hudson; the conquest of Texas is necessarily postponed for a few days; and, as I wrote you last, there are no indications of an immediate movement upon Mobile. There will be no doubt, however, a lively fall campaign in this Department. There is nothing more of moment to send by this mail.



## TENNESSEE, MISSOURI, AND KANSAS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, September 23.

THIS steamer will bring you very encouraging news from the South. The grand Federal expedition into Texas, which, after so much preparation, set out on its march to easy victory, has been repulsed in one of the most important movements forward, and been compelled to return; and a great disaster has fallen upon the Federal arms by the defeat, near Chattanooga, of the grand army of General Rosecrans, from which so much was expected.

The previous accounts left General Rosecrans advancing, without sensible opposition, through South-east Tennessee, into Georgia, threatening the interior lines of communication with Richmond, and the cutting of the Confederacy in two by a line from Charleston to the Mississippi; and a column under General Burnside was advancing from Kentucky, aiming at a junction in North-western Georgia. Rosecrans occupied Chattanooga, and Burnside Knoxville. The Confederate army under General Bragg was represented in the Union papers as hopelessly demoralised by desertions, in companies and brigades, and retiring, unable to make any head against the victorious Yankees, with the purpose to attempt a stand to cover Atlanta, if possible, and prevent the enemy from penetrating into the interior of Georgia.

But instead of being disheartened, scattered and disorganised, the Confederates have been engaged, with amazing energy, in concentrating their forces, and collecting recruits; and having watched their opportunity for attack have turned upon General Rosecrans with terrible vigour. The battle commenced on Saturday the 11th, and was renewed on Sunday. The details have not reached us with anything like accuracy. What has reached the public has been diluted through the administrative censorship of telegraph lines and the press, and is undoubtedly falsified, as is always the case after great battles, to weaken the effect of disaster on the public mind. But enough is known and confessed, to show that Rosecrans suffered a terrible repulse, and to warrant the belief, when all is told, that he has sustained a most disastrous defeat; which must have a very beneficial result to the South in the progress of this campaign and on the issues of the war. The effort to penetrate into Georgia, in order to give co-operation in the assault upon Charleston and the projected movement on Richmond, is baffled; and the inquiry which disturbs the Yankees most is—whether the “magnificent army,” which has been driven back upon Chattanooga, can succeed in staying there, or must go back and give up East Tennessee. To the Confederates the battle is a great achievement of arms; and a refutation to the world of the vainglorious boasts of the Federal Government and its oracles that defeats have weakened the determination of the people of the South to battle on for their independence to the “bitter end.”

The Confederates say that the continuous fire of their batteries has made it impossible for General Gilmore to plant his guns on Cumming's Point or Fort Wagner—that he complains of the inactivity and incompetency of the navy, and has a serious quarrel with Admiral Dahlgren, whose removal he has asked for from Washington, with the alternative of sending in his own resignation, and that in the interim he has suspended the siege. There is a fact confirmatory of this, that the latest accounts from Hilton Head state that the Federals have ceased firing. This waits for confirmation.

There is a notable example of the effrontery with which the cant of the blessings of Union, as carried to the South by Federal arms, is talked of, in the language with which the Philadelphia press of yesterday speaks of the battle at Chattanooga. The editor of the *Press*, Jno. W. Forney, is proprietor also of the *Chronicle* at Washington City. These two papers are more than any others in direct communication with President Lincoln; he is also Secretary of the Senate of the United States, and an oracle among the partisans of the Administration. Treating of that battle as a great triumph for the North, whether a victory or not, because it has got so far into the South to fight, he speaks of the Northern progress to that point in the following terms:—

Our armies stand in the centre of the South, and behind them, two happy States which they have wrested from rebellion and restored to loyalty and peace from the grandeur of our past achievements.

By the two “happy States” which have been rescued from the rebels and restored to loyalty and peace, he means, of course, Mississippi and Tennessee—the only Confederate States in which their troops have won victories. The “loyalty” of these States is witnessed by the fact that there is not a point in either of them where there is any professed Unionism which is capable of sustaining itself beyond the reach of Federal guns. Of their “peace” it may be said that wherever the Union troops are not in overwhelming force the Confederates swarm, and disappear only when pressed, to reappear again when the outposts or the marches of the invaders are to be harassed.

There are horrible accounts from the frontier between Kansas and Missouri. It is far out of the way of the main operations of the armies of the two Governments. The region is under the military administration of the United States, without a competing army of any strength within reach. The original animosities between Secessionism and Unionism there, have, in the absence of civil rule and the prevalence of military disorder, been aggravated by local excitements to a pitch of ferocity which would be beyond belief but for the convincing proofs which abound in well-authenticated forms. Armed bands of desperate and lawless men range throughout the country, under various designations, and burn and destroy, murder and pillage, without check by authority, military or civil, State or National. The question is no

longer whether a man is for the Union, except he is for all the measures of emancipation, confiscation, and the arming of blacks, which the Administration has adopted, and all the personal glosses of extermination and robbery, which are added by its roving partisans. Whoever hesitates to give instant adhesion is summarily dealt with by the bullet or rope, his house burned, and his property carried off. The predatory bands who go about enforcing these Union tests, find easy grounds for suspicion when they want an excuse for violence; and more often work their will without the ceremony of an excuse. Resistance was made, of course; retaliation followed; men fought first for defence, then attacked for revenge, then doubtless are inflamed or starved into being plunderers in their turn, equally remorseless. The strife has spread through the two States, and has taken the character of internecine war at home, and warfare between the border inhabitants on either side, without respect to opinions. They burn each other houses and shoot and kill without mercy, like savages. A gang of “rebel” sympathisers, so-called, under a chief named Quantrell, lately sacked and burned the town of Lawrence in Kansas, under circumstances of great reported barbarity. It was a piece of bloody and unchristian retaliation for a long series of alleged outrages from Kansas, in Missouri. The populace of Kansas, headed by General James Lane, who is a brigadier-general in the United States service and Senator from Kansas in the United States Senate, met under the eyes of the United States commander of the Department, and deliberately determined to invade the State of Missouri, on their own account, and voted to lay waste and utterly devastate the whole tier of counties in Missouri along the Kansas line, to drive out or kill all the inhabitants, and make a desert of their territory, to be interposed as a protection to Kansas. This General and Senator Lane, in a frantic public speech, inciting his hearers to this bloody work, made a public boast of the fate he had bestowed on a citizen of Missouri—an avowed and notorious Unionist—for saying that in the event of the adoption by the Government of the exterminating policy of Abolitionism, his feelings would be with the South. “Where is he?” shouted one of the crowd. “In hell,” responded the ruffian. “I left him with his executioners.” This man's scheme of invasion has been organised, and the inroad on Missouri has already commenced. The Missouri papers are filled with accounts of plunderings and ravagings all along the border; but Lane is undisturbed, and continues to enjoy, as before, the favour of the President, of whom he is an intimate friend.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, October 6th.

THE Archduke has, as was foreseen, accepted the Mexican crown, for the reserves he makes are clearly understood to be merely formal expressions. The terms in which he spoke of the French Emperor have given great satisfaction here, and the second act in the historical drama of the regeneration of Mexico has thus been happily completed. The next will task the best energies of all the actors, if only one half be true of all that is said of the chronic state of society in that country. Wisely, the Archduke, in promising liberal institutions, reserves to himself the determination of when they are to be granted, at the same time that he invites all parties to hasten this epoch by forgetting past differences. He is expected at Compiègne about the end of the month, when the terms on which the French army of occupation will be maintained are to be settled. The new position taken by the Federal Government in America with regard to Mexico, as shown by the despatches from its Minister there, Mr. Corwin, has not attracted much comment in the French press, although the contents of the despatches have been published in most of the papers. These despatches were evidently prepared on instructions from Washington to afford a plausible excuse for recognising the new Government, in hopes of thus preventing an alliance between it and the Confederacy. For the moment the move seems successful, so far at least as can be judged from the language of the *Mémorial Diplomatique* of this week, which is believed to be in the confidence of the Foreign Minister here. This Mexican business has caused great anxiety and given great trouble to the French Government, and we may gather from the expressions used in reproducing the *Tribune's* article on the subject of Mr. Corwin's correspondence, that there is no wish here to take the initiative in any step which could lead to further complications.

The *Mémorial* does full justice to the absurdity of the report which sent Mr. Stephens on a diplomatic tour in Europe, and to the ignorance of those who know so little of the constitutional position of the Vice-President of the Confederacy, or of the power of the executive Government to interfere with the social laws of the various States. The theory of the American Constitution, that of North and South being in this respect similar, is so foreign to European ideas that we have to remind ourselves perpetually that the Central Government possesses only delegated and limited powers. It may be instructive for those who have been led by the declamations of the Northern press and its revolutionary compeers in Europe to believe that the question of Emancipation has really any interest for them except as a catch-word, to see how the *Siecle* treats the report that Mr. Stephens was empowered to make a treaty containing a clause in favour of abolition.

The English papers announce that Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederate States, is expected in Paris, furnished with full powers to conclude a treaty with the French Government containing a clause for the abolition of slavery. If he comes to Paris with this intention, we believe that Mr. Stephens will return as he came. The time for recognising the South, if there ever was one, is past. By arming the negroes and speaking of emancipation, the South only proves

that it has exhausted all means of resistance, nor can concessions thus wrung from it in *extremis* conciliate the sympathy of liberals in Europe or elsewhere. The South, in the struggle which it has begun and carried on with such obstinacy, has certainly proved its bravery, but this bravery will not suffice to obtain pardon for the blow it has inflicted on a constitution which was the admiration and hope of the friends of liberty. In refusing every compromise only to proclaim the abolition of slavery on the ruins of its principal cities, the South has shown itself headstrong rather than heroic. It will fall without exciting a feeling of admiration, or even of pity.

The day after this was written the same paper was obliged to print the despatches which prove that the South, caring little for its admiration, is in no need of the pity it would refuse; and the *Mémorial*, having characterised those who accepted the story of Mr. Stephens' mission as having merely fanciful notions about American institutions, both in North and South, makes a *volte-face*, and says: “However fanciful may be our notions about Mr. Davis's Government, we never pushed fancy to the extreme of believing that he either wished or was able to abolish slavery.” Such contradictions are the best proof how little such writers have at heart the emancipation on which alone they now found their advocacy of the North, while the treatment of the unhappy blacks who, in Louisiana, have fallen under the sway of their Northern allies, is the best evidence how undesirable for the slaves themselves such emancipation would be.

The Polish question daily fills less space in the greater number of the Paris papers. It has afforded matter for long and passionate controversy, and has now served its turn. Beyond the limits of the great towns, Poland excites no sympathy. The lovers of order have no affection for either party in the struggle; for, if the revolutionary element becomes daily more menacing in Poland, they cannot forget that the most destructively and systematically revolutionary Government in the world is, and always has been, that of Russia.

Denmark and Prussia furnish the occasion for paragraphs which only prove how little interest is here felt on either subject. Denmark has been so long threatened that no one believes in the “federal execution,” and the Germans have shown themselves so incapable of conducting a political struggle that, however earnest the Prussian people may now be, no one gives them credit for practically vindicating their rights. Some of the French papers regard the Crown Prince's visit to England as a respectful protest against his father's present acts, and perhaps as a means of escaping the catastrophe which may await him.

There was a great fête in the Champ de Mars on Sunday, to see the first ascension of Nadar's giant balloon, a description of which you have, doubtless, by this time seen in the London papers. Some 20,000 people surrounded the balloon, looking like a mere handful in the vast space, on the outside of which a crowd probably ten times as great was assembled. The boulevards were deserted, and all the holiday folk seemed to have rendez-vous'd at the Champ de Mars.

Paris is filling rapidly. All the Ministers have returned to their posts excepting M. Billaut, who has been dangerously ill, and is only now recovering. The Emperor is expected this evening at St. Cloud, with the Prince Imperial, the Empress having taken a long route by sea, coasting the peninsula to pay a visit to the young Queen of Portugal, and inhale the balmy breezes of her native Spain before encountering the fatigues of the winter campaign. The excursion was the result of a sudden determination, unsuspected by the Court till the eve of her departure. She is not expected here for ten days.

RECENT PROMOTIONS.—Among the recent promotions in the Confederate army are the following:—Colonel H. W. Allen, of Louisiana, to be Brigadier-General, to rank from August 19; Colonel C. A. Rattle, of Alabama, to rank as Brigadier-General, from August 20; Colonel William A. Quarles, of Tennessee, to rank as Brigadier-General, from August 25; Colonel Goode Bryan, of Georgia, and Colonel W. H. Kirkland, of North Carolina, to rank as Brigadier-Generals, from August 29; Colonel Robert D. Johnson, of North Carolina, to rank as Brigadier-General, from September 1; Colonel M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, and Colonel William C. Wickham, of Virginia, to be Brigadier-Generals of cavalry, from September 1.

EARL RUSSELL IN SCOTLAND.—Earl Russell has availed himself of the opportunity presented to him by a small circle of Scotch admirers to deliver a speech on his own life in general, and his present policy as Foreign Minister in particular. . . . Our immediate interest is in what he says about the great struggle going on in America. And, in reading his speech, we are particularly impressed with two features in it. The first is, the apologetic tone he adopts throughout. The Foreign Secretary seems to labour under the conviction that certain parties have been watching him with suspicion and anxiety; and he is desirous, above all things, of convincing them that their surmises are utterly groundless. Thus, his self-vindication is addressed almost exclusively to the partisans of the North. Indeed, for the South he has not a single encouraging word. Their gallantry in battle, the prescience and power of their statesmanship, and the determination and intensity of their patriotism are nothing to him. On Mr. Sumner he can waste whole paragraphs of expostulation; but President Davis he treats with silent contempt. He deprecates in really eloquent language a war between England and America, but the question of the relations between England and the Confederate States is too insignificant to claim his notice even for a single moment. His talk about “justice,” to which he has evidently endeavoured to give a tone almost of Ministerial sublimity, is addressed, not to the combatants as such, on equal terms, but to the North, which is perpetually manifesting a peevish and childish irritability with which, for ourselves, we grew irreclaimably disgusted a long time since. In short, the entire purport of the noble earl's address was to convince Mr. Lincoln that Great Britain would do everything it could to further his schemes, short of fighting for him; and that he had not only the sympathies, but the timid and suppliant devotion of the English Government. This he evidently, with a characteristic Yankee twist in his logic, regards as neutrality.—*Sunday Times*.



## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, Oct. 7.

THE prediction with which some weeks ago I opened this correspondence, is in a fair way of being fulfilled by the event. The flagrantly unpatriotic conduct of the Union and Emancipation Society, of which—in an evil hour for his political hopes—Mr. T. B. Potter consented to act as President, has at length forced the would-be re-employers of Lancashire labour, to speak out and to make their people's cause their own. For this seeming partisan turn of affairs in favour of the Confederacy, the Northern factionists here must be held to be entirely responsible. If there had been no Union and Emancipation Society, there had been no Southern Independence Association. And the former body, which—grievously to the honourable gentleman's discredit—has recently enlisted Mr. Forster in its service, will probably rue the day it constituted itself the un-English exponent and advocate of a "warm neutrality." The agitation they have so disloyally taught us we are now called to execute in turn, and it will be in mere self-defence if we better the instruction.

A large and most influential meeting of our leading merchants and manufacturers was held on Monday at the Clarence Hotel. The ostensible purpose of the gathering was to unite certain independent Southern societies here, but the real object was undoubtedly to give expression to the feelings of the vast majority of all classes in Lancashire upon the subject of the American war. Lord Wharncliffe, as President-elect of the newly constituted association, took the chair at that important meeting, and certainly the thanks of all of us, whether we belong to the represented or unrepresented classes, are due to his lordship for the manly and outspoken way in which he defined the principles and objects of the great movement he has taken upon himself to lead. His speech—which I have the pleasure of forwarding herewith for publication—though brief for so large a subject, was eminently comprehensive. His lordship's view of the real objects and bearings of the war approved itself to the reasonable convictions of all who knew him, while the unhesitating avowal of his opinion as to the right of that "gallant and distinguished nation" to be recognised by the great powers of Europe, was welcomed with the most enthusiastic cheering. Nor was his lordship less successful in dealing with that sickening portion of the subject, known as the "slavery aspect" of the war. Of course we are all agreed that slavery is an evil, but some few of us seem disposed to forget that many evils are worse than slavery. For instance, it is worse than slavery, and better worth going to war about, that a great nation should be a great bully. It is also worse than slavery when we find it is no thanks to Abraham Lincoln that some millions of slaves have not been incited to massacre the undefended women and children on their masters' estates. But worst of all is it when a base attempt is made to trade upon England's cherished sympathy for the bondman, and to steal from us on that account, by the aid and complicity of some who should not stoop to such dishonour, a sham appearance of support of the most detestable and unjustifiable war ever permitted to be waged against a gallant people.

It is, however, worthy of remark, that Lord Wharncliffe's arguments were in the main in the interests of peace. In any event, argued his lordship, with or without recognition of the South, the North should be bound over to keep the peace. Without recognition and upon the unimaginable supposition that the North could succeed in subjugating the South, the Northern armies would have more than they could do to hold the territory they have yet to conquer. On the other hand, with recognition, the North would be all unable to bear up against the massive moral pressure of European opinion. War, on the part of the North, would mean not merely war with England, but with England and France; and the bare risk of a war even with the latter Power alone was "a contingency which no sane American could contemplate with complacency." The least, however, that would have to be done before such a "contingency" could be reckoned possible, would be for the civil Government at Washington to place a good deal more confidence in itself than it has been able to do heretofore. The mere shadow, ere now, of a temporary military success has been enough to scare the Federal officials with the presage of downfall. They have confessed, before this, their contemptible weakness on that point, and that, too, in a way in which, but for the fortunate lack of repeated opportunities, they would have confessed it oftener. Any military servant had only to be a likely man to go near winning a battle, to be cashiered for his popularity with the army. But, at all events, the civil masters at Washington are entitled to all the consolation they can extract from the chance that, probably, their places will not again be jeopardised for a while in the same peculiar fashion. The hour, indeed, for an armed despotism at the White House has struck long ago, if only the man were forthcoming to command the necessary preliminary success in the field.

But humouring a moment the supposition that the North may seek to snatch a desperate safety in a foreign war, then, Lord Wharncliffe argued, the first blow and the hardest one would be struck against us in Canada. In that event, our best hopes of conquering a speedy peace from the Yankees would be centred in our close and hearty amity with the Confederacy. Our interest, therefore, are at one with our sympathies. The Southern States would thus find work for the enemy's land forces, while our iron-clads could be safely left to yield their own account at sea. Failing such a bond of union with the South, the consequences could not be contemplated but with horror. During no portion of his lordship's address was the enthusiasm more striking than when he handled that supposed case. The idea of Canada being given up a prey to hordes of hirelings, officered, in at

least some instances, by ruffians with no touch of honour, truth, or pity, roused his lordship to more eloquence than he is usually given to. And this frightful peril forthwith, was to be incurred for the sake of the most unchivalrous people on the face of the earth,—a people who have no sense of the noble spirit of warfare—no notion of those recognised amenities which soften even the rugged profession of arms, and the practice of which has become a habit with European nations after centuries of gallant strife.

But, after all, without undervaluing the importance of the address from the noble President, I must say that the pith and full meaning of the meeting would be better got at from the speeches of the Manchester men themselves. These were not the set speeches of people with a professional turn for local political oratory, but the involuntary expressions of the leading representatives of the business interests of the city. To say that these gentlemen's names are scarcely known, except on 'change, is almost to define their character and influence: while the same fact is eloquent of the honourable reluctance with which they have stepped out of their privacy to meet the necessity of the time. As their speeches were not reported in the Manchester press, it may not be out of place if I give a brief summary of one or two of them from my private notes.

Mr. T. H. Birley said they would not be holding a meeting of that unusual character, if it were not to protect themselves against a society in Manchester, called the Union and Emancipation Society. It was indeed high time that some steps should be taken to disabuse the public mind—and notably the mind of one of our statesmen—of the condition and tendency of public feeling in England. The association which had been inaugurated that day, ought, under the circumstances, to have been established long ago, for he believed such an association would express the opinion of the large majority throughout the country. They all knew that the only argument advanced by the Union people in Manchester, was the much abused argument of slavery. That was not the place to speak of the hollow pretensions of the Federal Government,—or rather of its friends in England,—in making this an anti-slavery war; nor was their any need to remark that the slave was not likely to form any very elevated notion of liberty when he found it offered to him by fire and sword. Surely, not even the Union and Emancipation Society would come forward and recommend that more life should be lost in administering that kind of freedom. He did not think the members of that society would be disposed to fight in such a cause themselves, and they ought not to recommend that course to others. With regard to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, the author of it had said that if it was illegal, it was worthless. Well, it was not only illegal, and therefore worthless, but, as Lincoln himself wrote to his friends, it was known to be illegal, and was intended to be worthless. The object of the Southern Independence Association was clearly defined. It was to protect themselves against misrepresentations calculated at once to bring Manchester into disgrace, and to be made use of to the disadvantage of a struggling nation. With regard to the desired accomplishment of recognition, he believed it was but a work of time. The ministry discredited the notion that the South could ever be subjugated, and he believed they were only waiting for the proper opportunity to recognise them as an independent nation.

Mr. E. Hardcastle, after referring to topics in the foregoing speech, regretted that the society was not formed at an earlier period of the struggle. If any apology were needed, other than that of self-defence, for the establishment of such an association, it would be found in the proved necessity for doing something to correct Earl Russell's mis-statement at Blairgowrie; and since so much time had been lost in forming their society, they ought to be grateful to the Foreign Minister for the occasion and the spur his lordship had just given. That opportunity would give point to the movement. It was incumbent upon all who thought Earl Russell in error to bear witness accordingly. Mr. Forster, in his speech at Leeds, had stated that the upper classes at all events were in favour of the South, so that Earl Russell could not have derived his misconception from those of his own rank. It remained, therefore, to show his lordship that the opinions of the "working classes" were not represented by the Union and Emancipation Society.

Lieut.-Colonel Jackson, of one of our distinguished rifle regiments, said many persons supposed that Earl Russell was not unwilling to apply to Parliament for an alteration of the law affecting ship-building for belligerents. He had seen it stated in the press that such an inference could be legitimately drawn from the words of the Foreign Minister. If for nothing else, the Southern Independence Association would be of use in protesting against such a flagrant breach of the spirit and letter of our laws. When the famous steam-rauns were building in Mr. Laird's dock-yards, the Union and Emancipation people wrote to Earl Russell, and his lordship in reply was understood to say that if the present act was not sufficient to meet the case, it would be desirable to extend it. He (Lieut.-Colonel Jackson) thought they should lose no time in letting Earl Russell know that the country would not tolerate such an outrage upon the law of the land.

Mr. James Spence also made a stirring speech, but I need not draw more fully upon my notes to give the readers of "THE INDEX" a faithful reflex of the highly important meeting under consideration.

## EXPLODED FALLACIES.

(From the *New York World* of September 23.)

If the torpedoes manufactured at the South have failed to explode, the fallacies at the North have met with more suc-

cess. They have gone off one after the other, and have done infinite damage to—ourselves.

The first fallacy was that the South was not in earnest, that a great game of brag was being played; the next was that it was in earnest indeed, but that it was in a pet, and that a careful inattention, a severe letting alone, were only needed to bring the spoiled child to its senses; the third was that it was a mere bully, and would not fight; the fourth that it could be starved within three months into abject submission. When it was proved by events that it considered itself deeply wronged, that it was in earnest, that it would fight, and could not be starved, the new fallacy of a real Union majority, kept under by the superior ability and admirable management of a daring and organised minority, took the place of those others which had been blown into fragments so fine that no piece could be seen by the naked eye. We have had the opportunity, by the favour of Heaven, of testing this theory, and it is just as much a soap-bubble as the others. In his last letter the President endeavours to draw a distinction between the people and the military power, which possibly his own experience may make familiar to him, but which we do not believe in. If the majority of people in the loyal States were, willing to recognize secession, it would be recognized in spite of the army; if the majority of the people in the Southern States were willing to give up secession, the Confederacy would fall to pieces in spite of its armies. Take North Carolina, for instance; if a majority of its population chose, it might be represented in the next Congress. It would violate no faith in quitting the Confederacy; that is, no contract, for the voluntary principle is the principle of existence of that organisation. Its will is not controlled by troops, for there are none there except those in face of an enemy. Louisiana and Tennessee present the same case, with still greater opportunities. Wherever Union troops have been is the feeling more or less hostile to the Union? Has Virginia even whimpered, scoured as she has been for two years by the presence of two immense armies?

In the face of these facts how utterly idle it is to talk of the Southern States being controlled by Davis and a few men of his personal and political antecedents. A few men never control in the United States, nor in any part of them. The power so far lies in the people, and individuals are utterly powerless except as their representatives. This being the case, we have not only to create armies to crush the military power of the rebellion, but we have to address the interests and reason of the people who supply those armies. The first argument and the best and the only argument we can address to them must be:—You will be better off as citizens of the United States than as citizens of the Confederacy; equally well off so far as your local self-government is concerned, equally well off so far as your freedom from taxation is concerned; equally well off so far as pride is concerned; and better off as belonging to a great commonwealth instead of to a small commonwealth. We are of the same blood and the same bone; we have the same language, the same religious faiths; we have the same love of liberty, the same habits of thought. We can do each other infinite damage; we can be to each other of incalculable advantage. How much wiser to walk arm-in-arm than to stand aiming at each other's lives.

How can we say this—how can one population speak to the other? Only through elections. The present Administration and its party represent eternal agitation. To continue that dynasty means not simply to continue a war against secession, but a war against slavery. The first is a merely political, the last a social war. Of course, the people of the United States are entitled to the luxury of just as much war as they are willing to die in and pay for; but they are also entitled to have the question fully and fairly presented to them, and of discriminate in their choice between the two characters of war.

## WELCOME TO THE REV. H. W. BEECHER.

An "Enquirer" writes to the *Manchester Guardian* on this subject as follows:—

SIR,—I see from an advertisement in your paper, and from placards plentifully pasted on the walls of this city, that a meeting is to be held in the Free-trade Hall on Friday the 9th October next, to "welcome" the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher on his first public appearance in this country. Can you, or any of your numerous readers, inform me whether this is the same Reverend Mr. Beecher who, at a meeting in America during the discussion of the Trent affair, said:—"That the best blood of England must flow as an atonement for the outrage England had perpetrated on America"? If it is the same reverend gentleman, what sort of a "welcome" is he deserving of by this country?—I am, sir, respectfully yours,

MANCHESTER, 2nd October, 1863.

THE CAROLINE GOODYEAR.—A correspondent of the *New York World*, writing from the Grand Hotel, Paris, under date of September 2, gives the following account of the Caroline Goodyear case, which forms probably the occasion for the anticipated collision between the French and Federal gunboats at the mouth of the Rio Grande:—"The case of the Caroline Goodyear, captured by a French vessel of war off the mouth of the Rio Grande, is going to bring a nine question before the French Government. The Caroline Goodyear cleared from England for Matamoros, laden with arms and munitions of war. At the mouth of the Rio Grande she was seized by the French, under the suspicion of being laden with contraband articles destined to 'aid and comfort' the Mexicans in their war against France, and was towed down to Vera Cruz. After careful examination of the ship's papers the French authorities decided that they had got 'the wrong pig by the ear,' and prepared to let her go; but a Federal cruiser that chanced to be hovering near got wind of the affair, and threatened to pounce upon the game as soon as the French released it. Having escaped Scylla only to run into the mouth of Charybdis, the captain of the Goodyear demanded of his captors that they should convoy him back to the place where they found him. This reasonable demand, it is presumed, was acceded to by the gallant Frenchman. But now comes up a claim for 'interest, costs, and damages,' for delays, loss of market, and, perhaps, loss of battles for the want of the very items kept back by French interference! As the case is pending, it would not be proper to make further disclosures. If, however, it can be established that the ship and cargo were English property, then there will be no difficulty in making out the claim for indemnity. But suppose this should turn out to be a Confederate venture—the goods purchased by a Confederate citizen and destined for the Confederate Government? What then? Can France indemnify without recognising the Confederacy? As you will hear more of this curious case, I will not stop to argue it."



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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1863.

The Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Cash through C. Atkinson, Esq.	£20	0	0
W. Patrick, Esq.	5	0	0
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L. C. L.	5	0	0
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The Honorary Treasurer of the Jackson Statue Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P.	£5	0	0
Col. Grenville, M.P.	5	0	0
John Moffat, Esq.	5	0	0
Dr. Teevan	2	2	0
Fifty-four 6d. Subscriptions, per James M. Foster, Esq., Columpton, Devon	1	7	0

Chicamanga Creek.

ONE of the great battles which were foreshadowed in our impression of last week has taken place, and the result is a great and decisive victory of the Confederate army of Tennessee. Without wishing to exaggerate its importance, or magnifying it into the critical struggle of the war, we shall probably be correct in assigning to it an importance, on the American continent and in Europe, scarcely second to that of the Confederate triumphs on the Chickahominy. The State of Tennessee was the weak point of the Confederacy. When the defences of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers yielded to the armies of invasion, the whole of Western Tennessee was easily overrun, and the Federals had secured a position almost in the heart of the South, whence their forces, easily provisioned and reinforced, could strike at all her most vital points; and it is strikingly suggestive of the want of capacity or want of means amongst the Federals that, after occupying Nashville, and having full control of the Cumberland River for twelve months, they should only now for the first time have hazarded an advance into Eastern Tennessee. The possession of this portion of the State is of immense importance to either belligerent. Through it runs the main line of communication between Richmond and the south-west. The Switzerland of the South, in the hands of the Federals it would speedily become, as it were, an impregnable and gigantic citadel, where armies might securely rendezvous and concentrate for the invasion of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Apart from obvious political reasons for defending Richmond, it may even be doubted if the capital of the Confederacy is of such intrinsic strategic value to the South as this hilly region of Tennessee, which is to the States adjoining its eastern frontier almost what Savoy is to Piedmont. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the news of the abandonment of Chattanooga, and of the safe progress of Burnside's army, raised considerable exultation in the North. Chattanooga reached, even Rosecrans seems to have lost his usual discretion. Hitherto all his steps had been taken with remarkable caution. But the weak defence of Tullahoma, the plausible tales of deserters, and the subsequent evacuation of Chattanooga without a struggle, seem to have led him into the fatal blunder of utterly underrating the forces opposed to him—a blunder which he has expiated by a most disastrous and irretrievable defeat.

In our last number we described the movements and the positions of the two armies; and events justified our estimate of the "situation" almost earlier than we had anticipated. On the 19th ult. the Confederates under General Bragg became the assailants. Rosecrans had by that time learnt his error, and endeavoured to make the best of it by con-

centrating his troops in a strong position on the slope of a chain of hills at Chicamanga Creek, some seventeen miles south-east of Chattanooga. Of the strength of the army under his command we cannot speak with any certainty. His force, with that of General Burnside, was computed by Northern correspondents at about 100,000 men. It is probable that on the day of battle he had in position between 60,000 and 70,000 men. Bragg's army of Tennessee had been strengthened by reinforcements from Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, but was still numerically inferior to that of his opponent; and it speaks highly for the gallantry of the Confederate soldiers, and the skill and enterprise of their commander, that they should have successfully attacked so fine an army as Rosecrans commanded, posted in a country so easily defensible. The battle, like most of the great engagements of this war, lasted two days. It began at mid-day on the 19th. It terminated with the retreat, almost the rout of the Federals, on the night of the 20th. We are even now without any precise and trustworthy details of the fighting. The Federal press has by this time acquired a wholesome horror of supplying "contraband" war news, and the earlier accounts of the engagements bear obvious impress of Federal supervision. But no manipulation of the correspondence can make the affair appear otherwise than as a decisive Federal reverse. The reports differ as to the first day's battle. Some accounts report it as a mere demonstration or reconnaissance in force; others state it to have been an obstinately contested battle. The latter seems to be the true version. It would appear that the attack was made along the whole line with that dashing gallantry that has always distinguished the Confederate advances, and that the Federal centre was pierced, the right thrown back, the left, under General Thomas, which appears to have held entrenched ground, alone retaining its position, so that at one time the Confederate left was almost at right angles with the rest of the line. An eye-witness of the battle, writing to a New York paper, admits a decided defeat on the first day; and there seems to be no doubt that a considerable portion of the Federal army was driven from the field of battle, and that it was solely to the stubborn resistance of General Thomas, reinforced by every available man of the reserve, that Rosecrans owed his escape from total defeat on the 19th. Even on that day Bragg had captured twenty cannon and a large number of prisoners, and the results on the whole were decidedly in his favour. The Federal accounts of captured cannon and prisoners were mere inventions; the artillery they took being only recaptures of their own guns, which the Confederates had not time to secure. On the 20th the battle was renewed, the Confederates again being the assailants, and attacking on both the enemy's flanks. According to Federal correspondence the defeat was complete and even disgraceful. The two wings appear to have given way before the first onslaught, and again it was left to General Thomas to sustain the honour of the Federal army. One correspondent says, "The first charge of the Confederates broke their lines, routed their entire divisions and drove them in disgraceful panic into Rossville and Chattanooga." All accounts agree as to the fact that the retreat was conducted in great disorder, and that the troops were utterly disorganised. General Thomas's division, assisted by some others which rallied round his entrenchments, is reported to have held his ground against every attack until nightfall, and then to have fallen back upon Rossville. The result of the two days' engagements are thus modestly and characteristically summed up by the Confederate general:—"The enemy retreated on Chattanooga last night, leaving his dead and wounded in our hands. His loss is very large in men, artillery, small arms, and colours. Ours is heavy, but not yet ascertained. The victory is complete, and our cavalry is pursuing. With the blessing of God, our troops have accomplished great results against greatly superior numbers." Fifty cannon, 10,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and

an immense amount of material are the admitted losses of the Federals. The Confederacy has to mourn another heavy list of casualties; 5,000 killed and wounded, amongst these several of the most promising officers, being the terrible price she has paid for this glorious victory over the invader.

The consequences of the battle may be most serious to the Federals. We pointed out last week the difficulties and dangers of the armies of Rosecrans and Burnside marching through a hostile territory, at an enormous distance from their bases of operations, and separated from each other by a hilly country, through which at all times the progress of a large army must necessarily be exceedingly slow. Rosecrans' army has been beaten, and will in all probability be compelled to retire from the line of the Tennessee. Burnside's army, a smaller force, is in still greater peril. It was reported that Confederate troops had already marched to attack him on his march through the mountains, and a rumour was current that his whole force had surrendered. This is, doubtless, premature. But it is certain that only a rapid retreat or an immediate junction with Rosecrans will save him. The latter is plainly unable to leave Chattanooga. Burnside had lost 300 men near Knoxville, and had been repulsed with loss at Zollicoffer. He had in front of him a Confederate corps sufficiently strong to work him great harm, if not effectually to arrest his advance. It will be quite in accordance with Confederate tactics if a dash is made upon Burnside's isolated army, and another Confederate victory follows fast upon the battle at Chicamanga Creek. For Burnside, at any rate, there is no possibility of reinforcement, whatever facility may exist for strengthening Rosecrans. It is said that portions of Grant's army had already arrived at Chattanooga. But this can hardly be true. A fortnight would be required for any considerable force to reach Chattanooga from Memphis; and unless General Sherman's division had been on the march in anticipation of disaster, it could not have reached Rosecrans at the latest date of which we have intelligence from his army. But all that we know of the Federal programme negatives this supposition. Rosecrans advanced as if to an assured victory. At Washington it was believed that Bragg's army had ceased to exist; the armies under Burnside and Rosecrans were thought to be ample for the conquest and occupation of Eastern Tennessee. Here again the Federals have bitterly paid for their rash confidence in their own strength. Their finest army under their best general has been grievously defeated, and is in imminent danger of destruction. Their hold upon Tennessee and Kentucky is rudely shaken; the prestige of their success on the Mississippi is gone. The South has again proved that on anything like equal terms it is far more than a match for the invader, and that the work of subjugation is more hopeless than ever. What can any honest man in the North expect when in this the third year of the war the great armies of invasion in the West, instead of advancing, are anxiously looking out for means of escape; and when any day the electric wire may flash the ominous news to Washington, that General Lee, with a force numerically not very inferior to the Federal army of the Potomac, but in courage, in discipline, in organisation ten times its superior, has once more become the assailant on that Virginian soil that has never yet witnessed a Confederate defeat?

The Blockade.

WE published in our last week's impression an official statement, duly authenticated, of the number of vessels that had entered the port of Bermuda from the "blockaded" port of Wilmington during a certain period, and also similar statistics, copied from the *Charleston Courier*, of the arrivals in Charleston and Wilmington during the first seven months of this year. During the whole of that time these ports have been under blockade; during a portion of that time an iron-clad squadron was actually attacking Charleston by sea; and nevertheless it appears that the number of vessels which succeeded in entering Wilmington between the beginning of January and the end of July was



forty-nine, while the number that made their way into Charleston, within the same period, was forty-three. In fact, the trade of those two ports is more active now than in time of peace; while the vessels captured bear no comparison in number and value with those that pass in safety through the blockading squadrons. The Confederate Government carries on its communications with Europe, not, indeed, in perfect security, but with very rare and unimportant interruptions. We receive, as our readers know, our files of Southern newspapers with as much regularity as could well be expected in war time, even if the ports were open, seeing that the regular mail traffic must in any case be suspended by the ordinary risks of capture. Arms, cannon, supplies of all sorts, reach the Confederate Government, paying but an insignificant toll to the enemy in the shape of occasional captures. And in the face of facts like these, two questions irresistibly force themselves upon the consideration of English observers. First, Ought we to acknowledge the validity of this blockade? Second, Who bears the real burden of the mischief it inflicts?

First, it can hardly be contended that neutrals are entitled, in default of stipulations to the contrary, to recognise an invalid blockade. To allow an advantage of this kind to one party is essentially an act of unfriendliness to the other. If, for example, we allowed Confederate cruisers to capture Federal vessels within our own jurisdiction, it would be admitted on all hands, and noisily asserted by the Federalists, that we were committing a distinct violation of neutrality: nay, it is all but certain that such a neglect of duty would be considered by the Federal Government a *casus belli*. Now, how does this case differ from that of acknowledging an illegal blockade—that is, allowing the Federal cruisers to capture goods destined for the Confederate States, not indeed in our waters, but in vessels bearing our flag, and as much under our protection and jurisdiction, while they commit no act withdrawing them therefrom, as our own shores? How would the law stand independently of a blockade? Suppose the United States at war with France on account of Mexico: should we be justified in stopping supplies, not contraband of war, destined for a Mexican port, while within our own jurisdiction? Assuredly not; and what we could not do ourselves we could not give a belligerent leave to do; that is, we could not, without giving cause of remonstrance to France, allow the United States to seize such supplies under our flag on the high seas. But to tolerate an invalid blockade is to allow this very proceeding. Or, to put the matter in another form, we could not ourselves, without a breach of neutrality, forbid or impose disabilities on the trade of British subjects with the Confederate States. We cannot, therefore, give to the Federal Government any right or permission to do this, except in such cases and under such conditions as, by international law, entitle them to do it. But the only case in which, by international law, they are entitled to interfere with any neutral trade not contraband of war, is the case of a valid blockade. Therefore, in allowing them to stop our trade with the Confederate States under colour of an invalid blockade, we are committing a breach of neutrality of just the same kind as would be a prohibition, enforced by our own Government, of all trade with New York or Boston.

It is tolerably clear that, even by what may be called the common law of nations, the present blockade of the Confederate ports is illegal; that is to say, that every capture of a neutral vessel not carrying contraband of war is a wrong to the neutral, and every sufferance of such wrong by a Power strong enough to prevent it is an injustice towards the Confederacy. We hardly think that any jurist of old would have pronounced in favour of the validity of a blockade which was evaded by three vessels out of four. It is quite true that modern maritime science has greatly facilitated the evasion of blockades enforced on the old plan; but this is no excuse for the inefficiency of such blockades. It is the business of Powers pretending to institute a blockade to send such ships, and such a number of ships, as will suffice to enforce it at the time and place when and where

it is actually declared to exist; and it is in vain for the Federal Government to send worn-out or antiquated vessels to lie off a Southern port, and then affirm that port to be blockaded, because, a hundred years ago, such vessels might have really been able to prevent ingress or egress.

But all speculations on this point are rendered unnecessary by the existence of stipulations, in express words and expressly accepted by all parties concerned, which define, for the present purpose, the validity of a blockade. Treaties and conventions, formal or informal, are the statutes of international law; and there is such a statute applicable to the present war by which this question of blockade must be decided. England and France invited both the American belligerents to accept, as the rules by which their maritime operations during the present war were to be conducted, the three last articles of the Treaty of Paris on the subject, and those articles were accepted. During the present war, therefore, a valid blockade is one "maintained by a force sufficient actually to prevent access to the blockaded port." As there is not the least pretence on any part that the blockade of the Southern ports fulfils this definition; as, in point of fact, even during the present siege of Charleston access has not been prevented; as the blockading squadrons have actually confessed their own inefficiency by the outrageous threat to sink blockade-runners in future instead of attempting to capture them, there remains no possible plea by which we can pretend to avert the conclusion that we are tolerating a blockade which, by express agreement between ourselves and the belligerents, is invalid.

It may be that the fourth article of the Convention is in itself absurd, inasmuch as it imposes an impossible condition. But that does not release from their obligation those who voluntarily became parties to it. The Confederates might as well plead that they had been guilty of a stupendous folly in agreeing not to capture enemy's goods under a neutral flag, and proceed to treat that engagement as void. If a man or nation promises not to do a particular act except in a particular manner, and that particular manner of doing it proves impracticable, the promise is not thereby annulled; it simply becomes a promise to abstain altogether from the act in question. Above all, when a special exception is made to the general law of nations and the natural liberty of trade—as is the whole law of belligerent rights—it is essential that such an exception be construed as strictly as possible against him in whose favour it is made; and therefore no claim on the part of the Federal Government for a lax construction of the restrictions imposed on blockades by the engagements to which it is itself a party, can on any account be tolerated.

Lord Russell was not a member of the Cabinet which accepted the Convention of Paris; and he may possibly consider the whole bargain a bad one. He may think that we were over-reached, and have been beguiled into the surrender of rights essential to our position as a maritime Power. He may be right in this view. But he is bound by the acts of his predecessors, which are the acts of his Sovereign; and if he were not he would certainly be bound by his own. It was by him that the concurrence of the American belligerents in these articles was obtained; and he is the last man in the world who can claim the right to substitute for the most important of them an arbitrary declaration of his own. He may be right or he may be wrong in saying that by the general law of nations a blockade is valid if an "evident danger" exist in entering or leaving the place which is said to be blockaded; but when he pretends to substitute this extravagantly wide definition for the very strict one supplied by the Parisian articles he is guilty of an act which would be unpardonably treacherous if it were not outrageously impudent. We doubt whether any more shameless breach of public faith has ever been committed by the Minister of a Christian Power; certainly no English statesman except Lord Russell could have ventured on so barefaced and so monstrous an evasion of his plighted word. It is vain to suppose that anything has been gained thereby. So far as

the present moment is concerned, we have only postponed a quarrel which might as well have occurred now as at the future but not distant period which may best suit the convenience of our implacable enemy. And the statesman must be weak indeed who imagines that even America will ever allow us to plead the precedent set by our own timidity in this case, in bar of our clear and distinct engagements under the treaty of 1856. To acknowledge the pretended blockade of the Confederate ports is to subject ourselves to present injury without the hope of future profit, and to do grievous wrong to our friends without the slightest chance of conciliating those who are not less the enemies of England than of the Confederate States.

2. Who suffers by the blockade? No doubt it inflicts inconvenience both on the blockaded people and on those who used to trade with them. But which party loses most by the suspension of that trade? To which was it most necessary? and which has the greatest power within itself of providing substitutes for all it formerly received from the other?

Europe, it is clear, could dispense with everything she once received from the South, except cotton. On cotton depended the bread of hundreds of thousands of industrious families, and the trade of vast districts. In the manufacture of cotton some eighty millions sterling were invested in England alone; and the suspension of the cotton supply not merely suspended the productive power of this vast capital, but actually doomed it to gradual and by no means slow dilapidation. And experience has shown us that it is utterly impossible to provide within any reasonable time from any other source an adequate substitute for the intercepted supply of cotton from the South.

On the other hand, the South received from abroad chiefly commodities of two sorts—luxuries, and goods required by the producers of cotton. With luxuries she has dispensed; her people have learned to forego the use of coffee, and tea, and wine, and even of ice. The producers of cotton have turned their hands to other trades, and have contrived to produce substitutes for all the necessary articles which were formerly imported, either from the Northern States or from countries foreign to both. Manufactures have sprung up rapidly, under the protection given by the blockade; the negroes are made to grow corn instead of cotton; no one suffers, by reason of the blockade, from any want of occupation, and now that a good harvest has crowned the exertions of the people no one is likely to suffer for want of necessaries. The war, with its tremendous expenditure and its fearful waste of life, is undoubtedly a severe affliction to the people of the Confederate States; but by the blockade they suffer nothing that a people fighting for independence may not cheerfully endure.

Again, the blockade is ineffective as against the Confederate Government. It raises the cost of getting arms and other supplies, but only to a comparatively trifling extent. And it must be remembered that the *acknowledgment* of the blockade has no effect here. These supplies are contraband of war, and would be seized, blockade or no blockade, wherever the enemy could find them. But as against England the blockade is effective, and it is our acknowledgment which gives it all its efficiency. Cotton is too bulky an article to be brought away in large quantities by vessels of the class suited for a contraband trade—swift sailing ships and steamers of light draught. The presence of a Federal squadron, however inefficient, with the name of a blockade, off the Southern ports, is sufficient to preclude the export of a commodity which contains so little value in so vast a bulk. But it is only because we acknowledge the existence of a blockade, *eo nomine*, that British ships carrying in goods not contraband of war, and exporting cotton, can be touched at all. If our Government were to declare, what has been proved to be the fact, that the blockade is invalid, the capture of any such vessels by the Federal cruisers would become a *casus belli*. It is our consent alone which enables the Government of the United States to close our mills and starve our



operatives; it is by the voluntary submission of our Government to proceedings which are not in accordance with law that the trade of Lancashire has been annihilated, and its population pauperized.

We have answered the two questions raised by the blockade-running statistics. We have shown that the recognition of the blockade is an act of partiality towards the North, and therefore a wrong towards the Confederate States. We have shown that the blockade inflicts far more injury on us than on the South, and that, whereas the South suffers chiefly by the presence of the enemy's ships, independently of their legal position, we suffer simply by their acknowledged privileges as a blockading squadron—privileges to which they are not justly entitled. In a word, the present course of our Government in this matter is at once a folly and a crime; a departure from neutrality, to the injury of the Confederate States; and a source of loss, demoralization, misery, and ruin to hundreds of thousands of Her Majesty's loyal and innocent subjects. How long the latter will tolerate the pursuance of such a course is a question which they must decide for themselves. So long as they were duped into the belief that their sufferings could only be relieved by a breach of neutrality, most of them thought it better to endure wrong than to commit it; when once they understand that the policy which is ruinous to them is also unjust and unneutral, that in sacrificing their interests England is betraying her international duties and soiling her national honour, we doubt whether their patience will last much longer.

### The Emperor of Mexico.

AMONG statesmen of princely rank, none holds a higher position than that of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. His very birth is a title to the esteem and confidence of those who pay more attention to historical fact than to political passion and popular clamour. Italian sympathies have excited a strong prejudice in England against the House of Hapsburg; we are prone to underrate their virtues, exaggerate their failures, and render scanty justice to their actual achievements; but the fact remains that that house has produced more men of distinguished ability and high character than any other royal family in Europe. It has rendered services of no common order to Germany and to the world. Among the kinsmen of Maximilian was the Prince whom Germany, in her brief hour of faith and hope, chose as "Regent of the Empire." Among them, too, was the Archduke Charles, who all but beat Napoleon, and who was certainly one of the first generals of the last generation. The Archduke's brother, the reigning Emperor of Austria, has done things which were not very wise, and which were exceedingly obnoxious to English feeling; but he has displayed both courage, capacity, and good faith in the policy by which, after the defeat of Solferino, he has retrieved the position and repute of Austria both as a German State and as a European power. It is plain that even Francis Joseph is a man of no common order; it is believed that his brother is his superior. The Archduke has raised high hopes by his past career. He was appointed to the viceroyalty of Lombardo-Venetia. He had to represent a government ruling by terror among a people who hate his family and his country with a hatred equalling that of the Southerner for the Yankee, or of the Yankee for the Red Indian. He so ruled that, while he retained the confidence of his brother, he won the respect of his brother's rebellious subjects. He is regarded with personal esteem by a people whose aristocracy refused to attend his court, and whose lower orders abstained from smoking in order to injure his revenue. He has remained of late in judicious retirement, but every time that he is heard of it is in connection with some creditable trait of character. His marriage, too, is greatly in his favour. His wife is the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, the daughter of the most respected King in Europe. Since the days of St. Louis, no prince

has commanded more general esteem and enjoyed more extensive influence, by virtue simply of his personal character, than Leopold I. The authority of Lord Palmerston or Louis Napoleon in the councils of Europe is due, not so much to their individual weight, great as that is, as to the fact that they speak with the force of great armies and great navies. King Leopold's authority is that of personal character alone, and yet it is enormous. His advice, on a question of European policy, would be received with more respect than that of any other statesman; his arbitration is sought in national disputes, more readily, and accepted with more confidence, than that of any other Sovereign in modern times. In choosing for a wife the daughter of such a King, the Archduke has added another claim to those he already possessed on the confidence and esteem of public men, has bound himself by another tie to the principles of good government and popular liberty. Mexico is fortunate in obtaining his consent to accept her throne, and may be grateful to the Emperor of the French for the wisdom and good feeling which induced him to elect, even from the family of an enemy, the man in all the world best fitted for the situation and most likely to promote the happiness of his people.

The Archduke demands two further measures as the condition of his acceptance of the throne: a general vote of the people, or *plebiscitum*, as it is called in the pedantic Latinism of France, and a satisfactory guarantee for the security of the new Empire against foreign foes. We regret the former demand. It seems to us at once unworthy, unwise, and unpromising. The Archduke knows that there is no formality of public business more hollow, hypocritical, and worthless, than a general vote of the people, aye or no, on such a question as the election of a monarch. It suits France, it is necessary to a French Emperor, ruling avowedly by the will of a majority over a people much more careful to preserve the forms of democracy than the substance of liberty. But its introduction into Mexico is altogether gratuitous. The Emperor will reign by the grace of God and Napoleon III., not by the will of the Mexican multitude. He ought not to begin his reign by pretending to accept the throne from a mongrel population as incapable of national will as unworthy of political liberty. The affectation, if it be not a concession to France, is a gratuitous hypocrisy. It is foolish, too, to introduce into Mexico the French notion of democratic equality. The principle on which society ought to be constructed in such a country is aristocratic. To Englishmen it seems painful and harsh, if not unchristian, to deny *in toto* the doctrine of human equality, and to substitute for it the assertion of generic gradation. Englishmen like to act on practical truths while asserting philanthropic fictions. They do not admire anything like amalgamation between their own and inferior races. They govern India, Ceylon, New Zealand, on principles which recognise the subordination of races; they have ruined Ireland and the West Indies by ignoring that subordination. But they do not like to see the truths on which they act broadly stated in contradiction to the theories they have embraced; and therefore they are apt to do great injustice to those who are only doing precisely what Englishmen always do in like circumstances. Practically, if Mexico belonged to us, we should govern through and by the aid of the pure portion of its people; but it is to be feared that if the Archduke determine to do so English orators will rail at him, and English Ministers scold him, as if we acted otherwise in India, or had done well to act otherwise in Jamaica. By demanding a *plebiscite*, the Archduke puts all classes on a level, and deprives himself of what ought to be the best internal support and security of his throne—the attachment of the Mexicans of European blood. We are not without fears that he will endeavour to follow up this principle; that, instead of looking to the actual condition of Mexico, and giving it institutions adapted to a half-barbarous country, with a population of half-castes, he will go thither with ideas already formed, and a system cut and dried in Europe; and if so, we fear that endless troubles are in store for him and his subjects. Mexico must

have a despot. She could not desire a better than Maximilian, if he will be a despot; but it would be better for her to have a worse man who will consent to rule, than Maximilian if he mean to play the constitutional king—to summon a parliament, to choose his ministers at its bidding, to yield to its caprices, to be "*le roi qui régit et ne gouverne pas*."

With perfect justice, both for himself and for his future subjects, the Emperor-elect demands security for his empire against external foes; that is, in plain English, against the Government of the United States. It may now suit that Government to waive its hostility. Ready to throw the gauntlet in the face of France, having already lifted it to throw, having given license and signal to the press to threaten her with war, it may recoil before her attitude of contemptuous indifference, of perfect willingness, and reserve its defiance for a better opportunity or a more patient foe. But for all that, the United States will be the persevering enemy of the Mexican empire; will always threaten it, incessantly harass it, and attack it on the first favourable occasion. The Monroe doctrine will never be abjured by the Yankees, even though not a foot of ground south of the Potomac should be left in Northern possession. Mexico will not, for a long time, be able to hold her ground against the North without foreign assistance. Austria cannot promise that aid; England will not; no other European power will raise a finger in aid of Mexico or her sovereign, except the Power which has given peace to the one and a crown to the other. The guarantee demanded by the Emperor-elect must be a guarantee from France.

In order to give such a guarantee without entailing upon herself very heavy and very permanent burdens, France must find an ally able to bear a portion of her responsibility in Europe, or a friend able and willing to lighten it in America. The former is out of the question. No European Power will join in engaging to defend the Empire of Mexico. No American Power but one is in a condition to lighten in any degree the difficulty of defending it. France and the nation which she has redeemed from anarchy and barbarism, have no choice but to seek the alliance of the Confederate States; no alternative but to do their best, for their own sake, to save and strengthen their future ally. The declared hostility of the North to the Mexican Empire makes the independence of the South, and of the whole South, a matter of necessity to the new State. Nothing less can prevent the great dishonour to France and calamity to the human race which would be involved by the overthrow of the work achieved by so much labour and so many sacrifices, and the restoration of republican anarchy in one of the fairest and richest regions of the New World.

We do not pretend to know anything of the secret counsels of Napoleon III.; we do not venture, to guess at the motives which have hitherto withheld him from giving countenance to the Confederacy, to say nothing of making common cause therewith. But now that the enemy of both has made their cause common, has shown that the overthrow of the one would be a signal for an instant attack upon the work of the other, we cannot believe that a statesman so profound and so observant will hesitate much longer. We believe that the first act of the Emperor of Mexico must be the recognition of the Confederate States, and an alliance offensive and defensive with them. That alliance must, necessarily, bring France into the field; and her appearance therein, whether as mediator or as partner in the war, must at once bring its termination and decide its issue. Her choice is a simple one: to assist now in establishing the independence of the Confederacy, or to stand still aloof, in deference to the English Government, waiting to see whether the Confederates will so far prevail as to free her from peril, or so far succumb as to oblige her to fight, under great disadvantages, to protect the order and the sovereign she has just bestowed on Mexico.



## Desquensus Avernæ.

A LOCAL saying suggested to Lord Russell the most remarkable part of his oration at Blairgowrie. On the text of "Rest and be thankful" he delivered a few sentences pregnant with meanings of which he himself seems to have been wholly unconscious. As the gods of the ancient world, and the demons of the middle ages, often delivered their oracles through the mouths of unintelligent and even unwilling agents, so some Nemesis of political truth spoke through the lips of the Foreign Secretary, and pronounced an emphatic condemnation on the whole of his career. "Rest and be thankful" is at this moment an advice exceedingly grateful to the English mind, well satisfied with the present and heartily proud of the past. But it came oddly from the mouth of one whose life has been spent in creating confusion and disturbance. He was speaking of political reform; and he, the author of a dozen Reform Bills, the last of which was ignominiously stifled but three years ago, bids England "rest and be thankful." We take the advice, without feeling much indebted to the giver. We rest from a long and tiresome course of political conflict, necessitated by the gratuitous agitation of a factious partisan, who thought it a trifle to make a breach in the Constitution in order to shorten his own road to power, and was eager to pull it down to the foundations in order to fortify himself in office. We are thankful for the liberty, order, and good government we enjoy; for the preservation of the Constitution from all its enemies; for the victory achieved by the conservative instincts of the people over democratic agitation and factious intrigue; thankful, above all, for our deliverance from the restless machinations, the unceasing turbulence, the destructive energies of the man so opportunely removed from the House of Commons to "another and a happier place." Politically we are thankful for many great blessings, but above all for the defeats and humiliations which have put an end to mis-called Reform, and extinguished the political importance of John Earl Russell.

In foreign policy, it is true, his restless spirit keeps the nation in continual hot water, and involves it in constant danger either of disgrace or of war. But the instinct of the people is not so averse to disturbance abroad as to innovation at home; and most Englishmen would much rather have to fight with American ships at sea than with American ideas in Parliament; would rather have to defend themselves against French aggression than against French principles. And yet, as in domestic politics, in spite of party intrigues and Radical agitation, the country has rested in fact, thankful for its actual prosperity and contented with the fruit of former labours, so in foreign policy a tendency to practical inactivity is becoming the most marked characteristic of our statesmanship. Lord Russell's personal qualities—his aggressive temper, his morbid ambition, his insatiable vanity, his diseased appetite for purposeless intrigue—make it impossible for him to rest; he must be busy doing mischief, if not to the constitution of England, then to her international interests, to her public honour, to the peace of Europe. But his political timidity—his fear of foreign war and parliamentary difficulties—dispose him to restrain his own activity within limits which allow the nation to rest. He preaches the doctrine of non-intervention as loudly as Cobden or Bright; though in his mouth it only means that, while the Foreign Secretary of England has a finger in every diplomatic squabble and every popular disturbance of Europe, her army should never meet a foe more formidable than the retainers of a Japanese Daimio, her fleets be employed only in parading about the Channel and patrolling the China seas.

This doctrine of non-intervention is either a very old or a very new one. If it mean simply that we should not interfere in a foreign quarrel where neither the interests of England, nor the vindication of international law, nor the balance of European power is seriously threatened; that we should not

take up arms because Franco and Russia choose to settle by the duello a dispute on a point of honour, or because France and America may quarrel for the possession of Mexico, then the doctrine is as old as the existence of the British monarchy. Englishmen are not averse to fighting from any Quakerlike scruples of conscience, or any abstract devotion to peace; but they have always objected to waste blood and money without some very just and satisfactory cause; and they by no means sympathise with that famous exclamation of Irish disappointment, "Is there a row, and I not in it?" But if non-intervention means a simple and absolute withdrawal from all concern with the affairs of foreign nations; a declaration that whatever wrong be done, whatever atrocities committed, whatever crimes perpetrated by the strong, and whatever cruelties endured by the weak, England will not lift her hand to prevent the consummation of any wickedness by which her own rights are not invaded and by which her own security is not impaired—then the doctrine is one not only of very modern origin, but utterly loathsome to the hereditary feelings and repugnant to the traditional policy of England. Englishmen are generally agreed that we ought not to interpose in the intestine quarrels of foreign countries, except when those quarrels become scandalous to mankind by their length and ferocity, or dangerous by the interest they excite to the peace of the world; but this rule has been set aside by general consent when the interest of England required that peace should be restored. Englishmen are generally agreed that we ought not to interfere in wars between equals, so long as the balance of power is not threatened and English interests are not endangered. But we have not yet come to admit that we ought not to interpose to protect weak States from conquest and dismemberment; to repress outrageous wrong; in some cases to punish a tyranny too frightful to be borne and too powerful to be overthrown by internal efforts. We have not yet reached this point, but we are drifting towards it; and it is time that we should ask ourselves how far we mean to drift.

Non-intervention, in the Radical sense, in the sense affixed to it by Messrs. Bright and Cobden, is utterly inconsistent with the position of a great Power. Laches, by international as by municipal law, is only excused to weakness. By not asserting our rights, we forfeit them; by not performing the duties of a certain rank, we are held to waive its privileges. By general consent and by natural necessity, the great Powers of Europe are the appointed vindicators and enforcers of international law. It is their function to do right and enforce justice under that law, as it is the function of chiefs and nobles, in an ill-organised society, to protect the rights and liberties of their clients. It is expected of them that they shall be jealous of their own honour and punctilious in resenting affronts, precisely as the same conduct was expected in the chivalric age from every one laying claim to the rank of a gentleman. Weak Powers, like women and clergymen, are excused in right of their weakness from the obligation of self-defence. Barbaric Powers, like churls, are deemed incapable of giving or receiving insults—are outside of the international law of honour altogether. But a great Power which either receives an affront with patience, or stands by tamely to see a wrong done to one incapable of resenting it, suffers dishonour thereby; and a policy which makes profession of such dishonour amounts to an abnegation of all the rights and privileges of greatness. The Radicals are consistent in this matter. They do not wish that England should remain a great Power. They would prefer for her the guaranteed neutrality of Belgium or the safe insignificance of Holland. They would rejoice to see her disband her army, reduce her fleet, isolate herself entirely from politics, and devote herself to commerce; they would have her abnegate all other objects of national life than that of growing rich, and abandon all privileges save that of free trade. They would degrade her from her rank, back her spurs from her heels, reduce her to the class of churls, in order to leave her free to pursue with uninterrupted dili-

gence the one useful end of human existence—the acquisition of wealth.

But this is not the feeling of Englishmen in general. They are, in the first place, wiser than the enthusiasts of commerce in regard to commerce itself. They know that empire and colonization gave us our trade, and justly fear that with our empire and our colonies our trade would also pass away. They are, moreover, proud of the power and prestige of England. Apart from their conviction of its tangible value, they love it for its own sake, and would make great sacrifices to maintain it. They would maintain a twenty years' war for India. They would fight to the death for Canada against any other enemy than the Canadians themselves: we doubt whether, in despite of all that has been said on the subject, they would let Canada go without a struggle if she attempted to obtain her independence otherwise than by the constitutional method of petition. They would pay an income-tax of five shillings in the pound for ten years rather than submit to affront from any foreign Power. They would risk the prosperity of British trade, the whole shipping and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, rather than abandon the place of England in the councils of Europe, if once the alternative were put before them in a form instantly appreciable. What they have to quarrel against is the tendency of statesmen to sacrifice insensibly and unawares to mere material interests those things which are of higher value than any material interest, however important: to abandon the place which England ought to fill, in the idea that she can resume it at pleasure; to forsake her duties, when inconvenient or perilous, in the belief that this involves no sacrifice of rights and powers which are precious to the heart of the nation. A dangerous progress has already been made in this direction. The abandonment of Spain to the mercies of the French Bourbons by Mr. Canning; the betrayal of Italy to Austria by successive English Ministers; the cowardice which permitted the liberties of Hungary to be trampled out by Russia; the unhappy weakness which permitted France to inflict a signal humiliation upon us through the side of Portugal, "our ancient and faithful ally"—are derelictions of duty which leave their trace not only on the traditions of the Foreign Office, but on the spirit of England and the opinion of the world. It is by derelictions like these that great Powers lose their rank and honour. One act of treachery to the common cause of Europe has kept Prussia, for the last ten years, degraded, impotent, insignificant, shorn of her just influence in German and in European politics. One vigorous act of self-assertion raised Sardinia at once into a rank almost equal to that of the five Powers. It is possible even for England to sink as Prussia has sunk. One failure in duty may not sink her so low; for she stands higher and has nobler traditions in the past to atone the shortcomings of the present. But whenever she fails to vindicate her own honour, to assert the maritime law of nations against all encroachment in a manner becoming the greatest of maritime Powers; whenever she allows a gross outrage to be committed by the strong against the weak; whenever she stands by an indifferent spectator of atrocities perpetrated by one people against another, greater than those committed by the Turks in Greece, and forbears to protest or to punish simply because the criminal is stronger than the Sultan was: she takes a step on that downward path which is proverbially so difficult to retrace. Retrace it she will, no doubt; but it may cost long years, bloody wars, and many sacrifices to recover the position which nothing but an ordinary exertion of vigilance and energy is required at present to maintain.

GENERAL LEE'S army has been supplied with new outfits, and an officer, writing to a Southern paper, says, "the metamorphosis is wonderful."

THE *Richmond Dispatch* says that yellow fever prevails at Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia.

IN response to President Davis's call for 8,000 men, 238 companies, or about 15,350 troops, had volunteered in Georgia some weeks ago—all made up from men not liable to conscription.



## MAGAZINES FOR OCTOBER.

If ever Mr. D'Israeli should have the leisure to continue the work with which his father's name is so honourably associated, he will surely not pass by the opening article in the current number of *Fraser*, entitled "England and America," and which is a veritable curiosity of literature. We do not mean that it is ill written, or that there is anything eccentric in the style thereof. Nor does the curiosity arise from a magazine which has hitherto been the able exponent of the Southern cause suddenly manifesting a "warm neutrality" for the North. What seem to us curious, and even exceedingly humorous, are the arguments adduced against the Confederates. Whilst reading them we were reminded of the story of the barrister who, forgetting his instructions, made a vigorous appeal for the plaintiff although he had been retained for the defendant. The exigencies of space forbid our replying to all the salient points in the article, but we propose to notice one or two for the amusement if not for the edification of our readers.

The problem which the writer of "England and America," tries to solve is, "With whom are we to sympathise: the North or the South?" and he commences by stating the case for the Federals, or rather the case of the Federals against this country. The first charge is, that our press "has done great and even cruel injustice to the North," and he might have added that, in the North, *Fraser's Magazine* is regarded as peculiarly cruel and unjust. It appears that our journals, and especially the *Times*, have been instigated by a sentiment of revenge, and that the secession of the South has been gloated over as a fitting punishment for the rebellion which resulted in the independence of the American colonies. And this way of writing, we are told—

Tacitly imputed to the Americans that the founders of the United States had laid down the principle that whenever any considerable body of men chose to withdraw themselves from the control of a given Government they ought to be allowed to do so. Such a principle was probably never held by any sane man. It would not only give the South a right to repudiate the North, but it would give New York City a right to secede from the State of New York. Nay, it would give the City of Westminster a right to secede from the City of London, and set up for itself, with its high bailiff for a king.

Now, it is true that the first War of Independence has been cited to justify the second War of Independence, or rather to show the unreasonableness of the Federal conduct in carrying on a war against the South because she chooses to assert her independence. There is, indeed, a material difference: when the Colonies set up for themselves they rebelled, whilst the Confederate States have only exercised a sovereign right in withdrawing from the federation. But no one on the Southern side has ever contended "that whenever any considerable body of men chose to withdraw themselves from the control of a given government, they ought to be allowed to do so." It was the Colonies, as Colonies, that revolted from British allegiance, and the Congress of Colonies passed a law making it treason for any persons, even aliens, residing in any of the Colonies, to aid and abet the public enemy, or to own any allegiance to any power except to the Government of their particular Colony. So, also, it is the Southern States that have seceded from the Union. But though the Confederates are totally opposed to the principle of any number of people being at liberty to withdraw from any government at discretion, the North, as represented by Mr. Abraham Lincoln, fully endorses it. He has publicly declared that—

Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. Nor is this right confined to cases where the people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionise, putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose them.

And he has acted upon this declaration, and, contrary to the State Rights doctrine guaranteed by the United States Constitution and strenuously upheld by the South, he has given a precedent by which New York City might claim a right to secede from the State of New York. We allude to the formation of the bogus State of Western Virginia. So it is the North and not the South that has been guilty in word and deed of the insane folly against which *Fraser* protests.

Another charge equally groundless is, that the Southerners, being the governing power of the Union, were "at the time of secession guilty of gross treachery." They had in their hands the forces of the Union, and they disposed of them in such a way as to enable themselves to destroy the Union." Unfortunately this is utterly false. Better would it have been for both North and South if the Southerners had prepared against the aggression of the North, for then this desolating war would have been avoided. When the war broke out,

there was not a powder-mill, nor even any store of ammunition, in the South. The whole of the United States army remained to the North. The whole of the navy remained to the North. The only treachery the Southerners were guilty of was treachery to their own interests. Still more grotesque is the assertion that the Confederates have taken possession of Union property. *Fraser* contends that the North would have been justified in saying to the South, "Pay for the forts we built, for the roads we made; repay the purchase-money which we gave for Florida and Louisiana." Does the writer of this nonsense suppose that in the old Union the North paid all the taxes and the South went scot-free? It was not so; but the South paid, as we think, rather more than a fair share. If, then, the North wants a settlement for the forts and roads of the South, and for the purchase-money of Florida and Louisiana, an account must be taken of all the forts and roads in the whole of the late Union, and of all the army and navy; for all of them were made and maintained out of money contributed by both sections. And when a balance is struck it will be found that the North is enormously indebted to the South, and that in the dissolution of the partnership it has secured the lion's share of the stock in trade.

The New York correspondent of the *Times* is attacked as "an unscrupulous advocate." Has that gentleman written anything that is false? If so, why not convict him of falsehood? Had he been silent, are there not sources of intelligence from which Europe would have learnt of the atrocities of Butler and other equally infamous Federal commanders? It is not true that "he quotes every blackguard rant of the *New York Herald*," for if so his letters would occupy at least two pages of the *Times*. Does *Fraser* ever see a file of Northern papers? We suppose not, or he would know that "blackguard ranting" is not peculiar to the *New York Herald*, and that that paper is only quoted because it has the largest circulation and is the most influential organ of the Republican party. And let us ask our contemporary if the "blackguard ranting" of the *New York Herald* has ever been more atrocious than the blackguard ranting of Mr. Sumner, United States Senator and Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs? Has the *New York Herald* ever ventured, as Mr. Sumner has done, to associate a filthy metaphor with the name of our Queen? No, the blackguardism, the cruelty, the jobbery, and the tyranny of the Federals would have been published, even if the *Times* correspondent, instead of being an honest gentleman, had been the ready tool of Mr. John Bright and Mr. Abraham Lincoln, and had suppressed truth and written that which is false.

We will notice one more passage and then dismiss this article. *Fraser* says:—

Whatever may be the iniquity of the policy of the South, the instrument by and through which they worked was the Constitution of the United States, and the hold which they had over the Free States was the threat of destroying the Union. No one, indeed, can read the history of their proceedings without indignant disgust. Their policy for some forty years was vile, and its fruits, on several occasions, as for instance in the whole management of the affairs of Kansas, were detestable. To see such a power established over the whole length and breadth of North America, would indeed be an awful misfortune: but secession destroyed its chance; by the act of withdrawing from the Union, the seceding States renounced the power, the quasi-tyrannical power, which for a generation they had exercised over the North. They executed their threat; they fired their shot and did their worst, and from that moment they had no hold on the North.

To charge the South with breaking up the Union is very much like imputing it as a crime for a man to get rid of a partner who robs him, or of a wife who is faithless to her marriage vows. The South went out of the Union because the North was violating the Federal compact. And then, as to the threat of seceding, it is worth observing that, whilst the South was striving to keep the Union intact, the Republican party in the North was threatening and clamouring for disunion. For the instruction of *Fraser* we append a few, a very few, of the utterances of leading Republicans before secession, to show that they contemplated it and threatened the South with it. Mr. Wendell Phillips, speaking of the organisation of the Republican party, said:—

No man has a right to be surprised at this state of things. It is just what we have attempted to bring about. It is the first sectional party ever organised in this country. It does not know its own face, and calls itself National; but it is not national—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North pledged against the South.

On another occasion Mr. Phillips said:—

The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. Tear it in pieces and make a better. Don't say the machine is out of order; it is in order; it does what its framers intended—protects slavery. Our claim is disunion—breaking up of the States!

The three following quotations from Mr. Lloyd Garrison will prove that he was a disunionist before Southern secession:—

This Union is a lie! The American Union is an imposition, a covenant with death and an agreement with hell!

I am for its overthrow! . . . Up with the flag of disunion, that we may have a free and glorious republic of our own; and when the hour shall come, the hour will have arrived that shall witness the overthrow of slavery.

No act of ours do we regard with more conscientious approval or higher satisfaction—none do we submit more confidently to the tribunal of Heaven and the moral verdict of mankind—than when, several years ago, on the 4th of July, in the presence of a great assembly, we committed to the flames the Constitution of the United States.

The Republican party is moulding public sentiment in the right direction for the specific work the Abolitionists are striving to accomplish, viz., the dissolution of the Union and the abolition of slavery throughout the land.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—

Resolved, That secession from the United States Government is the duty of every Abolitionist, since no one can take office or deposit his vote under the Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slave-holder in his sin.

Resolved, That years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chain of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the remains of the present American Church and the grave of the present Union.

Resolved, That the Abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of this agitation to dissolve the American Union.

During the Fremont campaign, Mr. Spinner, the present Assistant-Secretary to the Federal Treasury, said:—

. Should this [the election of Fremont] fail, no true man would be any longer safe here from the assaults of the arrogant slave oligarchy, who then would rule with an iron hand. For the North would be left the choice of a peaceful dissolution of the Union, a civil war which would end in the same, or an unconditional surrender of every principle held dear by freemen.

Mr. Pike, once editor of the *New York Tribune*, and now United States Minister to the Netherlands, said:—

I have no doubt that the free and slave States ought to separate. The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South.

In 1859 the *Tribune* published the following verses:—

## THE AMERICAN FLAG.

Tear down the flaunting lie!  
Half-mast the starry flag!  
Insult no sunny sky  
With hate's polluted rag!

Destroy it ye who can!  
Deep sink it in the waves!  
It bears a fellow-man  
To groan with fellow-slaves!

In December, 1860, the *Tribune* wrote:—

Whenever a portion of this Union, large enough to form an independent, self-subsisting nation, shall see fit to say to the residue, "We want to get away from you," we shall say—and we trust self-respect, if not regard for the principle of self-government, will constrain the residue of the American people to say—"Go!"

So it was the North and not the South that threatened secession, and those who now call secession "wicked rebellion," clamoured for it before the war began. It is the North and not the South that has preached and acted on the "insane" principle, that "whenever any considerable body of men chose to withdraw themselves from the control of a given government they ought to be allowed to do so." It is the North and not the South that has taken an undue share of the common property. It is Mr. Sumner, United States Senator and Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and not the friends of the South, who has disgusted Europe with a display of Federal "blackguard ranting." Well may the North pray to be delivered from all such advocates as the writer in *Fraser*. In stating the case for the Federals, he has so completely exposed its rottenness, that it is needless even to glance at what he puts forth in favour of the Confederates.

*Blackwood* presents us with an excellent number. There is the first part of a new novel, entitled "Tory Butler," which, if it goes on as it has begun, will be a great success. It is animated, without being sensational, and the characters of the *dramatis personæ* are admirably sketched.—Sir E. B. Lytton concludes his "Caxtoniana," and explains that these essays were suggested to him whilst writing the novels attributed to Pisisistratus Caxton.—A review of the plays of Sheridan Knowles is preceded by a dissertation on his forsaking the stage for the pulpit. About his sincerity there can be no question, and there is nothing in his dramatic works of which as a preacher he need have been ashamed.—A paper on Harrow School is historically interesting, and would be very useful to a student of our institutions. It is impossible to overrate the influence that our public schools have had upon our national advancement. We do not refer to learning. So far as mere intellectual development is concerned, the German system would have been as successful. Our public schools have done incalculable good in forming character. The noblest youth in England, whether at Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Westminster, or any other of our public schools, have been inured to manly sports and to those physical contests which brace up the nerves and develop pluck. The monitoria



and fagging systems, though often abused, have resulted in teaching our youth both to obey and to command. Public schools have been the agency for cementing the union between the aristocracy and the upper middle class, by making the son of the duke the school comrade and equal of the son of the commoner. Harrow was founded in the reign of Elizabeth, and though it has not the advantages of Eton—we mean as to revenue—it has by private enterprise attained and long enjoyed a distinguished position. It is, we believe, the dearest of our schools, yet it has at present 466 students. In the long list of eminent men who have been at Harrow are Lord Byron, the late Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Palmerston.—An article on "Gold and Social Politics" is not such heavy reading as the title suggests. The beneficial results of the late discoveries of gold are described, and the *fictitious* high value of gold explained. The precious metal is sought for, not for its use in the arts, nor even for its beauty, but because a portion of mankind have agreed to use it as their counters in trade. We have seldom seen a dry subject more popularly treated.

"Sea Fights, Ancient and Modern," is an essay which the readers of the *Cornhill* will appreciate as timely and replete with information. It has often been remarked that our system of naval warfare is in some respects approximating to the ancient system; but it would be truer to say that in getting rid of sails and spars we are entering upon an entirely new system. The manoeuvres which we accomplished by seamanship are now executed by the power of steam, and this involves as great a change from the naval warfare of Nelson as his did upon the sea-fights of the Greeks. Then, again, our modern ordnance is an advance upon the means of attack in vogue at the beginning of the century, just as the use of cannon itself was on the means of attack practised by the ancients. The one point in which an iron-clad or a steam-ram is supposed to be like an ancient vessel of war is its adaptation for running down an adversary; but it should be observed that it is yet doubtful how far ramming will be found useful. Until now the only instance on record is the famous fight in the Hampton Roads, when the Confederate iron-clad played havoc with the wooden fleet of the Federals. This, however, is hardly a fair test. It proved that wood has no chance against iron, but did not decide whether, when iron encounters iron, the rams are likely to be of much avail. It is to be observed, too, that the introduction of monitors is likely to put an end to boarding—a method of naval warfare always in use hitherto, but which, from the earliest times until the present, has been employed less and less with the improvement of the construction of war vessels and of their armaments. We agree with the writer in the *Cornhill* that the relative superiority of the British tar is not jeopardised by the changes that have lately taken place:—

The men who conquered afloat in row-boats with spear and battle-axe, were the men who conquered afterwards in one-masted galleys with cross-bow and lance; and again, as the ages rolled by, with culverins in small bluff-bowed merchant-ships; and again in stately seventy-fours, with fleet-maneuvring and fine gunnery. Jervis did not beat the Spaniards more thoroughly than the Black Prince. Duncan did not beat the Dutch more decidedly than Blake. Nelson did not destroy the French more effectually than Edward the Third. Was the change from Edward's "coy," the *Thomas*, to Nelson's *Victory*, not as great as the change from Nelson's *Victory* to the *Warrior* and the *Black Prince*?

A lady enlivens the columns of the *Cornhill* with an account of a visit to the House of Commons on the night of the debate on the Italian question. We are glad to learn that though ladies are put out of sight they can see what is going on, and that though they are cruelly forbidden to talk or whisper they can hear the speeches. The fair visitor was enraptured with Mr. Gladstone, thought Sir George Bowyer rather dull, and that Mr. Layard would be quite as effective in a debate if he would get rid of the habit of clapping his hands—which is an unkind, not to say rather spiteful, hit at the member for Nineveh. The lady was greatly surprised and yet very pleased to see Sir George Bowyer cross over the House, put his hand on Mr. Gladstone's shoulder, and enter into friendly conference, just after the last-named gentleman had been smiting him "with a great slaughter." The same spirit will always be manifested amongst politicians who respect each other, and who are patriots as well as opponents. In the United States Congress there were Southern Whigs and Southern Democrats, differing from each other as much as Sir George Bowyer does from Mr. Gladstone, but they were, after the heat of the debate, as good friends as though no political difference existed between them. But in the United States Congress there was an antagonism between North and South that lasted out of Congress as well as in Congress. It was due principally to the perpetual and violent abuse of the South by Northern Republicans; but, whatever the cause, this perpetual discord is one of a multitude of proofs that

the North and South were virtually distinct long before the formal dissolution of the Union.

The *New Review* has a sketch of the life of the Countess of Albany, the unhappy wife of Prince Charles the Pretender. There is nothing original in the information, and we are under the impression that a few months since we read a paper in another magazine upon the same subject. However, the story is worth repeating, even if for no other reason than to make us thankful that we were rebels enough to get rid of the Stuarts. In 1772 the Pretender, who had been abandoned by his mistress on account of his violent temper, and who had been a confirmed drunkard for years, was married to Louise, Princess de Stolburg, then in her nineteenth year. The marriage was performed by proxy, and the unfortunate Princess knew not of her husband's degraded character until too late to retract; but it is likely enough that under any circumstances she would, dazzled by the chance of becoming Queen of England, have complied with the wish of the French Court, which brought about the marriage in order that the Stuarts might have heirs, and so be ready one day to hurl the House of Hanover from the throne of England. In 1772 it did not seem impossible that the wife of the Pretender might become *de facto* Queen of England. After not quite three years of married life, the Countess of Albany—such was her diplomatic title—left her husband on account of his ill-treatment, and because she had formed an attachment for the illustrious poet Alfieri, then in his twenty-seventh year. The Countess would not return to the Pretender, and kept up an intercourse with Alfieri. On the death of her husband she continued to live with the poet, but did not marry him, probably because she would not give up her pretension to be called Queen of England. The most disgraceful part of her career was that after the poet's death in 1803; when she was fifty-one years of age, she became the mistress of Fabre, a painter, and friend of Alfieri, and who was fifteen years her junior. If her first fault can be palliated, her last indelibly disgraces her memory.—"The East and West Ends of London" is an over-true story. The West-end is a city worthy of the wealth and glory of the Empire; the East-end is full of dens and hovels—"guilt-gardens," as they have been fitly called—that would have been a crying evil and shame in any age and to any people. We trust that as attention is being called to this matter, a remedy will be devised, and that our working classes will be housed, both in town and country, like human creatures, and not like vermin—we cannot say like cattle, for our cattle are better housed than our poor.—In an essay on the "Sisterhoods of the Church of England," and which may be described as institutions having most of the faults and few of the virtues of Romish Sisterhoods, an account is given of the absurd ceremonies observed by the Lady Superior of Davonport. A flight of stone stairs which she uses is covered with pieces of wood, on which are nailed pieces of rich carpeting. These are put down for her to walk on and taken up when she has passed. "It seems too ridiculous to be believed, but it is true, that these steps sometimes were put down and taken up four or five times a day, and the placing or displacing of them was quite an hour's work." Taking this for his text, the reviewer treats us to a short sermon upon the evils of absolute power. After informing us that our fellow-countrymen in India are vitiated by the cringing of the natives, of which fact we confess we were entirely ignorant, he asks, "Have the American planters reaped more of good than evil from their lifelong contact with a system of slavery worse than any known to Jew or Gentile in the days of classic Heathendom?" This is the most genuine bit of New England Abolitionism that was ever coined out of New England. It is worse, says the *New Reviewer*, to enslave the negro than it is to enslave a white and equal race. It is worse, says the *New Reviewer*, to hold slaves subject to laws for their protection, than it is to hold slaves subject to no law, and when killing a slave is not murder. Then the insinuation that the South has been enervated by slavery is worse than unfounded. Three years ago the *New Reviewer* might have pleaded ignorance, and that he had only the fictions of Abolitionists on which to form his opinion. Now such an excuse is not admissible. The gallantry of the Confederates, the heroic endurance with which they have battled in defence of their independence, and the noble, generous way in which they have conducted the war, whilst the Federals have made war like savages, are palpable evidence that slavery has not demoralised the dominant race. We are surprised that an English writer could pen such a sentence as we have quoted, and still more that it should be allowed a place in such a well conducted publication as the *New Review*.

*Macmillan* is rather dull this month, though it need not be added that in such a clever periodical there are always papers worth perusal. The most interesting

contribution, though not the best, is entitled "Our Relations with Brazil," which is an ingenious attempt to disparage the Brazilian Government, and to prove that Lord Russell was right in the late dispute, although the verdict of the King of the Belgians was against England. Surely this is a wanton insult to such a sagacious and respected sovereign as King Leopold. Surely it is mean and paltry to quarrel with an award after submitting the case to an arbitrator, who, if he had any leaning at all, must have been partial to England. The Brazil outrage was a bad piece of business, and the sooner the friends of Lord Russell allow it to sink into oblivion the better it will be for his Lordship's credit.

*London Society* gives the first instalment of "Passages from the Family History of the English Aristocracy," and which holds out the prospect of a very readable series of articles. A commendable contribution in the current number is "The Mart in Mining Lane," which gives the reader a very good idea of the way in which our vast business in colonial produce—in which are included tea and other articles that do not come from colonies—is carried on. The illustrations are, as usual, excellent, though we would suggest that it is possible to have too much of a good thing—even of pretty pictures of delicious girls.

#### THE AMENDE HONORABLE.

We cheerfully correct certain errors into which we had inadvertently fallen in our last impression in referring to the *Sunday Times*, and we cannot make the correction better than in our esteemed contemporary's own words:—

We beg respectfully to remind the *Index* that the *Sunday Times* professes to be a first-class journal, specially devoted to the interests of the Drama, Music, Literature, and the Fine Arts. In its politics, too, it is decidedly Conservative. It is not a "penny paper," though we are happy in being able to own the "soft impeachment" that "it has but few rivals in circulation among the organs of the weekly press." We hope the *Sunday Times* will never be "unfair" in its treatment of any cause; but we believe that so far from being "not specially partial to the cause of the South," it has been the most consistent, earnest, and unfaltering advocate of the claims of the Confederates they have had in the newspaper press of England. Perhaps the editor of the *Index* will do us the justice of examining our files for two years past, if he doubts the accuracy of these explanations.

FAITHFUL SLAVES.—An incident, for the truth of which we can vouch, and which in a remarkable manner illustrates the attachment of the Southern slaves to their masters, is worth mention. Among the arrivals in Liverpool by one of the recent steamers from New York was a young Confederate officer, accompanied by two fine strapping "contrabands." The officer and the two blacks, one his own body servant and the other the servant of a brother officer, had been captured in an attempt to run the double blockade from one Confederate port to another (a species of voyage now becoming quite frequent), and carried to New York. The negroes cunningly concealed their connection with their protector, but kept their eyes upon him, and on his release on parole they so earnestly and pathetically begged to be taken along with him, that, in spite of the danger, inconvenience, and expense, he could not find it in his heart to refuse them. Another fact which this little incident illustrates is the peculiar pleasure the typical "intelligent contraband" takes in outwitting the Yankees, a feature of negro character which has been abundantly displayed in this war, and has on many occasions signally assisted the operations of the Confederate armies.

It has been ascertained that among those killed at Gettysburg was William Mitchell, a son of John Mitchell, now well known to be connected with the editorial department of the *Richmond Enquirer*. He was a private in the 1st Virginia Regiment, and had fought most gallantly in all the battles in Virginia. He was about eighteen years old—just in the dawn of manhood—and had given bright promise of future usefulness as a soldier and as a citizen. Two brothers of the deceased are in the service.—*Southern Paper*.

#### AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

##### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, October 7.

It seems that the money market is again to be pressed upon by loans, and a variety of new projects encouraging miscellaneous adventure. In the question of loans it appears Brazil requires a few millions to pay off old loans running at a higher rate of interest, and Portugal will need further assistance to give her railway system increased development. Spain, it is said, will have to obtain financial aid, but of course nothing will be done for her till she has arranged the Passive debts and made provision for the certificates. The new projects principally comprise Banks—and if they are to be encouraged as they were last year, we shall sooner or later have a panic which must be most devastating in its effects. With these new engagements in immediate progress of arrangement the expectation of cheaper money in a great degree vanishes. It is true the dividends will come into play directly, while the large sums realised by the Indian Council will augment the available supplies, but these will be swallowed up without much delay if the transactions of this character accumulate—and it is said they will, in the space of the next week or a fortnight. The bankers and brokers are therefore working cautiously, and avoiding any very extensive business, and though several have exhibited a tendency for long-dated paper in preference to short, owing to the peculiar position of things, we think their policy will now undergo some change. The Bank have had altogether recently a very strong inquiry, and it is not probable that it will yet diminish when millions are to be found to complete loan contracts, and to supply funds necessary to organise and work Indian and foreign Banks. The rate for choice selected paper is 4 per cent., the Bank minimum; and though, perhaps, a little business has been done at 3½ per cent., it has in other respects more frequently ranged to 4½ and 4¾. Till the money which has been so freely employed in harvest operations returns from the provinces there will be little variation or reduction in the rates of discount.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank of England, including £55,000 this afternoon, is £282,000, against which there have been withdrawals for transmission abroad to the amount



of £162,000. The arrivals of specie have been moderate, viz., £505,599, of which £280,088 is from Port Philip, £22,511 from the Brazils, and £203,000 from New York. The shipments of specie by the last mail for the East were £109,905, of which £58,645 was in gold and £51,260 in silver. The quantities were, for India £1,645, China and the Straits £57,260, and Alexandria £57,000. The silver market remains very steady; the bar silver brought by the last West India mail has been sold at 6½d. per oz., being about the previous quotation. The Mexican dollars by the same mail have not yet been disposed of; the price is nominally 5s. 3½d. per oz. The only gold ship at present announced to be on its way from Australia is the Wellesley, with £131,000.

**THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.**  
The defeat of Rosecrans has exercised considerable influence on the price of this Stock. On Monday a rapid advance took place, the quotation being 68 to 70 (equal to 22 to 20 dis.); some transactions were effected at 73. Realisation of profits by speculators since caused a reaction to 64 to 66. To-day (Wednesday) large purchases in Liverpool have strengthened the market, and we close 65 to 67.

The last instalment of 15 per cent. having been paid, the Stock is quoted at its actual money value, instead of, as before, at a discount or premium on the subscription price.

**TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.**  
The biddings for 40,000,000 rupees in Bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were— to Calcutta, 22,000,000; to Bombay, 16,000,000, and to Madras, 2,000,000. The minimum price declared was, as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits amounted to 121 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 14 per cent.; on Bombay at 2s. about 68 per cent.; on Madras at 1s. 11½d. about 63 per cent., and all above these prices in full.

**THE NEW BRAZILIAN LOAN.**  
An official notification has been issued this afternoon of a new Brazilian Loan for £3,300,000, the object being the redemption in London of the balance of the 5 per cent. Loan of 1843, amounting to £3,620,000, due on the 1st January, 1864; likewise redeeming the balance of the 5 per cent. loans of 1824 and 1825, amounting together to £2,357,900, due on the 1st April, 1864; and discharging in Brazil with the balance the floating Treasury Bonds. Messrs. N. M. Rothschild and Sons, financial agents of the Imperial Government, therefore, announced that they are ready to receive at their office subscriptions for this loan. It will be emitted in bonds to bearer for £100, £500, and £1,000, each carrying interest at 4½ per cent. per annum, in coupons, payable half-yearly in London on the 1st April and 1st October each year; the first half-year's dividend being due 1st April, 1864. The bonds are to be issued for thirty years, and will be redeemed by a sinking fund of £1 13s. per cent. per annum, operating half-yearly by purchases in the market when at or under par, and by drawing by lot when above par. The price of emission is £88 for every £100 stock, payable as follows:—15 per cent. on allotment; 15 per cent. on 16th November, 1863; 15 per cent. on 15th December, 1863; 10 per cent. on 15th January, 1864; and 33 per cent. on 22nd March. To subscribers who prefer payment by anticipation of the above periods a discount, at the rate of 4½ per cent. per annum, will be allowed. Applications for this loan must be accompanied with a deposit of 5 per cent. on the amount applied for.

**THE NEW ZEALAND LOAN.**  
The tenders for the New Zealand Loan for the Auckland Provincial Government were opened on the 1st instant at the Bank of New Zealand. The first instalment to be placed was £100,000. The fixed minimum was 105 (virtually 102, as £3 interest has already accrued). The total amount tendered for was £144,500, of which £71,750 was tendered for, and accepted, at sums ranging from £105 to £115, and the balance unaccepted, £72,750, was at prices varying from par to the minimum. The unallotted portion, £28,250, was tendered for on the 3rd instant, and all taken at prices ranging to 45 11s. premium. No tenders at the minimum were accepted, and a much larger amount was offered than required.

**HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.**  
In the early part of the week business in the English Stock Market was fairly active, and prices were well sustained, notwithstanding that the operators generally were directing their attention more particularly to foreign stocks, where they found a wider field for their speculative tendencies. Within the last day or two, however, the aspect of foreign politics, particularly with reference to the German Confederation, has again created some little uneasiness, and prices consequently have assumed an advanced direction. Consols closed this evening at 93 to 94 for both money and account, which, as compared with this day week, is a decline of ¼ per cent. Exchequer Bills remain standing at par to 3s. premium. An extensive speculative business has again been transacted in foreign securities, the chief attention having been directed to Mexican, which at one time were very good; but, the reply of the Archduke Maximilian to the Mexican deputations not being regarded as altogether satisfactory, a decline to the extent of nearly four per cent. has been the result. Greek stock has met with a fair share of support, but in sympathy with other descriptions closes rather weak. Spanish have been moderately dealt in, but were rather lower at the close. Turkish, on the other hand, continue to maintain their values. The latest quotations were:—Greek Stock, 36½ to 37½; Mexican, 43 to 43½; Spanish Passives, 35 to 35½; Do. Certificates, 13½ to 13¾; Turkish Six per Cent., (1854), 95; Do. do. (1862), 70½ to 71.

**AMERICAN SECURITIES.**  
In American Government and Railway Securities business has again been on a rather restricted scale, and for most descriptions prices have shown a further adverse tendency, in consequence of the reported progress made by the Confederate forces. The dealings comprise Virginia State Six per Cent. at 41, 40, 39, 40, and 39. Atlantic and Great Western (New York Section), 77½, 78½, and 76. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 77, 76½, 76, 77, 76½, 76, and 75. x. c. Erie Shares, \$100, all paid, 73, 73½, 73, 76, and 75. Do. do. 5th mortgage, 70. Illinois Central Seven per Cent., 77, 76, 75, and 76. Do. do., \$100 Share, \$90 paid, 16½, 15½, 16, and 17½. Do. do., all paid, 74, 76, 74½, and 76. Marietta and Cincinnati Railway, 71. New York Central Seven per Cent. 70. Do. do., \$100 Shares, 88, 89, and 90; and Pennsylvania Central Bonds, First Mortgage, convertible, 73.

**RAILWAY SECURITIES.**  
Business in the English Railway Share Market has not been very heavy, though the transactions have been to a fair average extent; but with one or two exceptions prices have had a downward tendency; these exceptions being in London, Chatham, and Dover shares, which are better by about 2 per cent.; North-Eastern (York) ½ per cent., and London and Blackwall about ¼ per cent. The decline has been in Metro-

politan to the extent of 1 per cent.; in Great Northern, London, Brighton, and South Coast, London and North-Western, and South-Eastern ½ per cent.; and in Great-Western, London and South-Western, and Midland ½ per cent. Foreign Railway Shares have been rather more in demand, and quotations on the whole continue to be fairly maintained. In the shares in British Possessions the dealings have been to a full average extent, without any material alteration in values.

**NEW BANKING PROJECTS.**  
A very important undertaking has just been announced under the auspices of the General Credit and Finance Company of London. It is called the Land Mortgage Bank of India (Credit Foncier Indien) with a nominal capital of £2,000,000 in shares of £20 each. Only a small portion of the capital will be called up, and of that a large portion was arranged for before the prospectus was issued. The Board is very influentially constituted, Mr. S. Laing, late financial secretary in India, being the Chairman, the other members being Colonel Balfour, C.B., Mr. H. L. Bischoffsheim, the Hon. W. S. Fitzwilliam, Sir J. P. Grant, K.C.B., Mr. P. Northall Laurie, and others. The chief business of the company will be the granting of loans on land, either for fixed periods, or upon tenures that will extinguish the debt during the currency of the mortgage, or the payment of an annual instalment on account of the principal, in addition to the annual interest; thus conferring on the borrowers the benefit of an eventual liquidation of their debts. The remarkable success of the French Credit Foncier is referred to in illustration of the system it is proposed to adopt. That there is an extensive field for the operations of the Company is beyond all doubt, and as the directors will issue deliveries for fixed periods, the resources at their command for enlarged enterprise will be in a measure unlimited. The prospectus has also been issued of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, with a proposed capital of £2,000,000, which in the first instance is to be divided into £20 certificates, of which 30 per cent. will be at once called up; viz., 10 per cent. on application, 10 per cent. on allotment, and 10 per cent. within one month after allotment. The Bank, it is affirmed, is established under a direct concession for the purpose of promoting and extending commercial and financial relations between Austria and this country, by the ordinary business of a bank of deposit, discount and exchange. The head office is to be at Vienna, with branches at Trieste, Prague, and Brinn. The financial agents in England are Messrs. Glynn, Mills and Co., and the London manager is Mr. Francis Brewer, who has had twenty-five years' experience in the house of Messrs. Fröhling and Goschen. The Government, who have approved of the prospectus, have promised the Bank the opportunity of undertaking such financial operations as loans, placing of bonds, &c., and to open an account current with the establishment. The council of directors is highly constituted.

**BANK AMALGAMATIONS.**  
The junction of the old-established bank of Messrs. Loyd, Entwistle and Co., of Manchester, with the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank, has been announced by the following circular:—

"Dear Sirs,—It is our duty to take the earliest opportunity of informing you that we have made arrangements with the Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Company for the conduct of the future business which may be entrusted to this Bank. Circumstances of a purely private character have compelled us to regard such a measure as necessary, but it is not without great regret that we contemplate any modification of a connection which has now subsisted with mutual good will for a period of fifteen years. For the confidence you have reposed in us we shall always feel deeply grateful, and we hope that the arrangements we have made with a view to your convenience will meet with your approval. The business will be continued on the same premises in King-street, and, as far as possible, with the same staff. Our partner, Mr. Bury, will join the direction of the Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Company, and we feel justified in expressing a strong conviction, that, in transferring your business to that Company, you will intrust it to the care of gentlemen in every way worthy of your confidence and respect.

We are, &c.,  
Manchester, Oct. 1, 1863. LOYD, ENTWISTLE & CO.

**BANK MEETINGS.**  
At a meeting to-day of the proprietors of the Chartered Bank of India, China, and Australia, an interim dividend of 5 per cent. for the half-year ending the 30th June last was declared out of profits gained during that period, amounting to £51,500. At the same time £24,000 was set apart to be added to the reserve fund.—At the first meeting of the shareholders in the Standard Bank of British South Africa, the report, which was of a highly satisfactory character, was unanimously adopted. It stated that although only a very few months had elapsed since the incorporation of the Company, and although the field of operations was very distant, after payment of all interest on deposits, and deduction of rebate on all bills discounted, but not yet due, the net profits amounted to £4,792, out of which the directors had placed £110 as a half-yearly payment to the credit of the preliminary expenses, £1,176 to suspense account, and they recommended that £3,375 be applied to the payment of a dividend of 6s. 9d. per share, free of income-tax, being at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum on the paid-up capital, and carrying forward £30 to the current account.—At an extraordinary general meeting of the proprietors of the Union Bank of England and France, Mr. Colchester in the chair, resolutions were passed, confirming the resolutions agreed to at a previous meeting for the amalgamation of this bank with the English, Belgian, and Netherlands Bank, under the general title of the European Bank. In answer to a question, the Chairman stated that he should fill the position of deputy chairman in the new Company, and would continue to take as much interest in the bank as he had hitherto done.—At a meeting of the proprietors of the English, Belgian, and Netherlands Bank held to-day, similar resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

**MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.**  
At a meeting of the shareholders in the London and Burton Bottled Beer Company, the report of the directors, and the statement of accounts were adopted, and a dividend declared at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, free of income tax. The accounts showed a net profit of £1,147, upon the six months trading, and an unappropriated balance of £905 had been brought forward from the previous account. After payment of the dividend there would remain £1,515 to be carried to the reserve fund.—At a meeting of the proprietors of the Indian Carrying Company, a dividend at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, for the half-year was declared out of the net profits of the past six months. The chairman stated that their institution, as was incidental to all such establishments, had at its outset met with both success and failure. The failure had occurred through the mismanagement of one of their agents, who had since been removed, but their success was of

such a character as to encourage them to proceed.—A special meeting of the Great Ship Company has been held for the purpose of devising means to relieve the company from the pecuniary difficulties in which it is placed, and if possible to prevent the great ship from being seized and sold by the mortgagees. After a lengthened discussion it was agreed to appoint a committee to investigate the affairs, and to report to an adjourned meeting on the 12th instant.

**PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.**  
The prospectus has been issued of the Llanberis Slate Company with a capital of £50,000, in 10,000 shares of £5 each. The proposal is to purchase the lease and work a slate quarry upon an estate formerly the property of the late Marquis of Anglesea. Very satisfactory terms, it is said, have been made for the purchase of the property, and the reports of the inspecting agents are highly favourable.

**THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.**  
The current events in America have exercised greater influence in these departments than has been perceptible for some time past. The success of the Confederate arms and the growing indications of an early recognition of the South by the French Government, have caused traders to think more seriously of the extent to which their interests may be involved by the results that these important changes may bring about. The effect has been to render those holding American produce more desirous of realising, and those holding produce suitable to American requirements less disposed to part with their stocks. This effect is, however, modified very materially by the extent to which commercial affairs in general have, by dint of time, become regulated to the altered position in which they have been placed by the protracted war. In cotton, for instance, scarcely any change is noticed, available supplies having been so worked down as hardly to exceed the requirements from day to day, whilst in cotton manufactures the system, for a long time past, has been to work almost exclusively to order. A transition to lower prices under these circumstances would not, therefore, incur anything like the danger of collapse that would have existed some time back. Of American provisions the arrivals are also within the limits of actual demand, and prices are consequently firm. Some prime fresh mild bacon sides, just in from New York, have sold at 48s. per cwt. Fine American butters remain at 90s. and 94s., but lower rates would follow increased arrivals, as the market is by no means strong. American lard remains as last quoted. Our grain markets have become dull, but are not sensibly depressed. Petroleum is decidedly heavy, and prices tend in buyers' favour. French spirits of turpentine have further given way to 70s. per ton. In fish oils there is still but little doing, and American sperm is stationary at £80. The movements in tallows have been less extensive than of late, but have lent steady support to prices. Only a small portion of the tallow delivered off on contract has been offered for sale, whilst the trade have slightly extended their purchases. Holders of American tobacco are firm in consequence of the unfavourable crop reports, but the resort to substitutes checks any tendency to higher rates. In drugs and chemicals some variations have occurred. American oil peppermint has declined 9d. per lb. Lemon grass oil is a shade easier. Cape aloes have risen 1s. per cwt., and bichromate of potash ¼d. per lb. Camphor has receded from £7 (the price paid to execute some American orders) to £6 10s. per cwt. In gums, kowie is again the turn dealer. Dyestuffs generally are firm. Turmeric has recovered 2s. per cwt., and safflower has risen 5s. to 7s. 6d. The only change in metals is a further advance in the price of Scotch pig iron, the trade in other departments being dull.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.					
	1863.			1862.		
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0 1 11	to 0 2 4		0 1 8	to 0 2 3	
CHEMICALS.—						
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5½	0 1 5½		0 1 8		
Arctic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0		0 17 6	0 18 6	
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4½	0 0 4½		0 0 5½	0 0 5½	
Potash, bichromate, lb.	0 0 8½	0 0 9		0 0 7½	0 0 8 6	
Hydrochloric, lb.	0 0 4½			0 0 5½	0 0 6	
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6		0 7 6		
DRUGS.—						
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 11 0		1 0 0	2 5 0	
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 1 0			0 1 4		
Pere, lb.	0 4 3	0 4 10		0 5 0	0 5 2	
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6		0 8 0	0 11 0	
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8		0 3 9	0 4 6	
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 6		0 0 6½	0 0 7½	
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 0 0	5 5 0		5 12 0	5 15 0	
Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0		5 5 0	5 10 0	
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 15 0		0 7 6	0 14 0	
Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10		0 0 5½	0 0 6½	
Orange, lb.	0 0 5	0 0 5½		0 0 5½	0 0 6	
Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5	0 0 5½		0 0 5½	0 0 6	
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0		0 19 0		
Scuna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3½		0 0 2½	0 0 3½	
Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3½	0 0 8		0 0 4	0 0 6½	
Suakroet, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3		0 2 6	0 2 9	
Spermaceti, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2		0 1 0	0 1 0½	
DYES, cwt.—						
Indigo	4 0 0	7 5 0		3 3 0	6 15 0	
Turmeric, Bengal	1 11 0	1 12 0		1 3 0	1 4 0	
Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0		0 14 0	0 15 6	
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 5 0		5 10 0	6 5 0	
GUMS, cwt.—						
Anini, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0		8 16 0	9 10 0	
Gedda	1 12 0	1 13 0		1 6 0	1 11 0	
Keweenaw	2 5 0	2 10 0		1 2 0	1 4 0	
METALS, per ton.—						
Copper, American	..	..		2 16 6	..	
Iron, Scotch, Pig	3 2 6	..		11 0 0	..	
Tin, English	115 0 0	..		..	..	
OILS, per ton.—						
Sperm, American	80 0 0	..		85 0 0	..	
Lard	43 0 0	..		43 0 0	..	
Rock Oil, Crude	20 0 0	..		..	11 0 0	
PROVISIONS, cwt.—						
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	4 14 0		3 14 0	4 4 0	
Cheese, do.,	2 6 0	2 18 0		2 0 0	2 12 0	
Bacon Sides	1 10 0	2 8 0		1 14 0	2 3 0	
TALLOW, per cwt.—						
North American	2 2 0	2 4 0		..	..	
South do.	2 2 0	2 4 0		2 7 0	2 8 3	
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0		8 10 0	..	
TOBACCO, lb.—						
Maryland	0 0 5½	0 0 9		0 0 4½	0 0 9	
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2		0 0 5½	0 1 0	
Kentucky	0 0 6½	0 1 7		0 0 5½	0 1 1½	

**MERCANTILE SUSPENSION.**  
The suspension has been announced of Messrs. Levy Brothers, of Fenchurch-street, engaged in the San Francisco and Havannah trades. The stoppage is attributed to the failure of remittances from New York. The books of the firm have been placed in the hands of Messrs. Quilter and Co., the accountants. The liabilities are estimated at between £40,000 to £50,000.



## EXTENSIVE MERCANTILE FRAUD.

It has just transpired that Mr. George Thomson, of the firm of Messrs. Catto, Thomson, and Co., shipowners of Aberdeen, has disappeared leaving liabilities unpaid for to the extent, as variously stated, of £70,000 to £100,000, and which are attributed to unsuccessful stock and other speculations. It is affirmed that the house of Catto, Thomson, and Co., is perfectly solvent and that the business will be carried on as heretofore.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 7.

Only a moderate business has been transacted during the past week in our cotton market, and very little if any change has to be noticed. Prices are about the same as last week, though the tendency if anything is rather easier. But as the markets at Manchester still continue firm, caused by the general scarcity of yarns and cloth, there is no uneasy feeling; on the contrary, owing to the firm position of the other markets and the continued unsettled state of affairs in America, there appear to be reasonable grounds for the maintenance of present prices. Notwithstanding that the demand during the week has been comparatively moderate, the tone of the market

continues good. The sales during the week have been 42,000 bales, of which 13,000 bales were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 1,915,470 bales, against 2,254,220 bales to the same period in 1862. The imports this year have been 1,172,284, and to the same period last year 8,655,503 bales. Exported this year 347,416 bales; same period in 1862, 337,137 bales. The stocks at present are computed at 193,340 bales; at the same period last year, 213,040 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,021,100 bales; same period in 1862, 954,300 bales. Taken on speculation this year 964,290 bales; same in 1862, 905,020 bales. Prices remain precisely the same as last week.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, October 6.

Very little business has been transacted in this market during the past week, which is partly owing to the quiet state of the Liverpool market, comparatively speaking, and partly to the difficulty experienced by merchants in getting goods for anything like early delivery. Spinners and manufacturers generally being under contract, and not in a position to take further orders without delaying the execution of contracts taken previously.

The home-trade houses, which supply country drapers, are

reported as very busy, in fact, more so than has been the case with them for the last two years.

Yarns of all kinds are held for extreme rates, and not the slightest disposition is shown by sellers to concede the smallest fraction.

India cloths of all kinds are in improved demand at the close of the week, and there is every probability of an advance taking place in the quotations for these goods especially.

## Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Oct. 8, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

MEXICO AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE IMPENDING BATTLES.

THE PRESS ON MR. MASON'S WITHDRAWAL.

LORD RUSSELL AT BLAIRGOWRIE.

THE PRICE OF GOLD IN THE SOUTH.

POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTHIRE.

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BELLIGERENT RIGHTS AT SEA (FROM THE "BOSTON COURIER").

THE "NEW YORK DAILY NEWS" ON THE SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.

AFFAIRS COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL.

## TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT

OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake!! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been shamed, abused, and libelled beyond any civilized people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, —and think, on the contrary, that the same and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, which opposed to any recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice, her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" has been a mere cloak for the "greatest hardship," and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their open opposition to us, and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South, or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle them to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire. Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, E.C. Meetings every Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place. JAMES YEOMANS, Hon. Sec. September 14th, 1863.

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# GENERAL THOMAS J. STONEWALL JACKSON.

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The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COURTIS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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**THE HOME AND FOREIGN**  
REVIEW. No. VI. (October, 1863).

CONTENTS:—  
1. GAO DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.  
2. THE IRISH CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.  
3. THE REVOLUTION IN POLAND.  
4. EMIGRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.  
5. FOUNDLINGS.  
6. GEORGE ELIOT'S NOVELS.  
7. THE FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.  
8. DANTE AND HIS COMMENTARIES.  
9. MEDIEVAL FABLES OF THE POES.  
10. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.  
11. CURIOUS EVENTS.  
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1861 .. 785 ..	527,626 ..	16,553 2 9
1862 .. 1,637 ..	769,534 ..	23,641 0 0

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The nearest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathize with the sufferings of the following men.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 78.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 22, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
INSIDE VIEW OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
MR. SPENCE, OF LIVERPOOL.  
MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR THE DEFENCE.  
THE SITUATION IN TENNESSEE.  
COLONEL LAMAR AT CHERTSEY.  
LETTER FROM THE OFFICERS OF THE SOUTHERN INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATION.  
CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

The only item in the latest intelligence from New York that gives anything like a clear conception of the military progress of the respective belligerents is the announcement under date of October 12th, that—"the anxiety concerning the military situation in Virginia and Tennessee has caused an advance in gold, which is now quoted at 51½ per cent. premium." This indicates that the Federals consider their military situation critical—and that we must ascribe the remarkable paucity of military news to the fact of tidings being kept back that are favourable to the Confederates, though enough is allowed to leak out to manifest the reasonableness of the anxiety. One day it is asserted that the communication between Nashville and Chattanooga is cut off, and a little later we are as positively informed that it is not so. At one time General Bragg's forces are estimated at 100,000 men, and then that he has 175,000 men, and that General Joseph Johnston has a reserved force of 55,000 troops. But it needs not any exaggeration to make the authorities at Washington feel nervous about the position of Rosecrans. He is in an enemy's country, at a long distance from his base of operation, with a beaten army fronted by a powerful enemy, in the flush of victory, and with his communications constantly harassed and threatened. The game of war is not exactly like a game of chess, or the Federals would be justified in despairing, instead of being only anxious about the safety of Rosecrans. In the meantime Burnside is reported to have retired from Knoxville, and Shelbyville is said to have been captured with all the Federal forces, estimated at 15,000 men. M'Minville was attacked by the Confederates on the 3rd, and telegraphic communication was soon after suspended, which points to a Confederate success. If we turn to Virginia we find the Federal prospects no brighter than they are in Tennessee. The force of General Lee is so far from being depleted to reinforce General Bragg, as alleged by the Federals, that it is now admitted that General Meade is opposed by a well disciplined and numerically powerful army. General Lee has executed one of those flank movements—Hill's corps having passed from the left to the right of Meade's front—that have so often been the forerunners of severe disaster to the Federals. In the rear of the Northern army "guerillas" are actively engaged, and on the night of the 1st, Fort Beckwith, which is within ten miles of Washington, was attacked, several of the guard were killed and wounded, twenty taken prisoners, and sixty horses and many arms and equipments captured:—and this, be it remembered, is the Federal account. Nor is there any news from Charleston to inspire the North. The Government have suppressed the accounts they have received. All we hear is that Sumter has been put into a defensible state; that Gilmore has had to withdraw from Morris Island to Folly Island; and that on the 6th the Federal fleet was attacked, the *Ironsides* "was much damaged, and the other vessels of the fleet greatly alarmed for their safety." So carefully are the facts connected with recent operations at Charleston concealed, that there is a strong probability that the Confederates have gained an important victory. The only success claimed by the Federals is that General M'Cook had the best of a skirmish with some of General Wheeler's force, killing and wounding 120, and capturing 87 prisoners and some Federal property previously taken by General Wheeler. Even against this the Confederates have a set-off in the defeat of a Federal cavalry brigade near Robertsons River (Vir-

ginia). In Kansas the Confederates are advancing on Fort Scott and Kansas city, the State militia has been called out, and the Confederates have captured General Blunt's staff. It will be a happy result of this movement if it should check the horrible border warfare now raging, and it shows that the South is better able to protect her borders than the North, which has confessed her inability to restore or enforce order in Kansas. The rumour of a Federal defeat above Port Hudson was believed in New York.

We copy elsewhere from the *Richmond Sentinel* those passages relating to Mr. James Spence, of Liverpool, upon which the Northern press and their coadjutors in England, with characteristic malignity, have based certain perverted statements intended to be injurious to that gentleman. It may be well to remark, that as regards the statement of facts, the passages quoted are entitled to no other credit than as simple newspaper reports, unsupported thus far by positive information, but they demonstrate clearly that the *Enquirer's* attacks on Mr. Spence, over which some of our contemporaries gloat so much, are dictated by a personal dislike, not so much of him, as of a member of President Davis's Cabinet. So far from the *Richmond Enquirer* representing the feelings of the Southern Government or people toward Mr. Spence, those feelings are—and we are in a position to add our own testimony to that of the *Richmond Sentinel*—sincere admiration for his eminent talents, and a warm gratitude for the invaluable services he has rendered them by an advocacy as unselfish and as zealous as it is masterly and effective.

Another Russian fleet is announced shortly to arrive at San Francisco, California. We pointed out last week the obvious meaning of the presence of the seven men-of-war in New York harbour. If any doubt still lingered in the minds of our readers it must now be removed by this open manoeuvre of placing in readiness the naval resources of both the Eastern or Asiatic and the Western or European faces of this unwieldy empire, and of menacing at once the transatlantic and the oriental commerce of its possible adversaries. From an extract from the *New York World*, which appears elsewhere, it will be seen that the most rational portion of the Northern American press takes substantially the same views that we have expressed. The Southern papers congratulate their readers on the Yankee-Russian alliance, on the ground, in the words of the *Richmond Dispatch*, that such an alliance would raise such issues "as could not long be deferred, and would no doubt be settled in favour of the peace and security of the world from the unscrupulousness, the atrocities, and brutalities of the worst members of the family of civilised nations."

It appears that there are persons credulous enough to believe the Federal Government. Relying on repeated assurances that the Mississippi is open for trade, sundry vessels have been despatched, and the result is that nearly all of them have learnt from experience that the Mississippi is only open to iron-clads, and that it never can be open to trade, so long as the Confederates are in possession of the country on either side. A voyage up or down the Mississippi is vastly more hazardous than running the blockade at Charleston or Wilmington.

Besides the loss from the operations of the Confederates a large number of steamboats are being destroyed by incendiaries. The *Ruth*, having on board two millions of dollars in greenbacks for General Grant's army, was burned a few miles below Cairo. The *Robert Campbell* was burned near Milliken's Bend, and this catastrophe involved the loss of twenty-two lives. The steamers *Chancellor*, *Forest Queen*, and *Catahoula* were burned at St. Louis, at the levee, on the 4th inst., the two latter boats being totally destroyed. On the 13th ultimo, the *Imperial*, *Hawatha*, *Post Boy*, and *I. K. Bell*, were burned at the same place. The *Hope*, engaged in the Memphis and St. Louis trade, and at Memphis the *Champion*, a fine vessel valued at \$80,000, have likewise been destroyed. The *Choteau* was fired, but partially saved by sinking her. Naturally these events have caused a great deal of alarm and panic. The incendiaries are said to be negroes in the employ of the Confederates.

In another part of our impression will be found a letter to the Editor from the officers of the Manchester Southern Independence Association, stating concisely, but clearly and frankly, the motives and object of the Association, and the relations—purely those of political friendship and of cordial sympathy—which it

holds to the Government and people of the Confederate States. We need hardly say that, although the letter is suggested by our remarks of last week, those remarks were not intended by us as criticism or censure, but only to indicate the Southern point of view of the incidental question of slavery. We believe that the Association will the more surely and speedily accomplish its noble work from its being genuinely and independently English in tone, feeling, and policy; and though it will be some time before Southerners will be able to see their own institutions through English spectacles, they will not the less give their heartfelt prayers to the labours of an association which has so many titles to their lasting gratitude.

From Texas, or, as the western lobe of the Southern Confederacy is technically termed, the Trans-Mississippi Department, the Richmond papers have full and cheering news of recent date. "The Confederacy, which was to have been utterly destroyed through the bisection which was the object of so much blood and treasure in acquiring command of the great river, appears, polyposus-like, to have equal vitality in each of its severed parts. A council of governors, consisting of Governor Moore, of Louisiana, Lubbock, of Texas, Flanagan, of Arkansas, and Reynolds, of Missouri, which holds its sessions at Marshall, Texas, supplies in sudden emergencies the place of a provisional government. The feelings of the people are described as enthusiastically loyal to the Confederacy, and confident of triumphantly repelling the expected Federal invasion. Recruiting was going on most vigorously. Men and boys were flocking to the ranks. Camps of instruction were established in various parts of the country, the largest being at Bonham. A large foundry for casting and rifling cannon was just commencing work, and other establishments for supplying munitions of war were approaching completion. Valuable stores had also arrived from Mobile, running the double blockade. Owing to the vast influx of population, white and black refugees from the Mississippi valley, and the excellent harvests of the last season, such had been the accumulation of capital and the development of industry that the people scarcely felt the pressure of the war. Provisions were abundant. Good beef on the hoof sold at eight cents a pound; vegetables were cheap, and, thanks to the accumulation of imported goods through Mexico and Matamoros, coffee was only thirty-five cents a pound, and other foreign commodities in proportion. Gold and silver were quoted at 500 in Confederate currency. Cotton-picking commenced in August; the old stock on hand is estimated at 150,000 bales. All the crops are represented as unprecedentedly large, and there was corn and wheat enough to supply the west bank of the Mississippi for two full years. The only shadow in this glowing picture is that, owing to the occasional interruption of communication with the East, distressing rumours were sometimes prevalent, such as that President Davis had died, that General Lee had been superseded; but the people had ceased to believe in reports so often falsified. General Kirby Smith, assisted by Generals Magruder and Taylor, was in the chief command. His headquarters were at Shreveport. The full returns of the recent Texas elections were not yet in, but sufficient was known to indicate that Pendleton Murrah was elected Governor; J. S. Stockdale, Lieutenant-Governor; S. Crosby, Commissioner of the General Land-office; C. Herbert, A. M. Branch, and J. B. Sexton, to Congress. In another district the election was contested between Messrs. Wilcox and Hunter.

General Lee's official report of the late campaign in Pennsylvania has been published. This document states that it was undertaken to withdraw the Northern army from a position in which it could not be attacked with advantage; to transfer hostilities to the north of the Potomac, and so relieve the Shenandoah Valley, which had been occupied with troops during the winter and spring; and to break up the Federal plan of campaign by compelling the enemy to consume part of the season for active operations in forming new combinations. Besides these advantages, it was hoped that other valuable results might be obtained, but General Lee says nothing about an intention to essay the capture of Philadelphia or Washington, which was ascribed to him by Yankee trepidation. The march of the Confederates was, as our readers are aware, for the first few days totally unopposed, and the country was left to their mercy. General Lee did not retaliate for the Federal barbarities committed on Confederate soil, but



on the contrary, private property was rigidly respected. The movement of General Lee's army commenced on June 3rd, the main body crossed the Potomac on the 24th, and on the 27th the whole army was at Chambersburg. Preparations were made to advance upon Harrisburg, but the design was abandoned on the 29th, in consequence of information that the Federal army was moving northwards, and so menacing the communications of the Confederate army with the Potomac. To check the Federal advance, Generals Longstreet, Hill, and Ewell, were ordered to proceed to Gettysburg. On the 1st of July, Hill's division—joined by Ewell's division during the engagement—came up with the Federals, who were driven through Gettysburg with heavy loss, including about 5,000 prisoners and several pieces of artillery. The Federals retreated to a high range of hills, and the attack was not pressed that afternoon as the Confederates did not know the force of the enemy. "It had not," says General Lee, "been intended to fight a general battle at such a distance from our base, unless attacked by the enemy; but finding ourselves unexpectedly confronted by the Federal army, it became a matter of difficulty to withdraw through the mountains with our large trains. At the same time the country was unfavourable for collecting supplies while in the presence of the enemy's main body, as he was enabled to restrain our foraging parties by occupying the passes of the mountains with regular and local troops. A battle thus became in a measure unavoidable. Encouraged by the successful issue of the engagement of the first day, and in view of the valuable results which would ensue from the defeat of the army of General Meade, it was thought advisable to renew the attack." At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 2nd, the Federal position was assaulted, and when darkness put an end to the fight, it was found that Longstreet and Ewell had obtained partial successes which seemed to promise a complete Confederate triumph on the following day. On the afternoon of the 3rd, the contest was renewed, and lasted till sunset. "Our troops," says General Lee, "succeeded in entering the advanced works of the enemy, and getting possession of some of his batteries; but our artillery having nearly expended its ammunition, the attacking columns became exposed to the heavy fire of the numerous batteries near the summit of the ridge, and after a most determined and gallant struggle were compelled to relinquish their advantage and fall back to their original positions with severe loss." Owing to the strength of the Federal position, and the scarcity of Confederate ammunition, it was impossible to renew the engagement. During the day succeeding the battle—the 4th—the Confederate army remained at Gettysburg, and at night began to retire, carrying away 4000 prisoners (nearly 2000 had been previously paroled), but leaving behind the enemy's wounded, which had fallen into the hands of the Confederates on the 1st and 2nd. The march was so slow, owing to a severe storm, that the rear of the column did not leave Gettysburg until after daylight on the 5th. No important effort was made to impede the march, and on the morning of the 7th the army reached Hagerstown. General Lee graphically describes his situation at that point. "The Potomac," he says, "was found to be so much swollen by the rains that had fallen almost incessantly since our entrance into Maryland as to be unfordable. Our communications with the south side were thus interrupted, and it was difficult to procure either ammunition or subsistence; the latter difficulty being enhanced by the high waters impeding the working of neighbouring mills. The trains with the wounded and prisoners were compelled to await at Williamsport the subsiding of the river and the construction of boats, as the pontoon bridge left at Falling Waters had been partially destroyed. The enemy had not yet made his appearance, but as he was in a condition to obtain large reinforcements, and our situation, for the reasons above mentioned, was becoming daily more embarrassing, it was deemed advisable to recross the river. Part of the pontoon-bridge was recovered, and new boats built, so that by the 13th a good bridge was thrown over the river at Falling Waters." On the 12th the Federals came up, but instead of attacking the Confederates, commenced fortifying their lines; and leaving them to do this at their leisure, General Lee crossed the Potomac in face of the enemy, "with no loss of material except a few disabled wagons and two pieces of artillery which the horses were unable to move through the deep mud. Before fresh horses could be sent for them the rear of the column had passed." A few stragglers were also taken by the Federals. General Lee gratefully acknowledges the gallantry and devotion of his troops, and concludes his modest report with a few words of kindly remembrance of the "brave officers and patriotic gentlemen who fell in the faithful discharge of their duty, leaving the army to mourn their loss and emulate their noble examples."

President Lincoln, has, to employ a sporting phrase, made a book against Providence. On the 3rd of October, he set apart the 26th of November as a day of national thanksgiving, or in other words, informed his subjects that in fifty-four days after date Federal affairs would be flourishing. This novel edition of Mr. Seward's drafts has not restored confidence in the North, nor did it improve the value of greenbacks. Mr. Lincoln avers that the strength and vigour of the nation have increased, and adds, that the country "is permitted to expect a continuance of years with large increase of freedom." In a country where political and even personal liberty are things of the past, it must be confessed that a large increase of freedom is possible, though not probable. Mr. Lincoln says "the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theatre of the military conflict." What about the New York riots? What about the state of affairs in the West? How is it the prisons are full of political offenders? If the harmony was so perfect why was the *habeas corpus* suspended?

On the 30th September, a Republican Mass Meeting was held at the Cooper Institute, New York. The principal speech of the evening was delivered by Vice-President Hamlin, and the pith of it, was that the Union was victorious, the "rebellion" nearly crushed, and that the Democrats were the only hindrance to peace—that is, a peace to be decided by fighting, not by negotiation. Mr. Hamlin did not use the stereotyped phrases about Union feeling in the South, but he admitted with great frankness the existence of much disunion in the North. He essayed a few coarse jokes, of which we may cite as a specimen his reference to Mr. Brookes. He said—"Don't speak that name. It was one of God's providences that the creature was born in Maine. But, gentlemen, we couldn't help it. If we had had the ordering of it, it should have been otherwise, I assure you." Another humorous sally was—"We are to be successful. And who doubts it is a political infidel. And who doubts it may as well believe that God has deserted our Government and country." Mr. Seward did not attend the meeting, but he wrote a letter of apology, in which he observes, "Until the present crisis the Union has been maintained without real solicitude about either soldiers, seamen, or treasure. Now that these are contributed so bountifully and so cheerfully, God forbid that the Union should perish for want of the first and most necessary element of national life, voters." When Mr. Seward wrote the above, he and those whom he addressed knew that the Northern commanders are clamoring for reinforcements, that high bounties have failed to obtain recruits, that the conscription has been tried in vain, and that desertion is the order of the day; that seamen cannot be obtained to put the ships of the navy in commission; and that Mr. Chase is in great difficulty to sustain the credit of the greenbacks. When Mr. Seward wrote that soldiers, seamen, and treasure are contributed "cheerfully and bountifully," he knew that the first can only be obtained in insufficient numbers and have to be driven into Mr. Lincoln's "slaughter-pens" manacled like felons; that the second are so scarce that "contrabands" are enlisted; and that the Federal Government dare not collect the Federal taxes. What he means by the "crisis" and the danger to the Union for the want of voters is, that there may not be votes enough to keep him in office, and that he is afraid that the Administration may be beaten at the ballot-box. The Secretary is unduly nervous. He forgets that Mr. Lincoln is a despotic sovereign at the head of a large army, and that under such circumstances it is even easier to manufacture republican majorities than it is to print greenbacks.

JUDGE DENIO, the Presiding Judge of the Court of Appeals, has pronounced an elaborate opinion upon the question of the Federal Treasury Notes being a legal tender. The wording of the Constitution of the United States is too definite for misconception. The Federal Government is entrusted with specified functions and powers; and the powers not conferred are withheld and reserved by the Sovereign States. For the convenience of trade the States agreed that the Federal Government should alone have the power of coining money to circulate in each and all of the United States; upon the principle and with the object that some of our social reformers advocate the adoption of a common coinage by the nations of Europe. The authorisation "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin," cannot by any quibbling be made to cover the issue of paper as a legal tender. To coin money means the coining of the precious metals, just as the "foreign coin" referred to in the same clause means "metallic money," and not the paper issues of foreign governments. That the Federal Government has the constitutional right to issue treasury notes Judge Denio does not dispute. The Government may give as security to its lenders any form of bill or note it may think proper, but it must not by such contracts seek to bind persons who are not parties to them; or, in other words, it may not, under the Constitution, make the security it gives for borrowed money a legal tender. The State of New York would have an equal right to compel the citizens of Pennsylvania to receive in payment of debts due to them from citizens of New York treasury notes or bonds issued by the government of New York. The constitutional course for the Federal Government would be to meet the public expenditure by taxes, and that resource failing, by the sale of the public property or by borrowing money on the security of the Federal taxation. These limitations were wisely conceived but are ineffectual. If the United States Government had taxed the people the war would long ago have come to an end. It is perhaps a waste of time to show how thoroughly unconstitutional are the proceedings of the Lincoln Government; for even the few who think the North justified in waging war against the South cannot deny that such a policy has of necessity brought about the destruction of the Federal Constitution. The Confederate States, in the extremity of their financial strait have never imitated the unconstitutional acts of the Washington Government and have never declared their issues legal tender.

The Governors of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri met at Marshall, Texas, in August, on the invitation of the Lieutenant-General commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, to confer with judges, Confederate Senators, and other distinguished citizens, on the means to be taken for the defence of the common country. In an address issued by the Governors to the peoples of their States, they announce that though the fall of Vicksburg has to some extent interrupted the communication between the two sections of the Confederacy, it will not expose either one to the power of the enemy, since each has been made, so far as military resources are concerned, independent of the other. They observe that "the warning given by the fall of New Orleans has not been unheeded, and the interval since that event has been used to develop the great resources of this Department. We now are self-dependent, and also

self-sustaining. With our own manufactories of cannon, arms, powder, and other munitions of war, the mines opened and factories established, with cotton as a basis of financial measures, and with abundance of food, we are able to conduct a vigorous defence, and seize occasion for offensive operations against the enemy." The address announces the formation of a committee of Public Safety, composed of the Executives of the States, and of which committee the Governor of Missouri is the present chairman.

Mr. Blair, the Federal Postmaster-General, delivered an address at a Union meeting held on the 3rd inst. at Rockville, Maryland, in which he condemned the policy of the Abolitionists as being reactionary; declaring that their object was not to restore the Union, but to reduce the South to the condition of Territories, and to enhance their own political importance. He entered into a long argument to prove that the "rebellion" of the citizens of a State could not disfranchise it, that the Federal Government had no right to reduce a State to the condition of a Territory, but was bound by the Federal compact to guarantee to each State a republican form of government. In concluding his address he said, it is not improbable that the Abolitionists, "though aiming at a different result, will be found co-operating in the end with the conspirators of the South and their foreign allies. They may prefer parting with the South to partnership and equality under the Constitution." This speech of Mr. Blair's has caused considerable sensation. It may, perhaps, only be an electioneering dodge to secure Democratic votes for the Administration. On the other hand it may be a manifestation of that dissension in the Lincoln Cabinet which has been so frequently reported. But whatever the motive of the speech, it is remarkable as a bitter denunciation of the party which supports the Government of which Mr. Blair is a member.

The pamphlet "La France, le Mexique, et les Etats Confédérés" ascribed to the pen of M. Chevalier has given rise to an animated discussion in the Federal press. It has been translated for the *New York World*, and the translation has been copied into other Northern papers. In one respect there is much unanimity in the Federal journals, that is they treat the recognition of the Confederate States by France as a foregone conclusion. The *World* says:—"It will be difficult, we think, for any intelligent American to read the pamphlet in cool blood without coming to the conclusion that it accurately portrays the almost necessary drift of events around us at the present time. . . . It must bring home for the first time to hundreds and thousands of Americans the overwhelming fact that the intervention, or let us more accurately say, the involution, of European Powers in our great struggle, has become at last a question of time, and only of time."

On Tuesday evening the Rev. H. W. Beecher addressed a crowded meeting at Exeter Hall on the American question. Mr. Beecher did not offer any original suggestions, but gave a summary of the various arguments that have been used by Federal agents for the last three years in justification of their war policy. He compared the vast and sovereign States of the late Union to English counties, but the war has made the geography of America and American history so familiar to Europe that no one will be deceived by such a comparison. He said that the North got rid of slavery at its own cost, ignoring the facts that the North did not get rid of slavery until coloured labour became unprofitable, and that the North, sold its slaves to the South, and got rid of slavery and negroes simultaneously. He praised the North for tolerating slavery in the South during the last eighty years, although he cannot but remember that in the debates in Congress about the suppression of the slave trade at the commencement of the present century the South advocated and the North opposed the abolition of the slave traffic; he cannot forget that slavery was not abolished in the State of New York until 1825; and it was also odd in Mr. Beecher to assert that the North had been opposed to slavery for eighty years, seeing that quite recently he stated that at the outset of his career his abolitionism was vehemently opposed in the North, and certainly he is not eighty years old, and did not preach in his cradle. We have been accustomed to treat the Judiciary of the United States with profound respect, and to honour the memory of many illustrious men who have sat upon the judgment seat. Mr. Beecher says we are wrong, and that "the Court were filled with Southern judges. . . . Servile judges." Mr. Beecher said the Southerners "had robbed our arsenals; they had made bankrupt our treasury; they held the most important offices in the army and navy; they had the advantage of having long anticipated and prepared for the conflict." Mr. Beecher must know that the South was not prepared for the conflict, had no arms or stores of ammunition, had not even her share of arms from the Federal arsenals, had not formed even the nucleus of a navy to protect her sea and river cities. Mr. Beecher cannot be so ignorant of the government of his country as not to know that the appointments to the army were equally distributed throughout the States; and he is of course aware that so far from the Federal treasury being beggared the finances had been so managed that no Government on earth could boast of such freedom from debt as did that of the United States when the South seceded. With singular frankness Mr. Beecher admitted the object of the war on the part of the North. In answer to the question, "Why not let the South go?" he replied, "Oh! if the Southerners only would go! but the fact is they are determined to stay. That is the trouble. We would gladly furnish them with a free passage if they would take their departure; but then we say 'that territory which you inhabit is ours, and we do not choose to have it wrested from us.'" He did not explain by what title the 800,000 square miles inhabited by the



Southerners belongs to the Northerners, but that is an unimportant matter; he tells us clearly enough what the north is fighting for. Mr. Lincoln wants to get rid of the negroes by deportation, and Mr. Beecher wants to get rid of the white population, by deportation if possible, or if not then by other means, so that the Northerners may possess the land they did not create, or colonise, or purchase, and which no more belongs to them than does Great Britain. There is nothing new about this frank confession of Mr. Beecher's, but it was curious to make on an English platform. Mr. Beecher's reputation as a speaker has attracted large audiences, but he has not sustained his trans-Atlantic reputation.

In his Thanksgiving Proclamation, Mr. Lincoln says, "The laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere except in the theatre of war." The *Dubuque Herald* tells us how this obedience and harmony are enforced. It says, "White men are forced from families entirely dependent on them for support; they are driven in chains and guarded by Federal soldiers at the point of the bayonet to and from the termini of railroads; they are flogged upon the bare back until they beg for mercy and gasp and faint under the still rapidly applied lash; they are placed in the foremost of the battle and treated with every indignity and every cruelty; and yet the scene excites no 'special wonder.' They are white men, not negroes. Were the blacks so inhumanly treated, the pen of a Stowe would be bidden write; the silver-voiced Phillips would hurl barbed anathemas into the ranks of the oppressor, and maudlin poets would distil their grief and coin it into song. But it is the white man who suffers, and whose oppressors find a thousand ready-tongued apologists. It is the white man's family that is separated, the white man who is chained, the white man who is flogged, the white man who is made a living barrier to the bullets of the enemy."

The Yankees asserted that the Hon. J. H. Watts, Governor-Elect of Alabama, was a Reconstructionist. Mr. Watts has taken the trouble to deny this slander, in a letter addressed to his friend Colonel J. R. Foster, of Georgia. He says:—"If those who claim my election as indicating any such feeling in Alabama had read my letter of 21st March to General Lawler, and my short address to the people of Alabama, dated 8th June last, they would never have entertained such false notions. It is due to the gallant people of my State to call attention to the resolution of the recently-called session of the Legislature, passed unanimously, pledging all the men and resources of the State to prosecute the war until the independence of the Confederate States is fully established. For myself I will not forfeit my self-respect by arguing the question of 'reconstruction.'"

The Federal Census Officer has prepared a table which shows that the number of United States citizens in 1860 who were born abroad, was 4,136,000. Of these 1,611,000 were from Ireland, 430,000 from England, from Scotland 105,000, from Wales 45,000, and from British America 259,000; together making 2,450,000. Thus three-fifths of the immigrants were British subjects, and of the remainder 1,300,000 were Germans, and the rest, 386,000, were from various countries, including 109,000 from France and 71,000 from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The total number of immigrants from Africa was 300: rather an odd illustration of Yankee love for the negro. Certainly the negro does not find a country and a home in what is facetiously called the *free North*.

General Schenck is carrying on a successful campaign in Maryland. Day after day this gallant commander continues his war upon the ladies, dragging them from their homes, and either imprisoning them or sending them across the lines. On the 29th ult., Mrs. Kane and her daughter were arrested at their house in Baltimore and sent South, it being proved that Mrs. Kane had been guilty of the crime of corresponding with her son, who is in the Confederate army. Another triumph of General Schenck deserves mention. A Mr. Johnson wrote to the Rev. F. Gibson, of Baltimore, Principal of the Chestnut Hill School, to ask him to receive his son. Mr. Gibson replied that his school was full, and that if it were otherwise he could not comply with the request, as his pupils were Southern in their sentiments (which is a matter of course in a Maryland school), and that he knew Mr. Johnson was a Unionist. A gentleman would have thanked Mr. Gibson for his honourable candour, but Mr. Johnson is a Yankee, and he sent the letter to Mr. Stanton. Mr. Stanton communicated the affair to General Schenck, and Mr. Gibson was arrested. Upon being informed that he was to be imprisoned, Mr. Gibson asked whether, as a citizen, he had any rights. To this Mr. Lincoln's officer replied with a jest that was worthy of his master and ought to win him promotion. He told Mr. Gibson that, "in case of his death he would not be deprived of the rights of sepulture."

The Yankees are not a little elated with the news from Japan, because, as they think, it foreshadows a difficulty for England. The *New York Tribune* says: "A successful defence of a Japanese prince against the British, who, because of their arrogance, are the most hated of all foreigners, cannot fail to elate the native mind, and to swell the number of the anti-foreign party. It may greatly complicate the relations of England and Japan and prepare the way for a long and more general war." The *Tribune* concludes with a reminder that "American shipbuilders would be able to equip as many privateers for Japanese service as England has fitted out to prey upon American commerce." The Yankees should be careful, or Earl Russell may be frightened into resistance, as he has been terrified into submission, by Federal bullying.

Judge Robert L. Caruthers has been elected Confederate Governor of Tennessee. He was at one time a member of Congress from Tennessee. He was elected

Supreme Judge of that State in 1852, and held the position until 1861.

The Federals have at length met with a long-dreaded and terrible enemy. Yellow fever, of rather a virulent type, has broken out among the crews of the fleet lying at New Orleans.

The Mobile papers of the 23rd ultimo advertise for sale the cargoes of fifteen blockade runners.

## ENGLAND.

THE Social Science Congress at Edinburgh brought its sittings to a termination on Wednesday, Oct. 14. On the previous Saturday the Hon. Lord Neaves delivered his inaugural address on Punishment and Reformation. His lordship dwelt particularly on the contrast between the Irish and English systems, and leant strongly in favour of the former, the use of which would institute, in place of existing arrangements, an intermediate prison, with a state of transition from confinement to freedom, which would keep up the superintendence of the police upon those obtaining remissions, and which would provide ultimately some classified means of confinement and employment for the incorrigible. The English system had, in his opinion, hopelessly broken down, and the Irish system had been a great success. In the Public Health Department, a remarkable paper was contributed by Miss Nightingale, on the extraordinary death-rate of native children in the colonial schools. She had returns from 143 schools in Ceylon, Australia, Natal, West Coast of Africa, and British North America, with a total average attendance of 9,938 pupils. She found that the death-rate among the native children was double that among the whites. She also dwelt on the disappearance of the aboriginal races before the colonist. She proposed, by way of remedial measures, some system of settlements on the Moravian or other principles, for the purpose of winning the people gradually to civilisation; the total prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to the native tribes; and a method of education looking primarily to physical results. Has it never struck Miss Nightingale that in the Southern States alone are the white and black found side by side without these deadly results to the inferior race? On the following day, Mr. J. Anderson, Q.C., read a paper on International Law, in which he adverted to the refusal of the United States to concur with the resolutions of the congress at Paris in 1856. He showed that the Federals have been the first sufferers by that refusal, inasmuch as their commerce was now at the mercy of Confederate privateers—a point in which we submit that he is hopelessly wrong, as the Confederate ships of war are not privateers. Mr. Anderson advocated the immunity of all private property on the seas from capture in war. He also alluded to the Trent affair, an event which resulted, in his opinion, in a great triumph of international law. Mr. Fawcett combated the views of Mr. Anderson on the desirableness of freeing private property from capture, for he believed that war was most humane when the greatest amount of property and the least amount of life was destroyed. He considered the present tendency of international law entirely wrong, and that the protecting private property and abolishing blockades would tend to increase war, because it would make war less disastrous.

The annual dinner of the Association was attended by about 500 ladies and gentlemen, Lord Brougham being in the chair. In responding to the toast of his own health, his lordship, in the course of his speech, said that when he heard of North America issuing a proclamation to emancipate the slaves, he knew very well that it was not for the sake of emancipating the slaves, but for the sake of beating the whites. It was a measure of hostility of the most detestable kind, by raising an insurrection of slaves against their masters, which only the patience of the negro prevented from succeeding. They called out for the extermination of the whites, not in order to liberate the blacks, but to restore the Union. The Union, and not the negro, was the object of the proclamation, and to that proclamation he (Lord Brougham) could not give any kind of support.

The Church Congress was opened at Manchester on Tuesday, the 13th October, with a sermon preached at the Cathedral by the Dean of Chichester, and the first meeting was held on the afternoon of that day in the Free Trade Hall, in the presence of nearly 4,000 persons. The Bishop of Manchester presided. After an introductory address from his Lordship, papers were read by Mr. Birley and Mr. Murray Dale on "Church Extension," and a discussion ensued, in which Archdeacons Bickersteth and Utterson took a prominent part. The general opinion seemed to be that the ancient principle of parochial organization should be scrupulously observed, and that no parish should exceed the number of 5,000 souls. It was further shown that in the present century more than 3,000 new churches have been erected, at a cost of eleven millions sterling. This discussion was followed by a most interesting and elaborate paper "on Church Architecture," by Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, in which a model of a perfect church was portrayed, the principle and plan being based throughout on precedent, and the state of the law as deduced from the Liturgy and the Canons. The internal arrangement was explained with great minuteness, it being assumed that the old English Gothic style was by the common sense of all people recognized as the most appropriate for the place of religious worship. A letter was then read from Mr. E. B. Denison, Q.C., on the same subject, the argument contained in which was an absolute condemnation of the theory that architecture consisted in "ornamentation." The writer was entirely for "proportion," the real beauties of which were entirely lost sight of in the present craving for excessive height in the construction of the modern towers, and the division of small churches into as many parts as a cathedral. It was also shown that a church of fair area for its size

could be built for £1 a foot of area, while for 30s. a foot upon the whole area one might have a tower of suitable size at the west end of the nave, and for £2 a spire of good height. On the second day a somewhat stormy discussion arose on the reading of a paper by Canon Stowell "on the Supply and Training of Ministers." It was admitted by every speaker that the Church was not adequately supplied with men of education and intellect such as the more enlightened classes could look to with respect. Opinions differed, however, on the remedies to be adopted for this crying evil. The origin of the mischief was traced by many of the speakers to the small pecuniary remuneration offered by the Church, and this theory seemed to meet the views of the majority of the assembly. Mr. Stowell, however, believed that the declarations necessary on ordination excluded many thoughtful men, and proposed the repeal of that demanded by the Act of Uniformity, a suggestion that called forth a storm of disapprobation from the assembly. On the same day a discussion took place on the Established Church in Ireland with such vigour as to give rise to a passage of arms between the Bishop of Oxford and the Rev. Canon M'Neile. The latter, while pressing upon the heads of the Church in Ireland the immediate reform of its present constitution, and declaring that the Protestant Church in Ireland had not been permitted to convert the Roman Catholics, and was therefore not open to the charge of incompetency on that score was ready nevertheless to stake the preservation of the Protestant Church on the following issue—namely, that if Romanism were saving Christianity, then withdraw the Church of Ireland; but if Romanism were anti-Christian, then sustain it. The Bishop of Oxford interpreted this expression to mean that no individual member of the Church of Rome was in a condition to be saved. This meaning Mr. M'Neile repudiated. He believed that Romanism was not saving Christianity, but was not committed to the statement that no individual Romanist could be saved. For he knew that in the Roman Catholic Church there were many who did not hold the tenets of that church. If by this statement Mr. M'Neile meant to say that the only members of the Church of Rome who could be saved were those who professed to belong to that Church, but did not believe her teaching, then in our opinion Mr. M'Neile stands committed to a statement unworthy of any man with the smallest pretensions to honesty. For he selects as the saved of the Church the men who stand convicted as traitors to her. However, as the concluding portion of the reverend gentleman's speech was lost amid the cheers and shouts of the assembly, it is just possible that he may have been misrepresented. Other interesting papers were also read and discussed—on "Lay co-operation," "Free and open churches," on the "Offertory," on "Clergy discipline," on "Church music," the "Management of large parishes," on "Parochial mission women," and on the "Growth of the Church in Lancashire."

On Friday, the 16th of October, a meeting was held of the members of the Southern Club at Liverpool. A large number of merchants of high repute, and several ladies, were present, the object of the meeting being to hear an address from Mr. Beresford-Hope. Mr. Victor Poutz presided, and, in introducing Mr. Hope, thanked him for the noble efforts which he had made to obtain from the British Government that recognition which the South had a right to expect. Mr. Hope, who was enthusiastically received, made a speech of considerable length and of great eloquence. The more important parts of the speech will be found in another part of our paper. On the evening of the same day, Mr. Hope was entertained at dinner by Mr. Spence, at the rooms of the club. After the dinner the company, in the deepest silence, drank to the memory of the illustrious General Jackson.

Colonel Lamar, of the Confederate States army, was present on Friday, the 16th of October, at the annual dinner of the Chertsey Agricultural Society. Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., Mr. Briscoe, M.P., Mr. G. Cubitt, M.P., and Mr. Caird, M.P., were among the company. Mr. Lindsay, in the course of the evening, proposed the health of Colonel Lamar, and that gentleman addressed the meeting in a powerful and eloquent speech, which was received with a succession of cheers and the most marked cordiality.

Her Majesty the Queen of England has, to the delight of her subjects, appeared once more at a public ceremony. The town of Aberdeen had erected a statue to the late Prince Consort, subscribed for by the noblemen and gentlemen of the county and city. The Queen, having been respectfully informed that on Tuesday, October 15, the inauguration of the statue took place, determined to honour the occasion by her presence, deeming, doubtless, that there could be no better opportunity for breaking through the mournful privacy of nearly two years than that which enabled her to pay a fresh tribute to the memory of the Prince Consort. On that day, then, Her Majesty came from Balmoral, attended by the Crown Prince of Prussia and the Crown Princess, her eldest daughter, by the Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse, and by the young Princes and Princesses, and was met at Aberdeen by Prince Alfred. At the Northern Club-House the Lord Provost presented the Queen with a respectful address in the name of the city and county, to which Her Majesty replied, and said "that she could not reconcile it to herself to remain at Balmoral while such a tribute was being paid to the memory of the Prince, without making an exertion to assure the people of Aberdeen personally of the deep and heartfelt sense which she entertained of their kindness and affection, and at the same time to proclaim in public the unbounded reverence and admiration, the devoted love, that filled her heart for him whose loss must throw a lasting gloom over all her future life." A few minutes afterwards the Royal party approached within a few yards of the statue,



which was then uncovered. It is the work of Baron Marochetti, and is in bronze. The figure represents the Prince seated, with the robe of the Thistle over a field-marshal's uniform.

A practical joke worthy of an Irishman has been played on the Earl of Carlisle, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It appears that some years ago Lord Leitrim was shot at by a person who turned out to be a lunatic and was not hung for the offence. His Lordship, angry with the man for not being hung, and with the Government for not hanging him, had brooded over his wrongs and watched his opportunity for revenge. The Lord-Lieutenant had visited Ballinasloe fair, had made an excursion into the Connemara mountains, and was expected to sleep at Maam on Lough Corrib. The day of retribution had arrived. The solitary hotel at Maam belonged to Lord Leitrim, and the host thereof was his Lordship's devoted adherent. With the rapidity of thought a letter was despatched to the landlord commanding him as he valued his tenancy to fill the house with workmen, with anybody—but to fill it, and to refuse a lodging to the Lord-Lieutenant and his suite. With Lord Leitrim's tenant to hear was to obey; and so when the Earl of Carlisle approached the inhospitable town, and heard the warning of a good-hearted policeman who was unwilling that the discomfiture of the Queen's representative should be displayed to all the neighbours, the only resource was to drive on to the next town. Lord Leitrim is a Liberal peer, and by no means disaffected. Indeed, so far as loyalty goes, disaffected people have shot at him. Therefore he must rather be looked on as a martyr than an apostate. His act must be the result of an eccentric nature, stimulated by the imagination of a grievous wrong. It is rather food for laughter than severe criticism. Yet the fact that the insult was offered in Connaught, the wildest and least loyal of all the counties of Ireland, renders the offence worthy of animadversion. His Lordship's name has been struck out of the commission of the peace by the Lord-Lieutenant.

In the present day, when Acts of Parliament have ruthlessly put an end to party colours, music, and all the paraphernalia which formerly adorned and stimulated the contests for a seat in the House of Commons, it is by no means an easy matter to rouse the contending factions to the most moderate degree of excitement. Intimidation usually recoils on the head of the terrorist, and the threatened ejectionments of one landlord are compensated by the advantageous offers of a benevolent opponent. Beef, beer, and spirits are no longer lawful weapons of offence, and apathy has succeeded to unbridled violence. Great, therefore, was the achievement of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P. for Tamworth, and Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Government of Viscount Palmerston, when success crowned his attempt to convert the peaceful inhabitants of that borough into an infuriated mob. Greater still, perhaps, was it to accomplish by a series of suicidal acts, the defeat of a candidate supported by the hitherto invincible influence of the Peel family. The borough of Tamworth was vacant through the succession of Lord Raynham to the peerage. The candidates for the seat were Mr. Cowper, a relative by marriage of Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Peel, a distant cousin of Sir Robert. Under these circumstances, as might fairly be expected, the claims of Cowper, the Palmerstonian, prevailed in the eyes of Sir Robert above those of a distant but not well-beloved cousin, and therefore all the might and influence of the Lord of Drayton Manor, and the prestige of the family which has represented Tamworth for seventy years, was thrown into the scale of the supporter of Lord Palmerston. It was noised abroad that tenants had been menaced with ejectionment in case of refractory votes. Sir Robert had canvassed personally, and every art had, to the belief of the worthy burgesses, been employed to annihilate their independence of action, and to make those ardent Liberals the mere tools of Peel and Palmerston. Consequently, on the day of nomination fury had usurped the seat of reason, and the supporters of each party expressed their opinion of the candidates by yells of derision and continuous hooting; while Sir Robert himself came in for volleys of hisses, the effect of which was enhanced by the contrast of a few feeble cheers. But it was on the day of the poll that the Baronet shone with peculiar lustre. He is a man of immense physical power, tall, brave, and, as report says, neither unacquainted with the fistic art nor the professions thereof. So the reception which he experienced on the day of the poll was to him a matter of little account, and through yells and howls and threatened violence he stalked, like Hector of old, unmoved by fear. He with calm serenity commanded luckless voters who polled for Peel, to be "bonneted"; and when a respectable mechanic presumed to jostle the great Baronet, the luckless wight fell prostrate before the powerful arm of the offended hero. The natural result of all this moral and physical suasion wherewith the good people of Tamworth were plied, was the defeat of Cowper by a majority of fifty-seven votes; and it is within the bounds of possibility that at the next election even Sir Robert himself will fall a victim to his own misplaced zeal. Sir Robert is said to have pointed as he passed to the great bronze statue of his mighty father, as though he would recall the men of Tamworth to their allegiance by the memory of that illustrious man. Surely in his calmer moments Sir Robert will think that were his father a witness of such deeds, pity for his son, and not anger at his son's foes, would trouble the soul of the departed statesman.

Last week the second of the series of autumnal meetings at Newmarket took place, and the racing was of a very superior class throughout, the different contests comprising nearly 300 competitors, and resulting in very close and exciting struggles. But the main interest of the week centred in the Cesarewitch, an annual handicapper which was founded some twenty-four years ago by

the Grand Duke of Russia giving a prize of £300. This year the stakes reached the total of £1,625, for which twenty-four competitors started. Just before the great race, as the horses were cantering to the starting-post, the weather, which had been rainy during the morning, underwent a sudden change, and the sun shone forth brightly, considerably enhancing the pleasure of the scene, as carriages, horsemen, and foot-people took up their positions in two long lines on each side of the course. At this moment the Royal party, consisting of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, his brother-in-law the King of the Greeks, Prince Christian of Denmark, Prince Frederick, and the Duke of Cambridge, made their welcome appearance on the stand. The visit of the Royal party took everybody by surprise, and was exceedingly gratifying, not only to the curiosity of the public in general, but also to the lovers of horse-racing, as indicating a desire on the part of the Prince of Wales to patronise the national pastime. As regards the race itself, it was won easily by a mare called Lioness, a daughter of Fandango, who carried the weight of 92lbs., Limosina, who was second, carrying 102lbs. The race was satisfactory in its result in one particular, as the first and second horses are the property of Mr. Merry and Lord Stamford, two of the leading patrons of the turf. Mr. Merry wins about £15,000 in bets, and many other gentlemen win large amounts, since Lioness was so heavily backed that the odds against her obtainable just before the start were only 5 to 2. Mr. Merry's star was in the ascendant throughout Tuesday, as he also won the Clearwell Stakes, of the value of £950, for two-year-olds, with Crisis, a filly by Saunterer. Another noticeable event in the week was a match for 500 sovs., between Mr. Naylor's Carnival, aged three years, and Lord Glasgow's Clarissimus, aged four years, each carrying 119lbs. Carnival, who belongs to the same owner as Macaroni, is generally supposed to be a better horse for a mile race than the celebrated winner of the 2,000 Guinea Stakes and Derby. In this race Clarissimus could not make Carnival extend himself, and the latter won easily by four lengths; thus proving himself to be an extraordinary horse, as Clarissimus in the spring was beaten by a head only by Buckstone, who beat the celebrated Tim Whiffer at Ascot. The race, which was for the distance of a mile, was run in 1 min. 47½ sec., a very creditable performance as it was; but had Carnival been made to gallop at his utmost speed, it would have been accomplished certainly in seven seconds less. The other important race on Friday was the Prendergast Stakes, of the value of £1,200, which was won, after an exciting contest, by a colt, son of brother to Bird-on-the-Wing and Phyalis, the property of Lord Glasgow, against whom the odds of 2 to 1 were laid. The last of the autumnal meetings will commence on Monday, the 26th of October.

#### THE CONTINENT.

THE place of M. Billault has been already filled up. It was generally believed that there would be a complete reorganisation of the Ministry, but nothing of the kind has taken place. M. Rouher, who, at the last ministerial modification, was elevated from the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to the presidency of the Council of State, with the charge of assisting the Minister of State in the explanation and vindication of the measures of the Government before the Chambers, is now transferred to the Ministry of State, and his place is taken by M. Rouland, who left the Ministry of War and Public Instruction in July, to make room for M. Uruy, and has since been out of office.

M.M. Rouher and Rouland will therefore have to face the great oratorical power of the Opposition in the next session. Are they strong enough for the places they have taken? M. Rouher is a man of great abilities and of very liberal sentiments. The services he rendered France and Europe in the negotiations relative to the treaties of commerce with England, Belgium, and the Zollverein can hardly be rated too highly, but he has not yet shown the oratorical ability which his present post needs. However, the Emperor is an excellent judge of men, and as he is content to trust M. Rouher with so weighty a post, it is probable enough that M. Rouher will, in his new capacity, develop powers with which the public had not credited him. M.M. Rouher and Rouland are, however, to have some lieutenants. The Emperor has increased the number of vice-presidents of the Council of State, part of whose functions it also is to explain the measures of the Government. The three new vice-presidents are M.M. Forcade de la Roquette, for a short time, Minister of Finance. Chaix d'Estance, one of the celebrities of the Parisian bar, and but lately *Procureur Imperial*, and Vintry Governor of the Bank. M. Pariet, previously the sole vice-president, retains his post.

The Emperor has shown his high sense of the great services of M. Billault, by giving him a splendid funeral at the public cost, and by a letter of sympathy to the late Minister's daughters.

The Empress Eugenie, after coasting Spain in her yacht, has gone to Madrid. Her Majesty is said to be an excellent sailor, and is described as pacing the deck in the roughest weather in a waterproof, whilst her suite were howling in all the agonies of the *mal de mer*, to the intense delight, we need not say, of the crew.

A rumour, for which, however, there appears to be little foundation, assigns her Majesty's visit to Madrid, where she goes as Empress of the French, and not under her usual *incognito*, to political motives.

It is positively asserted that Earl Russell, impatient to be doing something and irritated at the difficulties raised by Austria to his proposal of identical notes pronouncing the Russian forfeiture of Poland, has addressed a separate despatch—one journal goes so far as to give its date, the 10th instant—to St. Petersburg, declaring that Russia, by her non-observance of the treaties of

1815, has forfeited all right to Poland—whether Congress Poland only or the whole of the Polish provinces, is not said. It is added that France will shortly send a note of a similar character. The Austrian Government, on its part, hesitates very much to take a measure the consequences of which may be so serious. Count Rechberg, it is said, has asked Earl Russell whether, in the event of war following such a proceeding, England would take part in it, and to have received for answer that in no eventuality would England feel herself bound to go to war.

These are statements which have obtained considerable currency, and come from quarters often well-informed.

We can hardly think it probable, however, that Earl Russell has taken the step attributed to him. Whatever might be the value of a joint declaration of forfeiture, the isolated notice of England, deprived as it is of all force by the announcement that it will be followed by no active measures to give it effect, can do the Poles no good. The noble lord would not have ventured to send such a despatch without consulting the Cabinet, and the Cabinet could hardly have allowed him to do such a foolish thing. Earl Russell seems to have quite forgotten that Russia herself can find her advantage in the solemn overthrow of the treaties of 1815. These treaties, grossly as they have been violated, have yet been a protection, and might still be so, to the Polish nationality. Russia has always treated Poland as something separate from the Empire. In the worst times the majority of the functionaries have been Poles; the Polish language has been used in official acts, and the form, which in these matters is something of autonomy, has been preserved. If the other Powers tell her that she has broken the treaties they withdraw the sanction given in those treaties to her possession of Poland, she will have no reason to preserve the distinction she has kept up, and may as well proceed at once to incorporate Poland in the empire, and efface the last remnants of Polish national existence. If, indeed, full belief could be given to a statement that the province of Augustowo has been incorporated in Russia we must conclude that the Russian Government has already taken note of Earl Russell's declarations at Blairgowrie, and laid aside the treaties as null and void. This province, which contains a population of rather more than 600,000, runs along Eastern Prussia into Lithuania, and if once swallowed up in the Empire the other provinces of the Kingdom must follow soon. Russia would then, indeed, be upon the Vistula. But the story seems to have no other foundation than the temporary assumption by Mouravieff of the government of those northern districts of the province which about upon Lithuania—an assumption which is probably found to be necessary for military reasons. However, the rumour supplies an apt illustration that the question has another side to it. To declare that Russia has forfeited Poland by her breach of the conditions upon which its possession was confirmed to her would be a sensible act enough, if the Powers making it would follow it up by giving the Poles their aid to drive the Russians out of Poland. A minister who pronounces that forfeiture, and refuses to lend a hand to help the Poles, is guilty of the grossest absurdity.

The National Government has addressed a circular to its diplomatic agents excusing the executions, *Anglo* assassinations, which it has ordered. Russia seems to be resolved to make a desperate effort to suppress the rising in the next few weeks. Troops are pouring into Poland, and the insurgents, if they mean to continue the fight, and they undoubtedly do, will have to divide themselves into small bands and use the forests and marshes as a shelter. The Poles have not abandoned the hope of foreign aid, and sustained by that expectation they will continue the struggle, whatever may be the sacrifices it entails.

The desperate character which the conflict is assuming is shown by the latest news from Warsaw. The Hotel de Ville has been fired, no doubt with the view of embarrassing the Government by the destruction of all the treasure chests, securities and public documents. And the Russian Government on its part has ordered all civilians to give up their arms, and has resolved upon dismissing all Polish functionaries, that is to say, the whole body of functionaries, and replacing them by Russians. It is also asserted, although it is probably an anticipation, that the Russian language is to be employed in future in the acts of administration in Poland. If the great Powers pronounce the treaties at an end, they will have not a word to say against these measures.

A very curious story comes to us, nominally from St. Petersburg, although its true birthplace is no doubt in Belgium, which we may give as an illustration of the absurdities to which grave politicians, pretending to be well informed, lend credit. The Poles, it is said, finding nothing is to be done with Western Europe, have turned to Turkey, and have offered her an offensive and defensive alliance, promising to reconquer for the Sultans all that the Czars have taken from them in the last hundred years or so. Turkey is said to have either actually accepted the proposition or to meditate acceptance, and Russia, having got wind of the scheme, is making immense military and naval preparations in the Black Sea, of course violating the Treaty of Paris, and has further given Turkey notice that any recognition of the Poles as belligerents would be treated as a declaration of war.

Turkish statesmen are not quite so mad as this *canard* would make them out to be. Very likely, if England, France, and Austria were to go to war with Russia, they would be tempted to join the allies in the hope of obtaining some further securities against Russian aggression. But they are not so fatuous as to suppose that, however well aided by the Poles, they could wrest from Russia the territories she has made her own. They might obtain a momentary success; but the struggle thus generated would be renewed again and again, and the Turks must in the end give way. They are in



Europe now only on sufferance. England, France, and Austria have put their shield before them; and these protectors will exercise all the rights of guardians. France and England might willingly see Russia humbled and Poland restored; but they certainly would not allow Turkey to renew her domination over the Christian populations which have escaped from her. In this strange war, in which the Poles, the great champions of Christendom, who boast that they saved Europe from the Turks, would be aiding the Turks to become a danger to Europe again, Turkey has everything to lose and nothing to gain. The story is a fiction, which has no other foundation in fact, than the probably ill-concealed satisfaction of the Turkish Government at the embarrassment of Russia, and the measures that Power is taking to suppress the revolt in the Caucasus, which seems to be assuming menacing proportions.

The King of Prussia seems to be resolved to show his people that he will not rule with the constitution. In an answer to the inhabitants of a Silesian village, who had asked his Majesty to tell them whether their loyalty to him would be violated by sending a representative to the Chamber who would vote against his Ministers, King William wrote: "If the parish wishes to mark through the elections its loyalty to me, it can only do so by the election of men who have the firm determination to support my Ministry in the execution of the tasks with which they are charged by me. A hostile deportment towards my Government is incompatible with loyalty to my person, for my ministers are called to their posts by my confidence, and have to sustain me in the fulfilment of my great and serious duties. The work with the accomplishment of which I before everything have charged them is, the establishment of the army organisation, which I have recognised as necessary for the security of the fatherland and useful and right, for lightening the service of the older soldiers." So far does his Majesty identify himself with his Ministers, that he would not even attend the great festival at Cologne last Thursday, to celebrate the completion of the nave of the great Cathedral, because Herr Von Bismarck was not invited. This, at least, is one of the reasons assigned for his Majesty's change of purpose; but it is just as probable that he was forewarned that, although he would be received with respect, not the slightest sign of enthusiasm, or even goodwill, would be shown him by the people.

The rumours in favour of an alliance between Sweden and Denmark are getting the upperhand over those which threw doubt upon it. If a telegram from Paris—a rather curious place from which to obtain the information announcing that at a *fête* given by the King of Denmark at Lyksborg, generally known as Glucksburg, to celebrate his fifty-fifth birthday, Prince Oscar of Sweden drank to the king's health, and stated that the treaty Sweden had contracted with Denmark for their common defence rendered the two countries invincible and secured the safety of the Scandinavian States—tells the truth, the matter is settled. As the king was born on the 6th October, the *fête* probably took place on that day, and, if so, the story has been a long time reaching us, and must be received with some distrust.

The Execution is not very popular in Prussia. Not that the Prussians entertain an atom less of hatred to Denmark or have the slightest scruples about robbing her of Schleswig, but they think that at the present moment the affair is likely to turn out a complete *fiasco*; and they reason rightly enough that if it should their darling schemes will be entirely knocked on the head.

The Austrian Finance Minister has laid a bill before the Reichsrath for authorising a loan of 96,000,000 of florins, (£9,600,000 sterling). Of this sum 30,000,000 are to be applied for the relief of the distress in Hungary, 12,000,000 for the withdrawal from circulation of the small paper money, 20,000,000 for the redemption of the salt-mine notes, and 33,500,000 to cover the deficit.

The King of the Greeks leaves Paris this day. His presence is sadly needed in Athens, where the representatives of the people continue to act upon the principle that they are in the Assembly for their own profit, and that hay should be made, or at least that a desperate effort should be made to make it, whenever there is the slightest glimpse of sunshine.

The Ionian Islands are rejoicing over the annexation. The Parliament has resolved, by a vote of 33 to 3, that the Protectorate shall cease immediately. They want, too, to have the fortresses left them in their present condition, and they seem by no means disposed to pay the little bill which England presents for her outlays in their behalf.

#### JAPAN.

A telegram, received by the Foreign-office states that Admiral Kuper, failing to obtain by negotiation satisfaction from Prince Satsuma—the Daimio whose retainers murdered Mr. Richardson—had besieged and levelled the city of Kagoshima, the prince's stronghold, and destroyed three of his steamers. The success would appear to have been signal, but to have been dearly purchased. It is stated that Captains Josling and Willmott were killed in the engagement; and that the total loss of the British was eleven killed and thirty-nine wounded. The fleet returned to Yokohama.

#### SPEECH OF COLONEL L. Q. C. LAMAR, C.S.A.

At the annual dinner of the Chertsey Agricultural Society, held at the Town-hall, Chertsey, on the 16th inst., at which were present W. S. Lindsay, Esq., M.P., who presided, Mr. Briscoe, M.P., Mr. G. Cubitt, M.P., Mr. Caird, M.P., Major Penrhyn, and a full representation of the gentry and farmers Surrey, the Chairman, Mr. W. S. Lindsay, having proposed the health of the visitors," coupled with it the name of

Colonel Lamar, of the Confederate States Army. In introducing this gentleman, he said:—

His house was always open to the representatives of oppressed and downtrodden nations; and he was honoured with a visit from Mr. Mason, whom he was proud to call his friend, and who was not present that evening simply because he desired to avoid at present all public assemblies. Colonel Lamar, who was present, was also a distinguished man in his own country, not only as a statesman in the United States Congress, but as a brave soldier in the Confederate army (cheers); that army which had endured untold hardships, and under the gravest difficulties had hurled back again and again the invaders of their soil. (Cheers.) For himself he would not at the present moment offer any opinion as to the terrific struggle now pending; but he did not hesitate to say that, in any assembly of Englishmen, those brave men would be received with the warmest sympathy. (Cheers.)

The "Health of the Visitors, and of Colonel Lamar," was drunk with acclamation, the whole company, with scarcely an exception, rising to drink the toast.

Colonel Lamar, in reply, thanked the chairman for his remarks, and the company for its cordial reception of his name. Their generous and cordial reception touched his heart and elicited his most sincere gratitude. The enthusiasm which had been manifested was the more gratifying to him that it was manifested at a farmers' dinner. He belonged to a country which was a nation of farmers (cheers), not, as they had been told, a country of indolent, wealthy, and dissolute planters, of poor white trash and degraded slaves. It was not that but a country of independent, intelligent freemen, of the eight millions of whom two-thirds earned their subsistence by the sweat of their brow, nearly one-half of them owning the land they cultivated, and nearly all of them seeing in each up-turned sod of their fallow ground that which was more precious to them than the gold of California,—the spark of independence and of personal liberty. (Cheers.) Many of the quality which that people had exhibited during the last two years, and which had been so kindly alluded to, were in his opinion due to the fact that they were a nation of farmers. He believed, without disparaging other pursuits, that from the culture of the soil, the drawing of sustenance from the bosom of mother earth, they derived a certain moral nutriment, a certain richness of sentiment, of capacity for self-devotion and sacrifice, which kept the heart fresh and pure, and made the nature of men simple and unaffected. (Cheers.) It had been represented to England that the great conflict, the bloody war which had been waged, and was still being waged, against the people of the South by the Government of the North, was a war on behalf of civil liberty and of constitutional government against a band of lawless conspirators, who sought to trample down those liberties and to overthrow the august structure of that Constitution. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately for the South, this appeal to the British people comes before a tribunal fully competent to consider the question. He congratulated Englishmen on their practical knowledge of civil liberty. (Hear, hear.) They had it in substance; they knew it by certain broad, practical facts, and they could not be misled by subtle refinements or fanciful theories. When Englishmen were told of civil liberties they immediately thought of certain great historical guarantees for that liberty—the right of *habeas corpus*, of trial by jury, the supremacy of the law, the subordination of the military to the civil power. Those things constituted to an Englishman the true indications of civil liberty (hear), and their history taught them that whenever a despot or a tyrant under any disguise sought to destroy the liberties of the people, he commenced by attacking those great guarantees of civil liberty. (Hear, hear.) Let them test the contest in America in that manner, and let them say which party was contending for civil liberty and constitutional government. (Cheers.) Let them look at the Northern States. Did they see any of the great bulwarks of English liberty existing there? (Cheers.) The Chief of the Cabinet—the Secretary of State—is reported to have boasted to the representative of Her Majesty's Government as evidence of his power, that, sitting in his private chamber, he could, by touching a bell on his left hand, order the imprisonment of a citizen in the far distant State of Michigan, and by touching another bell on his right he could imprison a citizen of the distant States of Maine or New Hampshire. Were the citizens of that great country exempt from illegal arrest? Why were not the houses of American citizens like the houses of Englishmen—their castles? and why were they subject to illegal and unwarrantable searches? (Hear.) He would tell them. That Government was not seeking to establish civil liberty. A grim despotism glared over the land. Liberty stood naked and defenceless, cowering before it. (Hear, hear.) Spies, police, officers, provost-marshal were the ministers of the Government. The legislature of a sovereign State was broken up by armed force, judges dragged from the bench and imprisoned men arrested without warrant of law, and undergoing long and indefinite confinement without examination into their cases, conscripts marching through the streets manacled together and shot in the presence of the army—all in the name of constitutional liberty and free government. (Cheers.) But let them look across the Potomac, and what was there to be seen? A people invaded at different times by 1,000,000 armed men, but not such a sight as he had just mentioned. They would see a number of confederated States with a Constitution in peaceful operation, safe in the affections of the people; the majesty of the law unimpaired, and acting with undiminished vigour (hear, hear); the courts of law open everywhere except where hostile armies stood confronted; the judges in many cases deciding against the Government and its officers, all of whom bowed before the majesty of the law. When by a spontaneous vote of the people—for it was too spontaneous to have been the result of preconcert or conspiracy—certain States thought fit to withdraw the powers which they had delegated to a common Government, because those powers were being used to their destruction, there was not a break in their social institutions, nor even a momentary pause in the working of the internal administration of their Government. That was because it was a movement inaugurated in the interest of order for the conservation of liberty and law, and for the supremacy of the Constitution. Even while it was in abeyance before the Congress met at Montgomery to form a new Government the people still obeyed it. Thus stood the issue between the two people, and he was willing that Englishmen should decide which was the representative of American or Anglican liberty and constitutionality. (Cheers.) The Southern people had made sacrifices for their independence, they had sacrificed everything save their civil liberties. The rival armies had often met in conflict, and the results of those meetings it did not become him to describe. Englishmen could form and had formed their own opinions upon that point—(hear)—and the South had the rare good fortune to fight battles which she can afford to let her enemies

describe. His friend the chairman had spoken of his sympathy with down-trodden and oppressed nationalities. He thanked his friend for his kindness and hospitality to Southerners. They were a people, but they were not down-trodden nor oppressed, and by the help of God they never would be! Liberty might sometimes be crushed under the armed heel of the despot; but in the Southern country whence he came could be seen old men and young, standing up side by side for their country, their bayonets glistening in the sun, unstained by ought save the blood of their enemies. And it was well to recollect that the South, abused, bleeding, her life blood draining away, was fighting not alone for her own liberties, but also for the liberties of that people who were sending armed millions to subjugate and to crush her. More than that, the South was struggling for freedom everywhere, and was seeking to rid the world of one of the most intolerant, aggressive, overbearing Powers that ever disturbed the repose of Europe, or menaced the peace of civilisation—(hear, hear)—a Power which stood as the embodiment of the sovereignty of brute force, which, if it succeeded in its designs, would be a firebrand among nations, and which even now, in anticipation of its triumph, laughed to scorn the faith of treaties, the obligations of humanity, and the laws of civilised warfare. (Cheers.) It had been said by those whose interest it was to misrepresent the South that, although she might be engaged in defending her own independence, yet her great object was to perpetuate the degradation of another race which she had enslaved. (Hear, hear.) He did not wish to commend any of the social institutions of the South to Englishmen, and he did not stand there to defend any one of those institutions. But although their opinions might be formed and pronounced as to some of those institutions, he believed they were yet too fair not to hear the truth, and the truth had not been told to England upon that subject. (Hear.) With a full and distinct understanding of the diversity of opinion that existed between his hearers and himself as to some of the institutions to which he referred, he asserted in the face of that company, and before the world, that the statements which had been made against the South were calumnious and untrue, and that the white race in the South had been the guardians, the protectors, the benefactors of the black man; that they had elevated him in the scale of rational existence, that they had Christianized him to a state to which he had never before attained. He only desired Englishmen to listen, not to opinions, nor to misrepresentations, but to facts. When the American continent was discovered and occupied by the European race it came into contact with two savage races. One was the noble Indian race, the ancient occupiers of the continent, and the highest type of savage manhood; the other race was one brought there, not by agency of the Southern people, but by agencies which he would not then discuss—it was the African race, which all philosophers and historians pronounced to be the lowest type of natural man. It was a race without a God, without rational ideas—cannibals not attaining even to the civilisation of the fig-leaf. ("Hear," and a laugh.) What had been the history of the two races he had described? The Indian race—the noble race incapable of domestic life, of anything but its wild and nomadic existence, had been driven back to continually narrowing circles, with constantly diminishing means of subsistence, and were in danger of complete extinction before the advancing wave of civilisation. But the other race, the negro, with all its foulness and barbarity, being naturally a servile race, had become domesticated, and in spite of the institution of slavery if they pleased, but still with slavery, had risen higher and higher in the rational scale, until now it furnished heroes and heroines for modern romances, themes for modern songs, had even been invited by some statesmen within the charmed circle of social and political equality. (Hear, hear.) An institution that has done so much for that race must be considered carefully. He might be told, that, having brought the negro up to the point of civilisation, the South owed it to Christendom to emancipate them. (Hear.) In answer, he would refer to the opinions of British statesmen, British travellers, and philosophers, who were united in opinion that the emancipation of that race at this time, and especially in the manner proposed by the rulers of the North, would be a curse to both races. (Hear.) But he could safely say that so many and so great were the boons which the South had already conferred on the negro race, that the world had ample guarantees that if the time should ever come for them to believe that liberty would be a boon and not a curse, then the South would be prepared to confer that boon upon them. (Cheers.) And he might add, if that time should ever come they would be capable of asserting their own claims, and the whites could not if they would withhold the boon. (Hear, hear.) Misrepresentation had been constantly made to the English people upon the subject, and it had been said that in the South the negro was treated only as property, and was deprived of all the rights of a human being. This he pronounced false. The laws of every Southern State, in short, regarded the negro as a man, threw around him the guarantees of personal security and legal protection, and allowed him as much personal liberty as he is capable of enjoying in his present intellectual and moral condition. They awarded the penalty of death for the murder of a slave, and imprisonment in the Penitentiary was the punishment for maiming. (Hear.) The Chairman having explained that the distribution of the prizes had to take place,

Colonel Lamar concluded his speech by again thanking the company for their sympathy with the South, which he said would nerve their arms to inflict heavier blows and to enact more heroic deeds. (Cheers.)

#### ENGLISH FEELING TOWARD THE SOUTH.

At the annual meeting of the Middlesex Agricultural Association, on the 3rd inst., Mr. Lindsay, M.P., in replying to a toast in honour of the House of Commons, referred to the recent statement of Earl Russell, that the majority of Englishmen sympathised with the cause of the Federal States. He said:—

The noble Earl at the head of the Foreign Office, when speaking the other evening as a member of the Government and a leader of the Executive, said he thought the sympathies of the majority of the people of this country were in favour of a particular section of those who were now engaged in a great civil war in America. He might have been speaking his own sentiments when he gave utterance to such words, but he (Mr. Lindsay) denied that Lord Russell had spoken the sentiments of the country or of the House of Commons on that occasion. It might be perfectly true that the House of Commons felt the propriety of leaving the Government unfettered in its responsibility on this question. The House felt that the responsibility ought to rest upon the



Government and on it alone, because it was not, certainly, the duty of the House to dictate to the Government what course it should pursue in respect to the civil war now raging on the other side of the Atlantic. But the noble lord did not express the sentiments of the people of England when he said that the sympathies of the nation were with the Northern section of that great people now unhappily engaged in war. (Hear, hear.) If the people of England believed that that horrible war was being waged in order to put an end to slavery, then he could understand that their sympathies would be with the Federals. We in this country, however, had seen sufficient to persuade us that they were neither honest nor earnest in their professions to put down slavery, but that there were other reasons which induced them to wage war against the Southerners. He had seen enough to know that if they really desired to put down an institution which few people, he was happy to say, in this country admired, they would have obtained the sympathies of a very large majority of the people of this country. (Cheers.) But when they found that the President himself entered office, and made it his platform, that he did not enter office for the purpose of putting down slavery—and did not intend to take any steps to put down slavery, nor did he believe that he could legally do so, the people of England could not believe that he was in earnest; and it was vain for him to attempt to support a mere political cry by endeavouring to persuade the people of this country that his motive for carrying on the war was to put down slavery, and that upon that ground he was entitled to their sympathies. Was it the fact that the Northern people entertained any friendly feeling towards the coloured population? No one who had travelled in America could believe that they did. On the contrary, they had lost no opportunity of showing their disgust when they were brought into contact, in a public railway carriage or a steamboat with the negro. He had often witnessed their conduct on such occasions, and their attempts to exclude even the most educated and well-behaved negroes from participation in the rights and amenities of civilised life. There could be no question whatever that the Northerners were very highly prejudiced indeed against the negroes, but apart from all considerations of that kind, had those who cried out about the emancipation of the slaves ever considered how that great question was to be dealt with—how it was possible to liberate all at once more than 4,000,000 of blacks, who had, unfortunately, been trained to slavery? The thing was impossible. It could not be done. It would take not merely one, but two generations to do it. He said that still more with that object in view, if it were their object—which he did not believe—their conduct had been both vain and wicked. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Lincoln, in his proclamation, had talked of giving freedom to the whole of the slaves, and of their being sent away to some district in the Far West, where the foot of civilised men had never trod; but when offered freedom on these terms the blacks had declined to accept it. Then they had talked of sending them away to some other country. But had they ever considered the possibility of carrying out such a scheme—had they ever considered how utterly impossible it was to convey 4,000,000 of men, or in what ships they could be conveyed? The Lord Chief Baron.—Twenty Great Easterns could not do it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lindsay.—No, nor a hundred, nor a thousand Great Easterns. Where were they to take them to? To Africa, from whence their forefathers came? Why, if they were sent to Africa they would have to endure far greater miseries than they did at the present moment. He had conversed with Dr. Livingstone on the subject, and Dr. Livingstone had told him that it was not possible to conceive the amount of degradation to which the black people were subjected in Africa. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, they were sent back to that land from whence their forefathers came, they would be sent to an amount of misery far worse than that to which they were subjected in the South. (Hear, hear.) Any one who gave these questions a calm consideration, and who did not speak upon them merely for the purpose of carrying with them the popular voice, would find, however much he might desire to root out slavery, that any attempt to do so suddenly, by means of a civil war, would create an immense amount of injury, not merely to the proprietors—the white people in the Southern States—but to the blacks themselves. This had been found to be the case. He had just received a letter from New Orleans in which the writer stated that the plan of giving freedom had been tried, and that the result had been that the negroes in general had returned to their owners on the nominal condition of payment for their labour. (Hear, hear.) Emancipation had been found impossible, unless the United States would consent to the establishment of poor-houses and asylums to support the negroes in illness. The emancipation proclamation had hurt no one but its author and his party. It had been stated on reliable authority that the American Government, in answer to communications upon the subject, had said, "If the free negroes refuse to work, whip them." So that after all they would get nothing by the change, and the same system of discipline would be carried out, and probably in a more cruel manner by the Northerners than by the Southerners. (Hear, hear.) He was surprised to find that some gentlemen, and especially clergymen, had stated the proclamation of emancipation from slavery by President Lincoln was a humane act. Humane to whom? It could not be humane to the slaves, who were not yet prepared for freedom; and it certainly would not be humane to the five or six millions of white people in the Southern States, because the real object, aim, and end of that proclamation was nothing more nor less than this:—"You black men, henceforth be free; if any one resist you in your desire to live, resist him, and the arms of the North will support you in that resistance." Practically, that is, "Massacre your masters, massacre your mistresses, and massacre their children, so that you may obtain your freedom." (Hear, hear.) Instead of being a humane proclamation, it was, in fact, a specimen of the most horrible barbarity, and a more terrible proclamation than had ever been issued in any part of the world. There was one question on which he wished to say a word: he meant the building of ships here to be afterwards used by the Confederate Government. He was not going to enter into any discussion of the legal part of the question in the presence of the Lord Chief Baron, but a good deal had been said about maintaining an impartial neutrality. He was in favour of doing so, but were they? It was said that they ought not to allow ships to be built in this country for the Southern States; but ought they to allow cannon and ammunition to go out of this country to supply the Northern States? The cannon now being used to bombard Charleston was obtained from this country, and for aught he knew the horrible Greek fire of which so much had been said was manufactured here too. He could not see why they should prevent the Southern people from being supplied with ships while the Federals continued to be supplied with arms. Of course

if a clear infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act could be proved, the case would be different; but the whole question at present amounted to this: the American coast had been declared to be under blockade, and if they attempted to run the blockade the Queen's proclamation said they must do it at their own risk. Of course, if a vessel which was running the blockade, having been made here and intended for the Southerners, was captured, her owners must bear the loss. For his own part he confessed that he could see no immediate chance of the war terminating, but he could see what the end would be. It would not be re-union, but separation, and he believed that before many years had elapsed that separation would not be merely into two countries, the Northern and Southern, but that it would be separated into four different parts, north and south, and west and California. The Southern men and Southern women would fight to the last drop of their blood before they would be reunited to the States; and if the Northerners persisted in the course they were now taking, terrible as the war had been, he grieved to say it would become far more terrible before it was brought to a conclusion. At present the Southerners felt that they had got sufficient white men to defend themselves and maintain their independence; but if they once called out the slaves, as they would be justified in doing, no more horrible scenes had ever been witnessed than would be witnessed in the American war. In endeavouring to subjugate the South the North had committed a grievous mistake. The employment of slaves would be the last resort of the South, but when that period came the retribution and the vengeance would be terrible. (Hear, hear.) He believed that he only spoke the sentiments of a large majority of the people of the country when he said that it would be impossible to restore the Union, and in those sentiments he believed the House of Commons joined. (Cheers.)

#### FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED STATES.

(From the *New York Daily News*.)

New York harbour exhibits the unusual spectacle of twelve magnificent war steamers, flaunting respectively the Cross of St. George, the Tri-colour, and the double-headed Eagle of the Czars. The simultaneous rendezvous at this port of so formidable a fleet, representing the three great Powers of Europe, may be simply a coincidence. It is probable that the Russian armada has visited our metropolitan waters in pursuance of a policy that aims at an alliance with our Government, in the event of any misunderstanding with the French Emperor. The presence of the finest ships of the Czar, and the interchange of courtesies that will ensue, will furnish so many hints to Napoleon that his old enemy and his prospective new one are contemplating an identification of their national interests in regard to the complications that threaten to disturb the relations between empires, kingdoms, and republics. The French and English flotillas are doubtless on an errand of observation, to take notes of the progress of events. In any case, this crowding of our bay with the elements of foreign naval strength, suggests a train of thought in the direction of our foreign relations, and the numerous allusions to the subject that have recently been made by the journals of this city give evidence that its importance is now being realised by the press, and probably by the Administration.

The eagerness of the Radical journals to commend the action of the British Government in the detention of the gunboats designed for the Confederacy displays an anxiety in the wrong direction. England has evidently no intention to participate in the quarrel that seems in process of formation between the Old World and the New. The collision, if any happen, will be with France. That such a collision is very generally apprehended, is indicated by the uneasiness of the Administration organs latterly, that have suddenly adopted the subject of a foreign war as a theme entitled to earnest consideration. It seems now to be understood that the French Emperor is too clever an intriguer to have projected his Mexican scheme without a concurrent design of Southern recognition. Without an alliance with the South, the Mexican Empire would prove a political abortion, and Napoleon is too clear-sighted to have ignored this paramount condition of the success of his American enterprise. He is probably the most comprehensive brain of the age, and although to timid and conservative natures his daring policy may seem to partake of the recklessness of the adventurer, it will be found that he has always accurately balanced the hazards and surveyed the farthest limits of every undertaking. Maximilian of Austria, or whosoever will wear the crown of Mexico, must ascend his throne with the conviction that in so doing he incurs for his dynasty the natural enmity of the United States. He will, therefore, not hesitate to conciliate the South by immediate recognition, and his Imperial protector across the water will see to it that that recognition will bear substantial fruit.

The reverses suffered by the Federal arms in Georgia will undoubtedly prove an impetus to the contemplated action of Napoleon, and it is not at all improbable that the tidings of that Confederate victory will herald a Confederate triumph at the Tuileries, and elevate the Southern envoys to the rank of ambassadors. This Government has to deal in the premises with a potentate who is noted for the startling character of his political performances, and having risen from obscurity to imperial grandeur by the force of an impetuosity that overleaped all routine and ignored every precedent, it is not likely that in the present instance he will parley long with scruples, doubts, or fears. What he intends to do will assuredly be done with his accustomed intensity of purpose and suddenness of execution. He is a gamester, whose boldness, as much as his craftiness, is the secret of his success.

An alliance between this Government and Russia, however much it may incommode Napoleon upon the European Continent, can have but little, if any, effect upon his operations here. The Russian navy is as yet but an experiment. Although it has made vigorous strides towards respectability within the last quarter century, it is yet too limited in extent and experience to be classed as an effective war power in comparison with the splendid armaments of France. All the naval resources of Russia concentrated in our waters, and co-operating with our own, could not prevent a French fleet from communicating with Southern ports, from landing supplies and men, and from turning the now balanced scale of war against us. France was never more powerful than now; was never more thoroughly prepared for an offensive war of gigantic proportions. Undisturbed by domestic strife, the United States could have no better opportunity of measuring its strength than with this great balancer of European nationalities. But having our own brethren, co-heris with us of Anglo-Saxon blood, to cope with, it would be simply puerile boastfulness to assume ourselves equal to the combined efforts of two such foes, where one unaided has tasked our energies to the utmost. Our true policy is to conciliate the South, and thus, by the unexpected re-concentration of republican influence against the intrigues of monarchy, to checkmate the imperial intruder, and re-establish the supremacy of republicanism upon this hemisphere.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, Oct. 21.

#### SOUTHERN FEELING AT OLDHAM.

RUDENESS, like mendacity, is thought to go by districts: Cretan liars, "Oldham roughs." Nor is the classic libel more familiarly current in the world of letters than is the commonplace by-word in working-day Lancashire. But possibly, in these rehabilitating latter times, some ingenious hand at moral *nisi prius* may take a turn at restoring the calumniated islanders of antiquity; in which case I can only wish him as easily through his task as if I were to undertake to put a little smoother nap on the reputation of Mr. Cobbett's constituents.

Whatever may appear to ail the surface, there cannot be much beneath it, when, as is the case with the people of all conditions in Oldham, they would poll to-morrow almost to a man, against J. Morgan Cobbett, unless they knew him staunch in the Confederate cause. Before visiting the town, for the first time, a few days ago, I was almost warned that all the men were "desperately South," and that the women were even worse than the men.

After making all allowances for a stranger's susceptibility of impression at witnessing unusual things in unfamiliar places, I must confess that much of what I saw and heard dwells in my memory as "net" matter of astonishment. Most of us flatter ourselves in times of philosophical self-sufficiency that *nil admirari* is one of the marks of a masculine mind. But then, you see, it has not happened to most of us to have borne our share in drinking Oldham bohea and consuming Oldham plum-cake, as an expression (intelligible, I presume, to the initiated in such mysteries,) of one's sympathy with the cause of the South. It is just a little remarkable, without being at all surprising, that a particular town in the north of England should be distinguished for its buxom dames; but suddenly to find oneself among some hundreds of these interesting and responsible personages, listening with their ears, eyes, and mouths to a speech about Surat cotton and short time and General Butler and the widows and orphans of the South—to have seen this and not to "admire" are, according to my experience, two propositions rather hard to reconcile. Their husbands are by their sides, straining to catch every word as it falls from the speaker.

Nor would you find repose for your over-wrought powers of wonderment by diverting your attention from the body of the Co-operative Hall to the platform. You would there observe a substantial looking mill-owner, not unstricken in years—a magistrate, I believe, for the county, and one of Mr. Cobbett's most influential constituents—fretting and fuming with indignation at the conduct of her Majesty's Ministers. After citing a long bill of indictments against "Lord John," our elderly friend appeared to be quite brought up standing by a sudden recollection of his lordship's statement at Blairgowrie, that Englishmen were rather for the North than for the South. He was "disgusted" with Lord John. (Cheers and laughter.) But at the same time, to give even Lord John his due—(laughter)—there was just this redeeming hope for his Lordship, that he, like every other true-hearted Englishman, was a good Southerner at bottom—(laughter)—and that in uttering that awful political fib in Scotland, he did so, not because he believed it, but as a diplomatic fetch to bring all England about his ears. He (the speaker) had been taunted with changing the shade of his politics. He was an old politician, and, like Lord Palmerston, would assert the privilege of modifying his opinions upon sufficient occasion. But if he had become more Conservative than some of his Oldham friends liked they had to thank his New York experiences for the change. (Cheers.) During his visit to America he found extreme democracy would not do. Among other of its fruits he discovered that it did not tend to bring about a high tone of mercantile morality. (Laughter.) There was now on his books a transaction of long standing which was in a fair way of being what is called "repudiated"—(loud laughter)—and it was his firm conviction that the Yankee traders meant to "repudiate" it from the beginning. (Renewed laughter.) And then forsooth, people of that sort must be seizing British goods in neutral waters, and Lord John must allow them to refer their robberies to their own Prize Courts, to decide whether the prizes were lawful. No doubt the rascals—(great laughter)—would adjudge the prizes, to be lawful enough—(laughter)—for he knew them of old (Roars of laughter.) He often asked himself if he was living in old England. Time was, when he was a young man, that old England would not allow any foreign Power to shake its fist in her face as the Yankees had been doing for years past. (Cheers.) We were never so ready for war as now. (Cheers.) Who's afraid. (Laughter.) Not he. (Cheers.) But whoever was afraid, it was a disgrace that a British statesman should be deterred by the empty bluster of a parcel of Yankees from doing justice to a brave people by recognising them at once as a friendly and mighty Power. (Great cheering.)

I should not have gone out of my way to give the foregoing abstract of the speech of the Oldham millowner, if it were not for its thoroughly representative character. Pretty much the whole feeling of Oldham, as well as other towns in Lancashire, is summed up in it. Mill-owners and mill-hands, men and women alike, are possessed of the single idea that they owe all their troubles to the Yankees, and that no good can come except through the complete and steady success of what the *Brooklyn Times* calls the "Marvellous Sword of the Rebellion."



But the chief speaker on the curious occasion under review, and the speaker whose oratory was most fruitful in "surprises," was a Mr. T. B. Kershaw. I have often heard him spoken of as an enthusiastic and able advocate of the Southern cause; but had never heard him make a speech. Himself a manager of a cotton-mill, his were the arguments and his were the appeals I had referred to above, as taking all the mill people captive, while he talked to them with a natural eloquence that went to the heart, about pining for "full time" and weeping over Surat cotton. His speech was well considered, and excellently adapted for a mixed audience. Upon the cotton question he has already achieved more than a Lancashire reputation, and perhaps it would not now be premature for Mr. Bayley to compare notes with him upon that large subject. His arguments were as logical as they were otherwise effective, and his thorough command over the feelings of the operatives was amply testified, when you looked round and saw such a bevy of Oldham women, with their eyes all a-light with unshed tears, dancing their babies up and down to mean yes to what Mr. Kershaw was saying.

The climax was not reached until the platform broke off into poetry. Wrapped (metaphorically) in the folds of the battle-flag of the South—a representation of which was draped overhead—Mr. T. Malan Walker, one of the honorary secretaries of the Southern Independence Association, recited an "Address to the Southern Cross," from the pen, I believe, of an Irish lady, not unknown in the world of magazines and reviews. The lines have certainly more of the *vis viva* than we mostly see now-a-days, and therefore I append them:

## THE SOUTHERN CROSS.\*

Fling wide each fold, brave Flag, unrolled  
In all thy breadth and length!  
Float out unfurled, and show the world  
A new-born nation's strength.  
Thou dost not wave all bright and brave  
In holiday attire;  
Mid cannon chimes a thousand times  
Baptised in blood and fire!  
No silken toy to flaunt in joy,  
When careless shouts are heard:  
Where thou art borne all scathed and torn,  
A nation's heart is stirred.  
Where half-clad groups of toil-worn troops  
Are marching to the wars,  
What grateful tears and heartfelt cheers  
Salute thy Cross of Stars!  
Thou ne'er hast seen the pomp and sheen,  
The pageant of a court;  
Or masquerade of war's parade,  
When fields are fought in sport:  
But thou know'st well the battle yell  
From which thy foemen reel,  
When down the steeps, resistless, leaps  
A sea of Southern steel!  
Thou know'st the storm of balls that swarm  
In dense and hurtling flight,  
When thy crossed bars, a blaze of stars,  
Plunge headlong through the fight:  
Where thou art furled are thickest hurled  
The thunderbolts of war;  
And thou art met with loudest threat  
Of cannon from afar.  
For thee is told the merchant's gold:  
The planter's harvests fall:  
Thine is the gain of hand and brain,  
And the heart's wealth of all!  
For thee each heart has borne to part  
With what it holds most dear;  
Through all the land no woman's hand  
Has stayed one volunteer!  
Though from thy birth outlawed on earth,  
By older nations spurned,  
Their full-grown fame may dread the name  
Thy infancy has earned.  
For thou dost flood the land with blood,  
And sweep the seas with fire;  
And all the earth applauds the worth  
Of deeds thou dost inspire!  
Thy stainless field shall empire wield,  
Supreme from sea to sea,  
And proudly shine the honoured sign  
Of peoples yet to be.  
When thou shalt grace the hard-won place  
The nations grudge thee now,  
No land shall show to friend or foe  
A nobler flag than thou!

\* These are the lines, the publication of which, in a Baltimore paper, was punished by the summary arrest and banishment across the lines, of editors and proprietors.

In a late letter to the *Times*, referring to the battle of Chancellorsville, Mr. Spence (S.) says: "This is the ninth great battle of the war. In no one of them have the guns of the Southern army counted fewer at night than in the morning. The battles of Fredericksburg and Gettysburg balance each other; in both the advantage of position decided the event in the repulse of the assailant. Sharpsburg was a drawn battle, in which no guns were lost on either side, and each on the following day occupied his first position. The other six, Bull Run, Shiloh, Richmond, Manassas, Chancellorsville, and now Chattanooga, were all Federal defeats. There is no more remarkable page in military history, if, indeed, there be any that will compare with the records of this Southern army. Apart from innumerable minor actions, it may be said, 'We fought, within three years, nine great battles in the open field. In none of them did we lose artillery, or retreat but in unbroken order. In six of them we took guns from the enemy; in one we put him to ignominious flight; in two others his gunboats saved him from utter ruin; in another the river, over which he had escaped by night, preserved him; in two others the lines of Washington and Chattanooga gave him shelter from our swords. We have fought against numbers and artillery usually double our own; against naval forces and river transport with which we had nothing to compete. Uncheered by applause, uninspired by any of the pomps of war; with imperfect arms, inferior artillery, often without shoes, not seldom on half rations, never properly equipped, we have defended our country, and in what manner nine great battles may testify.'"

## BLOCKADE STATISTICS.

(From the *Nassau Guardian*, September 23.)

August 26.—The steamer *Banshee*, Captain Steele, arrived from Wilmington on Sunday, with news to the 18th instant; and the steamer *Fannie*, Captain Moore, arrived from Charleston yesterday morning, with dates to the 21st instant. We learn that the steamer *Hebe*, from Nassau, had been chased ashore near Port Fisher.

September 9.—The steamer *Antonica*, Captain Adair, arrived on Sunday from Charleston, with dates from that city to the 3rd instant. The papers contain Northern news to the 29th, and European intelligence to the 19th ult. The steamer *Hebe* was destroyed off New Inlet, North Carolina, on the 18th ult., while attempting to run the blockade. The United States steamer *Nippon* discovered her and gave chase. The *Hebe* was run ashore, but was set on fire by the crew of the *Nippon*, who boarded her, the Confederates on shore firing at their boats all the time. The Federals also succeeded in destroying the goods landed from the *Hebe*. The Confederate States steamer *Oconee*, Lieutenant O. F. Johnson, Confederate States Navy, commanding, with a cargo of 323 bales of compressed upland cotton and 90 tons of coal, bound for Nassau, sprung a leak on the 19th ult., and was lost. Two boat-loads of the crew arrived safely at Savannah. The steamer *Don* arrived to-day from Wilmington, with dates to the 4th instant. Nothing particular had transpired on that day.

September 16.—Three steamers have arrived from Wilmington since Monday—the *Margaret* and *Jessie*, General Beauregard, and *Virginia*.

September 23.—Our correspondent at Alice Town, North Bimini, in a communication dated 27th August, informs us that the Federal gunboat *Sagamore* had captured, on the 8th of that month, the sloop *Clara Louisa* and schooner *Shot*, of Green Turtle Cay, Abaco; and schooners *Southern Rights* and *Ann*, of Nassau. At the time our correspondent wrote there were about eight ships lying at anchor on the north side of the Biminis, in consequence of southerly winds and calms. We learn that the Federal gunboat *Princess Royal* recently cut off the British brig *Atlantic* in Mexican waters, and having transferred all her hands, except the captain and two boys, to the former, placed the latter in charge of a prize crew of seven men. While the *Atlantic* was being steered in the direction of New Orleans, her captain and the two boys bound down the prize crew, and succeeded in taking the vessel to Havana.

## ANOTHER TERRIBLE ARGUMENT FOR PEACE.

(From the *New York Daily News*.)

Ever since the fall of Vicksburg the Radical press has assumed a tone of easy confidence in regard to the military situation. The South already in imagination was subdued and humbled, and the question most elaborately discussed was not how to conquer, but how to treat the conquered. The object of this was to mislead the people into reverence for the military power of the Federal Government, which the Administration designed to employ as an engine to control the next elections. It was hoped that the indecisive but exciting incidents of the siege of Charleston would occupy the public mind and soothe the impatience of the masses, while skilful inactivity in the field elsewhere would avoid an important collision and permit the energies of the Administration to be devoted to political triumph in the North. The activity of the Confederates has disturbed a part of this machinery, and to-day the country stands amazed in the presence of unexpected disaster, and humanity again shudders in the contemplation of another shambles red with human slaughter.

If the defeat of Rosecrans had been a victory, it would not have advanced us one step toward reconciliation or reconstruction. It is time that the people should accept the truth that brute force is utterly incompetent to the task assigned it. A mistaken policy, founded upon the ambition and fanaticism of the men in power, has drenched the land in gore and darkened it with private sorrow and public misfortune. It has accomplished a certain degree of destruction of life and property, and threatens as much in the future. But further than this, it has effected nothing; nor will it, though the struggle should be prolonged for decades. Yesterday the *Star* of the North seemed at its zenith; to-day it sinks behind a cloud; to-morrow it may set in storm and darkness, or rise again glorious with more resplendent rays. But while bathed in blood, whether it soars or falls, it is the sign of woe, the portent of misfortune.

The dead that strew the plain where this last butchery of brothers has been consummated, are so many silent but touching appeals to their countrymen to pause in their unnatural work. The lamentations that again will ascend from the hearts of the bereaved, should be sufficient, in their plaintive eloquence, to convince the most ardent idolater of war that his unsparring deity demands too terrible a sacrifice, and extends a boon too scant and worthless in return. The triumph of one field seems but to balance the disaster of another; and so we pass from exultation to despondency, from hope to doubt, from victory to defeat; or, reversing the routine, pass from disaster to success; and in the end, all that will remain to attest the severity of the ordeal, will be some hundred thousand mounds that tell where brave men fell, some hundred thousand desolated homes, and millions of aching hearts that have lost some treasure upon those fields of carnage, for which all the laurels of the conqueror cannot repay them.

While one battle thus succeeds another, improving or weakening the military situation, but leaving the political situation without the shadow of a change, the opportunities for negotiation come and go, unnoticed, or purposely ignored by those in power. Yet the people must have come to the conclusion, by this time, that negotiation presents the only hope of averting mutual exhaustion and national ruin. There is no doubt that Europe, more clear-sighted as an observer than we participants of these infernal discords, has long since regarded the strife as a disgrace to civilization and Christianity.

A few more battles, whether victories or defeats, will leave us in a poor condition to resent or to repel a foreign interference. Certain oracular signs insist that unless the war close with this campaign, by our own agency, it will end soon afterward by the force of European intervention. When Vicksburg fell we implored the Administration to use the opportunity for negotiation. Instead, the Administration journals fell to inventing plans for the maltreatment of the conquered South. A shadow has now fallen across the Vicksburg prestige. We are, perhaps, upon the downward grade. While yet the military ascendancy can be claimed by the North, let us negotiate. Another Confederate victory will turn the scale against us, if it be not already turned by the result of the last battle, the most important, doubtless, of the war. Now is the time for the Democracy to give prominence to the peace sentiment, which, after all, is the strength of the party, and if used, will be its triumph.

## LORD BROUGHAM ON AMERICA.

The following is that part of Lord Brougham's address delivered on the 7th inst. in Edinburgh, at the opening of the Seventh Annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science which relates to America:—

But, whatever may have been the proximate cause of the contest, its continuance is the result of a national vanity without example and without bounds. Persons subject to this failing are despised, not hated; and it is an ordinary expression respecting him who is without the weakness, that he is too proud to be vain. But when a people are seized with it they change the name, and call it love of glory. Of the individual we often hear the remark that, despicable as the weakness is, it leads to no bad actions. Nothing can be more false; it leads to many crimes, and to that disregard of truth which is the root of all offences. Certainly, it produces none of the worst crimes; the man who is a prey to vanity thirsts not for the blood of his neighbour. How fearfully otherwise is it when a nation is its slave! Magnifying itself beyond all measure and despising the rest of mankind, blinded and intoxicated with self-satisfaction, persuaded that their very crimes are proofs of greatness, and believing that they are both admired and envied, the Americans have not only been content with the destruction of half a million, but vain of the slaughter. Their object being to retain a great name among nations for their extent of territory, they exulted in the wholesale bloodshed by which it must be accomplished, because others were unable to make such a sacrifice. The struggle of above two years, which loosened all the bands that held society together, and gave to millions the means of showing their capacity, has produced no genius, civil or military; while the submission to every caprice of tyranny has been universal and habitual, and never interrupted by a single act of resistance to the most flagrant infractions of personal freedom. The mischiefs of mob supremacy have been constantly felt, for the calamity of rational and respectable men keeping aloof from the management of affairs has resulted in the tyranny of the multitude. To this tyrant the nominal rulers have never withheld their submission, and the press, catering for the appetites of the populace and pandering to their passions, has persisted in every misrepresentation which might most disguise the truth as to passing events: exaggerating each success, extenuating each defeat, often describing failure as victory; while the multitude, if the truth by chance reached them, were one day sunk in despair, another elated to an ecstasy, almost at the pleasure of their rulers and their guides. Nor were the falsehoods thus propagated confined to the events of the war: they extended to all things—to the measures of the Government and the acts of foreign nations. The public feeling must not be thwarted; the people desired to hear whatever gratified their vanity or raised their spirits, and in this delusion must they live as long as the war lasts and the rule is in the hands of the mob. The truth they will never hear, because they desire to hear what is pleasing, and not what is true. But it would be a great mistake to charge on their false guides the follies and the crimes which they chime in with and do their best to perpetuate. The people are determined in their course. Far from feeling shame at the cruel scenes which modern ages, nay, which Christian times have seen nothing to equal—a spectacle at which the whole world stands aghast, almost to incredulity—they actually glory in it as a proof of their higher nature, believe themselves to be the envy as the flower of mankind, and fancy that their prowess would triumph over the most powerful States of Europe. In such illusions their chiefs may not practically join, but the people are, beyond doubt, a prey to them, and will continue so to the end.

"Hear the just law, the judgment of the skies:

They that hate truth shall be the dupes of lies;

And if they will be cheated to the last,

Delusions strong as hell shall bind them fast."

(COWER—*Progress of Error*.)

The feeling towards England which prevails among the American people, though arising from the excess of national vanity, and its kindred envy, is certainly in part the remains of the old quarrel that led to the separation. We are hated and despised. Neither feeling is at all reciprocal, but among our kinsfolk it prevails in a degree almost amounting to mental alienation.

THE Southern journals have expressed their satisfaction at the establishment of the proposed monarchy in Mexico. This is as we expected. The opportunity of forming an alliance with France is not one which it would be politic to throw away if it were afforded by the European Power. Whatever may be the opinion of the Southern Government on the expediency of having a monarchy raised under European auspices on their western frontier, no doubt can exist as to the propriety, under existing circumstances, of giving to that monarchy their most strenuous support. Indeed, the interests both of the French and of the Confederate Governments are so identical in this matter, that there can be little doubt that, sooner or later, an alliance will be formed, if not between France and the South, certainly between the latter and Mexico. The chief dangers with which Mexico will be threatened will come from the North; and however or whenever the civil war may terminate, the enmity between the Northern and Southern States will long continue to subsist. France has so steadily pursued the course of strict neutrality that she would doubtless hesitate to form an alliance with one of the belligerents, even though by so doing she advanced her own interests in Mexico. But the question of the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy stands on a different footing. Totally irrespective of individual interests, neutral States may well come to the conclusion that the time has arrived for admitting the infant Confederacy into the family of nations. The year is approaching its close, and if at the commencement of the next one the relative positions of the belligerents should remain unchanged, we think, that the European Powers should acknowledge as an accomplished fact the independence of the Southern States.—*Morning Post*, Oct. 22.

WHAT is there in our situation to make any man despond? We have gained since this war commenced the most astonishing series of victories ever obtained by a people similarly situated. We have made a name among the people of the earth in three years such as scarcely any other people ever made in three centuries. We have already fought more battles and gained more victories than England has done since the days of Clive, although within the period which produced Clive and the present time the whole of India has been overrun and conquered. We have done all this, and have lost Vicksburg! Even though the enemy had obtained the free navigation of the river by the fall of that place, the blow would not be irreparable. Nor would it be should Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile fall along with it. When they shall have made all these conquests their labour will have begun. To take our towns on the seacoasts and the rivers is but taking the rough covering from the cocoa-nut before essaying to break the shell.—*Richmond Dispatch*.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund, acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Through Mr. Hotze, London:—

Lord Harry Thynne .. .. £5 0 0

## The Situation in Tennessee.

THE invasion of Eastern Tennessee is not unlikely to be the turning-point of the war. The difficulties and dangers of Rosecrans's position are so great that the Federal Government must furnish him with reinforcements at any cost. On the other hand, the advantages gained by Bragg at Chicamauga Creek are so full of promise to the Confederacy, and the weakness of his opponent is so obvious, that we may be sure the Southern generals will devote every man they can spare to the expulsion and destruction of the Federal army of Tennessee. So both sides are hurrying all their troops to the battle-ground, and the most interesting campaign of the war seems only to have opened on the Chicamauga. But the overweening confidence of the North has placed its army at an enormous disadvantage. Even Rosecrans has been completely carried away by the stories invented to please the Northern palate, and to have conducted his advance into the hilly district of Tennessee, as if the only obstacle he had to fear was the impracticability of the roads. We hear of no such thing as a reserve. The various stations, such as Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, and Tullahoma, which protected his line of communication, were held in force, but could only provide for their own defence. When the Federal army reached the line of the Tennessee the official press exultingly proclaimed resistance at an end, so that even if there had been any intention of reinforcing Rosecrans we may be quite sure it was abandoned. Even the commander himself, usually so cautious, believed in his conquest, and decided on pushing on at all hazards upon Rome and Atlanta, and occupying Northern Georgia before the winter. He had evidently no notion that a powerful army awaited him a few miles from Chattanooga, nor is there any reason to believe he made any requisition upon Washington for fresh troops. In all probability, then, the first call for reinforcements was made on the day of the first battle, when Rosecrans became aware of his danger, and left his army to organise a secure line of retreat and construct a strong defence at Chattanooga. But fresh troops could only arrive from two quarters—from the Army of the Potomac or from General Grant. President Lincoln's fears for the capital will not permit him to weaken General Meade to any material extent, whilst Lee's army, perched on the high lands south of the Rapidan and Rappahannock, threatens every day to sweep down upon the Federal army, and drive it once more to Arlington Heights. From Meade, then, no great amount of help is to be looked for. General Grant can better spare troops, as he has no enemy immediately in his front, and it is certain that every available division of his army has been sent on as rapidly as possible into Tennessee. But to move thirty or forty thousand men many hundred miles is a work of time. The call was sud-

denly made; the soldiers of Grant's army were dispersed; the army itself was in course of re-organisation; and Grant, to whose activity and energy its successes were due, was too ill to direct its movements. Moreover, this army occupied certain points of defence along the Mississippi, which were necessary to the retention of the adjoining country; so that it is difficult to believe more than 25,000 or 30,000 men could be spared at once for the relief of Rosecrans. These troops would have to ascend the Mississippi and descend the Cumberland River, exposed to the enemy's sharpshooters, and then to be sent from Nashville, through a country swarming with guerillas, to the Tennessee River. With Burnside compelled to act on the defensive at Knoxville, with Banks fully occupied in Louisiana, and Meade unable to attack Lee with any hope of success, Rosecrans cannot hope to obtain 50,000 fresh men within the next three or four weeks. Without them his communications must be intercepted, and he will be compelled to make a disastrous retreat through the enemy's country. We pointed out a month ago the great advantage the Confederates had reaped in the contraction of their line of defence, and the extraordinary facility it afforded for a concentration of two armies at any given point. It is this which gained them the battle of Chicamauga, and which promises them still more striking triumphs. There seems to be no reason to doubt that a portion of the army of Virginia under Longstreet fought at the late battle. But long before this, large reinforcements must have reached General Bragg from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. At Chicamauga we hear nothing of General Johnston's force, nor of the remains of Pemberton's army. These two bodies combined would give an army of 60,000 men, who, in the present distribution of the Federal army, could easily be spared from their own departments, and despatched by circuitous lines of railroad to Tennessee. Even Beauregard might contribute another 5,000 men to the struggle; almost every soldier in North Carolina might be brought into the field. Altogether we suspect that the Confederate reinforcements would fully equal in numbers and efficiency the Federal succours, whilst they would be far more speedily available. Indeed, events seem to have decided this point; for it is difficult to believe that Bragg, unless he had been largely reinforced, would have been in a position to threaten Rosecrans's front, and at the same time detach considerable forces to the enemy's rear by both flanks. Yet he has actually done this. At the latest date the Federal lines of communication of Tennessee had been pierced at various points by the Confederates. McMinnville, a town seventy miles south-west of Nashville, had been captured, with 500 prisoners; Shelbyville, south of Murfreesboro is said to have surrendered, with 15,000 prisoners; here and there desultory cavalry combats had taken place with varying success, but all tending to one result, the gradual isolation of Burnside's army; bridges, telegraph wires, and railroads were the special objects of attack, showing that the Confederates were fully intent upon making Rosecrans pay dearly for his imprudent advance. The Federals boast that their forces are quite able to keep open the communication, but the difficulty of "subsisting" Rosecrans's force, at a distance of 250 miles from its base of operations, by provisions transported through a hostile country in the possession of the Confederate horsemen must be enormous; and we can hardly believe that Rosecrans will dare to await, in his present position, the winter months, when, to the obstruction of an enemy's force, will be added swollen streams and roads impassable by the mud. As it is, he is confronted at Mission Ridge by an equal if not superior force, which he dare not attack. He cannot effect a juncture with Burnside. He has only his pontoon bridges at Chattanooga for traversing the Tennessee. At Shelbyville and at McMinnville the Confederates are on his line of communication in formidable numbers, and every day is adding to their strength. It is probable that Federal reinforcements may come up in such numbers as to enable him to extricate himself from the *cul de sac* in which he is now placed. But we do not believe he will be able to hold Chattanooga, and a defeat before Bragg's

victorious army could hardly fail to be a tremendous disaster. Under any circumstances, the Confederates have completely regained their ascendancy in Eastern Tennessee, and the Federals find all the fruits of their successes in the West slipping rapidly from their grasp.

Nor is the fortune of war more favourable to them in other quarters. At Charleston, after a siege of ninety days—the period assigned by Mr. Seward for the duration of the war—General Gilmore has been compelled to withdraw his troops to Folly Island, and the operations are virtually suspended. The harbour works are impassable to the iron-clads; the army rots away with the fever consequent on long exposure to the obnoxious exhalations of the marshes of Morris Island, the damp, and bad water. The hopes of New York are still buoyed up with the announcement of an early resumption of the attack by the land and sea forces. But the South knows very well that a larger force than Gilmore has at his disposal is required to storm the defences of Charleston, and awaits the attack in confidence. In Louisiana there is news of further Federal reverses. In Virginia the Confederates are said to be concentrating their forces for a great battle on the Rapidan. Lee stoutly holds his own, whilst guerillas swarm in the rear and on the flanks of Meade's army, and beat up his camps with impunity. It is characteristic of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers that under the circumstances he has ordered a national thanksgiving: whether it is for the defeat at Chattanooga, the failure at Charleston, or the inactivity of General Meade, we do not pretend to know; but we venture to say that there is no other nation in the world which would submit to this horrible mockery, or which would permit so despicable a clique of politicians to prostitute a great national solemnity to its own vile purposes, and thus publicly proclaim—a lie.

## Colonel Tamay at Chertsey.

AGRICULTURAL Societies perform a very important part in the informal politics of England, in the creation of that motive power which works the machinery of the Constitution. Their gatherings are at once the most pleasant and the most respectable sort of public meetings. They are not "got up" by politicians for political purposes: packed to listen to pre-arranged speeches and come to a pre-determined vote. They are assemblies of Englishmen met together to talk over their own affairs; the affairs of their profession, of their county, and finally of their country. So little partisan or political is their character, that party politics are usually excluded from their after-dinner speeches by a formal rule, which, though often violated and generally evaded, marks their entire freedom from all suspicion of set political intentions or connection with Parliamentary party warfare. They bring together two of the most important classes of English society, and afford them an opportunity of ventilating their views primarily on agriculture, and afterwards *de rebus omnibus et quibusdam aliis*. The "gentlemen of England," the landowners of immemorial titles and families that have been known and honoured in their neighbourhood for half-a-dozen centuries—the merchant-princes who, after the manner of rich Englishmen, are desirous of becoming the founders of future landed families—the few of the old English yeomanry that remain to us, the men who farm the lands that were farmed by their yeoman ancestors in the days of Cœur-de-Lion—the tenant-farmers, many of whom have held their farms for half-a-score of generations, and some of whom are men of considerable means and of far higher and more respectable character, morally and intellectually, than the tradesmen of English towns—the heart and backbone of the English body politic, the men whose influence has hitherto at least moulded the national character, and who are caricatured in the typical John Bull—meet round the social board, and welcome heartily any speaker who has either a county standing or a political reputation, or any stranger whom curiosity or sympathy may have brought thither, and whom the chairman, knowing him to



have something to say, invites to speak. The hearers are frank, hearty, perhaps a little noisy; they cheer with far more power of heart and lungs than an Exeter Hall assembly, and express their disapprobation with less reserve than is usual in the House of Commons. But they afford a sort of miniature representation of England, or of the best and least American side of England; the man who meets them feels that at last he has seen what England is and how she came to be so; the man who speaks to them and wins them feels that he has England on his side.

Such was the audience to which, on Friday last, Col. Lamar was introduced by the chairman, Mr. W. S. Lindsay; and the reception which he met with was the most enthusiastic that such an audience could give. Something, no doubt, was due to the personal qualifications of the speaker; for there are few men more fitted to win the heart of an English audience. An orator of the English stamp, with a perfect command of simple Saxon language, with the bearing of a soldier and a gentleman, perfectly free from all those affectations of the platform which Englishmen abhor, and gifted with that irresistible charm which impassioned earnestness lends to eloquence. The audience to which he spoke at Chertsey was precisely the one best suited to appreciate him; and if it had rested with those who heard him, he might have spoken for hours to their infinite delight and probably to his own complete satisfaction. Never were orator and audience on better terms. Col. Lamar might have imagined that he was speaking to the audience assembled by the presence of the judges in an assize town of his native State; his hearers might have thought that they listened to an English soldier, wearing on his breast the honours earned in India or before Sebastopol. Unfortunately the duration of his speech depended on those who could not hear him. Outside the door were assembled a multitude of labourers, claimants of the Society's prizes, and their friends; and these, standing in the cold, weary of waiting and anxious to receive their honours, grew impatient of the eloquence which they could not hear, and which detained them from that part of the ceremony in which they were chiefly interested. The noise outside became so peremptory that Mr. Lindsay was forced to obey it, and, to the mortification of the whole party, to cut short the speech of his guest at its most interesting point.

We reproduce Colonel Lamar's speech, and we shall not, therefore, detain our readers by any comments on what he did say. We could not possibly put his exposition of the Southern cause in better language than his own. Any remarks of ours would only weaken the effect of the contrast which he drew between the pretensions of the North, which has abolished liberty while professing to be the champion of human freedom, and the South, which, in the midst of a desperate struggle for national existence, with half a million of invaders on her soil, has maintained intact the rights of the States, the liberty of the citizens, the independence of the judges, and the supremacy of the civil law. We can, however, bear witness to the enthusiasm with which the speech was received. We have witnessed many enthusiastic meetings; we have been spectators of some of Mr. Bright's most brilliant and successful displays; but we never saw faces expressive of such cordial sympathy, or heard cheers significant of such complete approval, such entire and earnest conviction, as those of the gentlemen farmers who listened to Colonel Lamar.

What Colonel Lamar began to say and had not the opportunity to finish, is what we have much wished that some Southern orator who could ensure a hearing on the subject would explain to an English audience—viz., what is that institution in the South which, under the name of negro slavery, moves Abolitionists to frenzy, and sensible Englishmen to a good deal of mistaken indignation. We need hardly say that it bears no resemblance to anything described by Miss Martineau or Mrs. Stowe, and in no way merits the curses bestowed on it by Mr. Beecher and Mr. Wendell Phillips. It cannot be necessary to explain that the countrymen of Colonel Lamar

are not in the habit of mutilating negroes for mere wantonness or roasting them alive for misdemeanours in their service. We need hardly say that the corps of Stonewall Jackson was not composed of men who were accustomed to force their female servants, by the terror of the lash, to become mothers of mulattoes, to be sold hereafter for their father's profit or worked to death on his plantation. No sane Englishman now believes that the slaves are ill-treated, as a general rule; any more than he believes that English gentlemen are in the habit of maltreating their horses or dogs. But a good many Englishmen believe that the legal position and social status of the slave is much like that of a horse or a dog; and this was the error, we fancy, which Colonel Lamar wished to dispel.

The slave is by law "a chattel." On this subject the Rev. Mr. Beecher, at Manchester, made an extensive display of ignorance; presuming on the resemblance between "chattel" and "cattle," in amusing innocence of even such smattering of law as would have taught him that "chattel" is the Norman-French and "cattle" the English translation of the law-Latin "cattalum." Now the word chattel, or cattalum, does not mean cattle, that is beasts, but "movable property," or rather property that follows in its incidents the law relative to movables. Beasts being of old the chief sort of *cattalla*, the word was by vulgar usage applied, in an English form, to them. But it includes all property that descends to the executor or administrator and not to the heir; all that we call "personal property." We never applied it to slaves. But we had the thing, though not the name. A *villein regardant*—a serf attached to the land, was a sort of real property, an appendage of the realty. A *villein in gross* belonging, not to the land, but to the person of his lord, would hold exactly the condition, as property, of a Southern slave. He would go to the administrator, not to the heir, on his lord's death; and "if he ran away or was purloined" he was recoverable at law in the same method "as beasts and other chattels." What Southern law means by calling the slave a chattel, is that he is a *villein in gross* and not a *villein regardant*. And the sense of the phrase of which Mr. Beecher, in his ignorance, talked so much nonsense, is simply this:—that the master's right to the services of his slave is of the nature, and follows the law of personal and not of real property. We say, his right to the services of his slave advisedly; for this is all the right he has. Neither the soul nor the body of his slave belongs to him; he cannot starve him, nor maim him; and his right of correction is simply analogous to that which an Englishman by the common law had over his wife, and still has over his children and apprentices under age.

We do not affirm that the Southern law of the relation between master and servant is altogether satisfactory. Perhaps it would have been mended before now, had the Southern States been left to settle their own affairs in their own way; perhaps it will be amended when they are left to themselves. In the meantime, the rights not secured by the law are to a great extent protected by public opinion. Southern society does not call the slave a chattel; but—as Mr. Beresford Hope the other day remarked—a servant; it condemns the slave-dealer as we do the usurer; it excommunicates the man who ill-uses his slaves as we excommunicate the man who is known to maltreat his wife and children: and the one offence is not more frequent in the South than the other in England. Finally, the churches of the South hold the slave "a man and a brother:" a man incompetent to his own protection, and a brother in perpetual childhood; but still a being for whom his Christian master is in God's sight a trustee, and for whose good guidance and kind treatment he is responsible, "as he will answer it at the awful day of judgment."

### Mr. Attorney-General for the Defence.

Much abuse has been bestowed by thoughtless or ignorant moralists—and most professed moralists are exceedingly ignorant or exceedingly thoughtless

of practical business—upon the professional etiquette of the bar, which not only allows but almost obliges counsel to accept a brief, and do his best in a cause which he knows or believes to be a bad one. Much eloquent vituperation has been wasted on this wicked impartiality between truth and falsehood; on a system of justice which is said to do its best to put guilt and innocence on an equal footing, and let both have a good start before the hounds of law are slipped upon their traces. But this virtuous nonsense will never be echoed by any one who has learned, from the discipline of controversy, theological, political, or literary, the vast advantage to the interests of truth of having a bad cause as well stated as possible, so that the advocate of the better side may understand clearly what are the weak points of his own case and the strong points of his adversary's; may see what sophisms may be stated, or what doubts may arise, to mislead the minds of honest men or justify the one-sidedness of predetermined partisans; or may at least be assured that everything that can be urged against him has been urged, and that if all that has been stated on the other side amounts to nothing it is because there is literally "no case for the defence." He knows, too, what is the surest indication of the absence of a "case;" and listens to vituperation not only with patience but with pleasure, knowing that counsel never begin to scold so long as they have anything to do. In the great suits, so intimately connected, which are now being pleaded at the bar of public opinion—the suit of the Confederate States against the North, and that in which England is plaintiff, v. John Earl Russell, defendant—we certainly enjoy the advantage of having had the cause of falsehood stated with consummate ability, in Parliament, in the press, and on the platform. We have caught a glimpse, on the brief held by Mr. Foster, Mr. Bright, and Miss ——— in the first case, of the famous traditional instruction, "There is no evidence for the defence; therefore abuse the plaintiff's attorney," and we render full and hearty justice to the admirable manner in which that instruction has been carried out wherever the case has come on; now in the House of Commons, now in Exeter Hall, or that which derives its title from Free Trade; and now in the columns of the *Spectator* or the *Daily News*. In that case the verdict has been already given; the sentence seems to have been passed; and the appeal lies now before a higher court, to be decided by the wager of battle. We need waste no words on that subject, but turn with more interest to the admirable special pleading displayed in the second case. We have already paid a due tribute of praise to the sophisticated talents of "Historicus;" we now look to the final argument for the defence delivered by Sir Roundell Palmer at Richmond, Yorkshire. Mr. Attorney-General is, with one or two exceptions, the ablest lawyer now at the bar; indeed, he is the only barrister of the ministerial party whose legal opinion has any sort of weight or whose speeches are ever worth reading. He is not, certainly, the peer of the late Lord Lyndhurst or of the great lawyers of Lord Lyndhurst's youth and prime; Sir Hugh Cairns is perhaps his superior; but he stands as far above the Jameses, the Colliers, the Seymours, who dishonour Lord Palmerston by their support, as General McClellan above General Butler, or Jefferson Davis above Abraham Lincoln. We may be sure that he has done for his clients his best, and the best that can be done; and if his argument will not hold water, if it leaks at every comma and breaks down at every sentence, if it be the feeblest that he ever delivered, we may be sure that in this suit, as in the former, there is "no case for the defence."

The indictment against Earl Russell comprises three specific charges. First, that he has refused to the Confederate States the recognition to which, by international usage, they were entitled, and which it was the obvious interest of England to accord to them. Secondly, that he has allowed the Federal Government to stretch the law of nations to an extent hitherto unknown, and to commit, under a false colour of belligerent rights, gross outrages on



British commerce. Thirdly, that he has seized ships supposed to be intended for the service of the Confederate States, without evidence and in violation of law, municipal and international. To these charges Mr. Attorney-General directed his defence; and we will examine, *seriatim*, his reply to each.

First. He says that the Confederate States were not entitled to recognition as an independent Power, inasmuch as their independence cannot be held established while the war continues and the enemy has a lodgment on their soil. We meet this first by a *reductio ad absurdum*. Suppose that General Banks is reinforced and obstinately maintains his hold of New Orleans, which he can do so long as the Federal navy is superior to that of the Confederates; suppose that the siege of Charleston is still maintained by the naval forces. Suppose meantime that Rosecranz and Burnside are separately attacked, crushed, and forced to surrender with 100,000 men. Suppose that General Meade is also routed, and the Federal Government forced to abandon Maryland and surrender Washington. Suppose that battles are fought in Ohio and Pennsylvania, resulting in the evacuation of those States by the Federal armies. Mr. Attorney-General's argument implies that even in this case we must not consider the Confederate States to have established their independence; for what he lays down as the reasons for refusing to admit it now would then be still in full force. If, therefore, those reasons are conclusive now, they would be conclusive in the case supposed. As no sane man would withhold recognition then, it is clear that the reasons assigned by Sir R. Palmer do not justify us in withholding it now.

The Attorney-General admits that we did right to recognise the Confederate States as a belligerent Power, because they are States "exercising government for themselves and in themselves for the time being," and are actually carrying on war. We add that they have exercised government and carried on war for nearly three years: equivalent, at the present rate of warfare, to fifteen years of belligerency in the times prior to 1840. They have some 300,000 men in the field, at the lowest estimate. They have gained half-a-dozen pitched battles as great and as obstinately contested as that of Waterloo. They have annihilated two great armies. They have twice invaded the enemy's territory with a regular force, fought him on his own soil with indecisive results, and retired unmolested with cannon, baggage, and plundered stores. When, under such circumstances, was recognition ever refused? And, under such circumstances, is not the refusal a monstrous anomaly?

Mr. Attorney-General says that recognition is not all that is wanted. The friends of the South want intervention too. This is simply a misapprehension of facts. If England do not think necessary for her own honour to interfere, as in Greece, against the more than Turkish barbarity of the invaders, that is purely a matter of English policy. What the South demands as her due, what the North deprecates with passionate cries and frantic menaces, is recognition, pure and simple.

Mr. Attorney-General says that precedents are in his favour. We deny it. The precedents of Greece and Belgium are objected to as proving too much. Let these pass. But what of Texas, recognised *flagrante bello*? What of the Spanish Colonies, recognised while they had hardly a government, and while Spain had still as strong a hold on them as Abraham Lincoln on the Confederate States? Mr. Attorney-General cites, to condemn it, the precedent set by America in 1849. It is, indeed, only of value as barring the right of the Federal Government to object; had we chosen to recognise South Carolina in January, 1861. But if Hungary had maintained her independence for two years, and beaten two or three Austrian and Russian armies, who doubts that France and England would have recognised her?

Finally, says the Attorney-General, let us do as we would be done by. Not as we should be done by; for if Ireland were in full revolt; if an indepen-

dent Government had sat for two years in Dublin, giving law to the whole island; if we had but a foothold on Ulster, had captured Belfast, and were bombarding Cork; if Protestant and Catholic, Saxon and Celt, were alike in arms against us; if Ireland had an army of 300,000 men victorious in several pitched battles, who doubts that an American ambassador would be "giving aid and comfort to our rebels," and that an Irish embassy would be receiving all honour and hospitality that Washington and New York could afford them? But, to do as we would be done by, let us ask how we should feel if, at war with a European coalition, our ambassador were dismissed and our independence denied by the Confederate States because a Russian force had been landed, and occupied Sutherland, and a French fleet was besieging Portsmouth? And the case is exactly parallel; for our action towards the Confederacy is in truth a withdrawal of the recognition accorded by express treaty to four, and by implication to every one, of its component sovereignties.

Secondly. We are told that the Federal Government has exercised belligerent rights no more strictly than we did in days gone by. In regard to the blockade this is irrelevant; for its legality depends on the fourth article of the Convention of 1856. In regard to captures it is untrue. When did we ever blockade a neutral harbour, as the Federals have blockaded our colonial ports? When did we ever fire shot and shell upon neutral shores? When did we claim the right to stop a trade between neutral ports because it fed a contraband trade with a blockaded coast? When did we condemn ships for carrying "contraband of war" to a neutral market? When did we seize a ship in a neutral port, on the plea that she had received a part of her cargo from an enemy's coast? All these things the Federal cruisers have done; and all these things, it appears, Lord Russell's advocate defends. Will Mr. Attorney-General have the goodness to cite the precedents or authorities on which he relies to make good so novel a doctrine?

Thirdly. The counsel for the defence has not stated very clearly the view he takes of the justification to be made out for the seizure of British-built ships on the charge that they are intended for the Confederate service. As far as we understand him, he means to affirm:—

a. That there is no evidence of any purpose so to employ some at least of the ships seized.

b. That, nevertheless, there is a moral certainty that the Foreign Enlistment Act has been "evaded," and is to be evaded again.

c. That British merchants are carrying on "an unlawful trade," in dereliction of their patriotic duties and in disloyal contempt of the law.

If there be no evidence against the ships, their acquittal is a matter of certainty. If they are sure to be acquitted, their seizure is, towards the owner, an act of pure vexation and gross illegality; towards the public, a crime of the deepest dye, impairing at once the majesty of law and the security of commerce; in point of policy, a cowardly compliance with the unwarrantable demands of a foreign Power. Mr. Attorney-General knows—none better—that there is no sounder or more absolute rule of law and equity (more often identical than fools and satirists suppose) which insists on material proof, and in default of evidence, refuses to take any account of moral certainties. To hang a man on a moral certainty would be murder; to seize a ship on moral certainty is robbery.

There has been no "evasion" of the Foreign Enlistment Act. On the contrary, there has been a careful endeavour to comply exactly with its provisions, so far as their meaning and intent have been made clear; and this both in the letter and the spirit. It is forbidden by the law to equip, fit out, or arm ships to be employed in hostilities against a Power with which the Queen is at peace; the Chief Baron's ruling establishes the fact that no ship has been "armed, equipped, or fitted out" in a British port for the Confederate service. If that ruling be overthrown, it will be shown that Mr. Laird and his customers, in common with the Chief Baron, have misunderstood the law; not that either they or the

Chief Baron have evaded it. The intent of the Foreign Enlistment Act was that British ports should not be made the basis of belligerent operations; the utmost care has been taken to obey this regulation. It may be argued that a ship must have a port of departure in her capacity of belligerent; and that, if armed at sea, her port of departure is that from which she last sailed. If this rule be established, British subjects, and probably the Confederate Government, will be bound not to make such use of our ports, but will still be free to purchase or build ships and send them to a foreign port to be armed: a point clearly established by the American decision in the case of the *Bolivar*. But the rule is not established, and we think that it cannot be maintained. The object of the distinction drawn at international law between the sale of men-of-war and the equipment of belligerent expeditions by neutrals is to secure the belligerent remedy of capture against the sellers of contraband of war; and this object is sufficiently attained, if the vessel pass completely out of neutral jurisdiction, and reach the high seas, where she is liable to capture, in a defenceless condition. It appears, therefore, that neither the letter, spirit, nor purpose of the Foreign Enlistment Act have been in any way infringed. The law that has been evaded is not that which Parliament enacted and which the Judges interpret, but that which the Foreign Office has thought proper to enforce, and which is to be interpreted at the pleasure or convenience of the Federal Embassy.

The Attorney-General's attack on British merchants, aimed of course at Mr. Laird, is altogether unjust and unwarrantable. The trade in ships carried on by the builders of Birkenhead is exactly as lawful as the trade in arms and ammunition carried on by the merchants and manufacturers of Birmingham. Of course it is at the discretion of the Crown to forbid both or either: but till that prohibition be issued both are equally lawful, and the language used by Mr. Attorney-General involves alike an excess of professional license, and a transgression of ministerial decorum. Loyalty binds men to obey the law of the land or the edict of the Sovereign; it does not bind them to consult the caprice of a Minister or the convenience of a Cabinet.

This is our answer to the elaborate speech of the counsel for Earl Russell. And if our readers deem this answer complete or the Attorney-General's speech inconclusive, they may give their verdict at once, for if Sir Roundell Palmer fail to procure his client's acquittal, there is no other man who can.

## SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Offices Southern Independence Association.  
Manchester, Oct. 20, 1863.

SIR,—We regret to find in your last issue that you take exception to a paragraph in our manifesto, and express a belief that it is calculated to "wound the feelings of the Southern people," and awaken a bitter resentment in those whose political cause we have espoused. Nothing could be farther from the intention of our executive, or more contrary to our action through the last eight months. From the beginning of his struggle it has been our desire to gather an accurate knowledge of all the facts of the case, and the convictions we have expressed are drawn from a purely independent and English point of view. We early saw that any restoration of "the Union" was impossible, and that from the legal relations of the States, and the grounds on which Secession was decided, the Southern people were neither "rebels" nor fighting for any "corner-stone of slavery." Still we were content to support the neutrality proclaimed by our Government, in the hope that Northern statesmen would exercise such reasonable control that the strife could not be of long continuance; but when their hiring and unprincipled advocates made our city and county the field of their agitation, outraging the common principles of justice in their determination to show that the North was all right and the South was all wrong, and that our people must continue in their suffering and our staple trade be wasted, while they were settling a political quarrel—some counter-organization appeared to us not only a necessity but an absolute duty. Our Association arose, then, from a view of the political justice involved, and we should have adopted the same course of action, whatever country or people had been concerned. We had no knowledge of the leaders of the



Southern Confederacy beyond their public character, nor any connection whatever with either them or their representatives; we never undertook to apologise for their position or institutions, but rather to assert their right of secession, and their just claims to independence and self-government; and to advocate the stoppage of a war which we cannot but regard as a disgrace to the age. We therefore owe no explanation to the people of the South beyond our published documents, and our executive must abide by the views therein enunciated; we only seek that the "proud nationality" we acknowledge to be their due, should be recognised by the governments of Europe as it is by the great body of the people; and we should never advocate the imposition of any political conditions respecting domestic institutions as the price of that recognition, feeling sure that direct commercial intercourse would gradually and peacefully assimilate all social laws and usages of the States to the highest standard, as the subordinate classes might become prepared for any change.

In the columns of THE INDEX we have found the truthful and reasonable views which few portions of the Northern press ever supplied, and we should be sorry if those columns should disseminate any misapprehension of our action in behalf of a cause which has won amongst us so general and so hearty a sympathy.

Trusting you will oblige by insertion of this in your next,  
We are, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

JAMES NIELD,  
T. MALAN WALKER, } Hon. Secs.

## AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON

FROM AUGUST 14TH TO SEPTEMBER 3RD.

(By our Own Correspondent.)

CHARLESTON, August 14.

Although more than thirty days have elapsed since the siege of Charleston commenced, the interval has been productive of no decisive results. The old city stands prouder and more hopeful than ever, and the enemy continues to pound away at our yet unshaken fortifications. As foretold in my last communication, Fort Wagner, with its solid bed and sides of sand, maintains a sturdy impregnability, and is even stronger to-day than at the beginning of the attack. The defence has become, so to speak, systematised, and the men inured to their work—both as patient infantry and practical artillerists.

Of the nature of our improvements and additional fortifications it would not be prudent to speak at this time. Your Northern files give you all the information of which the enemy are possessed, concerning new batteries on James Island and new guns on Battery Wagner, and it is not for me now either to verify or deny. It is sufficient to state that we are in the highest degree confident of success, and reliant upon our ability to combat all the infernal agencies of destruction yet brought to bear. Of the future no man can speak.

We are not blind to the anticipations of another terrible attack—and soon. We believe that what we have experienced in the past is but child's play to that which is to come, but silently and energetically we are preparing for the worst. Beauregard and Ripley are fully alive to the crisis, and their noblest powers are concentrated to meet its demands. The patient delay of the Federals is ominous, for it tells of giant preparations, of amazing resources, and yet undeveloped schemes, that will make the struggle, when it comes, the most fearful this continent has ever beheld. We know that every day and night is adding to the strength of our antagonist; that guns in every way superior to our own in calibre, range, and number, are being mounted; that works are going up intended to protect their men from our fire; and that when all these things are complete, ship and shore will tremble under the terrible bombardment that will ensue. And yet we fear not. We, too, are labouring, with every muscle braced, to meet the storm, and, thank God and our authorities, not without hope.—*Assez.*

Since my former letter the firing has been spasmodic, but continued more or less every day. The effect on our side is usually from one to three killed and half a dozen or more wounded in twenty-four hours. Latterly the iron compliments have begun to rain upon us at night, and as an auxiliary the Federals have made use of a strong calcium light, which gives them in its sweep a fair view of the entire harbour. The object they seek to accomplish is undoubtedly to cut off all communication with the island, or, at least, render the trips of our steamers to that point as dangerous and uncomfortable as possible.

Another object is to prevent the repetition of a bold adventure which resulted in the destruction of one of their barges and most of its crew. The steamer Juno, under command of Captain Warley, of the Chicora, ran down to within fifty rods of the enemy's fleet, made a reconnaissance, destroyed the boat alluded to, which was also on a scouting expedition, and safely returned. A fast ram could have sunk two or three of the gunboats, but, unfortunately, the Juno was only a small vessel, employed in running the blockade, and consequently ineffectual for the purpose.

Another assault is not apprehended. Twice the Federals have been taught a bitter lesson; and the probability is that they will now try the power of heavy rifle long-range guns, give Wagner the "go by," and pay exclusive attention to Fort Sumter. Dahlgren, with his iron-clads, thus far has proved cautious, and kept well out of range of the grey old sentinel at our harbour-gate; but when the critical moment arrives, there is no certainty that he will not run up even within

the 800 yards which made the fated Keokuk vulnerable to Sumter's well-aimed balls. Meanwhile we wait and pray!

The city shows no evidences of the siege in an interruption of the usual channels of business, and blockade goods appear and disappear as mysteriously as ever. Stocks in the various importing companies, except one—the Bee Company—have been checked in their upward flight; but I believe there has been no falling off in price and no signs of trepidation. Indeed, two vessels arrived in Wilmington, only night before last, whose cargoes will swell the shares of the owners to not ungratifying figures.

Our business men generally, however, have turned their attention to the defence of the city, and are doing their best to further the designs of the Commander-in-chief. Major Willis, for instance—a gentleman formerly connected with the house of Frazer and Co., but now in the service, and reputed to be the ablest quartermaster in the Confederacy—has recently organised a system of wayside homes, collected nearly \$40,000, and put them in successful operation. The object of these establishments is to afford food, rest, and shelter to the weary soldiers on their return from duty, and to furnish everything necessary to health or comfort that may be required. These establishments, by the way, now exist in every portion of the Confederacy; and in whatever direction the soldier may be travelling, he will find at every stopping-place, more or less, these "homes," provided by the bounty of a grateful people, and the soft hands of the loveliest ladies of the land to minister to his relief.

I see it officially stated in Northern journals that the loss of General Gilmore in his last assault on Battery Wagner was 635 killed and wounded. Let me state here, on an equally official authority, that upwards of 600 Yankees were buried within our lines on Sunday after the fight, exclusive of those known to be interred by the Federals. Your experience throughout the war has generally told you that Confederate figures do not lie. Believe mine.

I am sorry to confess that our fair country is at present under a cloud, and none but eyes of faith discern the "silver lining." Vicksburg and Port Hudson gone, Lee returned, the enemy in his old position, and no prospects of that speedy and, at the time, almost certain peace, for which we hoped confidently but a little while ago! It is no wonder that our women sigh, our men look solemn, and our newspapers ring out the war note with renewed vehemence; no wonder that Davis and Lee appeal to the bone and sinew of the land to step into the gaps that war has made, and push on afresh to redeem disaster. The sanguine ones among us read no danger in these signs. Once recuperated, the Vicksburg army, which has been exchanged, will return from their homes and rally around their old banner, and with a new leader—Lieut.-Gen. Hardee—be prepared to wipe out the debt of surrender.

General Johnston will then find work for his own army, and the two co-operating in the Mississippi Valley will give us what we have long wanted there—a wall of men, who can operate with or without Bragg, as the emergency demands. The latter having completely checkmated Rosecrans, is lying on his oars near Chattanooga—one of the strongest positions on the Continent—and waiting for his opponent to show his hand. Meanwhile, Grant is tied down by the worst enemy he has yet encountered—a "low-country fever," by physicians regarded more fatal than the yellow fever—and his men are dying by hundreds. While this continues, the bulk of his army can hardly be expected to undertake a great movement—certainly, not to commence a protracted siege of Mobile, which is the next on the programme. Lee, in Virginia, as I said before, is fully capable of holding his own, as we all believe, if not of administering to the Yankees the severest blow they have yet received. Like the Vicksburg army, the Army of the Potomac have a score to wipe out and a victory to gain before they will rest satisfied.

CHARLESTON, August 25.

Our grand old "City by the Sea," still triumphantly rides the storm of battle—still holds at bay her giant adversary and defies his power. Confronted by a fleet of iron monsters declared to be invulnerable, battered by artillery of range and powers such as the demon of war never before conceived, and besieged by an enemy on land, whose skill, resources and antlike perseverance are best illustrated by their tremendous labors, Charleston has for forty-five days, with a fierce and dogged resolution, endured the most stupendous bombardment that ever yet assailed a stronghold; and the siege is not one foot nearer success than it was when the enemy's guns first pounded at our gates. The entrance to the harbour has not been penetrated. Batteries Wagner, Gregg, and Fort Sumter have neither been captured, nor silenced; and, on the contrary, every other Confederate position has been growing in strength while the fight progressed.

My previous letter left the Federals working vigorously under our fire in the erection of additional batteries, while they maintained a bombardment of our works on Morris Island from their gun-boats. Within the last ten days their batteries have been completed and their purpose developed—namely the destruction of Fort Sumter and the bombardment of Charleston with long range rifled guns. Our little sand hills with their half-dozen effective guns having proved themselves impregnable, whether passively receiving in their pliable sides the huge missiles of the enemy, or trembling under the vibration of their own "battlemented thunders," the Federals were forced to resort to the next most feasible plan of reduction, which was to shoot over or to one side of Batteries Wagner and Gregg at

the grey, old fort in their rear. The result was not unanticipated.

The old maxim that an ordinary work built of brick and mortar cannot be breached at a greater distance than eight hundred yards, belongs to an age when mechanical ingenuity expended itself in the construction of an eight-inch Columbiad. It was reserved for the present war to develop new engines of destruction, and inaugurate a new era in the struggles between man and man. The North has brought into this contest forces and projectiles to which military science has heretofore been comparatively a stranger. These, operating by day and night on the crumbling walls of Fort Sumter, have succeeded at a distance of 2½ miles, or 4,700 yards, not only in breaching that work, but in reducing its entire south face to a mass of ruins.

Up to the night of Thursday the 20th of August, two thousand five hundred iron bolts, eight inches in diameter, two feet in length, with flat heads of chilled iron, and weighing two hundred pounds each, had struck the Fort, and since that period the enemy have thrown on an average about one thousand per day. Eight times the flag-staff has been shot away and replaced, and there it still floats—a symbol of the heroic determination of Colonel Alfred Rhett, its brave commander, expressed to the writer of these lines months ago: "Sir,—If the enemy ever attack Fort Sumter, it shall be fought low down before it is occupied by a hostile foot." The loss of life in the garrison has been comparatively slight, not more than ten or twelve being killed and thirty or forty wounded. Among the latter are Colonel Rhett and several of his officers, but they have determined to stand by their post to the latest moment. The injuries were inflicted while they were at dinner, a shell bursting in the mess-room and destroying the table at which they were dining.

Although silent at long intervals, because of the necessity of husbanding ammunition, there is life in old Sumter yet; and whenever the iron-clads have approached within range, the same breast of fire has again and again shot out, that in times past so often drove them from the range of its guns.

Meanwhile a steady fire on the Federal land batteries on Morris Island is maintained by our works on James Island—Batteries Simpkins, Hascall, Cheves, and Ryan; so named in honour of some of the officers who have been killed during the siege. The effect of this cannot, of course, be known to us, but it must, to say the least, be both harassing and demoralizing. Batteries Wagner and Gregg also participate.

The Federal fleet now inside of the bar consists of the iron frigate Ironsides, six monitors, ten gun-boats, three wooden frigates, two brigs, four mortar hulks, and several supply vessels. The number of the enemy's breaching guns in position on Morris Island is estimated at fifty, ranging in calibre from 100-pounder to 300-pounder rifles—three times as many as were used in the reduction of Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, Georgia.

Transports from the North arrive daily bringing troops. Seven thousand are known to have been landed within a week. Five thousand negro troops drill on the beach every night.

The navy are reserving their fire for the grand finale. A 15-inch gun is not considered safe from explosion after 500 discharges, and as each has now been fired upwards of 200 times, the remaining 300 are being held in store.

A little drummer-boy, lately sent back to us from Hilton Head by the enemy, without exchange, tells the following brief story of himself. He had been serving for some time as a drummer, when, tired of beating sheepskin instead of the Yankees, he enlisted as a private, and was at Fort Wagner on the memorable 18th July. After the repulse of the storming-party, he, in company with a few others, sallied out to plunder; and, overcome by the good things which he found, he fell asleep in the sand hills. The bold little fellow awoke to find himself in the grasp of a negro three times as big as himself. By this sable soldier he was taken to the southern part of the island, whence, after having had the pleasure of seeing General Gilmore, he was sent for a while on board the Ironsides and then transferred to Hilton Head. He describes the Ironsides as being defended by bulwarks of sand packed tightly, and overlaid with planks to prevent it being washed by the rain. On being asked how he was treated at Hilton Head, he replied, "Oh, bully! Pickled beef, and pickled pork, sometimes fresh beef, coffee, and a gill of whisky four times a day." From the boy's report, we infer that the Yankees have lately inaugurated a new policy with regard to their prisoners, treating them with an insidious kindness and consideration. He declares, also, that during his stay at the island a monitor was brought there from Charleston with her sides badly indented, and the revolving machinery of her turret very severely damaged, though not beyond the possibility of repair.

Our batteries on Sullivan's Island, known as Fort Moultrie and Battery Bee, have as yet had but a single opportunity to play an important part in the great drama, being 2,000 or more yards beyond range. Last week several iron-clads, whose commanders doubtless supposed that Fort Sumter was silenced, approached the entrance to the harbour, and attempted to pass through the narrow channel in front of the above-named works. They were met by a heavy fire, however, and after lingering for a few moments veered around and steamed back to their original position. This being the only avenue to the city from the front, and these forts being built of the same kind of sand, and even stronger than Batteries Gregg and Wagner, and being unapproachable from the rear, you will understand that the safety of Charleston in no manner depends either upon our Morris Island fortifications or upon Fort Sumter.



On Friday last, the 21st August, the Yankees forged another link in the long chain of crime that is destined to bind them to eternal infamy in the estimation of civilised mankind. At the dead hour of night, when thousands of innocent women and children were wrapped in slumber, General Gilmore, without a word of notice, opened his Parrot Battery, and commenced to throw eight-inch shells into the city. The consternation occasioned by the terrific screams of the projectiles beggars description. Families arose from their beds, clothing was hastily gathered, and preparations made for abandoning their homes. Immense trains of cars, loaded down with ladies and children, left soon after daylight, many not knowing whither they were going, but willing to go anywhere to escape the foul vengeance and inhumanity of the foe. The exodus was maintained throughout the day and night, and still continues. The firing ceased in two or three hours, fortunately without having injured any one or destroyed any valuable property. What adds to the diabolism of the crime, if anything can intensify it, is the fact that the Yankees selected for their revenge the very day on which our people, one and all, had fervently engaged in the devotions of a national fast, with its hours of humiliation and prayer. The distance from the battery to the town is within a fraction of six (6) miles.

The affair naturally created intense excitement and aroused the bitterest feelings of scorn and indignation in the city; while the threat of intimidation, for such it was believed to be, served only to nerve our people with a calm determination to make the struggle one of life or death.

Subsequently the following correspondence took place. A communication without signature was received at the headquarters of General Beauregard, at quarter before eleven on Friday night, supposed to come from General Gilmore, and demanding the surrender of Batteries Gregg, Wagner, and Fort Sumter. Beauregard being absent on a reconnaissance, the paper was sent back for signature, pending which fire was opened on the city. At nine o'clock, Saturday morning, the document was returned, duly signed and read as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Department of the South,  
Morris Island, S. C., August 21.

"GENERAL: I have the honour to demand of you the immediate evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter, by the Confederate forces. The present condition of Fort Sumter, and the rapid and progressive destruction which it is undergoing from my batteries, seem to render its complete demolition, within a few hours, a matter of certainty. All my heaviest guns have not yet opened.

"Should you refuse compliance with this demand, or should I receive no reply thereto, within four hours after it is delivered into the hands of your subordinate at Fort Wagner for transmission, I shall open fire on the city of Charleston from batteries already established, within easy and effective [range] of the heart of the city.

"I am, General, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) Q. A. GILMORE,  
Brigadier-General Commanding.

"To General G. T. BEAUREGARD,  
Commanding Confederate Forces, Charleston, S. C."

To this demand General Beauregard, on Saturday afternoon, forwarded the following stinging reply:—

[This has been already published in THE INDEX, No. 73.]

Fire upon the city was renewed on Sunday night about twelve o'clock. One of the shells passed through a musquito netting a few inches above the heads of two children who were sleeping in their little bed; but the result was providentially as before—no person injured. Thirteen or fourteen eight-inch incendiary shells were thrown in various parts of the city.

On Monday the contest was carried on entirely by land batteries. The Parrott guns of the enemy continued to play on Sumter and Wagner, but with less vigour than usual, only 150 shots having been fired at the former. The fleet quiet. (I omitted to mention in the proper place that Mr. Walker the English, and Senor Moncado the Spanish Consul, communicated with General Gilmore, and received information, only four hours antecedent to the second bombardment of the city, when it would take place. The enemy respect nothing and nobody.)

To-day (Tuesday) the fighting thus far has been confined to the land batteries, Sumter receiving her usual compliment of hard knocks.

The spirit of our soldiers and citizens is just what it ought to be—calm, courageous, prayerful. A glowing purpose "hungers in the eyes" of men, and you may read there a determination to defend every foot of ground, every stone, every ruin—to fight from house to house and from street to street, until the city is level with the earth. The fate of Charleston is not staked on one battery, but on every one; and the long, glorious, and successful defence of our outer works is an earnest of the constancy and valour with which we shall strike our blows when struggling in battle around our homes and hearthstones, where are clustered the tenderest associations of the living and the dead.

But we do not anticipate such an emergency. We are only prepared to meet it and the destiny which awaits us in a manner becoming a people who inaugurated the struggle, and fearlessly abide the result.

CHARLESTON, Sept. 3.

There are a few facts to be added in the present letter to those contained in my last of the 27th ultimo. The state of affairs remains unchanged. The enemy are pounding away without result on our various works within their range, and slowly pushing their parallels in the direction of Fort Wagner. These are now within 400 yards of the battery, and embrace our rifle pits, which were carried on the 28th of August by assault.

I am informed by officers in Wagner that the manner of digging the trenches under our fire is as follows. A huge iron tube, which allows one, or perhaps two men to operate at the aperture, is gradually worked forward as the men dig away the sand in front, and as the latter is scraped out to the rear it is thrown by the individual there concealed to the surface, where it forms an embankment. The working party is thus sheltered from the fire of both musketry and artillery. To protect these saps from danger of capture by our assaulting parties, howitzers are placed in the angles of the trenches. Sharpshooters are also thickly posted in the ditches, which are not more than four feet high, by whom a constant fire is maintained on the men exposed in Battery Wagner. The expertness of these marksmen may be illustrated by an incident. The other day, one of our men in a gun chamber raised his hat on a board, as if some person were slyly peeping over the parapet. Instantly two balls were sent through it, and a dozen shots passed in close proximity. It is, therefore, almost certain death to use artillery during the day, but at

night we generally keep up a steady fire. Our other batteries, however, exempt from these disadvantages, are constant in their iron compliments, and annoy the enemy not a little.

You have already been advised of the condition of Fort Sumter. It is still occupied, and though a portion of the walls is in ruins, the battle flag floats as proudly defiant as when, on the 7th of April last, it waved its challenge to combat. Nay, it is no fiction to state that it is even stronger as a mere work than at the beginning of the bombardment; for the very ruins themselves now constitute a barricade which effectually protects the inmates from harm. The casualties are not greater than one or two per day. Our working parties inside, whose labours are plainly evident to the Federals, are thus enabled to repair damages; and as the fort cannot be well carried by assault, man cannot tell how long it will remain a thorn in the Yankee flesh. It is the most stubborn place of defence that has yet been attacked during the war; and from the character of its defenders, as well as those in Battery Wagner, you may judge fairly of the spirit of our whole people. Fifty-seven days have gone; six months or a year may elapse, but you will find us as earnest and obstinate to the end.

On the first instant, Wednesday night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, the enemy's fleet, consisting of seven monitors, and the frigate Ironsides, moved up in front of Fort Sumter, and commenced the most terrific bombardment we have yet experienced. In the city, the excitement became intense. The darkness of the night gave uncertainty to the Federal designs; the calmness of the atmosphere lent unusual force to the cannonade; the very earth shook to the thunder of the heavy guns; windows were shattered or rattled in their sockets; and the impression appeared to be universal that the enemy's gun-boats were already within the harbour engaging our batteries in the final contest for life or death. Men, women and children, leaped from their beds, dressed hastily, and notwithstanding the unknown danger, flocked to the Promenade, in front of the city, and there stood, peering into the darkness until dawn, when the bombardment ceased.

The scene was beautiful beyond all description. A huge black cloud formed the perspective of the midnight picture, and against this were written every second of time the fiery traces of the projectiles. Bursting shells lighted up the heavens like Mammoth fire-flies fitting here and there, while the angry tongues of flame shooting out from a hundred guns lent to the spectacle a weird-like aspect, as if the horrors of Inferno had been transferred to earth.

Subsequently it appeared that the enemy had engaged Fort Moultrie, Battery Bee and our other works, whose names need not now be mentioned, and at the same time had made a desperate effort to batter down the sea-wall of Fort Sumter. The latter, waking from a lethargy, took part in its own defence and hurled its heavy iron with more than usual spite upon its assailants. The concentrated fire was tremendous, and after enduring it for nearly four hours the monitors withdrew from the contest. What harm was done to the enemy is not known. It may have been slight, because of the obscurity of the iron-clads, but they learned that Charleston is not to be captured in that manner. Our own loss was insignificant—two or three men only being killed and wounded. Damage to our works trifling. It is stated that the monitors were struck one hundred times. The impingement of the shots against their mailed sides produced sounds like the deep thud of distant cannon through a heavy atmosphere. Sparks of fire were elicited at every blow they received.

Within the last few days one of the ablest engineer officers in the Confederacy has been added to the already time and battle-tried chiefs in command—Major-General J. F. Gilmer. While the appointment has been a source of gratification to all, since it divides the vast amount of labour heretofore devolved on General Beauregard, much comment and some feeling has been called forth by the overslaughting of General R. S. Ripley, who by virtue of his long services, his thorough identification with the defences of Charleston, and his great ability as an officer, deserved the substantial recognition of his merit which has been conferred on General Gilmer. Patriot-like, however, he has foregone all personal considerations, and remains in the department which he has heretofore commanded, striving with all his might to maintain a successful standard. Ripley is one of the first artists in the country, Beauregard and Gilmer the best engineers; and, together, the three constitute a tower of skill, strength, and energy equal to all the acuteness of our adversaries.

Affairs in other portions of the Confederacy are not more promising than when I last wrote. The enemy are undoubtedly in possession of Knoxville, Tennessee, and Bragg is assuming a new line of defence. Knowing nothing of the situation in that locality, it is useless to speculate. What has been done is doubtless with the suggestion of the President. Blame or praise, his shoulders are broad enough to bear the onus.

The effect of our reverses upon our people has been saddening, but by no means disheartening. Our armies are growing stronger every day; our resources are developing into power; our patriotism is being fostered by misfortune; and individuals as well as organised bodies are beginning to learn the truth that—

"Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

The following dramatic view of the war, from a Western paper, bespeaks the hopes and fears, the constancy and courage, of our people, everywhere, and with it I conclude.

"The romance of the American war—for such is the most simple, direct, and truthful definition of the entertaining chapter now being given to the world's wonder-book—is reaching that point which, in all sensational masterpieces, most excites the curiosity and hurries on the imagination to the grand climactic, where the heroine, restored once more to life, rushes into her lover's arms; where the hero, safe at last out of perils incredible, receives the triumph of his constancy and courage, the hand of his mistress and the plaudits of the company; where all the villains go out gnashing their teeth and all the waiting people retire grinning; and volume the third closes with the touching but joyful tableau of vice on the one hand punished with the ashes, and virtue on the other rewarded with the apples of hope and happiness; all the just men made perfect, and all the wicked ones meeting their just deserts.

"Our romance, we say, has reached this turning point, this top of the hill, which has cost so much in climbing, and now broadens slowly to the other side, amid all the complications which the choicest artists in the school of effects are able to contrive to delude the sense, to conceal the true issue, and so to startle everybody with a sudden, unexpected, happy conclusion.

"We believe the war is on its last legs. The union of Rosecrans and Burnside on the one hand, and the union of the entire armies of the southwest on the other, which is certain to result sooner or later, and the consequent defeat of the former, will

furnish the concluding scene in the last chapter of the book. It will thus be shut with entire satisfaction to all parties, except the villains of the piece, who will go out snarling, of course, to receive the punishment of their misdeeds.

"At present the plot is admirably concealed. Dumas nor Bulwer could better manage the mystery; and there is not a French vaudeville or English novel in any part of which the finale is so well subordinated to the events which are to produce it, or so artfully kept out of sight until the exact critical moment. Nevertheless, the finale is at hand. We know that it is certain to ensue, and we go on breathlessly through the whole pages of casualty, eager to know the fate of favourite characters, but certain that they will not fare very ill. So it is here. We are anxious and excited; we hurry on with our heart in our mouth; we shed tears of pity; but do we not know equally well that there is an end which will make everything right, under the guidance of that Great Master who moulds the destiny of men, nations, and the world, as the romancist moves those of his fictitious puppets?

"They are as sure as that God reigns, these simple truths.

"Happy prologues to the swelling act  
Of the imperial theme."

PERSONNE.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 7.

The military position has not changed materially this week. Rosecrans is entrenched in Chattanooga, and Bragg has not been able, if he has attempted, to dislodge him. The Federals are making immense efforts to reinforce the "Army of the Cumberland." That is notorious here. Large detachments have been sent from the Army of the Potomac, and additional troops in great numbers have been sent from the Western and South-western Departments. They have a long and weary road to travel before reaching Chattanooga, especially if it be true that the Confederates are in force enough on the banks to obstruct the communications, as they are reported to be. We are without means of knowing what the Confederates are doing; but it would be unjust to suppose that their able commanders do not see where the pinch of the war is, and are not exerting themselves to throw sufficient forces forward to secure the fruits of the victory which drove back Rosecrans from Georgia into Tennessee. It is evident that a great struggle is to be made, on that line, for the defence of Atlanta by the Federals or the recovery of Tennessee by the Confederates. The delay about Chattanooga is construed here by the friends of the South to mean, that while Rosecrans is kept there in inaction, some of the approaching columns are to be met and overthrown. It is a period of anxious looking after important results.

There is nothing new from Charleston. The siege drags on without results. We have only the daily repetition of the report that General Gilmore is making extensive preparations for a very decisive onset, which is to be certainly successful when it is made. But it is not made. Rumour gives stories of very serious difficulties between General Gilmore of the land forces and Admiral Dalghren of the iron fleet, who have assumed such a tone of acrimony that one or the other must give way, and the question at Washington is, which must be the sacrifice?

The new Texas expedition is not heard of. That part destined for the Rio Grande frontier, is said to be given up for the present, in consideration perhaps for the French. It is feared that if there were American troops in Western Texas, with the French troops at Matamoras, it might happen that the Administration would be forced by some accident, to revive the Monroe doctrine, of which they are disposed to say nothing at present, if they can help it.

The great event of the week is the decision of the Court of Appeal of this State, in favour of the constitutionality of the law making Treasury Notes of the United States a legal tender. The decision goes to the extent of affirming their constitutionality as legal tender, in payment of all debts, private and public, contracted before as well as after the passage of the law, and for debts which became due, although payment was not exacted, before the passage of the law.

It is not an unexpected judgment, for the universal tendency of late has been to make every consideration of morals and politics subordinate to the one universal rule of military expediency, construed so as to mean that anything is allowable and excusable and justifiable for which it is said by authority that it is useful in helping to crush the rebellion. It was not to be expected that the Judiciary, which holds its office for a term of years, by popular elections, should escape the contamination of these revolutionary passions, and stand erect in the face of a frowning multitude. There is scarcely a fragment left of the old fabric of constitutional liberty of which the American people once boasted, and among the last the independence of the judiciary has now gone. The opinion of the Court, which was read in the pronouncing of the judgment, discloses the influence under which it was given, in a very elaborate exposition of the political distresses of the Government, and the necessity, for the successful prosecution of the war, that the Court should find the power in the Constitution to do what the Administration and the Congress have already done on the plea of a national necessity. Of course they found the power, by a course of reasoning on the origin and extent of the powers of Congress which denies all the facts of history, reverses all the previous judgments of the Courts, and, if confirmed by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as they probably will be, utterly change the whole character of the Government.

I have said that the decision will probably be confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. That high tribunal is a permanent body, of which the judges are appointed for life; but the accidents of the times have assisted the effects of the national frenzy in giving the Court as now constituted a cast in conformity with that of the ruling party. Before Mr. Lincoln was elected the decisions of that Court had impressed on the theory of the Government a character of Conservatism, such as would have saved and perpetuated the Union, if it could be respected by political factions. But the party of Mr. Lincoln came into power with the denunciation on their lips of the judgments of that court, and the proclaimed determination of Mr. Lincoln himself not to respect the judgment of the Court in any question affecting the rights of the South to their slave property, inconsistent with his theories of what the Constitution ought to be. The South seceded, and is no longer represented in the Supreme Court. Judge Daniels, one of the States Rights judges, died; another, Judge Campbell, withdrew with his State; a third judge, not a Southerner, but not partisan, and sometimes conservative, Judge M'Lean, died. It has, therefore, fallen to the lot



of Mr. Lincoln and his party to have the making of three new judges, and they are all political partisans of the same school with the President. Several of the other judges have, in decisions at the Circuits, given ground to the fear that "military necessity" overrules the old maxims and judgments on constitutional questions; and that it is the duty of the Judiciary, not to expound the law as it has been expounded in time of peace, but to look for such expostions as will sustain the acts of the men in authority, on the broad plea which is expressed in the New York decision: That the President and his advisers are the only two exponents of what the "public welfare" requires. By this decision the Federal Government is placed in absolute control of the currency of all the States, with lawful power to set aside the standard of value, and to make its paper issues, only limited in amount by the capacity of machinery to send them out, redeemable at a fixed value nowhere, and only convertible into other classes of paper, and fluctuating every day with the accidents of war and the tricks of speculators, to be the only medium by which property can be estimated or exchanged, or contracts and engagements among men adjusted. Aside from its violation of the Constitution, it is a plain confiscation of the property of all creditors, a shameful robbery of the labourer, and it will be a marvel if it do not end in the bankruptcy of the Government.

Next week is election week in several of the States; among them Ohio and Pennsylvania—the two most powerful central States—next to New York. They choose only State officers: the members of next Congress were elected last year. But the struggle between the parties is fierce, and an immense vote will be polled. It would not be surprising if the number of ballots counted out exceeds, as it did at the late elections in Maine, the vote cast at the Presidential election in 1860, notwithstanding the absence of tens and twenties of thousands at the wars, or in the grave where the war has laid them. It will be just as difficult to account for the excess. It is one of the mysteries which will never be developed, so long at least as "military necessity" presides at the ballot-boxes, and it is thought to be a duty to the country to out-vote the enemies of the Administration, in some way, and by any of the numerous ways known to the American managers of the ballot-box.

Of the results in these elections, I shall offer no prognostic. That the judgment of a great majority of the people, in both States, is against the principles and policy of the Administration, I have no manner of doubt. If it were a free election—free not merely in the privilege to cast the ballot, according to the conscience, but free of the extraneous influence which have been brought in to bias and pervert the understanding of the issue, the anti-Administration majority would be overwhelming. But the American passion for Union is so overwhelming that thousands upon thousands have been led on to sustain the men they distrust and the policy they abhor, in the faith industriously propagated amongst them that there is no means of recovering the Union but by supporting those in power. Victims of this hallucination, that the Union is recoverable, they continue to vote for the worst men and the worst policy, trusting to the chances of the future to be enabled to save themselves from the consequences of their infatuation. But independent of these, there is probably a very decided, nay, a large majority, who would prefer Woodward for Governor of Pennsylvania, and Vallandigham as Governor of Ohio.

Whether this majority will be allowed its lawful control in these States is a matter for doubt. The Administration has seized upon power with such a high hand, and has exposed itself to such dreadful penalties if the control of affairs should pass into the hands of its enemies, that success in the coming elections is a matter of life or death. It will not surrender without a desperate conflict, and that conflict it is waging with all the means which unlimited control of the resources and finances of the country puts into its hands, and all the terrors which spring from the unscrupulous use of the command of a million of armed men, and an innumerable corps of army dependents, obsequious to do its will. The game of intimidation has long been in operation. As the election approaches, the old plan, which carried the New Hampshire and Connecticut elections in the spring, has been revived. The soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, comprised largely of Ohio and Pennsylvania men, longing to get home, are allowed to go on furlough and furnished with transportation, provided they are Administration voters, or will be grateful enough to vote the Administration ticket. Twenty, thirty, forty thousand men can be thus sent in, and they are now going forward in squads of hundreds at a time to vote for the Lincoln candidates. Those who will not give the promise nor stand the test are kept on duty in camp: lucky if they escape persecution. In Ohio, last year, the Legislature passed a law authorising the vote of the Ohio soldiers in camp to be taken as though they were at home. It will be, of course, nearly all for the Administration candidates. The Democratic soldier votes, if at all, under the terror of that proscription vaunted of by General Thomas, adjutant-general in the army, when in a public letter he proclaimed that he had dis-rated a non-commissioned officer and sent him to the ranks, for saying, in reply, when questioned, that he was opposed to the policy of the President. There is no way of computing how much the majority may be which an army thus disciplined can send home, less than the gross number of the soldiers. It is vehemently insisted in Ohio that this vote is unconstitutional, and that for that and other reasons it shall not be received, and they threaten loudly to resist an election effected by such means. There is certainly trouble likely to arise, but I do not think that the Administration has yet exhausted the submissiveness of this people.

This is said to be a republic. It is as complete a military despotism as Prussia would be if Prussia were at war.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, October 20.

THE death of M. Billault, which was announced just as I was closing my last, has influenced all the events of the week. It was followed by a fall in the public funds, from which they only began to rally yesterday, when the *Moniteur*, by the nomination of his successor, or rather successors, quieted the fears which a rumour of M. Fould's removal to the Ministry of State had occasioned. As usual, the Emperor has not parted with an old servant without making such demonstration as he could of his regrets, and his wish to honour him. The funeral, which was a splendid affair, was at the public expense, and his bust is to be placed in the hall of the Legislative Assembly. But the greatest compliment of all is that paid in the number of men appointed to fill the functions he discharged alone. By the last regulation of the ministerial relations with the legislative bodies, M. Billault was, in fact, the sole mouthpiece of the Government. M. Rouher takes his place as Minister of State, but three fresh orators have been added as Vice-Presidents of the Council of State, whose

functions will be the exposition and defence of the measure, of Government. One of these, M. Chaix d'Estange, was for long a distinguished ornament of the Paris bar, which he left to become Procureur-Général. Another is M. Vuitry, the Governor of the Bank of France. This latter establishment, which is considered here as a sort of dependant of the great house of Rothschild, has been of late the object of multiplied attacks in the press and in the market. Till the annexation of Savoy it was the only bank in the Empire entitled to emit paper, and till within a few years it issued notes of no sum below 1,000 francs. Government was obliged to force its hand to obtain a circulation of 100-franc notes. Add to this that its terms for discount are very severe, and the rate of interest, which it has a more absolute power of fixing than is possessed by the Bank of England, is believed to be constantly influenced by the great house already alluded to. On the annexation of Savoy, another bank, with an issue of fifty-franc notes, and power to issue notes as low as twenty francs, became entitled to extend its operations to the whole territory of the Empire. Its statutes are also much less stringent on the subject of accommodation than those of the Bank of France. An amalgamation of the two establishments was proposed by the Government, and, it is said, personally recommended by the Emperor; but the Bank of France, despising the exiguity of its new rival's present resources, declined to agree to any acceptable arrangement. The capital of this bank is at present only £160,000, but it has the power to increase it to any extent, and a treaty has just been passed with *mon petit Emile*, as head of the *Crédit Mobilier*, by which a fusion is effected and the capital is to be increased tenfold. This will of course give the *Crédit* an enormous power, which threatens the supremacy of the Bank, and strenuous efforts are now being made to prevent the Government ratifying the treaty. M. Vuitry's appointment as Vice-President of the Council of State seems of bad augury to the plans of MM. Péreire and Co.

This has been the week of funerals. One of the last survivors of the retreat from Moscow, and related by blood to the Imperial family, Marshal Ornano, died, after a long illness, on the same day as M. Billault. He was yesterday buried with military pomp at the Invalides, of which he was governor. The reception of the King of the Hellenes, owing to these deaths as well as to the absence of the Empress, has been of a very quiet character. He was entertained at a grand dinner the day after his arrival, and this, with the obligatory review which is fixed for to-morrow, is the amount of official festivities given in his honour.

The Polish question may well be the despair of all correspondents. Twenty-four hours do not pass without some new rumour, which is contradicted in the next twenty-four. If the *Mémorial* is to be believed, Austria is quite ready to join France and England, even in measures which would infallibly lead to war; but in well-informed circles it is generally believed that no grounds exist for this belief. On the contrary, it is said that Austria is even more indisposed than England to embark in such a venture. The activity I called your attention to in the War Office is not relaxed. The military train is being reorganised with new *matériel*, on which an immense number of men are employed; and it is said that other steps are being taken which are only usual when war is imminent. There have been for some time rumours that the Poles and their friends, despairing of bringing England to take up their quarrel, have now recourse to a series of intrigues, the object of which is to produce a war between Turkey and Russia. If they succeed in this, they believe that England will at once hasten to the aid of Turkey, and that the war made on the southern limits of the Empire will only be ended by a reconstitution of Poland at the expense of Russia. Two vessels which have for some time been in preparation at Marseilles, intended nominally for a voyage up the Niger, have suddenly left that port under the English flag, but with a French captain in command, and it is believed they have gone to the Black Sea to assist the Circassians. The neutrality of Turkey in the Caucasus is already of so doubtful a character that very small additional cause of offence might, it is thought, force Russia to declare war against Turkey. Some of the French papers have republished in the last few days the history of the persecutions to which the Catholics in Russia have long been subjected, the efforts made by Gregory XVI. to put a stop to the mingled violence and seductions to which they were exposed, and the concessions wrung from the Emperor Nicholas, but which have never been realised. It is not the so-called religious press which prints these documents, and their effect on the reader is to excite the deepest indignation. Russia seems bent on alienating every friend except the Cabinet of Washington.

Judging from the silence of the journals, "all is quiet on the Potomac," and elsewhere throughout North America. The *Mémorial* has an amusing letter from Vienna, describing the arrival there of Sir Charles Wyke, late English Minister at Mexico, on the same day as the Mexican deputation. It describes the impression he was able to make on old Prince Esterhazy, who was so persuaded by his eloquence of the danger to the Archduke if he accepted the crown, that he invited a party of statesmen to meet the English diplomatist. During dinner he was loud in his praises of Juárez, and pointed out that the sole means of pacifying and civilising Mexico were through him and his system. The company was carried away by his eloquence, when one of the guests quietly remarked that he had listened attentively to all the stranger had said, but that he was not convinced by it, as he bore in mind the still more forcible demonstrations of the tyranny and lawlessness of Juárez's rule which he had read in the despatches of a namesake of Sir Charles's addressed to the English Government. He considered, of course, when he said this, that the two Sir Charleses were different persons, and not the same seen from different sides. It is said that Sir Charles, who sat at Prince Esterhazy's table, was silenced.

#### MR. SPENCE.

(From the *Richmond Sentinel*, September 16.)

Some time ago the *Enquirer* in its "war upon the State Department," attacked Mr. Spence, of England, with great bitterness, and then transferred its censures from him, in accumulated force, to the terrible "State Department;" by whom, it is alleged, Mr. Spence had been appointed to a position as Confederate agent. We pointed out to the *Enquirer* its mistake in this; and how, in fact, Mr. Spence had been appointed by, and was the agent of, another Department, with which the *Enquirer* professed friendly terms, and that the State Department had nothing whatever to do with his appointment. The *Enquirer* acknowledged and excused its mistake, and dropped the subject. Now, however, strange to say, it renews and repeats its original error.

The appointment of Mr. Spence was made by the Secretary

of the Treasury; and, we feel well assured, with the knowledge and approbation of the President and the remainder of the Cabinet. That they acted considerably and wisely, we have no doubt. We differ totally from the *Enquirer's* estimate of Mr. Spence. He was one of the earliest and ablest friends of the Confederate cause in Europe. His work on the American Union contains some expressions repugnant to our own views as to slavery in the abstract, but the book in the main is a masterly defence of the right of secession, of the justice of our quarrel with the North, and of the hypocrisy of the Abolitionists who assail us. Their interference with slavery is pointedly condemned, and any interference with it save by the Southern States themselves, is deprecated. He holds that the South has the humanity and wisdom to deal with the question of slavery, without being dictated to by outside parties. Condemning the wickedness of the war, he invokes England to recognise the South, and to set aside by arms the illegal blockade of our coast. *He is for armed intervention in our favour.* Now, with these efforts of Mr. Spence, our Government has nothing to do whatever. He speaks his own sentiments independently, and like a gentleman; and though we regret the error he entertains in common with the mass of his countrymen and of Europe, on the abstract question of slavery, we feel bound to honour and to be grateful to him for his generous, disinterested, and effective advocacy of our cause. His labours in our favour preceded his appointment as a financial agent—[not commercial agent—will the *Enquirer* please remember it?—and, in connection with his well-known abilities, were, probably, the reason of his selection by Mr. Memminger.

The *Enquirer* says the *Sentinel* is the only paper in Richmond that sustains the State Department. "We are not aware that our other contemporaries here are any more hostile to the State Department than to the Administration generally. But if they, or some of them, are to be evidence, perhaps they will prove more than the *Enquirer* wishes. We can retort, however, that of all the papers in the *Confederacy*, the *Enquirer* is the only one that we have seen that speaks harshly of Mr. Spence or condemns his appointment! How will the *Enquirer* explain this?"

From the *Richmond Sentinel*, September 26th.

The discussion between the *Enquirer* and this paper relative to Mr. Spence, was upon a bygone case. As that discussion is concluded, we may now properly make the following announcement.

Since the establishment of General C. J. McRae's agency in Europe for carrying out the Cotton Loan, the same gentleman has also been appointed Depositary of the Treasury at Paris. It has been deemed best to concentrate all the financial arrangements of the Government in his hands, and in those of the well-known house of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., which has acted since the commencement of the war as Depositary of the Treasury at Liverpool. The agency of Mr. Spence has, therefore, been discontinued.

In taking this action, which we understand was determined on before the late controversy in regard to Mr. Spence, we are able to state that the Treasury Department was governed by financial considerations alone; and that, fully appreciating the great services which Mr. Spence has rendered to the Confederacy, its course was not inspired by any of the objections which have been made by some of our contemporaries against his appointment.

#### AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, October 21.

##### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

The symptoms of ease in the money market which have been evident the last two days will, it is feared, be speedily dissipated. Large amounts of capital are floating about, and the public knows of its existence, but still the rates have been supported, especially in discounting accounts. At the Stock Exchange, on the other hand, such has been the abundance of money for employment at short periods, that the rate has not been higher than 2 per cent. But according to the intelligence to-day from Paris, the state of things will still continue if the French Government seek to raise a loan of £12,000,000 or £15,000,000, and gold is still flowing from the vaults of the Bank of France. The rumour is that a fresh advance may take place in the rate of discount on the other side of the Channel, as it did a fortnight ago, and if that shall prove the case, the directors of the Bank of England will have to follow the example, and likewise enhance their terms. It seems to be generally believed that a large export of specie is taking place *via* Marseilles to India to pay for cotton, and that money is also absorbed for purchases of the staple in Egypt. At the same time a good deal of coin is in circulation through the provinces in the agricultural interest, which has yet to return to the coffers of the London bankers; when this takes place it will exercise an appreciable influence on the money markets, if even in the meanwhile the rates shall have been advanced. It is quite certain that the encouragement given to new loans, banking and discount establishments, and other miscellaneous projects, must sooner or later produce a serious reaction; and when it comes it will be necessary to be prepared for it, seeing the wide sweep it will take before its course is exhausted.

##### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week, including £48,000 this afternoon, is £374,000. At the same time £48,000 has been withdrawn for transmission to the continent. The arrivals of specie this week have reached £278,848, of which £203,160 is from Australia, and the remainder from America. The Silver Market has been rather more active; bar silver having realised 5s. 1½d., being an advance of about ¼d. on previous sales. Mexican dollars are not much in demand, but are still quoted 5s. 3d. per ounce. The India and China Mail which sailed yesterday took out £202,034 in specie, of which £20,400 was in gold for Alexandria, £40,000 in gold for the Mauritius, £132,434 in silver for China and the Strait, and the residue of £7,299 in gold, and £1,901 in silver for India. The only gold ships at present known to be on their way from Australia are the Yorkshire with £227,000 and the True Briton with £138,000.

##### BIDDINGS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 30,000 rupees in bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were,—to Calcutta 16,00,000 rupees, to Bombay 12,00,000 rupees, and to Madras 2,00,000 rupees. The minimum prices declared were, as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11¼d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits amounted to 317 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 3 per cent., on Bombay at 2s. about 6 per cent., on Madras at 1s. 11¼d., will receive about 30 per cent., on Bombay at 2s. about 6 per cent., on Madras at 1s. 11½d. about 92 per cent., and all above these prices in full.



## HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The English Stock Market has again assumed a very quiet appearance this week, but on the whole a fair amount of business has been transacted, though prices have scarcely varied a fraction. Consols closed this evening the same as they left off last week, at 93 to 94 for money and 93½ to 94 for the account. Exchequer Bills are rather weaker, being 1 dis. to 2 prem. There has been less animation exhibited in the Foreign Stock Market during the past few days, now that the excitement occasioned by the late panic has subsided. Still there has been some degree of speculation going on in some of the foreign descriptions, particularly in Greek stock, in which prices have fluctuated between 29½ and 32. Mexicans have also shown variations, the prices ranging between 41½ and 43½. Spanish Passives have varied from 34½ to 36½, and the Certificates between 13½ and 14½. The closing quotations this evening were,—Greek, 30½ to 31½; Mexico, 42½ to 43½; Spanish Passives, 35½ to 36½; do. Certificates, 13½ to 13¾; Turkish Six per Cents. (1854), 92 to 93 ex. div.; do. do. (1862), 71½ to 71¾.

## AMERICAN SECURITIES.

There has been much less doing this week than usual in American Government and Railway Securities, but although there is very little alteration in prices, the tendency is towards weakness. The transactions comprise Virginia State Six per Cents. at 37, 38, and 37½; Atlantic and Great Western Railway, Pennsylvania Section, 75, 74½, 74½, and 75; Erie Shares, \$100, all paid, 68½, 68½, 68½, 67½, 66, 67, and 68; Ditto ditto, Seven per Cent. Preference, 66; Illinois Central Seven per Cents. 73 and 75; Ditto ditto, \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 17, 18½, 19, and 18½ discount; Ditto ditto, all paid, 74, 75, 74, 73, 74, and 74½; New York Central, \$100 shares, 86 and 85½.

## RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A moderate amount of business has been transacted in the English Railway Share Market, but the dealings have not shown much animation. With one or two exceptions prices are well sustained, at, in some instances, an advance. Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, Metropolitan, and North London, have each improved 1 per cent.; Caledonian, Great Western, and Chatham and Dover, ½ per cent.; and Lancashire and Yorkshire, London and North-Western, and South-Eastern, ¼ per cent. On the other hand there has been a decline of 1 per cent. in Great Eastern, and of ½ per cent. in Brighton. In Foreign Railway Shares there has been less doing, and no material alteration in prices. There has, however, been rather more doing in British Possession Shares, at full rates.

## MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the first general meeting of the shareholders in the Metropolitan Cab and Carriage Company, a report was read which stated that assuming the twenty cabs had started at one time, as was originally intended, they would in the forty-six working days show a profit of £44 19s. 7d., or 12 per cent. per annum. The Chairman (Captain Claxton) stated that increased capital was required, and a committee of four shareholders was appointed to confer with the three directors as to what course should be pursued. The feeling of the meeting appeared to be in favour of raising the necessary additional capital.

## BANK MEETINGS.

At a meeting of the shareholders of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney on the 28th July, a dividend was declared at the rate of 15 per cent. per annum, and £4,000 added to the reserve fund, making it now £72,000. The sum of £3,362 was carried forward to the current account.—At a special general meeting of the proprietors of the Bank of Bombay on the 21st September, it was resolved that the capital of the Bank be increased by the issue of 5,225 new shares of rupees 1,000 each. The new shares to be offered to the proprietors at par, each proprietor to be entitled to take up one new share for every old share he holds.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE DEBENTURES.

The tenders for the Cape of Good Hope Six per Cent. Debentures, representing £150,000 and falling due in 1891, have opened on the 15th inst., at the office of the Crown Agents for the colonies. The total amount tendered for was £353,000, at prices varying from par to 114. The minimum was stated to be £108 3s., and £168,700 was subscribed at and above that quotation. Those who tendered at £108 3s. will participate *pro rata*, but those who tendered above that figure will get the full amount.—Cape of Good Hope Government Kowie Harbour Six per Cent. Debentures, for £24,000, have also been disposed of by public competition by the Crown Agents for the colonies. Twenty tenders were received, varying in price from 8s. to £10 per cent. premium, and amounting in the aggregate to £60,600. All those above £107 11s. were accepted in full, those at £107 11s. will participate *pro rata*. The average price realised was £108, and the minimum fixed before the opening was £106 10s.

## CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The market for this security has been steady all the week. The quotation 65 to 67, with only very moderate transactions. The political news is of a nature to strengthen the value of this loan very materially; and but for a very dull market to-day in all departments of the Stock Exchange, an advance might have been looked for. We close very firm; and the value nominally 66 to 67, and possibly better.

## NEW PORTUGUESE LOAN.

A new Loan for Portugal has just been introduced on this market. The amount is £2,500,000 in a Three per Cent. Stock, of which £1,000,000 has been taken privately, £250,000 is reserved for Portugal, leaving £1,250,000, or one-half, for England, which is offered at the price of £48 for each £100, but as the interest dates from the 1st of July last, and allowance made for discount on payments, the price is reduced to 46½ to persons who pay up at once. The proceeds of the loan are required for the construction of the different railways and public works authorised, and which are to be completed by the end of June next.

## THE OTTOMAN RAILWAY.

Proposals are invited for £588,000 debentures of the Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin, bearing 6 per cent. interest, redeemable at par in 42 years by annual drawings. They are offered at £72 for each £100. The Company have received a further guarantee from the Sultan for £40,000.

## PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

A variety of new companies have just been brought forward, but none of any magnitude, and the capitals required are comparatively small. There is first the British India Tea Company, with a capital of £250,000 in 12,500 shares of £20 each. The object of the Company is the promotion of tea cultivation in India, and the properties in possession of the Company are said to be very valuable, while at the same time the land can be made available as the Company may desire. The estates are situate in the tea-producing districts of Assam,

Cachar, Sylhet, and Darjeeling. Already the profits are sufficient to pay 8 per cent. on the paid-up capital, and as large areas come into working the profits must rapidly increase.—The prospectus has been issued of the Crosier Valley and Portmadoc Freehold Slate Company, with a capital of £60,000 in 6,000 shares of £10 each, but the first issue will be 4,000 shares only. The object of the undertaking is to work a slate property in Wales, between Beddgelert and Tan-y-bwlch, about six miles from the shipping port of Port Madoc, to which a railway is in course of construction. The arrangements for the purchase of the property are favourable, the vendor having agreed to take two-thirds of the purchase money in paid-up shares. The Clowancewood Copper Mining Company is another small affair, for which a capital of £25,000 is sought to be raised. The shares are £1 each, with a deposit of 2s. 6d. on application, and 2s. 6d. on allotment. The property appears to be in the neighbourhood of some paying undertakings in the county of Cornwall. The Central Darjeeling Tea Company, is the title of another new company just brought forward; in this instance the capital is only £75,000, in 7,500 shares of £10 each. The arrangements for the purchase of the proposed estates appear to be satisfactory, the price being put down at £28,000, of which one-third is to be taken up in paid shares, the remainder being liquidated by instalments. Various portions of the property are available for the growth of the cinchona plant, the cultivation of which is being encouraged in India. Business is to be commenced as soon as sufficient capital has been subscribed.—The London Permanent Exhibition and International Agency Company (Limited) is another of the new undertakings. The general object of the company is the establishment of a mart for the display of samples, models, patterns, and works of art; many foreign and other manufacturers being desirous to appoint the company their agents for the sale of goods, provided advances be made on such goods as are consigned to the company, so that a considerable capital can be profitably and safely employed in making such advances. The capital of the company is fixed at £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each.

The South Blackpool Hotel Company (Limited) is the last of the undertakings just brought forward. The objects contemplated are the erection, furnishing, and management of a first-class hotel at the fashionable sea-bathing town of Blackpool, in Lancashire. A very eligible spot of ground has been secured facing the sea, upon which it is proposed to erect the hotel. The capital to be raised is £50,000, in 10,000 shares of £5 each.

## BANK AMALGAMATION.

It has been officially intimated that the London and Midland Bank are making arrangements for an amalgamation with an old-established bank. It was stated that the National Bank was the institution alluded to, but this is now positively contradicted. The cause for the proceeding is the conduct of two of the cashiers, who, in collusion with parties possessing accounts at the bank, have committed great irregularities, and abstracted a considerable amount of money.

## STATE OF THE MARKETS AT RICHMOND IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

Advices from Richmond, in the Confederate States, down to the 25th of September, give the following as the state of the markets at that date: Wheat, \$5 to \$6.25 per bushel. Flour—Country, \$35 to \$40 per barrel for superfine and extra—stock very limited. Tobacco, inferior bags at \$14 to \$18; good, \$20 to \$25; fine shipping, \$60 to \$70; and fine manufacturing, \$85 to \$120. Corn, heavy at \$8 to \$8.10 per bushel. Rye, \$7 per bushel. Hay, \$8 to \$8.50 per 100 lbs. Coffee, \$7 to \$8.25. Cotton yarns, \$1.50 to \$1.60 per lb. Whisky, \$31 to \$35 per gallon. Brandy, \$28 to \$35. Gold is inactive, but is still quoted \$10.50 premium buying rate, and \$11.50 selling rate. Silver, buying rate \$8 premium, selling rate \$9. Confederate Bonds—Bonds of 100 million loan, eight per cent., 105 to 111½, and interest according to date. Eight per cent. Convertibles, 110 and interest. Seven per cent. bonds 101, and interest. Bonds of 15 millions loan, 180 to 185. Cotton Loan, 150. Railway Bonds:—Richmond and Danville Railroad, 210 and interest. Richmond and York River Railroad, 100 and interest. Virginia Central Railroad, 1st mortgage, 234 and interest. Share List:—Bank of Commonwealth Stock, 150. Traders Bank, 147½. Bank of Richmond, 115. Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, 140. Richmond Importing and Exporting Company, 920 (par 500).

## THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The markets for American produce have not presented any new feature in their general aspect since this day week. The upward tendency noticed in some departments, and the flatness in others, are still, in almost every instance, perceptible. The Cotton Market has shown considerable animation at intervals, and great firmness throughout; quotations have advanced 3d. to 1d. per lb. The value of cotton manufactures still readily follows the advance in the raw material. In American provisions transactions are of about the recent average, without essential change in prices. For the better qualities of cheese former quotations have been slightly exceeded; fine butters at 98s. to 100s. have also favoured sellers in price. The grain trade continues extremely dull, but the short supplies of English wheat and flour enable holders of foreign to keep prices pretty well up to their previous level. Petroleum has suffered further depression, owing principally to forced sales by speculators. The last price quoted for refined was 2s. to 2s. 1d. per gallon, and crude £19 per tun for Pennsylvania. Turpentine has fluctuated about 2s. per cwt., closing at 75s. for French refined, after having been up to 77s. American lard continues in fair demand at the recent currency. In consequence of the advance in Russian, New York tallow is increasingly firm in price, but not to alter our previous quotations. Deliveries in this trade are extending, but still fall below the average of past seasons. Tobacco is in fair demand, and were it not for substitutes a further advance in the price of American might be witnessed. Jute has advanced 10s. to 15s. per ton on the spot, and considerable purchases have been made for arrival at 5s. to 7s. 6d. per ton over the rates current a week ago. Good roving Manila hemp has touched £30 per ton, but there is no change in Russian. After uninterrupted quiet and steadiness for a long time past there has at last sprung up a very strong, or rather, perhaps, excited speculative movement in sugar. Within the past fortnight the sales on the spot have been very extensive, and prices have gone up 3s. and 4s. per cwt., the advance being the most marked during the last two or three days. Stocks are in excess of last year, and even then they were heavy, whilst prices are now above those of 1862 at this period. The present operations are based mainly upon the failure of the Louisiana crop, the deterioration of the beet crop in France, and the moderate range at which prices have recently stood. Last year, about this time, a speculation was started upon somewhat similar grounds, but on that occasion it signally

failed. Camphor is extremely dull of sale, owing to a large consignment being close at hand. Our indigo sales have progressed with increased animation, and prices are now 2d. to 4d. above the rates of last sales for Bengal, and 3d. to 6d. for Kurpah. Scotch pig iron has again fluctuated rather heavily. It dropped at one period to 59s., but is now 61s., with a firm market.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	1863.				1862.			
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
COTTON, per lb.—								
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0 2 0	2 0 0	2 6 0	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 2 3		
CHEMICALS—								
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5½	0 1 5½		0 1 8	0 1 9			
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 18 6	0 17 0		0 17 6	0 18 6			
Iodine, ord.	0 0 4½	0 0 4½		0 0 5½	0 0 5½			
Potash, Bicarbonate, lb.	0 0 8½	0 0 8½		0 0 7½	0 0 8			
Hydrochloric, lb.	0 0 4½			0 0 5½	0 0 6			
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6		0 7 6				
DRUGS—								
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 12 0		1 0 0	2 5 0			
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 0			0 1 4	0 0 0			
" Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10		0 5 0	0 5 2			
Barb. Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 8 0		0 8 0	0 11 0			
" Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 10		0 3 9	0 4 6			
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 6		0 0 6½	0 0 7½			
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 0 0	5 5 0		5 12 0	5 15 0			
Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0		5 5 0	5 10 0			
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 15 0		0 7 6	0 14 0			
" Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10		0 0 5½	0 0 6½			
" Orange, lb.	0 0 0			0 0 0	0 0 6			
" Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5	0 0 5½		0 0 5½	0 0 5½			
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 13 6	0 19 0		0 19 0				
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3½		0 0 2½	0 0 3½			
" Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3½	0 0 8		0 0 4	0 0 6½			
Snakeroot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3		0 2 3				
Spermaceet, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2		0 1 1	0 1 2			
DYES, cont.								
Safflower	4 5 0	7 7 6		3 3 0	6 15 0			
Turmeric, Bengal	1 12 0	1 14 0		1 3 0	1 4 0			
" Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0		0 14 0	0 15 6			
Yellow Berries.	1 19 0	4 5 0		5 10 0	6 5 0			
GUMS, cont.								
Animal, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0		8 10 0	9 10 0			
Gutta	1 12 0	1 13 0		1 6 0	1 8 0			
Kowrie	2 5 0	2 12 0		1 2 0	1 4 0			
METALS, per ton—								
Copper, American	3 1 0			2 16 6				
Iron, Scotch, Pig	115 0 0			111 0 0				
Tin, English								
OILS, per ton—								
Sperm, American	80 0 0			84 0 0				
Linsced	43 5 0			42 0 0				
Rock Oil, Crude	19 0 0				14 0 0			
PROVISIONS, cont.—								
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	4 14 0		3 14 0	4 4 0			
Cheese, do., fine	2 6 0	2 18 0		2 0 0	2 12 0			
Bacon Sides	1 10 0	2 8 0		1 18 0	2 4 0			
TALLOW, per cwt.—								
North American	2 2 6	2 4 6						
South do.	2 2 6	2 4 6		2 7 0	2 8 3			
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0		8 10 0				
TOBACCO, lb.—								
Maryland	0 0 5½	0 0 9		0 0 4½	0 0 9			
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2		0 0 5½	0 1 0			
Kentucky	0 0 6½	0 1 7		0 0 4½	0 1 1			

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 21.  
Our cotton market still continues in a very excited state, but although in the early part of the week there was for the moment a slight reduction in prices, the loss was very soon regained, and further advances had to be submitted to. The sales of the week have amounted to 80,000 bales, of which 40,000 bales were on speculation and for export. The total sales this year to the present period have been 2,108,170 bales, and to the corresponding period last year 2,314,280 bales. The total imports this year have been 1,233,812 bales, and to the same period in 1862, 959,790 bales. There have been exported this year, 366,457 bales, and to the same time last year, 352,662 bales. At present the computed stocks are 162,440 bales, at the corresponding period in 1862 they were 278,420 bales. For consumption there have been taken this year 1,094,300 bales, for the same period last year 967,700 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 543,290 bales, the same in 1862, 931,470 bales. The demand for American and Egyptian descriptions has been very active, and prices must be quoted from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. higher. Brazil has also been dealt in to a fair extent at about a similar rise, and the same remarks will apply to Surats. Middling Orleans must be quoted 28½d. to 29½d. Mobile 28½d. to 29d. Up-lands, 28½d. to 28¾d., Estimated fair Egyptians, 28½d. to 28¾d., and Surats, 13d. to 27d.

## MANCHESTER, Tuesday, October 20.

We have to report a very brisk demand both for yarn and cloth, as having taken place in this market during the past week. The speculative excitement in Liverpool, the better advices from India, and a steadily improving home trade, all tend to produce the lively state of things which we have witnessed here during that period.

Home trade yarns are readily bought up at an advance of from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. on the prices of the week previous. Export yarns are also in good demand but not to the same extent as those for home trade use.

India shirtings have improved their quotations to the extent of 6d. to 9d. per piece on the value of last Tuesday, and other cloths have advanced proportionately.

Much larger orders would be given for cloth, were manufacturers in a position to deliver early, and in some instances the handsome offers made by buyers for early execution of orders, are a great temptation to some few to deliver a portion of what is coming forward in fulfilment of previous contracts.

## Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Oct. 15, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTERS FROM NEW ORLEANS.—SEPT. 22.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE ANKLE RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.  
MILITARY PROSPECTS OF THE FEDERALS.  
AMERICAN FACTS AND ABOLITION FICTIONS.  
MEXICAN PROSPECTS.  
THE RUSSIAN FLEET IN NEW YORK.  
RENNAN'S LIFE OF JESUS.  
CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
SPEECHES OF LORD WHARFORD AND W. S. LINDSAY, ESQ., M.P.  
THE THEATRES.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTICE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

According to our previous arrangement, the present number completes the Third Volume; but, for the convenience of our subscribers, we have determined that the Third Volume shall include all the numbers until the end of the year; so that the future new volumes will date from January and July.



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**TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND.** Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and labelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insulted to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armour-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loath to believe it, —and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States, —and being to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice, has been conducting her commerce to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and incredible have our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprogressive struggle, given succour and support to the North, and rendered friendly aid. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the Fraternity of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends, and the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire. Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, E.C. Meetings every Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place.  
JAMES YEOMANS, Hon. Sec.  
September 14th, 1863.

THE  
**CONFEDERATE STATES EXCHANGE ROOMS.**

The want of some rallying point at which the friends of the Confederate Cause and those interested in business with the Southern States might meet, exchange views, and discuss matters of common concern, has been long and severely felt in this metropolis. It is proposed to supply this want by opening in some central and convenient locality a set of rooms, to be called "The Confederate States Exchange Rooms," or some other name that may hereafter be agreed upon, expressive of the objects the originators have in view. Arrangements will be made to ensure a regular supply of late Southern Papers, as well as authentic information from the best sources. The principal American Journals, and all Publications having an important bearing upon the issues of the American struggle, will be kept on hand. The initial steps have already been taken to carry these objects into practical execution, and a Committee will frame provisional rules and regulations, subject to revision by a general meeting of subscribers, so soon as the number shall have reached one hundred. Gentlemen desiring to co-operate in ensuring to this enterprise the success which it so amply deserves, are desired to place themselves immediately in communication with Mr. J. B. HOPKINS, Index Office, 13, Bouverie-street, E.C., who has kindly consented to act as Temporary Secretary until the final arrangements are completed.

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I. Original Articles, or Translations of Original Communications in Foreign Languages.  
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III. Short Notices of the Minor Works bearing on the Science of Man.  
IV. Miscellaneous Anthropological Intelligence.  
V. The Official Reports of the Meetings of the Anthropological Society of London.

- Contents of No. I.**
1. On the Study of Anthropology. By Dr. James Hunt, F.S.A., President A.S.L.
  2. Wild Men and Beast Children. By E. Burnet Taylor, F.A.S.L.
  3. The Tribe of Loreto in Northern Peru. By Professor Raimondi. Translated from the Spanish by William Bollaert, F.A.S.L.
  4. A Day with the Fans. By Captain R. F. Burton, H.M. Consul at Fernando Po, and V.P.A.S.L.
  5. On the Difference between Man and the Lower Animals. By Theodor Bischoff, Translated from the German.
  6. Summary of the Evidence of the Antiquity of Man.
  7. Huxley on Man's Place in Nature.
  8. Jackson on Ethnology and Phrenology.
  9. Lyell on the Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man.
  10. Wilson's Pre-historic Man.
  11. Pauly's Ethnographical Account of the Peoples of Russia.
  12. Commixture of the Races of Man. By John Crawford, Esq., F.R.S.
  13. Burton's Prairie Traveller.
  14. Owen on the Limbs of the Gorilla.
  15. Man and Beast. By Anthropol.
  16. Dunn's Medical Psychology.
  17. Human Remains from Moulin-Quignon. By A. Taylor, Esq., F.G.S. (With an Illustration.)
  18. Notes of a Case of Microcephaly. By R. T. Gore, Esq., M.A.S.L.
  19. Notes on Sir C. Lyell's Antiquity of Man. By John Crawford, Esq., F.R.S.
  20. Falconer on the reputed Fossil Man of Abbeville.
  21. Miscellaneous Anthropologica.
  22. Journal of the Anthropological Society of London.

- Contents of No. II.**
1. On the Science of Language. By R. J. Charnock, F.S.A., F.A.S.L.
  2. Ferguson on the Influence of Race on Art.
  3. On the Creation of Man and Substance of the Mind. By Professor Rudolph Wagner.
  4. Picta on the Origin of Indo-Europeans.
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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 79.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 29, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

### NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

VIRGINIA AND TENNESSEE.

STATE ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH.

THE MERSEY STEAM-SHIPS.

A GERMAN PROFESSOR OF THE AMERICAN QUARREL.

THE COTTON TRADE.

THE "QUARTERLIES" FOR OCTOBER.

COLONEL LAMAR AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

LETTER OF THE HON. W. C. RIVES.

AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

GENERAL MEADE has issued a complimentary order to his troops; Mr. Chase has declared his conviction that the "rebellion" is virtually at an end; there has been a panic in Wall-street; and President Lincoln has called for 300,000 volunteers. It seems to us that General Meade and Mr. Chase are not quite so discreet as Wall-street and Mr. Lincoln. We cannot discover anything in the military situation that calls for Northern jubilation. The Army of the Potomac has again made a strategic movement, which has brought it further from Richmond and nearer to Washington. In plain language, the invader has retreated hastily, burning what stores he could not carry away. In the movement the rear of the Northern army was hardly pressed and suffered heavily in officers. Gregg's cavalry was surrounded and lost 500 men. The Army of the Potomac is within fifteen miles of the Federal capital; and within a threatening distance, on the old battle-ground of Bull Run, is the Confederate Army, which also holds all the passes in the Bull Run Mountains. If General Meade congratulates his army on such a retreat, how boundless would be his gratitude for a crushing defeat! And what was there in the prospect of affairs to inspire Mr. Chase with the idea that the "rebellion" is virtually at an end? It could not be Meade's retreat; yet the Federal prospect in Virginia is as promising as it is anywhere else. General Rosecrans is still shut up at Chattanooga with his rear harassed, his communications menaced, and his enemy building pontoons to bridge the river that separates the two camps. Burnside is 10th instant at Blue Springs, and all the Northern art being roughly handled. He attacked the Confederates on the 10th instant at Blue Springs, and all the Northern art of "cooking accounts" cannot conceal the ugly fact that the Confederates "inflicted heavy loss upon the Federals." About the same date a train of more than 300 wagons, containing ammunition and supplies for the Federals, was destroyed near Anderson, Alabama. There is "no news" from Charleston except a semi-official intimation that the siege is likely to be a long one. By the way, Admiral Dahlgren denies that any damage was done to the *Ironsides* by the Confederate torpedo raft. The Northern correspondents declare that she was so injured that it will be necessary to send her away for repairs. Of the two we rather believe the newspapers than the official report, especially as both admit that the crew of the *Ironsides* suffered, and it is not very probable that the crew could be injured and the vessel escape unscathed. The advance guard of General Herron's army in Louisiana, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, has been captured by the Confederates at Morganza. The capture of General Blunt's body-guard near Fort Scott, Kansas, is confirmed. The Confederates are active on the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railway, and in Missouri. As a set-off against these reverses, the Federals announce that General Brown has defeated Colonel Shelby in Missouri, "capturing all his artillery, small arms, baggage, and many prisoners." As Colonel Shelby was operating with a very small band, the captures could not have been very large. It is also notified that the Federals are about to resume offensive operations in the Teche country. No doubt, if unopposed, the operations of General Banks will be very offensive, so far as the destruction of property is concerned. If Mr. Chase expects the world to see anything that indicates the end of the "rebellion" in the present aspect of affairs he must be very sanguine, and have an exceedingly poor opinion of the common sense of mankind.

A correspondence has been published between Mr. Fullarton, who describes himself as "Acting British Consul," and who dates from the "British Consulate" at Savannah, and the Governor of Georgia, in reference to the enlistment of British subjects. The rule adopted in the Confederacy with respect to aliens is founded on common sense and equity, and is in accordance with the requirements of international law. An alien who has become naturalised, or who has taken such steps (for example, one who has served in the Confederate army) as entitles him to demand letters of naturalisation is, of course, in precisely the same position as a citizen by birth. Aliens travelling in the Confederate States, and who are manifestly mere visitors, are altogether exempt from military service. There remains a third class of aliens who are carrying on business in the Confederate States, who have taken up their abode in the Confederate States, and whose lives and property are as much under the protection of the respective Governments under which they live as are those of citizens. Now this class is held liable to military service, both in the State militia and in the Confederate army; but it must be observed, that when the war broke out aliens had the right and opportunity of leaving the Confederacy, and, indeed, it was not until a year after the commencement of the war that any demand was made upon them for military service. For their own convenience they elected to remain in the Confederacy, and cannot now reasonably complain of a manifest consequence of their choice. It is necessary to premise so much, that we may be able to appreciate the extraordinary position taken up by Mr. Fullarton in the name of the British Government.

On the 22nd of July he wrote to Governor Brown, demanding the exemption of British subjects from military service. In the letter he says, Her Majesty's Government acknowledges that British subjects resident in a foreign State are liable to serve as a local police or militia, and even to a limited extent to defend their places of residence against an invader. Mr. Fullarton adds:—

But if it shall so happen that the militia, after being so organised, shall be brought into conflict with the forces of the United States, without being turned over to the Confederate States, so as to form a component part of its armies, or if it should be so turned over, in either event the service required would be such as British subjects cannot be expected to perform.

In a subsequent communication, dated the 17th August, Mr. Fullarton explains that he did not mean exactly what he had written. He says:—

You have misunderstood me when I admitted the right of the State to claim the services of British subjects resident within its limits for the purpose of maintaining internal order, and even to a limited extent to defend the places of their residence against local invasion by a foreign Power. Such service might be rendered by them in the event of a war by a foreign Power, but not in a civil war, like that which now rages on this continent.

He then goes on to observe:—

I have consequently, under instructions, felt myself compelled to advise those drafted to acquiesce in the duty until they are required to leave their immediate homes or to meet the United States forces in actual conflict; in that event to throw down their arms and refuse to render a service, the performance of which would run directly in the teeth of Her Majesty's proclamation, and render them liable to the severe penalties denounced against a violation of the strict neutrality so strongly insisted on in that document.

And he winds up with the following menace:—

The despatches which I have received from the British Government relative to compulsory service are strong. I am instructed to remonstrate in the strongest terms against all attempts to force British subjects to take up arms. Should these remonstrances fail, the governments in Europe interested in this question will unite in making such representations as will secure to aliens this desired exemption.

Mr. Fullarton has clearly exceeded his province in attempting to discuss the character and objects of the war, and it is simply absurd in him to advise soldiers in the service of the State of Georgia to mutiny, in the face of any enemy against whom their commander may lead them. There is a state of warfare; that Mr. Fullarton sees and cannot deny; and he has nothing to do whatever with the question of Federal or Confederate right. But it is not to be denied, assuming that Mr. Fullarton is justified in drawing a distinction between liability of aliens to serve against a foreign Power and in case of civil war, that he is placed in an anomalous position, which some-

what excuses the insult which he, trusting to his own insignificance and the forbearance of the Confederate people, flung at the Confederacy in the name of the British Government. He chose to forget that Great Britain had recognised the Confederate States as a belligerent power, and he only remembered that his Government had refused to recognise the national existence of the Confederate States. So he tells the Governor of a Sovereign State, of which the government is administered as regularly and as orderly as the Government of England, that he, Governor Brown, is engaged in a civil war, and, in fact, that he is a rebel. And, then, mark Mr. Fullarton's inconsistency. He threatens the Confederate States with certain pains and penalties if his mandate is not obeyed. But if it is a civil war raging in America, Mr. Fullarton ought not to remonstrate with the "rebel" Governor Brown; but he ought to complain at Washington, and seek redress from a Government which Great Britain does recognise. This correspondence, indeed, exemplifies in a very strong degree the impolicy and the injustice of non-recognition. British subjects are undoubtedly entitled to protection wherever they reside. Who is to be responsible for their protection in the Confederate States? Mr. Lincoln? Mr. Lincoln has no power to protect them. Ought the *de facto* Government of the Confederate States to afford them protection? But we cannot hold any power responsible for its acts unless we recognise the existence of that power.

Possibly the practical result of Mr. Fullarton's conduct will be that the Confederate Government will refuse to allow any British consul to reside within its jurisdiction unless he applies for an exequatur from that Government. The replies of Governor Brown to Mr. Fullarton's letters were singularly courteous. He reminds Mr. Fullarton that many persons claiming to be British subjects are large slaveholders, and that all those who are so anxious to be exempted from military service are not less anxious to enjoy the protection of the State. He says, however, that those British subjects who have no stomach for the fight and who are not conscripted by the Act of Congress are free to depart, but that they shall not remain under the protection of the State unless they will contribute to the defence thereof. In answer to Mr. Fullarton's insult about the Confederacy being engaged in a civil war, Governor Brown merely tells him that if that is the case he should have applied to Washington and not to him. With regard to Mr. Fullarton's advice to British subjects to throw down their arms in the face of the enemy, the Governor says that any who follow it will be dealt with according to the law, and mutiny before an enemy is death, in the code of every nation. In his final communication the Governor announces that he will cheerfully grant passports for all those who are proved to him to be British subjects to depart from the State after thirty days notice, provided they became residents after the 19th January, 1861, when the Ordinance of Secession was passed, or, being resident before that, filed a declaration within three months that they did not wish to become citizens of Georgia.

The Anglo-Federal press have paid Colonel Lamar the compliment of perverting, instead of answering his argument. Thus they have found it necessary to represent his remarks as applying to the African slave trade, when in fact Colonel Lamar's only reference to that subject was to say that he would not then discuss the agencies by which the South was forced to solve the difficult problem how to deal with a numerous population of an inferior race. Everybody knows, what Colonel Lamar withheld from courtesy to his hearers, that it was the mother country, against the strenuous opposition of the Colonies, which planted the African race on the American continent. Elsewhere will be found some correspondence relating to the insinuations made against Colonel Lamar.

Like the man with the ass, if we may be pardoned a Lincoln illustration, Earl Russell has succeeded in offending both North and South. This, we know, his advocates cite as an evidence of neutrality, but it is simply a proof of bad administration. In reference to the reported stoppage of the steam-rails, a Richmond paper observes, that if the British Government was really neutral, and would be at as much pains to stop Federal recruiting in Ireland, the war would be over in three months. How the Federals regard his Lordship's cringing policy we may gather, not only from the Northern papers, but from the observations of a



member of the Federal Cabinet. Secretary Chase has lately delivered a speech in Cincinnati, in which he attributed the non-intervention of foreign Powers to the display of Federal strength; and said that England would hereafter regret her friendship with America's enemies, and would pay for the damage done to Federal shipping by Confederate cruisers. He also declared that he had sometimes felt "as if he should like to take Old Mother England by the hair, and give her a good shaking." Who will now pretend that the insults of the *New York Herald* are not to be regarded, seeing that they are thus endorsed by a Cabinet Minister? Except Mr. Bright and Historicus, no Englishman of any reputation can feel much sympathy with a Power that is perpetually bullying us.

Under the heading of "Honour to the Czar," a full account is published in the *New York Herald* of the dinner given to the Russian Admiral at the Astor House. The table was decorated with a statue of Alexander II., and the bill of fare included "a cake fort, ornamented with Russian colours." The business of the evening was inaugurated by a grace said by the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, who asked "a blessing on the Emperor of the Orient and the President of the Western Republic." The first toast was, "The Emperor of Russia.—Absolute as a monarch, enlightened as a statesman, allied to the people of all lands by his efforts in behalf of the freedom of his own!" This was received with acclamation, "and a discharge of miniature guns from a model of Fort Sumter, situated at the end of the room." The admirable taste of "the model of Fort Sumter," particularly as the real Fort Sumter is not yet taken, must have commended itself to the Russian Admiral. Amongst the choice specimens of oratory, we notice the remark of Mr. Brady, the chairman, who, speaking of Admiral Farragut, "the hero of New Orleans," observed, "Seated beside this man (the Russian Admiral), is him whose orator now is, as his orator in the future will be, the majestic Mississippi river, raising itself from its bed to rejoice that he consecrated it to freedom for ever and ever." The Rev. Mr. Chapin said, "The Hudson never bore up with greater joy the keels of any noble ships as it now does the fleet that has come to us from the waters of the Neva." Mr. Gould proposed as a toast, "The City of New York.—With her left hand she grasps the harvest of the West, with her right she weds the everlasting sea." However, these are harmless follies, that will not disturb the Mississippi, or the Hudson, or "the everlasting sea;" but the Russian manifestation is not a mere ebullition of the popular whim. At a gathering on board the Russian flag-ship the toast was drunk of "Russia and America.—In time of peace friends; in time of war allies." It is also rather significant that when the Russian officers were asked to meet the English and French officers, to inspect the institutions of New York they declined the invitation. Another Russian war vessel has arrived at New York.

General Magruder has issued an order to the Army of Texas upon the victory at Sabine Pass. He thus describes the brilliant engagement:—"Attacked by five gunboats, the fort, mounting but three guns of small calibre, and manned by the Davis Guards, Lieutenant R. M. Dowling, assisted by Lieutenant Smith, of the Engineers, supported by about two hundred men—the whole under command of Captain F. H. Odium—steadily resisted their fire, and at last forced the surrender of the two gun-boats, *Clifton* and *Sachem*, badly crippling another, which, with the others, escaped over the bar. The result of this gallant achievement is the capture of two fine gun-boats, fifteen heavy guns, over two hundred prisoners—among them the commodore of the fleet—and over fifty of the enemy killed and wounded; while not a man was lost on our side or a gun injured."

The elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, and Indiana appear to have gone against the Democrats, although the final results of the Pennsylvania and Ohio elections were not known when the mail left New York. We observed last week that Mr. Seward was unduly nervous, and that the master of legions can always regulate the ballot-box.

A correspondence between Messrs. Seward and Stanton, and Generals Banks and McClellan, in reference to the arrest of the legislature of Maryland, has, through some treachery, come to light. We are not concerned to know by whose contrivance it is published, but it is of interest, as it admits what no one in the South doubts—that Maryland would have passed an ordinance of Secession but for military intervention. The object of this correspondence is to prove that General McClellan is no better than his Republican rivals, and was quite as ready to become the tool of arbitrary power.

Governor Gamble, of Missouri, has issued a proclamation declaring that any attempt to remove him from his office before the expiration of his term of administration will be regarded and treated by him as treason against the State, the penalty for which is death. He also gives warning that any interference with the elections on the part of the military will be resisted by the employment of all the force at his command.

The fluctuations in the price of gold at New York have been considerable. At one time the price was 56 per cent. premium; then Mr. Chase's brokers operated, and the price receded to 48 per cent. premium, but immediately recovered to 49½.

#### ENGLAND.

The Colchester Conservative Association held its annual dinner last week. Mr. Papillon, M.P. for the borough, in the course of a speech then delivered, said that he shuddered at the pitch to which men's feelings in America had been roused. When we heard the sen-

timent of Parson Brownlow, calling for "Greek fire for the masses, and hell fire for the leaders," we had heard enough to rouse the spirit of every true Christian. He was an ardent advocate for peace, but if peace was to be preserved as the present Government seemed inclined to preserve it, at the expense of England's honour and at the expense of humanity, then he thought it was time some other government was in power. The day had come and passed when we might have stepped in, and by simply recognising the South have put an end to the quarrel; but the Government had always professed that their policy was one of strict neutrality. Was, however, the course adopted with regard to Mr. Laird's rams in the Mersey an honest neutrality? He thought that it was in excess of the powers given by law, and now Lord Russell, having his doubts on the point, was about to make the Act more stringent. Surely this savoured more of a coward trucking to a bully than of an English statesman with a good old name, to whom were entrusted the honour and chivalry of England. Captain Jervis, M.P. for Harwich, also addressed the meeting, and said that with reference to the American question he was in favour of the strictest neutrality, but it was not preserving the strictest neutrality to put an Act in force called the Foreign Enlistment Act, which was brought forward in support of Spain against her rebel colonies. It was because this Act gave such a preponderance to Spain that the late Lord Stowell supported it. It was clear then that such an Act could not but give a preponderance to the Power in whose favour it was exercised, and, therefore, to put it in force was to violate the strict neutrality which we professed.

Mr. Edmond Beales has summoned and presided over another meeting of the National League for the Independence of Poland. Prince Czartoryski was present, and addressed the assembly. He said that the cause of Poland was the cause of the Western Powers, that his countrymen were in arms for individual liberty, political and religious equality before the law, justice to all and freedom of commerce, and that it was false to represent the struggle as one for ultramontane principles. He further declared that the peasants were eager for the freedom of their country, and were only precluded from fighting by the lack of arms. He claimed from England the withdrawal of her sanction of the dominion of Russia, and the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Poles. The president implored the members of the League to furnish money and other substantial assistance to the Poles acts which would not implicate England in a war. The objects of the League were, first, to obtain from England a declaration of the avoidance of the Russian dominion, and second, an acknowledgment of the Poles as belligerents. He did not know, and he did not care, whether these steps would lead to war between England and Russia.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Powis was on Monday last elected without opposition to the office of Lord High Steward of the University of Cambridge, in the room of the late Right Hon. Baron Lyndhurst.

There is at length some prospect of locomotion within the city of London being made somewhat less arduous than the ascent of Mount Blanc. The Court of Aldermen, at a meeting at Guildhall, has been engaged in considering a code of bye-laws for the future regulation of traffic within their jurisdiction. These rules have been drawn up under the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed last Session, which was introduced at the instance of the Court of Common Council, and have now been adopted by the Court of Aldermen, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. The first regulation is that every cab and omnibus going eastwards through St. Paul's Churchyard to London Bridge shall pass down Cannon Street and not down Cheapside. No vehicle drawn by more than four horses, nor laden with merchandise to a greater height than 16 ft. from the ground, or a greater width than 7 ft., shall pass through the streets between nine in the morning and six in the evening; but strangely enough, the vested interests of vehicles in use before the 28th July last are reserved. So locomotives and waggons laden with timber are prohibited within the same hours. No coals, beer, wine, or other liquid in casks conveyed in carts, waggons, or vans, are to be delivered in twenty-four of the principal streets of the city between nine in the morning and five in the evening, and every waggon while delivering goods is to be placed with its side parallel with the foot pavement. The sale of vegetables, fruit, fish or other articles carried upon any truck or vehicle is prohibited during the day in the main streets. Provision is also made for the management of the shoe-black brigade, the stations for them being enumerated, and the number of boys regulated. Power is given to the Chief Commissioner to increase the number of the boys to 300, and the number of standing-places to 150.

The last of the ships appointed to convey the cable which in a few months will connect England with the most remote provinces of the Indian Empire, is to leave for Bombay this week. The vessels employed in this service are the *Assaye*, the *Tweed*, the *Marian Moore*, the *Winabam*, and the *Cospatrick*. The length of the cable as shipped is 1,250 miles, it is 1½ in. in diameter, and weighs in water 2½ tons to the mile. Each ship carries out complete telegraph stores for one station in the Persian Gulf, and the *Charente*, hereafter to be called the *Amber Witch*, carries thirty or forty miles of shore ends of great strength, being herself destined for service between the new stations. In each of the vessels there are three massive wrought-iron tanks built from the bottom of the main-deck, and in these the cable is stowed away in three coils, the beginning and end of each coil being carried along the ships to the testing-room, and the tanks are then filled with water by a small steam-pump on deck. By this contrivance the cable can be tested while under water in the tanks daily,

and for this purpose a member of Sir Charles Bright's electrical staff goes with each ship. A large staff of skilled workmen, an immense stock of appliances and materials for repairs in case of injury, and the most perfect and costly sets of instruments are also on board. The five stations will be from Kurracheeto Gwadel, from Gwadel to the peninsula of Khasab, from Khasab to Bushire, and from Bushire to Fow on the estuary at the mouth of the Euphrates. From this point the line will be carried to Bagdad, Mossul, Diabekir and Scutari. Dr. Esselbach is to be chief superintendent in charge of the whole line, having at his disposal a regular staff of skilled mechanics at the head-quarters at Kurrachee. At each station there will be a superintendent and a deputy of great experience, together with six clerks. None of the staff will be kept more than three consecutive months at one station; the *Amber Witch* will carry the letters and papers between the stations, and a library of 2,000 volumes has been sent for the use of the men. The work of submerging will probably commence at the end of January, and will occupy a month. The great risk will be incurred along the land-line between the last station on the Gulf and Scutari, from the uncertain temper of the Arabs and the apathetic contumacy of Turkish operators. There will be a subsidiary line from Bushire to Teheran and from Teheran to Bagdad. There will also be a line from Teheran to Teflis, and from Teflis there will be communication by the Russian lines. Colonel Stuart is to leave at once for Constantinople to inspect the lines in Asia Minor, and will go thence to Bofnab. Sir Charles Bright and Mr. Latimer Clark, with the rest of their staff, will leave next month to make all necessary arrangements in reference to their responsibility in laying the wire.

A meeting of the Great Ship Company was held last week at Manchester for the purpose of taking into consideration the recommendations of the London committee. A resolution was unanimously passed in accordance with that of the London committee to raise the necessary funds to pay off the current and pressing liabilities of the Company. A further resolution was also adopted to raise the necessary funds to equip and send the ship on a voyage to India or Australia; and the opinion of the meeting was expressed, that if such a voyage were undertaken, not only with due regard to economy, but with energy and prudence, it would be a commercial success. It seems to us that the advantages of a voyage to Australia are obvious as compared with short trips across the Atlantic. In a vessel of so vast a size the expenses of loading and unloading are enormous, and it is only marvellous that the Company has only now adopted an enterprise of such superior promise.

On Friday last, Mr. John Laird, M.P., distributed the prizes for rifle and artillery shooting at Birkenhead, and made an elaborate speech on the national defences. He first referred to the question of the Armstrong gun, and stated that the country had spent £2,500,000 on that gun, and had not got value for the money. Mr. Laird thought the appointment of Sir William Armstrong as Engineer-in-Chief of the Rified Ordnance an injudicious appointment, because the Government was thereby confined to the inventions of one man instead of being able to avail themselves of the scientific knowledge of all the best men of the country. It had been proved that the Armstrong gun was absolutely inferior to the old 68-pounder at a range of 200 yards. Next as to the building of ships: Mr. Laird thought that the plan of Mr. Coles was the only one adapted for the working of heavy guns, for the cupola principle would admit of the use of a 20 ton gun, and the cupola itself could be armed with plates of 15 inches in thickness. He also referred with praise to the plan of Mr. Reed, and censured the Government for not yet having a vessel built on either principle. In his opinion, our navy was not in such a state as to enable us to go to war with a certainty of success. At present, we had only two ships in the navy list suitable for coast defences, and they were not brought forward. Moreover, her Majesty's dockyards were wholly insufficient. They did not contain together more than forty-one acres of space, and the number of the graving docks was thirty-three, while Liverpool and Birkenhead had 400 acres of space, and 28 graving docks. Mr. Laird then referred to the Alabama. He was not ashamed to say that his sons had designed the Alabama. That vessel and the Florida had been afloat for a considerable time, and had defied the power of 400 ships. He denied that there had been any secrecy observed about the ship. She had not crept away at night, but had sailed at 11 o'clock in the morning, after having been anchored off the landing-stage. He ridiculed the story of the sailor to whom the captain had told all the ins and outs of the enterprise. Any number of men could be hired to go on any expedition, and if a little extra pay were given it was quite unnecessary to say a word about destination. Mr. Laird referred to a secret expedition which he had equipped and sent to India and China some years ago for our Government, about which not a word was ever known till the object was accomplished. He was sure that the statement regarding the captain of the Alabama having told a sailor all about the ship was false; and the sailor to whom he referred, a man named Passmore, was the man whose evidence, and whose evidence alone, the solicitor-general considered as substantial. Mr. Laird also quoted Lord Palmerston's words declaring, that as the ship sailed unarmed her condition could never have justified a seizure. Mr. Laird then alluded to Earl Russell's speech at Blairgowrie, and said that the noble lord had undertaken to say that he could do certain things, and that if he found the law insufficient he could go to Parliament and get an indemnity. Mr. Laird did not believe that Parliament would ever indemnify any man, however great and powerful he might be, if he was trying to transgress the law. Mr. Laird's remarks were



received with much applause, and the name of the Earl Russell was considerably hissed.

ENGLAND will shortly be, or is already, rid of the Rev. H. W. Beecher. His orations at Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Liverpool have, as might naturally have been expected, excited the utmost disgust in the mind of every reasonable man and the heart of every decent Christian. The greatest of men have not arrived at perfection, and new gifts may be ever acquired. Mr. Beecher is no exception to the rule. He has possessed hitherto many excellent gifts: he now boasts the greatest of all. He is a prophet, and like the great ones of old, armed from heaven with miraculous gifts. If any man doubts the interposition of the Deity, exercised to change, hasten, or retard the ordinary laws of cause and effect, let him hear the miracle worked on behalf of Beecher, and the faith he preaches, and no longer disbelieve. The narrative of this marvellous event is as follows: on Friday last, the 23rd of October, a numerous company, consisting principally of ministers of different dissenting members, assembled at breakfast at Radley's Hotel, to bid a last farewell to the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The Hon. and Rev. W. B. Noel occupied the chair. The man whom that assembly had met to honour made an elaborate address, the principal portion of which was occupied in the somewhat arduous undertaking of proving that the negro was better off in the North than in the South. Our object, however, is to direct attention to one of the most remarkable statements ever addressed to men supposed to be in a sane condition of mind. Mr. Beecher said that he felt he could speak with perfect freedom in that assembly as to what he believed to be the interposition of Providence on his behalf since he had been in this country. When he came from the Continent he had been for more than twenty weeks without speaking, and was quite out of training; and after speaking in Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Liverpool his voice completely failed him. He was afraid he would not be able to speak in Exeter Hall. When, however, on Tuesday morning he spoke to himself, he found his voice as clear as a whistle. Some might say that his recovery was owing to the remedies he adopted, but he was disposed to think that in their use he had the direct interposition of the Almighty. Now we candidly own that we are somewhat puzzled to know in what light to regard this extraordinary declaration. We are asked to believe, not that the interposition to which Mr. Beecher testifies took place—even an Abolitionist of the first water would scarcely believe that the Deity would interpose to turn the harshness of Mr. Beecher's voice into the shrill clearness of a whistle—but what we are called upon to believe is this, that any man with any pretensions to common sense could persuade himself that such an interposition had taken place in his behalf. Henry Ward Beecher is quite welcome to the alternative: he is a fanatic or an impostor. Either he states what he does not for a moment believe, or he surpasses all men in the art of self-deception. For years he has been an agitator, a politician, and a preacher, now he is an inspired prophet. Henry Ward Beecher returns to New England a greater man, if possible, than when he left.

### THE CONTINENT.

NOTHING is yet known about the resolution of the Allies with regard to Poland, and it is not at all improbable that they have come to no resolution. It is still asserted that Earl Russell despatched a note to St. Petersburg declaring the forfeiture of Poland by Russia, but it is now added that the noble lord repented in a day or two of his own energy, and stopped, by a telegram to Lord Napier, the presentation of the offensive notification.

On the other hand, it is asserted that Austria has gained both Powers over to her views, and that the allied reply to the Russian despatch will be a summons to Russia to accept the six points: a summons couched in language which will give it the character of an ultimatum. *Credat Judeus.* Austria may talk largely about her wish to free Poland, and even repeat the falsehoods proffered by Prince Metternich to Lord Castlereagh in 1814, about her willingness to abandon Galicia in favour of an independent Poland; but she will never involve herself in a war with Russia, the upshot of which, whichever way it may go, must be very much to her disadvantage. All the efforts of the French Government will not avail to determine her to take such a step, and the French Government, in its anxiety to do something for Poland, in its consciousness that any isolated action on its part would be ascribed to selfish motives, has done everything in its power to assure the Austrian Government against any dangers from the adoption of a decided policy. The *Mémorial Diplomatique* has this week published an analysis of two despatches from M. Drouyn de Lhuys to London and Vienna, dated in June, and urging the importance of an understanding between the three Powers, as to the course to be adopted in the event, which the French Minister rightly enough foresaw, of a refusal of Russia to accept the six points; throughout these despatches an earnest desire is shown that arrangements should be made to ensure Austria against any possible loss by the adoption of energetic measures. These despatches had not the effect of obtaining the result they desired, but they are valuable as evidence of the sincerity, and we may say, the singleness of purpose, with which France has taken up the Polish cause. We must mention here a rumour coming from a very good source, to the effect that Count Rechberg, in the course of his more recent conversations with the English and French ambassadors, assured them, and was able to prove his assurance, that the insurrection was practically at an end. If the Austrian Government has acquired that conviction it certainly will not have proposed to address any ultimatum to St. Petersburg. We are sorry to say

that all reports from impartial authorities tend to confirm the statement attributed to the Austrian Minister. For a long time the Russian Government has been preparing for a desperate effort to crush the movement. The certainty that the friends of Poland can do nothing to help her for six months has inspired fresh energy in the Russian authorities. Two large bands of sympathisers, one exceeding 700 in number, contrived to elude the vigilance of the Austrians, and crossed the frontier within the last few days—only, however, to be surrounded and dispersed with great loss by an overwhelming Russian force. The Russian authorities seem to have at last got upon the track of the secret National Government. If advices from Breslau can be believed, they have seized a secret printing press, and there can be no doubt that they have arrested a large number of influential persons in Warsaw, including forty members of the municipality of the city. There are still many small bands carrying on a guerilla warfare; but we hear nothing, even from the Polish news manufacturers, of the larger corps, of whose exploits so much was said a little time ago, and the natural inference is that the Russians have at last succeeded in overwhelming them.

The latest measures of General de Berg show that he has no fear of producing an explosion in Warsaw. He has issued orders prohibiting the wearing of mourning after the 10th of November.

The Russian consul-general in London, M. de Berg, a brother of the General, has been getting himself into something of a mess, by contradicting in the *Times* certain statements as to an execution in Wilna. The consul denied that the persons mentioned had been executed, and a day or two after, an extract from the official *Wilna Gazette*, was forwarded to the *Times*, giving an account of these very executions. M. de Berg's zeal outruns his discretion. Of what avail is it for him even to prove the falsity of some of the charges made against his Government? The fact remains unquestioned that General Mouravieff and General de Berg too have shot, flogged, and deported an immense number of persons. If M. de Berg can prove that these punishments were well deserved, well and good. If he cannot, he had better leave the matter alone, and not increase the public indignation by lame attempts to explain away particular accusations.

The Germans have been celebrating with great pomp the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Leipsic. Almost everywhere throughout the land, the 18th, a Sunday, was kept as a grand holiday, and the memory of the great fight in which French domination was broken honoured by concerts, special religious services, torch processions and illuminations. The chief celebration, however, was at Leipsic itself. There were gathered a large number of the veterans who had taken part in those eventful days of combat, and the representatives of many of the chief towns of Germany. The festival was favoured by fine weather and passed off very well. It did not, however, assume that grand national character which its originators had desired. The place itself, although, of course, in one sense the fittest, was in another the most unfortunate. The King of Saxony fought then on the side of Bonaparte, and so did his subjects, during a portion of the contest. They went over during the battle to the Allies, and Leipsic, merely as a battle-field, is not a very honourable recollection for Saxony. Many of the Saxon soldiers who fought in those days wear the medal of St. Helena. Again, the result of the battle of Leipsic was the division of Saxony; the richer half of the kingdom was added to Prussia to make good the losses she had sustained at the hands of the French, and many Saxon towns declined to have any part in the celebration of a day which was the cause of the dismemberment of Saxony and their separation from their brethren. Other towns refused to share in the celebration for other reasons: some Prussian ones, because they did not deem the time appropriate for any jubilee; and the participation on the part of the Southern Germans was not a little checked by the attempt of the *National Verein* to improve the occasion for the promotion of its own views. However, so far as the *fête* went, it was most successful.

On the same day King Louis of Bavaria opened the magnificent Hall of Liberation, which he has erected at Kelheim, on the Danube, not far from Ratisbon, to celebrate the liberation of Germany, in the presence of many veteran generals who had fought in that war. His Majesty welcomed them in these words: "Welcome, valiant soldiers of the War of Liberation! Welcome all! It is Germany's most glorious time; we will hold to it. I can only say to you what I have written in the Hall of Liberation: 'May the Germans never forget what made the War of Liberation necessary, and by what means they conquered.'"

The primary elections in Prussia have, as was generally anticipated, resulted in the complete triumph of the Liberals. Almost everywhere the overwhelming majority of the *wahlmannen*, or election-men, is decidedly hostile to the Government; and in only a few of the rural districts has Herr von Bismarck, in spite of all the extraordinary efforts made by himself and his colleagues—in spite of all the intimidation they have brought to bear upon the public functionaries and all persons in the slightest degree dependent upon the Government or the Court—any chance of obtaining the election of candidates willing to support him. The new Chamber will be much more decidedly liberal than the last. The election of the deputies took place yesterday.

A conference has been held at Nurnberg during the past week, attended by the ministers of the sovereigns—with the exception of those of the very small states—who signed the Austrian Reform Act. The object of the conference was the discussion of the means to be taken for

the execution of that act, and the preparation of the joint answer to the Prussian ministerial report, recommended in the despatch which Count Rechberg addressed to the signatories of the Reform Act, upon receipt of the Prussian memorandum. A telegram announcing that the conference, having despatched its business, had broken up, adds that the result was satisfactory. That would mean that the diplomatists were unanimous. If they were, we may be certain that no decided action has been resolved upon.

The Transylvanian deputies have made their appearance in the Reichsrath. In administering the oaths, the President of the House of Deputies made an appropriate speech of welcome, appropriately answered, when, for the first time the Magyar tongue sounded in the Austrian Parliament. The Reichsrath now completed, and in full possession of its powers, has set vigorously to work to despatch the budget and other business of importance.

The Austrian Minister of Commerce, Count Wickenburg, has resigned. The cause of his resignation is said to be the resolve of the Government to give up the scheme he had broached of an international exhibition in Vienna in 1865.

The German Diet has declined to entertain the despatch of Earl Russell protesting against the Federal occupation of Holstein, on the ground that the question is one with which foreign Powers have no concern. This pretension is altogether untenable, inasmuch as the avowed object of the execution is an alteration in the position of Schleswig towards Holstein, in the first place, and then towards Denmark; but the Diet was out of temper, as it well might be, with a statesman who could protest against its taking measures to obtain the adoption of the very arrangement he had himself suggested. A subsequent despatch from his lordship was referred to the committee upon whose recommendation the refusal to entertain the former one was resolved. In the second despatch Earl Russell has again considerably changed his tone. Instead of protesting on the part of England against the execution, he points out the dangers to German shipping which would ensue if Denmark should be irritated into blockading the German ports and seizing German ships, and intimates that Denmark is ready to declare the ordinance of the 30th March only provisional if the Bund will postpone the execution.

The Danish Government seems to have determined after all to treat the execution as a *casus belli*. Whilst its courage and resolution are rising, that of Germany is ebbing out at the palms of its hands. Austria will push on the occupation as long as there is no danger of war, because Prussia is opposed to it, but if Austria discovers that war is likely to break out she will be glad enough of a pretence for drawing back.

An odd story is going the round of the papers, to the effect that the King of Denmark recently made a speech in which he declared that if France and Sweden allowed South Jutland (Schleswig) to be conquered by Germany he would resign his crown and proclaim a republic, for which, his Majesty added, the Danish people were well suited. Some English newspapers, which ought to know better, have accepted this story as true, and have believed that his Majesty, so speaking, meant what he said. The King of Denmark sometimes gets a little excited, and might possibly make such a declaration; but he certainly would not hold to it in the morning. He has no more right to proclaim a republic in Denmark than he would have to cede the whole kingdom to the King of Prussia. He has given his assent to a law, by virtue of which Prince Christian succeeds to the throne of Denmark upon his death or abdication; and the rights of Prince Christian, who certainly would not be disposed to abandon them, even in the very improbable case that the Danes wished him to do so, are virtually guaranteed by the great Powers.

The Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies are convoked for the 17th of November. The Ministry seems to be extremely disunited; one section is always attacking the other in the press, but just as it comes to an open rupture and one side or other must resign, the difficulty is made up and both pretend to be excellent friends:

The Spanish elections have resulted, as was inevitable, in a signal triumph for the Ministry. The Liberals, as we have announced, abstained from all part in the election, and the Marquis de Miraflores and his colleagues had everything their own way. The triumph is, however, rather too signal: the Ministers feel that the country is not with them, and it is anticipated that they will not remain in office until the opening of the session. One of the Ministers has already resigned.

A somewhat similar resolution to that adopted by the Spanish Liberals has been taken by the *Gross Deutsch* and Conservative party in the Duchy of Baden. This party, many of the leaders of which are Government officials, does not indeed impute to the Government that interference with the elections which occasioned the abstention in Spain, but it seems to have felt that it could return no candidates, or at least, very few, at the approaching elections, and that it would be more consistent with its dignity and profit its cause more to leave the Liberal and Prussian Hegemony party to do as it pleases.

The Swiss Federal Assembly is composed of two houses; one a kind of senate, consisting of two representatives from each canton, the other a national council of 120 members, elected by the cantons in proportion to their population. The election of this national council took place on Sunday. The strength of parties is but little changed. The Liberals retain the overwhelming majority.



Earl Russell has published some correspondence designed to vindicate himself against the charge of having got rid of Sir James Hudson in order to find a place for his relative Mr. Elliott. It commences with a letter from the Foreign Secretary to Sir James Hudson, accepting his resignation, declaring that nothing but his own desire to quit a mission where his efforts had been attended with such memorable success could have induced him (Lord Russell) to recommend to the Queen any other person to represent her Majesty at Turin; regretting that no principal embassy was vacant to offer Sir James; intimating her Majesty's intention to confer upon him the Grand Cross of the Bath, and generally as flattering as the most greedy could desire. The next letter is from Sir James, thanking Earl Russell, but explaining that he had informed the King of Italy, who had asked why he quitted the Court of Turin, that he conceived himself bound by an engagement with Earl Russell to do so. "Offered promotion in March, 1862, I had obtained permission to decline it and to continue to reside at his Majesty's court until such time as my pension for public service was due to me." Earl Russell at once writes to Mr. Elliott to declare that Sir James had made a great mistake. In March, 1862, he had reason to believe that a first-class embassy would be vacant, and thought no one more deserving of promotion than Sir James Hudson. Sir James, however, declined the promotion, because he wished to remain at Turin; when, therefore, in the spring of this year Sir James intimated his intention to resign his post, his lordship thought that, after more than thirty years of public service, he wished to retire.

Earl Russell would seem from this correspondence to have had some injustice done him; but it is possible that this correspondence does not tell the whole story, and before we charge Sir James Hudson with undue sensitiveness, we must wait for revelations yet to come.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 13.

THE aspect of the war is very much changed within a few weeks, even in the estimate of the most sanguine Federals. Not long ago they were buoyant with the faith that the resisting power of the South was broken, that its armies were dispirited and disorganised, that the roads and hills were full of deserters whom no force could bring back into the ranks, and that there were great multitudes, even whole States, ready to implore for peace on any terms which the victorious North might be mercifully inclined to grant. In fact, there was such an assurance felt of the immediate closing up of "the rebellion," that a serious quarrel has been growing up among the Abolitionists, extending to the members of the President's Cabinet, on the questions, how the subjugated people and States are to be disposed of; how much, if any, of property and rights, is to be left to them; and to what degree the hanging of leaders should be limited. The folly of selling the hide of the lion before the hunt is over has passed into a proverb, and the proverb has a meaning the Yankees would do well to profit by, when they stop to reckon up the spoil of a subjugated South.

The idea of an early conclusion of the war, by victory or by submission, is passing away. The confidence of final success is not at all abated, nor is the determination to subdue the Southern people at all costs, and the rage at being so long baffled adds a deadlier intensity to the purpose; but the news from the South has effectually dulled the expectation that the war will be closed with this campaign, or that it will soon be closed, with the assent of any portion of the people worth taking into calculation, on any other terms than total separation from the North. The consolidation of the South, in this determination, appears in every act which reaches us, cleared of the mists in which Southern accounts are designedly enveloped by the Federal reports. The unanimous vote of the Confederate Congress against the proposition to institute an inquiry into the disposition of the people of the North in respect to peace, is evidently in accord with the sentiments of the great masses of the people. Every public man of the South whose name is paraded at the North as disposed to listen to terms of re-union, makes haste to repel the imputation in the most public declaration possible of his hostility to all forms of political association with the North, now or ever. The journals here take no notice of such denials, but continue to deceive their readers by daily repetitions of the same falsehoods; as in the case of Governor Vance, of North Carolina, and Judge Watts, the newly elected Governor of Alabama, both of whom are held up as friends of a restoration of the old government, on terms, when they have severely repelled the imputation, resentfully, in published documents, under their own signatures. Instead of being demoralised and scattered, the armies are largely recruited, and are exceedingly active. The army of General Bragg, which was described as most disheartened, has turned on the advancing column and defeated them. At this moment, instead of being overwhelmed and flying, the Confederates are rallying at all points, making head everywhere against the most imposing Federal forces, and startling the Yankees with the audacity and success of their aggressive movements in unexpected quarters. The proofs of terrible energy and inflexible resolve are heard from all parts of the invaded South.

This state of affairs would be more clearly discernible but for the circumstance that the fall elections were coming on, several of which, namely, in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and some of the more western States, come off to-day, for which army and other news, by telegraph and by official reports, have required to be manipulated in the interest of the Government. The Administration is openly in the field, to sustain itself and keep its partisans in office, and to secure a prolongation of its own power. Of course, and until these elections are decided, it has been useless to look for a candid statement of any facts. Whatever is unpalatable is suppressed; whatever cannot be altogether suppressed is coloured so as to look like success; and the grossest exaggerations, and even down-right fabrications of Federal victories, swarm in the columns of the press.

But in spite of this constant stream of deceptions the military situation is widely felt to be much worse than it has been for several months before, and the prospect of improvement, in any essential particular, is, at this date, extremely doubtful.

It has been announced, positively, that Charleston was to be attempted, by a combined assault of the army and navy, on the 11th of October, last Saturday. The Greek fire was to be tried again, for the purpose of destroying the city, from a

distance, while the attack on its defences was going on. We ought to hear something of the result before the steamer sails to-morrow, and you may get some account, received by telegraph, at the latest moment, from Boston. The city may possibly be destroyed by the fire; but I have no idea that the defences can be taken or pierced, or that it will ever be surrendered.

The movements in Virginia are very puzzling, even to the men in authority. They either do not know what is going on on the side of the Confederates, or they are not sure of what it is expedient to say about it. The current Federal version a few days ago was, that General Lee had weakened his forces so much by reinforcement sent to Gen. Bragg, in the South-west, that he could no longer hold the line of the Rapidan, but was withdrawing, so as to be nearer to Richmond. Suddenly, however, Lee, last Saturday, made a northern movement, in the neighbourhood of Madison Court-house, in such force and with such results in driving back a large Federal force, that the Federals are, or appear to be, alarmed lest their flank should be turned, and a forward movement be intended into Maryland and upon Washington; while the army of Gen. Meade is depleted by the despatch of heavy columns to the assistance of Rosecrans in Tennessee; and there are in their places only the conscript recruits, who are yet raw and not very willing troops. The truth will probably be found to be that both Gen. Lee and Gen. Meade have sent many troops to the South-west, and that the campaign in Virginia will be one of mutual observation only, until that in Tennessee is decided, and probably during the winter months, for the season of mud is coming on, in which large armies cannot move in Virginia. All the time, Confederate cavalry and the county guerrillas are keeping the Federals uneasy, almost in sight of Washington City, for the safety of their supply trains.

There are some bulletins abroad to-day, announcing Union victories—so called in Tennessee—the routing of Confederate cavalry in various directions, and other Federal successes, ending with the consoling assurances, "Rosecrans impregnable—entrenched—Burnside safe." It is a change of tone worthy of particular notice, that the triumphant march of those two columns, heralded a few weeks ago as driving a rabble of runaway rebels before them, has been brought to such a check that it is put forth as good news that Rosecrans is fortifying himself inside of entrenchments, and that Burnside is still "safe"! It may be otherwise. The Confederate plan appears to be to hem Rosecrans within his lines at Chattanooga, to obtain command of the heights about the city, and of his lines of communication with his rear, and by checking the troops sent to his succour in detachments with veteran troops, finally to compel him to surrender, or to fight another battle, at great disadvantage, with a superior force. It is doubted, notwithstanding the various rumours, that Rosecrans has received the large reinforcements sent from the East and West, or whether any considerable body has succeeded in reaching him. The Confederates interpose powerfully in each direction, and numerous guerrilla bands, operating in a country friendly to them, are hanging around his rear in dangerous proximity to his only line of communication, and making bold dashes, tearing up railroad tracks, and destroying tunnels and bridges, and now and then picking up supply and ammunition trains. A critical point of the war is to transact in the South-west; and in spite of the guessing of the Federal journals, you may believe that this time the Confederates have altogether the best of the position. The army of Rosecrans is the beleaguered one, and it may not long be in the power of the Federals to take comfort that it is safe against the numbers which the Confederates are accumulating about him.

The trans-Mississippi region—at first a little paralysed by being cut off from communication with Richmond and the east by the fall of Vicksburg and the loss of the Mississippi river—is recovering itself. A meeting of the governors of the four States of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, was held, and efficient measures were taken to re-organise for self-defence, without expecting direct aid for the present from the Government at Richmond. The result of their efforts has been surprising. The Confederates have taken heart, have rallied considerable armies, and adopted a system of warfare suited to the character of their country, which harasses the invaders and leaves them little advantage from any successes they may have in the engagements which may be risked. The enemy's troops advance, make conquests of unimportant points—which are blazoned in the bulletins as brilliant victories—and necessarily divide themselves in order to keep these towns. The Confederates withdraw through swamps or mountain passes in safety, keep themselves well together and in communication, and suddenly turn upon and crush some detachment or force it to retire; the Confederates advance, and the country is recovered. Such was the case with the Teche country of Louisiana, which General Banks took and could not keep. Such was the result of the late movement on Texas, in which one part of the expedition was repulsed at Sabine Pass, and a portion of another has just come to grief at Morganza, where a party of the Confederates—supposed to be roaming guerrillas, and attacked as such—turned out to be a body of regular Confederate troops, who beat back the Federal column, and killed or captured five hundred of them. The expedition upon Texas is now reduced in effect to one single line of march—advancing towards the Sabine, slowly, through an extremely difficult country, which the Confederates have deprived of everything which can help the advance of an army, retiring themselves in order to get the advantage of position and opportunity to make a stand or to harass the enemy until he can be gradually and successfully attacked.

The Confederates are re-appearing in large force. In north-western Arkansas, and in the State of Missouri guerrilla bands are pressing the Federals in various parts of the State, and a considerable body of troops has advanced so far as to give alarm for the safety of Fort Scott, and to frighten the Federals into a loud call upon Government for more troops for the protection of that fort, and the driving out of a Confederate army; when they were only lately importuning Government for the license to plunder some of the suspected among themselves.

All around there are these signs that the courage of the South is unabated, and that their determinations is to fight on unflinchingly. Their hope to prevail in the fight, and their resolve that, live or die, they will never submit to the dominance of the Yankee, are as inflexible as ever. They will suffer anything and sacrifice everything to accomplish their independence. They do not entertain the thought that there will be ever a case of extremity in which, in order to succeed, they must arm their own negroes or must purchase foreign help by consenting to a system of prospective emancipation. They desire and will defend and want to keep slavery, but they hate the Yankees and love independence more than they care for slavery; and just as surely as the crisis arrives in which this alternative comes up to them distinctly, they will employ slaves or sacrifice slavery, before they would accept the best terms which could be offered to them, for re-union under a

common government with the faithless, rapacious, and cruel North.

The news of the withdrawal of Mr. Mason from England was received here with jeers at the South, as having been foiled and repulsed in its efforts to obtain countenance from the British Ministry, and some slight abatement for a day or two of the popular frenzy of rage against the British, for their previous toleration of the "rebels," by granting them a certain degree of belligerent rights. The Anglophobia broke out again in a few days, and the thinking people were told that it is from no good will to the United States that Earl Russell slighted and snubbed Mr. Mason, until self-respect constrained the Confederate Government to close the mission and withdraw their minister, but because England had been brought to know—by the despatches of Mr. Seward, the remonstrances of Mr. Adams, and the warnings of a special agent sent out for the express purpose by Mr. Lincoln—that if decided steps were not taken to show a public disapproval of the cause of the Confederates, and to obstruct the engagements of Confederates in England to obtain vessels, under the received construction of the neutrality law, and to stop ship-building for them by private builders, there would be war at once, and the Yankee iron-clads would soon be in the Mersey to settle matters for themselves. To these efforts and threatenings is traced the straining of presumptions beyond the law, by which the Government stopped the transfer of the "rams," by sale to foreign hands, lest they should ultimately come by purchase into the hands of the Confederates, and the consequent climax of the series of facts which decided the government of Mr. Mason that it would be useless and degrading to make any further attempt to open or keep open intercourse with the British Cabinet. The English people have, in the main, dealt kindly and liberally with the Confederacy. It could scarcely have been otherwise with a people who, in spite of every political combination, always sympathised warmly with Hungarians and Poles, or other nations not kindred, struggling for independence. But the English Government has allowed herself to be badgered out of the assertion of clear rights and into the sacrifice of great interests by the pertinacious insolence of the North. The time may come, and that before long, in which Ministers may learn, from the wholesome reaction of an honest national feeling at home, or by the mischievous effects upon the foreign relations of England of their pusillanimity, that it would have been wiser, as well as more honourable not to have truckled to the domineering and the unjust.

The Confederate Government will doubtless take steps for prohibiting the exercise hereafter of any consular powers within the Southern States by British functionaries under the recognition of the Government of the United States—the only form of authority which these agents can show; and they have been tolerated in acting until heretofore by the convenience of the case. But this implied recognition; that the Government at Washington has power to grant consular jurisdiction within the Confederate States, has always been an anomaly under which the Confederates have fretted. It became very offensive in several instances, and lately came up with some practical difficulties in the case of the British consul at Savannah, who presumed, on behalf of certain British subjects, to argue their exemption from certain liabilities which would fall upon them in case this was a foreign war, by contending that it was a civil disturbance merely, in which by his interment, subjects are contending against their sovereign—in other words, that the Georgians are rebels. The occurrences in England will doubtless lead to a decision at Milledgeville and in Richmond, stopping at once the consular powers, which are not duly commissioned to and recognised by the competent State or the Confederate Government.

There is a slight drawback to the Federal glee over these events in the apprehension that the transfer of Mr. Mason to Paris may indicate the approaching completion of negotiations with France—of more serious consequence in favour of the South than toleration of a Confederate minister in London by Lord Russell, or the free egress of Mr. Laird's rams.

The elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio to-day occupy a great deal of attention. The chances are in favour of the Administration party in both States, although there is quite a possibility of success in Pennsylvania, according to the judgment of most observers. The results are so far important that they will very seriously affect the Presidential prospects next year. In regard to the question of war or peace they are utterly insignificant. The Administration is in full power to carry out whatever policy it pleases for the year-and-a-half to come, and within that period it can do more mischief than can ever be repaired by any change of Administration or measures. The opposition have so sullied themselves and disgusted what good sense and manly love of justice and good faith there is in the country, that nobody believes their success would be really followed by any good results, and it is becoming a matter of desponding, almost despairing, indifference, which party succeeds.

## THE SITUATION IN LOUISIANA.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 4.

You have already been advised of the progress of the Federal movement towards Texas, sufficiently so, indeed, to show that the expedition, at its very outset, is almost a failure. Had the plan been carried out as arranged, it could scarcely have been, under the most favourable circumstances, a success. If Franklin had placed a large body of men on the Sabine River to cut off the Confederate retreat towards Houston, if Herron had reached the road towards Red River so as to intercept the march of Taylor's men to Alexandria, and if Washburne's column had pressed the Confederates towards either one of these inevitable "gobblers"—the movement would have been called, if it were in the smallest degree satisfactory, a Federal success, and would have been added to the list of similar successes that have followed the Federal army in its invasion of the Southern States.

There are, however, in the proposition three "ifs," two of which have been disposed of effectually. The Sabine Pass affair was a failure, and Herron, instead of cutting off the Confederate retreat to Red River, was driven back himself to the Mississippi River. Our latest news of interest is from this portion of the grand movement. Herron is sick, and goes north on the mail steamer to-day, while General Dana has succeeded to the command of the division—the second division of the 13th Army Corps. There is scarcely a doubt that this division intended to make the movement already indicated, in connection with the main army. For several days their time and attention have been occupied with unimportant skirmishes with what were called "rebel guerrillas," but, as later news tells us, with a really important Confederate force. Dana's men have made Morganza, six miles above Port Hudson, on the west bank of the Mississippi, their base. They have



destroyed a part of the village—it is said, to give their artillery a freer range, indicating that the place is quite likely to be needed for a defence, as well as a base for offensive operations. September 29, Dana sent a body of five hundred men towards the Atchafalaya to "clean out the guerillas." They encountered a Confederate force, estimated to be an entire brigade, under the command of Prince Polignac, and, after a sharp fight of a half-hour's duration, the Federals were surrounded, and those who were not left dead on the field were captured and carried away. Subsequently a small body of Federal cavalry escaped, but the prisoners, as admitted by the Federals themselves, were four hundred and eighty men, and they lost in addition their artillery. I do not know how it is that the Federals are so ignorant of the force opposed to them in that section of the State. Since that day's failure, it is announced that Dana would move with his whole division to disperse, destroy, or capture these "guerillas," when in fact there is nothing to prevent the concentration of at least three Confederate brigades to oppose him, and Federal scouts have been near enough to discover that a large force is fortifying the west bank of the upper Atchafalaya to prevent the crossing of the Federal division. Meanwhile, as cavalry parties ("guerillas") are scouring the country between the Atchafalaya and the Mississippi, those of "head-quarters" in this city congratulate themselves to-day that Dana has succeeded in getting the Confederates in a tight place between the two rivers, as indeed he has—to his cost, as the recent skirmishes sufficiently show.

This is all the news from that division, and unless Dana suddenly becomes ill and goes North, we may presume that he is vigorously engaged in "cleaning out" the guerillas; for if he does this and succeeds in safely returning to Port Hudson or New Orleans, it will be officially announced by-and-by that he has done all that was designed, and that it was not intended that he should take part in the Texas movement. Meanwhile, the Confederate force that he "dispersed" will simply retreat to the Teche, to annoy the main Federal column with guerilla warfare.

On the opposite side of the river and below Port Hudson, there is another "guerilla" force, of say 1,500 men, which has been very annoying. They have lately raided in upon a Federal telegraph station and carried away the guard of ten men with their commanding officer, although a gunboat lay in the river near the station. The same day a small company of Federals, a few men and five or six horses, were captured. On the other hand, the Federals have taken eight or ten "guerillas" near Baton Rouge, among others, it is said, Mr. Robert Hunter, formerly State Treasurer. While the river "cuts in twain the Confederacy," it is quite evident that the annoyances of these guerilla parties on both banks of the river, seriously disturb if they do not destroy the Federal connection by land between this city and Baton Rouge and Port Hudson. The Confederate "surprise parties" have put a very sudden stop to cotton collections and have damped the hopes of Northern speculators. There has been no period since the Federal occupation of the very small portion of the State in which they call themselves "We, the people of Louisiana," when they have been so harassed and annoyed by the Confederates, and when their position in the conquered territory was so uncertain and so insecure.

Now for the advance from Brashear city. The whole Federal force is, at last, across Berwick Bay and is moving along, slowly, as yet, and with no important results. Within a day or two the advance guard of Franklin's cavalry brigade was attacked near Centreville, on the Teche, by a body of three hundred Confederates, whom they soon dispersed. This is only the commencement of the march, the beginning of the skirmishes which will arrest the daily march of the Federal column along the Teche and towards Texas.

As the Federal column advances, we learn much that was for a while only conjectural, and are assured that the Confederates, by slowly retreating, by guerilla warfare, by the removal of their negroes, cattle, mules, and horses to Texas, and by the destruction of the cisterns, and, indeed, everything that cannot be carried with them, are pursuing the exact plan which seemed most feasible for their inferior force, and which has already been indicated in my recent letters. The Federal march will be barren—barren especially in results; and to cap the climax of misfortunes attending the very beginning of the expedition, for some days past the country has been flooded with rains, and the roads will soon be impassable for heavy trains, if not for marching men. Texas is alive with excitement, in consequence of the threatened invasion of that State. The forces scattered here and there are known to be concentrating at Houston and Galveston, and it is believed that they are strong enough to resist and to repulse the Federal advance, weakened, as it must necessarily be, by the long march across Louisiana. There is so little that is encouraging, and so much to dishearten the Federals in this city, that there is talk already of an abandonment of the Texas movement or its postponement to a more convenient season. If the army returns without the accomplishment of something more than promises at present, the war power at Washington, which ordered the movement, will be responsible for its failure.

I enclose Banks's recent General Orders as curiosities merely, since the more important of them relate to conscription for the Federal army in this State, and the idea of conscription here, excepting among negroes forced or dragged into the corps d'Afrique by armed press-gangs, is, of course, ludicrous. Martial law and a general order make it criminal for a white person in this city to carry or possess a revolver; special permits are required if one wishes to go with a shot gun to kill birds in the swamp; not long ago, the whites of the city refused to volunteer for thirty days for the sake of protecting the city against a threatened Confederate invasion; and in this state of affairs it is not likely that the Federals will arm, equip, and organise regiments in this city. If they would only threaten to conscript the hundreds of hungry speculators, cotton collectors, thieves, Jews, Yankees, and Northern men who have come down, and who will flock here this winter to plunder the people, it might have the effect to much lessen that enthusiastic throng of men whose loyalty to the United States is based wholly upon the glorious "liberty" the United States gives them and their followers to steal and destroy whatever they can lay hands upon. With them the preservation of the United States means the destruction of the Southern States, and while they favour the vigorous prosecution of the war their ideas of their individual duties "in the field" are confined wholly to fields of cotton and sugar.

From Texas we learn of the capture of the English steamer Sir Robert Peel (September 11) in the Rio Grande, by the Federal gunboat Seminole. The Peel had on board 1,000 bales of cotton, and as it is claimed that she was captured in Mexican waters we are likely to have another Peterhoff affair. The "prize" has been brought to this port, and Lord Lyons will be informed of the circumstances attending her capture. The British war vessel Buzzard has arrived here from Havana, it is said to investigate this matter.

The French corvette Colbert has arrived from Vera Cruz, and the report is current that five French gunboats are coming in response to the appeal for protection made by the French residents in this city several weeks since.

Accounts from Texas say that General Magruder is quite sick. The Evening Star going North this morning carries a number of the Confederate officers taken at Port Hudson, it is reported, for exchange. Our latest Mobile news is not important. Of course, they are delighted "over that way" with the Texas advance, which promises to be unprofitable to the Federals, and to postpone indefinitely the movement upon Mobile.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, October 27.

I BEGIN to think I shall have to cry *peceavi* for the confident prophecy of continued peace in Europe I sent you some weeks ago. My last letters referred to the activity in the French War Department, and there is now a rumour that Marshal Niel is to go on a special mission to St. Petersburg, which, by most people, is considered ominous of war. More significant than this is the language of the *France* which so long took the side of peace, and which, for the last few days, has assumed a tone of menace unsurpassed by the *Patrie*. Commenting on the analysis of two despatches from M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Vienna, as published in the *Memorial* of Sunday, it is severe on the hesitation of Austria, after the offer of a guarantee against the results of a war with Russia made by the French Government, and still more severe on England, whose violent language has been calculated to set Russia indeed on fire but not to save Poland. "France, less violent than England in language, but more resolute in action, looks but to the object of the agreement she would bring about—the enfranchisement and pacification of Poland—and not, like the Cabinet of St. James, to the interest of a parliamentary debate, or like that of Vienna, to territorial guarantees." "When the documents relating to this weighty question are published, Poland will see who were her most faithful friends and most energetic defenders."

I sometimes refer to the Bourse as the most faithful exponent of general opinion. Its fluctuations and hesitations during the last week are the best proof how uncertain the future seems to the financial world. Until after the opening of the Chambers this uncertainty will weigh upon all transactions, for the Emperor gives no sign of his intentions, and it is said that his Ministers know as little as the men of money as to what his resolution may be. The season, however, forbids all idea of immediate war, and it is little likely that he will give utterance to threats of which the fulfilment must be so long delayed. The fall in the funds can hardly, therefore, be ascribed to any expectation of a warlike speech on the 5th, and it more probably originates in rumours, which have been rife, of a considerable deficit and an impending loan. Whatever the cause, it is certain that not only the great banking houses, but also the Bank of France, have been during the last ten days very large sellers.

You will probably have heard from other sources that Earl Russell has found means to render the Confederates useful to his policy notwithstanding Mr. Mason's withdrawal. He met Prince L. Czartoryski's application for the recognition of the Poles as belligerents by drawing a wide distinction between them, who have no avowed government and no visible existence except as rebels in the field, and the Confederate States of America, who have all the power and outward semblances of a regular government, whose seat is known, and who can negotiate as well as fight in the face of the day. His lordship is the personification of the great families of 1688, whose long tenure of power is due to the art with which they use all things and all men for the advancement of their own views.

The latest news from America is reproduced with undisguised exultation by the greater part of the Paris press. The few words which each paper allots in its summary of news to the events reported by the telegraph from all parts of the world, clearly indicate a hope as well as an opinion that now at last we are at the beginning of the end of this long struggle. The sufferings of the industrial classes in France from the almost total cessation of their exports to the American States, which could be aggravated by the inclement season, if even the cold be less severe than is anticipated, has naturally quickened the sympathies of the press and people for the cause of the South. But I believe that no further attempt will be made by the Emperor to offer mediation, and that the Confederates will be left to complete the work they have shown themselves so well able to carry on without aid.

The unfortunate termination of M. Nadar's second air-voyage does not seem to have discouraged him, and I have heard, on good authority, with great pleasure, that, excepting to one of his fellow-travellers, the results were less serious than has been represented. To the success of the balloon as a financial speculation they will be very conducive, as the daily letters which the papers print keep the subject before the eyes of the world; and, judging by M. Nadar's last notes, he is going, on his arrival in Paris, to add to its piquancy by a discussion with one of his companions, whose published account of the voyage has not met his approbation. I am told by those who have been in a position to form an opinion on the subject, that the immense volume of the balloon renders it quite unmanageable in the descent. The authorities in England, who have promised interference in favour of rope-walkers, would do well to consider whether they should allow the proposed ascent of the balloon from London.

The Empress is expected to-morrow evening from her successful visit to Spain, which seems to have exceeded all the anticipations she can have formed of it, and during which she enjoyed, up to the moment of her return to Valencia, the brightness of that southern autumn which is more genial than a French summer.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, Oct. 28.

THE noble Earl at the head of our Foreign Affairs will be favoured before long with a manifestation of *real* feeling in Lancashire, for which, if we may judge from his speech at Blairgowrie, his lordship will be ill-prepared. A movement, headed by some of our leading mill-owners, and followed up by able and trusted representatives of the operative classes themselves, has just been set on foot, the effect of which will be to convince Earl Russell that, if, as his lordship recently asserted on our behalf, the majority of us are Northerners in the matter of sympathy, we are pretty well all of us—as we propose to assert on our own account—indubitable Southerners in

the matter of cotton. It is felt on all hands that no time shall be lost in taking up the challenge the Foreign Minister has thrown down. It is also felt that the patience of our people has been basely abused by enemies on both sides of the Atlantic, and that the very self-denial with which we have endured our privations has been prostituted by Mr. Bright, Mr. Beecher, Mr. Forster and others, as an argument for perpetuating, for the sake of their shattered idol of Unionism, the calamity they have cruelly forced upon us by the vain attempt to put the pieces together. Judging from the humiliating past, the longer we suffer the worse we shall have to suffer—until a grovelling pauperism shall become the chronic and accepted condition of a large portion of our industrial population. It is obviously in the nature of things, and especially so in such a case as ours, to descend from bad to worse; and therefore no opportunity can be so valuable as the present for making a most serious effort to better ourselves. As in the image set up of old for the people to worship, the lower the members, the coarser the metal: the farther off the time, the more unfit for amendment. And—not to pursue the quaint divine's simile too curiously—to-day is the golden opportunity, to-morrow will be the silver season, next day but the brazen one, and so on, until at last we shall come to the toes of clay and be turned to dust.

It is idle, however, to moralise when there is work to do. The following memorial to Earl Russell is now receiving its thousands and tens of thousands of signatures from the great body of Lancashire operatives, whether in or out of employ; and so soon as the whole is completed, there ought to be such a beating of the drum at the doors of the Foreign Office, that the echo of it shall reach her Majesty at Windsor, and the Queen herself be thus made acquainted with the grievous straits and worse prospects of her loyal people in the North:—

To the Right Honourable EARL RUSSELL, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.

THE MEMORIAL of the undersigned, Managers, Overlookers, and Others engaged in the Cotton Manufactures of the United Kingdom,

Respectfully Sheweth—

That your Memorialists depend entirely for their livelihood on the Cotton Manufacture, and, consequently, upon the importation to this country of a sufficient supply of cotton.

That, until the breaking out of the existing war in America the Southern States have always furnished us with an adequate supply of this indispensable material of a quality best adapted to our wants, by the use of which we were enabled to earn wages sufficient for the support of ourselves and our families; and as it was not supposed that the supply of cotton of this quality would fail, the rates of all our wages have been based upon its use.

That since this calamitous war arose, one-half of our number have been entirely deprived of work, and have become paupers or recipients of charity, and the remainder have been compelled to use cotton of an inferior description, with which, by the same amount of labour, they have only been able to earn two-thirds of the wages which they formerly received. Upon the sufferings and privations which have thus been inflicted upon the whole body to which we belong we need not dwell, as they are notorious to all the world.

That we offer no opinion as to the causes or merits of the war between the Northern and Southern States of America; we are no partisans of either side, but when we were first deprived of our accustomed supply of cotton from that country, we believed it would be but a temporary privation, and we cheerfully submitted to our sufferings in the hope that the war would soon come to an end, and that the Southern States would then be able to supply us as heretofore with the material which we require.

That for some time past, each successive mail from America has brought us tidings which fill our hearts with dismay. We find that the war, instead of being prosecuted by legitimate military operations for the restoration of peace between the contending parties, seems to be now carried on for the sole purpose of wasting the regions from which we received our supplies of cotton, by destroying the means of future production, and thus depriving us of all hope of future relief from that source.

That we learn from Northern newspapers, and from the speeches and letters of the Northern President himself, that their troops and naval forces are in future to be employed in destroying the Southern towns, in burning the farm houses, the cotton sheds, the ploughs, and other implements necessary for the cultivation of the land; in killing or driving away the horses and bullocks, and, when practicable, submerging the land itself, by cutting the banks and dykes which have been formed to keep the rivers within their due bounds.

That, in our judgment, such a mode of carrying on hostilities is not only cruel and inhuman, but contrary to all legitimate usages of war, and when practised on some few occasions by European despots, was visited by the just execration of mankind. On this view of the matter, however, it is not our province to dwell. We are constrained to regard it as affecting the future prospects of our own industry and welfare. When we learn that districts as large as the county of Lancaster, formerly employed in the cultivation of cotton, have been completely cleared of inhabitants and dwellings, and the land reduced to its original sterility; that thirteen Southern towns, formerly depots for the preparation and storage of cotton, have been entirely destroyed; and that this process of devastation is still carried on day by day: we discern in it not only a great outrage on humanity, but a threatened extinction of our future prospects of satisfactory and remunerative labour.

Your Memorialists, therefore, humbly pray that your Lordship will use your personal influence, and the influence of the British Government, in order to put an end, if possible, to proceedings so offensive to humanity, and so destructive to the present and future welfare of your Memorialists.

It seems a cruel commentary upon the foregoing memorial to quote from the statistics just published by the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, in proof that our people have not begun to cry aloud for better times without grievous cause. The hon. secretary to that valuable local institution reports that the quarter just ended exhibits a highly unsatisfactory state of the public health. Smallpox has spread so much that, whereas only fourteen new cases occurred in the September quarter, 1861, (in connection with the public institutions), the number rapidly increased to 552 in the June quarter of this year; last quarter it fell to 263. Scarlet fever has been the most general and fatal disease. The number of new cases increased from 17 in the September quarter, 1861, to 602 in the quarter just ended. Of the latter number 73 cases terminated fatally, or one in 8.3. The number of deaths from all causes was 81 in every 10,000 inhabitants; while the number of births was 93—a singularly low rate of increase. On looking to the several districts it is found that the rate of mor-



ality was highest in Salford, where 87 died in every 10,000. In the Ancoats, London-road, and Deansgate registration districts, with an aggregate population of about 118,700, the number of deaths amounted to 938, and the births to 998, showing an annual death rate of 328 in the thousand, and a birth rate of about 35. In considering the causes of this unfortunate state of things, the statistician says: "It seems difficult to resist the conclusion that the hard times through which the people have passed, and are still passing, are beginning to tell; that a population long accustomed to live well on high but hard-earned wages will not flourish beyond a certain time, at any rate in full physical vigour, beneath the various depressing influences which have combined to assail them, namely: poor fare, mental depression, crowded dwellings, and a sickly season."

Protests against Earl Russell's notorious mis-statement of a matter of fact are pouring in upon us, not only from towns throughout Lancashire, but from every quarter in the United Kingdom. These documents derive a peculiar value from a combination of various circumstances, which I need not now stop to mention. Suffice it that, as expressions of opinion, they are national, as opposed to party, in their political aspect; while, one and all, they favour separation as the only means of peace. A glance at the immense mass of letters received by the Secretary of the Southern Independence Association is more than sufficient to prove—if proof were needed—that Federal sympathy in this country is entirely confined to the actual members of the Emancipation Societies in London and Manchester, and to those purely Unionist members of Parliament "who could all be driven from the House of Commons in a single omnibus." As a sample of the Liberal, not to say Radical, authorship of the majority of these letters, I cannot do better than append a copy of one of them, from an ex-member of Parliament for a constituency like Bolton, and, to the boot of that, a political pupil of Jeremy Bentham, and one who does not yield to Mr. Cobden himself in the liberalism of a long public life, and who, like the renowned free-trader, has grown grey in labouring at the economics and literature of trade and commerce.

"The Athenæum, London, 17th October.

"Sir,—At an early period I came to the conclusion that the Union would not be restored on conditions creditable or even tolerable to either party. The continuance of the frightful struggle has intensified hate, augmented difficulties, and in my judgment, made reunion (for the present at least) impossible. I do not think the ultimate solution depends on the fortunes of war, or that any amount of success on either side will produce that extent of sympathy or increase those sentiments of nationality and common affection which are the only safe foundation for good government and public tranquility. Moreover, it appears to me that every substantial benefit might be obtained by friendly intercourse and unrestricted commerce, without enforcing amalgamation upon millions of discontented men. I have evidence in my own hands to show that many of the most illustrious of the patriots and statesmen of America foresaw the futurity (it is now present) when separation might become inevitable, and all their counsels were—'Then part in peace!' For that peace, in the interest alike of black and white, of America, of Great Britain, of the whole human race, I earnestly and daily pray. This prayer I feel must become one who has passed through the turmoils of a long political life into the serenity and solitude of old age; and I see no hope for peace but in separation.

"I have no objection to the publication of anything I have written on the subject of the desolating Transatlantic contest, and only wish the councils of peace found an emphatic echo from the other hemisphere. I have always been an earnest advocate for the abolition of slavery, but never by the instruments of political tyranny and bloody war.

"I am, &c.,

"JOHN BOWRING."

"THOMAS STALEY, Esq., Secretary  
Southern Independence Association, Manchester."

It used to be said that the charm of a breakfast-party "at Rogers's" lay in the beautiful natural law that forbids people to get conceited before one o'clock in the day. This "chief sweet," we may charitably presume, was not quite absent on Saturday morning at the Albion, although we might have to peer about somewhat curiously to detect its presence in the same room with Dr. Parker or Dr. Massie. But barring this defect, or perhaps I should rather say on account of it, the "farewell breakfast" to Henry Ward Beecher was what is called a "success," and must go for what it is worth. The most noteworthy feature in the proceedings appeared at a very early stage of the feast. Scarcely had the more solid fare been discussed, when the company forthwith grew dyspeptic about Lord Brougham. His lordship clearly did not "agree" with Mr. Beecher or his admirers, who avenged themselves, however, by quite agreeing with one another that the sometime "prince of Abolitionists" had grown into "a poor spoiled old man," who was now going about "pronouncing words of unparalleled baseness" concerning the war, while the only justification he could offer for his "truculence" (!) was the so-called right he had to be listened to as the leader of the effete anti-slavery party of days gone by. His lordship had forgotten that the old-fashioned principles of anti-slavery had been specially modified to meet the wants of a political party; and that it was of the prime necessity to the full play and free action of those principles that the clique professing them should "cease to be bullied even by a Lord Brougham. (Cheers.)"

Digestion having been aided by this preliminary discharge of bile, Mr. Beecher addressed his circle of private friends for more than two hours. It matters nothing what he said on a purely personal occasion of no sort of significance; but the almost comic if not impudent character of the whole affair can be best judged from the wind-up, when cheers were seriously given for—"The Queen and Mrs. Lincoln!"

#### THE MEXICAN EMPIRE.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*.)

So we are to have an empire, and are to have an Emperor, living and being in North America: an event forbidden long ago by the "greatest nation in all creation," and interdicted by both the "Eagle" and the "Stars and Stripes!" Were the Yankee nation free from the war which now absorbs all their means and exercises all their ingenuity, they would beyond doubt essay to defeat the Empire and the Emperor; but the moment of their close occupation in our subjugation is selected by the French Emperor as the most fitting for the introduction of his policy—Napoleonic ideas—into Mexico. They will be indignant at the event, and may well discern in it that which is most unfavourable to their hectoring and domineering over this continent. They will profess to be horrified at the im-

perial character of the new government, while they are themselves the slaves of the vilest and most degraded tyranny that ever cursed the earth.

The South is content, nay, pleased, with the change of affairs in Mexico—with the prospect of order and security in that country, and its control, at least during pupillage, by a Power altogether friendly to us. Under it the industry of the nation will improve, and the tide of commerce and of power in the Gulf be immensely swelled in volume. This will be beneficial to the South and, of course, detrimental to the North, which must the more certainly cease to be the point of settlement for the continent. It will no longer ship everything, import everything, buy everything, sell everything, and have all the money in its own hands. To maintain this position it is now fighting and expending all its means. It would freely sell out and spend every dollar it is worth to-day to accomplish this, and think it had made a grand speculation. But secession has deprived them of it, and the elevation of Mexico in the scale of nations will help still further to keep them forever from recovering it.

With a strong and steady Government, and security to person and property, Mexico will become a great producing country—her productions, too, being of that character most important to commerce. It is a most remarkable country, covering an area of eight hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and sixteen English square miles, being one-fourth as large as Europe! Traversed through its whole length by the immense mountain range of the Cordilleras, it embraces within its limits every degree of temperature, from the torrid to the frigid. The sea coast, to an interior elevation of two thousand feet above the sea is the *tierras calientes*, or hot region, with a mean temperature of 77 degrees. The region above that, to five thousand feet above the sea, is the *ras templadas*, or temperate region, with a mean temperature of 68 degrees; and the third elevation, to the line of perpetual snow, is the *tierras frias*, or cold region. The city of Mexico is within this last, 7,400 feet above the ocean. Humboldt says that in the ascent from Mexico the climates succeed each other in layers, and the traveller passes in review in the course of two days the palms of the tropics and the plants of the arctic regions.

A country with so diversified a temperature and soil as Mexico will produce everything known to the agriculturist. Her productions, however, may be considered chiefly cotton, coffee, tobacco, indigo, flax, hemp, vanilla, jalap, and cochineal. Sugar might also be produced. Dye-woods, mahogany, and other products of the forests, are very valuable. Of these productions Mexico has exported considerably; but owing to the disturbed condition of the country no fair estimate of its capacity can be formed from its statistics. It is beyond doubt one of the most fruitful countries on the globe.

The chief source of wealth of Mexico to this time has been its mines. The silver mines, said to be over forty in number, yield an average of near \$40,000,000 per annum. Gold is also found in considerable quantity. Quicksilver is abundant, the yield being near three hundred thousand pounds per annum.

Mexico has done something in the way of manufacturing—having 72 cotton factories, 6 woolen factories, 8 paper mills, 4 glass factories, &c.

The population numbers, 7,661,520, only one million of which is pure white. Four millions are Indians, and the remainder negroes and mixed breeds.

Here is indeed a vast country with vast resources. The Emperor of France is far-seeing enough to appreciate its advantages, and know what may be achieved with them in time to come. With order and security, enterprise, industry, and capital will flock to Mexico, and it will assume a position as a producing and commercial nation that will surpass the largest calculations.

Speculation about what Yankees will do in all such matters is only agreeable to those who speculate. The Yankees will just accommodate themselves to circumstances. They will submit to what they can't prevent—pay damages—pocket insults—acquiesce in revolutions detrimental to them—do anything and everything that they may think expedient, and avoid everything to them inexpedient, while they wage their war of malignity and subjugation against the South.

But it is all the better for the South that Mexico is placed beyond their grasp, and is under the direction of a power whose character and interests assure us of peace, security, and friendship on our Southern border. Therefore the South may well exclaim, "Long live the Mexican Empire!"

#### LETTER FROM THE HON. W. C. RIVES.

The following letter was written by the Hon. W. C. Rives to a member of the Virginia Legislature:—

My dear sir,—I learn from you, with great regret, that some of our fellow-citizens are a good deal discouraged by recent events in our military operations, while you yourself, I am glad to see, retain your accustomed erectness and buoyancy of spirits. Are we not, in some degree, the spoiled children of that marvellous good fortune which, by the gracious providence of God, has, for the most part, attended us since the commencement of this gigantic struggle? And have not our very successes, long-continued as they have been, unstrung our minds for the discipline of those occasional reverses which none can hope to escape amid the inexorable vicissitudes of war?

When we recollect, not merely the disparity of numbers and material wealth between us and our adversaries, but that they were in possession of the army and navy of the United States, the creation of the joint efforts and contributions of the entire Union for seventy odd years; that all those branches of manufacturing industry most essential to the operations of war had been long established and in full activity with them; and that at the same time they had the advantage of an open and unrestricted intercourse with the rest of the world to supply any deficiency which might exist in their resources; while, at the commencement of the war, we had not a ship or a soldier, were without the munitions of war, or any existing establishment for furnishing them, even to percussion caps, and cut off from all foreign supplies by the blockade of our whole coast—the extent and magnitude of what we have accomplished ought to be a matter of grateful astonishment to ourselves, as it is of special wonder to other nations of the earth. With all these odds against us, what a long and dazzling roll of victories have we furnished for the pen of the future historian of the war!

Virginia, embracing the seat of Government of the Confederacy, has been the selected object against which the most formidable and imposing enterprises of the enemy have been directed. How "lame and impotent" the conclusion of all these vaunted expeditions, so often and so pompously gotten up for the capture of Richmond and the subjugation of Virginia,

let Bethel, Manassas, Leesburg, in the first year of the war—the plains of Williamsburg, the bloody panorama of battle-fields around the beleaguered capital, the blaze of successive victories with which Jackson lighted up the valley of the Shenandoah from Harper's Ferry to Port Republic, Cedar Mountain, Manassas again, the closing and overwhelming discomfiture at Fredericksburg, in the second year of the war—and the grand rout, after four days' conflict, of Chancellorsville and Marne's Heights, in the present year, followed by the enemy's third expulsion from the valley—let these memorable fields, with their solemn and truthful voices, tell.

During this period, too, the Army of Northern Virginia, under its illustrious leader, made two bold and successful incursions into the enemy's territory; levied contributions upon it; gave battle to his concentrated legions on his own soil, crippling and inflicting heavy losses upon him; and then returned at leisure to resume its attitude of calm defiance and proud invincibility at home. Such is a general outline of the history of the war on the Atlantic side of the Confederacy. Outskirts and fragmentary portions of territory have, in some instances, been temporarily and reluctantly abandoned to the enemy, as not justifying the attempt to defend them at the risk of the central and more important portions; but in no case has the heart or grand interior of the territory been yet penetrated.

In the valley of the Mississippi the course of events has been more chequered by alternate good and bad fortune. Springfield, Columbus, Shiloh, and even Murfreesboro, were noble successes for us. Fort Donelson, Corinth, New Orleans recall the remembrance of sad disasters; and to these has been recently added the loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. I have no disposition to extenuate the gravity of any of these disasters. But looking at them in their very worst aspect, there is nothing in any or all of them to give rise to a feeling of despondency. The enemy is as far as ever from the great object he had in view—the free and unobscured navigation of the Mississippi for commercial purposes. Its banks are still accessible for hundreds of miles, within our territory, to our sharpshooters and movable batteries, that can and will prevent the use of the river by trading vessels, and effectually interdict it to all practical commerce. The inhabitants of the country are more roused than ever by the outrages of the enemy, and redoubled efforts will be made to render his local successes bootless to him. We have two powerful and noble armies under Johnston and Bragg on the eastern side of the river, which are strengthened daily both by the Confederate conscription and by the zealous co-operation of the adjacent State Governments; while on the western side of the river are the enterprising and indomitable commands of Price, of Kirby Smith, of Taylor and Magruder, to strike wherever the enemy may present himself.

When this situation is compared with the many unavoidable reverses and endless difficulties which our brave ancestors had to encounter, and so gloriously surmounted, in their struggle for independence, who does not feel his spirit rebuked at the slightest thought of discouragement under our present circumstances? Recollect the condition of Washington in the second year of the war of the Revolution, when, after successive and severe disasters on Long Island, at New York, at White Plains, and the loss of Fort Mifflin, on the Hudson, with its garrison, he was compelled to retreat through the Jerseys, "pushed," to use his own expressive language, "from place to place, till we were obliged to cross the Delaware with less than three thousand men fit for duty," and the reluctant confession was extorted from his firm and manly breast that unless "a new army can be speedily recruited, the game is pretty nearly up." Even in this extremity there was no despondency, no discouragement. The pressure and magnitude of the dangers only supplied new energies of action and stimulated to redoubled exertion, and in a few days the brilliant achievements of Trenton and Princeton redressed the balance of victory.

In every period of the revolutionary contest a large portion of our territory was overrun and occupied by the enemy. In the South, Green was compelled to retire before Cornwallis, as Washington had done before the Howes in the North. Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, each and all of them, east of the Blue Mountains, were overrun for a time by the armies of the enemy; while all the chief cities in the North and South—Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Norfolk, Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah—were, for a longer or shorter period, in his possession. But if the country was overrun, the hearts of the people were not overawed. With them and their trusted servants, whether in the council or in the field, there was no despair of the Republic. They felt as Washington, when most oppressed by the complicated difficulties of his situation, expressed himself, in the sincerity of his heart, in writing to his brother: "Under a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea that it will finally sink, though it may remain for a time under a cloud."

All history proves that a brave and uncorrupted people, determined to be free, never can be subdued by the insolent superiority of force and numbers, however disproportioned. What availed the countless Persian hordes of Darius and Xerxes, when confronted, in many a field made classic and holy ground by their discomfiture, with the proud spirit of freedom and the noble self-devotion of the small but undaunted commonwealths of Greece? If ever a people had apparent cause for despondency it was the people of Rome, when Hannibal, with his Carthaginian hosts, after three successive victories on the Ticino, the Brescia, and Thrasymene, in his triumphal march towards the capital, almost annihilated the Roman army in a fourth at Cannæ, leaving more than forty thousand Roman citizens dead upon the field, including one of the consuls in command, many senators, ex-consuls, prætors, ædiles, and others of the highest rank and consideration. But, amid the consternation of so terrible a calamity the spirit of the Republic never blanched. When the surviving consul, whose rashness even had been the cause of the disaster, approached the city, with the wreck of his army, the Senate and all ranks of the people, we are told by one of their great historians, went out to meet him and thanked him for not having despaired of the Commonwealth. And in the end it was not Rome, but Carthage, that perished in the conflict.

So, too, when we come down to the period of modern history. Is it possible to conceive a struggle more unequal in numbers, armament, and every material resource than that in the sixteenth century, between the seven insurgent Provinces of the Netherlands, beginning with two of them only, and the whole weight and power of the Spanish monarchy in its meridian splendour; when, in addition to the resources of its large dominions in Italy, the Netherlands, and the Peninsula, including Portugal, it wielded the riches of America and the Indies united. And yet by the indomitable courage and perseverance of the inhabitants, animated with the spirit of civil and religious liberty, and in spite of calamities and disasters which tried to the uttermost the heroic stuff of which they were made, leaving to them often no other resource than, by



cutting their dykes, to call in the aid of that destructive element it had cost them ages of labour and trial to shut out; they redeemed their native land from the remorseless surges of a despotism more ferocious than the sea, triumphantly established their independence, and constituted a renowned Commonwealth, which, for 200 years, proudly held its place in the first rank of the Powers of Europe.

If we wish further to see what prodigies an undismayed spirit of national independence, battling upon its own soil for its hearths and its altars, is capable of accomplishing against the odds of force and numbers, look at the example of the same people, under the third William of Orange, magnanimously bidding defiance to the united and powerful 'armies of Louis XIV. of France and Charles II. of England. Look at Prussia, under Frederick II., in the memorable Seven Years' War, successfully contending against almost all the Powers of continental Europe—Austria, France, the German States, Sweden, and Russia—all banded together, at the same moment, in the invasion of her territory. Look again, at the miracles of successful valour accomplished some thirty years later by the people of revolutionary France, in the enthusiasm of liberty, and in vindication of the right of national self-government against a second and more formidable combination of all Europe, both insular and continental.

What any of these people accomplished, we are capable of accomplishing. We have the same love of liberty; we have the same devotion to our native land; we have the same martial ardour; we have the same, and even greater motives to exert every faculty for our deliverance. With the most of them, the great stake involved was national independence and political rights. With us, in addition to all this, everything precious to the human affections, everything sacred to the human heart, is at issue. From the ruthless spirit in which this war has been waged by our adversaries; from the specimens we have had of their infamous pro-consular governments in parts of our territory occupied by them; from the appeals they are now making to the vindictive and brutal passions of an uncivilised race, as their allies in this unholy crusade against us, it is impossible for the imagination to picture a fate more horrible than ours would be if we were once subjected to their power. I know no language which, in that case, could adequately paint the depth of our degradation and the extremity of our wretchedness, unless it be those burning lines of an English poet, in which he gave vent to his feelings of horror and indignation when deprecating the iron rule of a vulgar and hypocritical tyranny in his own land:—

"Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be!  
Come sink us rather in the sea;  
Come rather pestilence and reap us down;  
Come God's sword, rather than our own.  
Let rather Roman come again,  
Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane.  
In all the bonds we ever bore,  
We grieved, we sighed, we wept, we never blushed before."

In the foregoing remarks it has been assumed that the enemy's forces were, in numbers, much greater than ours. This has, undoubtedly, heretofore been the fact. But I am firmly persuaded that, notwithstanding the immense difference in the actual population of the two countries, we shall henceforward have an army in the field at all times fully equal in numbers to theirs; and that, surely, is all we need desire. The energies of the South are just beginning to be thoroughly aroused. We already see a proposition in the Legislature of Alabama to extend the limits of the military age below eighteen years to sixteen, and above forty-five to sixty. This was the old Spartan rule, and prevailed a long time in England, until the institution of standing armies, and her insular situation, made her careless with regard to the military organisation of the mass of her population. But our circumstances may well justify a recurrence to the ancient rule, so far, at least, as to call out the supplementary classes for local defence. The spirit of the people, there can be no doubt, would nobly respond to such a call, while the demands of the crisis, appealing to the instinctive courage of men, and enforced by the pleading loveliness of women, will keep our active army full within the limits of the age heretofore prescribed for it.

The situation of our adversary presents a very different picture. The popular fervour of the war, first kindled and for some time kept up by delusive pretexts, is abated and abating. The difficulties and general repugnance opposed to their recent draft have converted it into a very little more than a barren mockery. No large accessions to their army, already much reduced by the expiration of enlistments and the casualties of war, can now be had by force or by persuasion. The cordial support of public opinion, in the present age of the world, is indispensable to the effective prosecution of every war. Great as has been the amount of prejudice and delusion and bad feeling among the people of the North towards us, happily "reason has not fled to brutish beasts." Many of them now see that the present war is, almost without disguise, a war for the extermination or degradation of the white race by the installation of the blacks in virtual dominion over them, and in such a war they have no motive of sympathy or interest to engage them. Others, profiting, at last, by the sagacious lessons of Chatham, Burke, Fox, and that noble band of patriots and statesmen in England who manfully opposed the war upon the American Colonies from the start, begin to see that the triumph of lawless despotism over the independence of the South would be equally fatal to their remnant of constitutional liberty at home. From the operation of these and other causes, the military, with the moral strength of the North in this contest, will go on decreasing, while ours will certainly increase.

On whatever side I look, then, I see no omen of discouragement, but on the contrary new grounds of assurance, with regard to the ultimate and certain triumph of the great cause in which we are embarked. We may have occasional reverses in the future, as we have had them in the past. These are often salutary trials of our constancy and faith, and needful admonitions to increased vigilance and exertion. Even heroic Charleston, for whose fate every bosom is now yearning with anxiety, may fall under the extraordinary means concentrated for her destruction. But if she does, it will be in a blaze of glory that will irradiate the remotest corner of the Confederacy, and light the way to retributive victories elsewhere, while she herself will be destined to rise again with increased splendour from her ashes. The capture of Athens by the Persians ushered in the glorious days of Salamis and Plataea, and when reoccupied, strengthened and adorned by the pious hands of their children, she was more than ever the envy and admiration of the world. No local or occasional disaster can check the onward progress of a great cause blessed with the approving smiles of Heaven, and sustained by stout hearts with unceasing vigilance and unflinching faith.

I remain, very truly and faithfully, your friend,

W. C. RIVES.

#### THE RAMS IN THE MERSEY.

A RUMOUR was in circulation at Devonport on Tuesday to the effect that a telegram had been received in the dockyard from the Admiralty, intimating that the Northern States of America and Russia had declared war against France. It was suggested that the presence of the Russian fleet at New York had something to do with this allegation. From the form which the rumour took this would seem to have been the case; but it is thought it owes its origin to the circumstance that orders were received in the dockyard on Monday to have the new iron-clad ship the Prince Consort ready to proceed to sea the next morning. In consequence of this order extra efforts were put forth to make the ship ready, and some persons were in consequence employed the greater part of the night. Captain Vesey, of the Royal Adelaide, was detached from that ship, and went on board the Prince Consort, taking the command. Early yesterday morning a detachment of 100 marines were told off for duty on board the Prince Consort, and embarked after breakfast under the command of Captain Drury. These orders for the sudden departure of this great ship caused much consternation in the families of officers and men, and others interested in people belonging to her. Out of this perplexity many rumours arose. When, however, the time came at which she was to have left the port a telegram came from the Admiralty delaying her departure. In the hot haste of getting ready in the morning it is presumed that arrangements were not made to provide dinner for the detachment of Royal Marines so promptly embarked. At all events, when it was found the ship was not to sail immediately, the Marines were disembarked, returned to the barracks, and had their dinner, and were subsequently re-embarked. There were many conjectures as to the destination of the Prince Consort. According to some, she and other ships were to be ready for any emergency arising out of the presumed hostilities between America, Russia, and France. According to others, she was to go out to look after an American and a Russian vessel, said to be cruising in the Channel. Others had it that she was going to Liverpool to look after the steam-rans in the Mersey. Additional probability is imparted to the latter version of the cause by the facts detailed by the following from the *Liverpool Courier*:—"Yesterday (Monday) there was a report that the steam-ran lately lying in the Great Float, at Birkenhead, had slipped out into the fog on pretence of a trial trip. It turned out that it was the other ram, El Monastir (The Victory), which was temporarily taken out of Messrs. Laird's large graving dock, at their shipbuilding works, made a single turn in the river, with the aid of tug-boats, and then went into the dock again, the manoeuvre having been performed to enable another vessel under repair to enter the graving dock. El Tousson remains in the Great Float, with workmen still on board." A more minute detail of the facts has been supplied from another source. According to this information, there has been a feeling of insecurity amongst the Ministry as to what are the present intentions of the promoters of the Mersey rams. It was hinted that a design was entertained of sending the rams to sea by fraud. On Monday, when the El Monastir, one of the rams, was taken into the river, much party feeling was elicited at Liverpool by that circumstance. The Federalist sympathisers were on the *qui vive* to ascertain what was going to be done, and thus came into collision with some of the friends of the Confederates. Warm altercations ensued, and some of the Southern blood being up, such an indiscreet hint was ventured as that if the rams once got into the river they would be able to run down with ease any ship which was there, and might attempt to prevent their proceeding to sea. Such a threat was immediately telegraphed to London. There, by some of the authorities, the threat was entertained. The Liverpool's return to the Mersey was suggested, but then she was fitting for another port, and if force was to be used vessels must be sent that were suitable and that could remain there, if required, for a lengthened period. The Prince Consort, 35, screw, iron-cased ship, was therefore chosen as in every way adapted to offer opposition to the rams, and not being required elsewhere, orders were sent down to Devonport for her to be at once manned, provisioned, stored, and sent round to Liverpool. The carrying out of this order was commenced as above-stated, and in addition to the Marines, drafts of seamen were sent on board from the various ships in ordinary. While, however, the order was thus being carried out with alacrity, another telegram came down cancelling the former one, and the men and stores shipped were returned. Subsequently, a third order arrived confirming the first one, and the Prince Consort was equipped and passed into the Sound last evening. Should it come to pass that the El Monastir or El Tousson get to sea under such circumstances, they would have very different opponents to escape from than the Alabama has encountered. Every port where the British flag flies would be closed against them; and numerous vessels in every quarter of the globe, of a very different class to the Vanderbilt, would be but only too delighted to give them chase.—*Western Morning News*.

#### LIVERPOOL, Wednesday.

Yesterday morning a body of seamen arrived in Liverpool to reinforce the crew of Her Majesty's ship *Majestic*, and in the afternoon a body of armed marines was landed, and, backed by this force, Mr. Morgan, of the Customs, took formal possession of El Tousson, lying in the Great Float, and El Monastir, lying in an unfinished condition in Messrs. Laird's graving dock. The workmen were turned ashore and left the ships, not, however, without expressing their discontent pretty freely. The order for the seizures is said to have come from the Foreign Office. The gunboat *Heron* now lies with steam up opposite Messrs. Laird's yard, and the gun-boat *Goshawk* still keeps watch over El Tousson.

These decisive proceedings appear to have been taken owing to a very unfounded report that the vessels were about to be taken away surreptitiously, although El Monastir is without steering gear, and neither of the vessels have any coal on board and could only leave the docks at high water.

A report is current that it is intended to take the vessels into the river for greater security. A more absurd proceeding could scarcely be thought of, as the cost of insurance would be very heavy and the vessels would be less safe than if they were in the docks.

It may be mentioned that the rumours which have been current for some time, to the effect that a portion of the Florida's crew had arrived some weeks ago to take charge of the iron-clads, has no foundation in fact. The real fact is, that these men became insubordinate at Brest because they were refused leave ashore, and were subsequently discharged by Captain Maffit. They made their way to Liverpool, and on their wages being paid they dispersed, and most of them immediately shipped in various merchant vessels.—*Times*.

#### CONGRATULATORY ORDER OF GENERAL LEE.

General Lee has just issued the following congratulatory order to the Army of Northern Virginia, announcing the victory at Chickamauga by General Bragg:—

General Orders No. 89.

Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia,  
September 24, 1863.

The commanding-general announces to the army, with profound gratitude to Almighty God, the victory achieved at Chickamauga by the army of General Braxton Bragg.

After a fierce and sanguinary conflict of two days, the Federal forces under General Rosecrans were driven with heavy loss from their strong positions, and, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, retreated under cover of the night on Chattanooga, pursued by our cavalry.

Rendering to the great Giver of victory, as is most justly due, our praise and thanksgiving for this signal manifestation of his favour, let us extend to the army that has so nobly upheld the honour of our country the tribute of our admiration for its valour and sympathy for its suffering and loss.

Invoking the continued assistance of Heaven upon our efforts, let us resolve to emulate the heroic example of our brethren in the South, until the enemy shall be expelled from our borders, and peace and independence be secured to our country.

R. E. LEE, General.

THE REV. H. W. BEECHER.—The *Times* of yesterday severely criticises the oratory of Mr. Beecher. It says he "comes from America with the best of all credentials as an orator. The sittings at his church are regularly put up to auction, and produced last year the sum of \$18,549." That he is possessed of gifts of speech such as are appreciated highly across the ocean is evident from these figures; but whether his oratory is suited to the colder Briton, accustomed to associate elevated subjects with a chaste and decorous language, we are inclined to doubt. Indeed, in his own country there are malevolent critics who object to his style, and deride the taste of his congregation. From his late orations we are now able to form an estimate of his talents; and certainly in our judgment he is not the man to convert the British public to the Federal cause. Unless his speeches here are very unworthy samples of his genius, we must conclude that the religious politicians of America are pretty much on a par in conception and language with the politicians proper, and that the pulpit is not more intellectually elevated than the stump." His object is that England should sympathise with the territorial ambition of the Federals. "Feel for us, applaud us, pray for our success," such is his request to the English religious world, "for we desire to keep our large territory, we desire to increase the strength of the Federal Government, to put down the theory of State rights, as dangerous to our nationality." Such is the sum of his argument. What else, indeed, can he say? Can he, with the events of the time before his eyes, pretend that the principles of self-government, which make the safety of England, can be advanced by the subjection of a large population to military rule for an indefinite term? Already the evil example of the Federal States is seen in the boldness with which the Russian Government in Poland braves the censure of the World." The *Times* concludes by denying any sympathy with such a cause. "Are we just at this moment, when the war is again happily languishing, to goad on the Federals to another year's slaughter at the bidding of a clerical politician? We think that there will be but one answer from the intelligent society of England. Those cheers which any fluent speaker on any side of a question can obtain will represent no opinion worthy of serious consideration by politicians. The mind of this country is made up; in three years it has had time to fix itself so as to be wholly unchangeable; and the opinion of the nation is, that Mr. Beecher's section of the late Union is waging a war of injustice under the influence of an ambition with which the world in general has no reason to sympathise."

MR. LAIRD, M.P. AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—In the course of Mr. Laird's recent speech at Birkenhead, he said, in reference to the report that the captain of the Alabama had informed his sailors before they left England for what service they were wanted:—"But let me tell you it is not necessary, in engaging men to go to any part of the world, to tell those men where they are going; because, you know, I am an old hand myself in fitting out secret expeditions. (Applause.) A few years ago it was thought desirable by the Government of this country to send vessels to China and to various parts of India secretly. A Chinese war was anticipated; the Russians were expected to come down the head of the Indus and the Euphrates; and it was desirable to place faith in somebody. Her Majesty's Government were pleased to place faith in me, and I built for the British Government about a dozen vessels; but the Government said to me, 'What we want you to do, Mr. Laird, is this: we want you to build, any to arm, and equip these vessels, and to send them out; they must be yours, and nobody must know anything about it.' Well, being a prudent sort of a shipbuilder, I said, 'I will take your order on those conditions.' I built the ships; they were armed; I engaged men; I did everything. (Hear, hear, cheers, and laughter.) I had to engage, not only sailors, but engineers and boiler-makers, ship-carpenters, and men of a variety of trades; I had to send them to various parts of the world, and I can assure you that a few shillings per month extra did all the business. They did not care where they went so long as they got a little extra pay (laughter); and, therefore, the statement regarding the captain of the Alabama having told a sailor all about the ship—whose she was, and where she was for—bears the impress of falsehood upon the very face of it. I never saw the captain of the Alabama but once, and that was after having taken the ship out, and I don't think he was the man to make such a statement as that upon which the ship might have been stopped."

SOME forty merchants and bankers of the city of London entertained Colonel Lamar, late one of the Confederate Commissioners to Europe, at a farewell dinner at the Albion, Aldersgate Street, yesterday evening. The dinner was altogether a private one, and with the exception of a brief and feeling response to a toast in his honour, from Colonel Lamar, and a similar response from Professor Bledsoe, another Confederate guest, there was no speaking.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—

At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Manchester, F. A. HOSBHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PREIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund, acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Through Mr. Hotze, London:—

Sir Arthur Hallam Elton .. ... £3 3 0

## Virginia and Tennessee.

"It is officially announced that General Lee has not crossed the Potomac." Such is the cheering news with which the Northern Administration consoles its anxious public after two years and a-half of its war of conquest. Within that time half-a-dozen enormous armies, confident in themselves and their leaders, have marched from the banks of the Potomac on their grand of invasion and destruction, and have returned, some in panic rout, some disgracefully beaten, all hopelessly vanquished, to their entrenchments around Washington. General after General has passed away into unhonoured obscurity, or fed with his life's blood the soil he could not conquer. Month after month the cry of "On to Richmond" has resounded through the cities of the North and been answered clamorously in its camps; and the end of all is, that Washington is once more racked with rumours of great reverses, and that Mr. Lincoln announces, in the language of a man who has barely escaped a terrible calamity, "that General Lee has crossed the Potomac." It seems but the other day that McClellan "saved the republic" at Antietam Creek, and Meade, in the words of the New York press, "gave the coup de grace to Secession" on the heights of Gettysburg. Lee's army was destroyed on both occasions; the Northern commanders had only to put out their hands to grasp the prize of victory; there was no more fight in the South; such were the boasts at Washington and New York; and now, almost upon the very spot where the first crash of battle between North and South was heard, and where McDowell's host marched in all the insolence of Yankee pride to sweep away from its path the small patriot band that lined the crests of the hills at Bull Run, two great armies are confronting one another, to decide, not the fate of Richmond, but that of the Northern capital. The plains around are rich with the blood of 100,000 men. There the bones of thousands of Northern mercenaries lie side by side with the remains of the very flower of the Southern people. But Bull Run, Manassas, and Centreville have not yet sufficiently taught their lesson, and Mr. Lincoln, with prophetic ken, foresees the coming slaughter, and calls for a new levy of 300,000 volunteers.

The movements which have brought the two armies back to the old battle-field bear a singular resemblance to those of the two last series of operations which closed respectively at Antietam and Gettysburg. Once more we have the long period

of inaction; the Federals standing at bay; both sides busily occupied in filling up their ranks; their outposts within easy rifle shot, their cavalry skirmishing daily, and New York clamorous for another Federal advance; and then, suddenly and unexpectedly, the whole Southern force, after a few manœuvres, quite unintelligible to the Northern commanders, pushes forward; a portion of it marches round the right flank of the Federal army, is already some miles in its rear, and menacing its communications, before its chief is aware of his danger. Then there is a hasty retrograde movement, an ineffectual attempt to check the advance; a severe engagement with the rear-guard; affrighted sutlers and panic-stricken teamsters pour in throngs along the roads to Washington; provisions and materiel, worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, are given to the flames. Finally, the Northern army, jaded with a week's incessant marching, disheartened by its instinctive sense of the enemy's superior strategy, takes up a position on the ground made famous by its former reverses. For five or six days, in fact, there is a neck-and-neck race; the Confederates have the start, but the Federals hold the interior lines, and General Meade accomplishes great things if at the end the enemy is not between him and the Capital. In the beginning of the month of October the Confederates held the line of the Rapidan, their wings resting a few miles north of Gordonsville and at Fredericksburg; the Federals were in force all along their line; it was reported that one division at least of their army had gone to Tennessee, and the expectation was that Meade would attack. On the other hand, it was said that Meade's army was in a bad plight; that its losses at Gettysburg had been ill repaired by the new class of recruits; that the calls for detachments had been immense, and that unless Lee's army was very materially weakened Meade had no chance of successful attack. Then came the affair at Chicamunga Creek, which made fresh demands upon the strength of the Army of the Potomac, and once more restored the relative numerical equality of the opposing forces. It certainly speaks ill for Meade's prospects that at the time when Longstreet was announced to be at the head of his division in Tennessee, turning the scale of victory in favour of the Confederates in the South-west, no attempt should have been made to strike a blow at Lee; and if it be true that Longstreet has returned with his victorious division, and has swelled the Confederate army of Virginia to the number of 70,000 or 80,000 men, we may look forward with some confidence to another great Southern victory in the vicinity of the fields which Southern valour has already illustrated.

It would appear that General Lee had been preparing for his march in the early days of October, and that the order to advance was given about the 9th. A reconnaissance in force, made by Generals Kilpatrick and Beresford, was unsuccessful, the Confederates under Stuart driving the Federal cavalry back with heavy loss. The whole of Meade's army then began its retreat, which seems to have been conducted with a celerity peculiar to Federal soldiers. General Lee still moved steadily forward on the right flank of the enemy, a portion of his troops pressing closely on the Federal rear, and engaging it whenever there was an attempt to stand. By the 12th the line of the Rappahannock had been abandoned, Culpeper was in the possession of the Confederates; by the 13th the Federals had reached Manassas Junction, the enemy in hot pursuit; and on the 14th General Meade reports that his rear-guard had just repulsed the enemy at Bristow's Station, near Manassas, and captured a battery, some prisoners, and two colours. Notwithstanding this alleged victory, he seems to have been unable to check the Confederates, for a day later his army is drawn up at Centreville, and a portion of it advanced to Fairfax Court House to prevent the main body being outflanked and cut off from Washington. The position of the two armies at the latest date was very much the same as that occupied by them in August, 1862: the Confederates holding the passes of Bull Run mountains and the

road to Leesburg and Harper's Ferry; the Federals covering the direct road from Washington southward, and the Orange and Alexandria railroad. We shall not attempt to anticipate the news that may arrive by next mail; but we have confidence that another battle fought will be another Confederate victory won, and we can only trust that it may be decisive. So far as can judge from the present meagre details, Lee's object is to compel his enemy to become the assailant, and, if possible, to divide his forces; General Meade's forte, however, is that of cautious defence; his instructions, and we believe his desires, are to avoid a battle; and unless General Lee should succeed in getting upon his line of communications and so forcing him to a battle, we shall not be surprised to learn that Northern soil is once more trodden by an invading army, or to see the burghers of Pennsylvania once again scared by Texan troopers.

General Rosecrans is not yet out of danger. General Bragg is still in his front, and guerillas are swarming upon his communications, and an intention is evident on the part of the Confederate General of crossing the Tennessee in force, and placing an army between Chattanooga and Nashville. No reinforcements from the West had reached Rosecrans. Burnside, completely isolated, was compelled to look to his own safety; and yet at this critical moment, when the safety of two large armies is in suspense, not a soldier can be spared from Washington. Tennessee and Kentucky must be held, and Rosecrans and Burnside saved by troops from the armies of the Mississippi. It remains to be seen whether these have not sufficient work cut out for them in their own Departments. Defeat in Louisiana and the West, failure before Charleston, above all the presence of General Johnston with an army of 60,000 men, ready, if the opportunity arises, to reopen the war in the State of Mississippi, must render the hope of obtaining effectual help from the South-west very faint. On the whole, the prospects of the Confederates were never brighter. The force they have now in the field is numerically stronger, better equipped, better fed, and more efficient in every respect, than at any previous period of the war. They have deprived the invader of half his strength by drawing him away from his gun-boats. We are justified in looking forward to a series of successes which may make even the North despair of conquest, and render the claim of independence too powerful to be resisted by any Government of the Old World which acknowledges the influence of public opinion.

## State Elections in the North.

INTIMIDATION at elections is not altogether unknown in England. It is but a few days since a gentleman who still holds office under the Crown knocked down one refractory elector and directed his fellows to bonnet another, for having ventured to vote against the ministerial candidate, in a borough of which the Chief Secretary for Ireland claims to be patron, and, it would seem, proprietor. There are one or two places in which elections are always carried by a well understood species of compulsion. Calne would hardly dream of returning a candidate disagreeable to the Marquis of Lansdowne. Totnes did, the other day, rebel against the yoke of the Duke of Somerset, and several of His Grace's tenants have been ejected for their participation in that unsuccessful treason. Before the days of the Reform Bill, elections of this kind generally resulted in favour of the Tories, who were the chief proprietors of rotten boroughs. As the Whigs had the selection of the places to be spared from disfranchisement by that measure, most of the small boroughs that survived it are in Whig hands; and it is in the name of Liberal principles that landlords like the Duke of Somerset assert their right to do what they will with their own. But we never yet heard that either Whigs or Tories boasted of such triumphs as a proof that public opinion was in their favour. They do their dirty work in silence, and wisely forbear to crow over it.



The agents of the Federal Government on both sides of the Atlantic, would do well to observe a similar discretion; for, certainly, the less said about the State elections just terminated, the better for the successful party.

At the election of 1860, the Republicans carried the State of Ohio by a majority of 231,000 to 210,000, and that of Pennsylvania by 268,000 to 208,000. At that time, no considerable section of Mr. Lincoln's supporters anticipated a disruption of the Union as a result of his success. They intended to spite, provoke, and humiliate the South; but they had no idea of invading her rights, as they understood them, or of sacrificing their own. Had they known that the election of Mr. Lincoln meant disunion, civil war, a Confiscation Act, an Emancipation edict, military occupation of the Southern States, martial law at their own doors, not one in ten of them would have given the vote they did. Since that time Mr. Lincoln has done much to alienate and disgust his supporters everywhere; and in particular to disgust and turn against him the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio. The character as well as the geographical position of the former, is indicated by her title of "The Keystone State." She was always anxious to keep the Union together: as, on several occasions, Virginia also proved herself. She had no sympathy whatever with New England Abolitionism. She was disposed to keep the peace, and compel others to do so. She had decided the contest of 1856 against the fire-brand Fremont. She was a staunch believer in State Rights; a lover of peace; a hater alike of civil discords and of martial "coercion." Mr. Lincoln has outraged all her cherished principles. He has set up the theory, hitherto unknown, of Federal Sovereignty. He has done his best to abolish State Rights altogether; he has confiscated the liberties of Maryland; he has pretended to create a new State out of a portion of the territory of Virginia; he has imposed military rulers on portions of Louisiana and Tennessee, and he is trying to do the same thing throughout the South. He has, of his own mere will and pleasure, declared the freedom of the slaves. He has caused the leading citizens of Philadelphia to be imprisoned for many months without accusation and without trial, which he had as much right to do as the King of Prussia to order the imprisonment of a subject of Nassau or Bavaria. He has insulted the sovereignty of the State and trampled on her liberties. The man who stood as Republican candidate for the office of Governor is the traitor by whose connivance these things were done; the man who, as Chief Magistrate of Pennsylvania, betrayed her rights to the usurper, and who stood by, a willing accomplice, while the Constitution he was sworn to defend was outraged, and the citizens whom it was his duty to protect were dragged from their homes by Federal officers and immured in Federal dungeons. This man has been re-elected to the office he had so grossly misused—restored to the trust he had betrayed. Ohio has been almost as insolently treated. She has been placed under the military rule of General Burnside; has seen that officer issue orders prohibiting all criticism upon the Government on the platform or in the press; has seen that edict enforced by military violence and carried into effect at the point of the bayonet. Her most illustrious citizen was seized in his own house by Federal troops, who had no legal warrant of any kind for his seizure; charged with disobeying an edict which had no legal force whatever; tried before a Federal court-martial, which had no more right to try a citizen of Ohio on a political charge than a court-martial of the German army of occupation would have to try a subject of Denmark-Holstein; sentenced by that illegal tribunal to a term of imprisonment, for daring to speak his mind on public affairs, and sent into exile by a President who had no more jurisdiction or authority in the case than the Diet at Frankfort has over the disputes between the Prussian King and his Chambers. The victim of this tyranny was candidate for his native State; he has been rejected in favour of a tool of the tyrant. Over these triumphs the Federal faction, here and beyond the Atlantic, is enthusiastically jubilant. For them it is a *bond fide* expression of the popular will; a voluntary declaration in favour of the Republican party; a spontaneous "endorsement" of Butler and Blenker, Chase and Lincoln; a condonation of the crimes and treasons committed by the President and his creatures against the States of the North; a full approval of the atrocities they have perpetrated in the South.

We take a somewhat different view of the matter. In the first place, America is, so far as we know, the only country in which it is allowed to hold elections under martial law; which, as our readers will remember, now so far prevails throughout the North, that the Habeas Corpus Act, the only security against the exercise of military despotism, has been formally suspended. In Maryland and Kentucky the polling booths were actually guarded by troops,

with orders to allow no "disaffected" or Democratic voters to enter. Secondly, the whole body of electors are at the mercy of the Government. In France, an elector who votes against the Government candidate has some sort of security. He may be harassed, persecuted, shut out of the sunshine of official favour, and scowled on at the Prefecture, but that is all; and yet we do not think the elections in France entitled to much praise for freedom or genuineness. Besides, the French elector has the protection of the ballot; his vote may be secret if he please. In America, the ballot is but a form; the voter really gives his vote openly, and he is exposed, at a time like the present, to any amount of vengeance that the Government may please to inflict. If he is a man of note on the Democratic side, he may be sent to prison for a twelve-month by a simple order from Mr. Seward; or sent across the lines and utterly ruined, at the pleasure of the military commander in whose district he lives. If he be too insignificant for a *lettre de cachet* or a formal exile, he may be drawn as a conscript. Failing this, he is at the mercy of his Republican neighbours and of the lawless soldiery at the disposal of the Federal general. He may be robbed by marauding Germans; he may be maltreated or plundered by other ill-wishers; and the mere hint that he is a Democrat will suffice to ensure a denial of redress in courts which are the creatures of the victorious party. Thirdly, the Government has compelled the States to recognise the votes of soldiers; and these votes, to the number of some thirty or forty thousand in each State, are at its own absolute disposal. No soldier would dare to vote against the Republican candidate or even to refuse to vote at all. Finally, the manipulation of the ballot-boxes is in the hands of the Republicans, and scrutiny is impossible. So much for the significance of these elections as tests of public feeling in the great Northern States.

### The Mersey Steamships.

In a letter published in the *Times* of Friday last "Historicus" exults over the seizure of the steamships which Mr. Laird has been building in the Mersey, and makes a desperate effort to justify that seizure by demonstrating that the ships were destined for the service of the Confederate Government, and that such destination in itself subjected them to condemnation. His argument is so very curious, both in the perversions of law which it involves and in the extremely unprofessional notions of evidence which it displays, that we once more take up the pen to dispose of the last batch of sophisms with which this indefatigable special pleader endeavours to conceal the real nature of Lord Russell's conduct.

In the first place, it is to be established that the vessels were intended for the Confederate service; and Historicus endeavours to prove this point by a mass of irrelevant evidence, not one jot of which would be listened to in any court of justice beyond the jurisdiction of Mr. Lincoln. First, he brings forward a correspondence, by which it is shown that the Confederate Government has been for some time desirous of having ships built in Europe; and would have us infer from this that the ships building in Liverpool must be intended for that Government. This argument would of course equally prove that all vessels of a certain class which may be in progress in any European dockyard are intended for the same parties; and we may dismiss this precious bit of evidence without another word of comment. If this be the sort of proof on which Lord Russell is acting, he will hear, when the case comes into court, comments both from bench and bar, which will hardly be flattering to his intense self-satisfaction. Secondly, it is to be presumed that these vessels are meant for the Confederates, because the same firm built the Alabama. As it happens that Mr. Laird has built ships for many other parties, our own Administration included, it is not possible to attach much weight to this argument. Thirdly, it appears that the crew of the Florida arrived in Liverpool about the time when these vessels were ready to sail. They arrived there a month or two before that time; can Historicus tell us whether they be there still, or not? The final argument is a very strange one. Mr. Mason left England just before these ships were ready to sail; therefore, it is probable that he did so to avoid any demand for explanations from Earl Russell. In the case of Federal enlistments in Ireland, the Foreign Secretary complained to Mr. Adams, and received from him a satisfactory reply. Fearing that he would not be able to give an equally sufficient account of these steamvessels, says Historicus, Mr. Mason withdrew, in time to avoid inconvenient questions on the subject. This conjecture is very amusing, but it happens to be wholly inconsistent with facts. In the first

place, Mr. Adams did not give any satisfactory account of the charges against his Government. Their truth was notorious; everyone knows, and none better than the Federal Ambassador, that the North is drawing large supplies of men from Ireland to fill up the wasted ranks of its armies; and when Mr. Adams denied this fact, and Lord Russell accepted his denial, no one believed either the Envoy or the Secretary of State. Secondly, Mr. Mason's withdrawal was due, as we explained at the time, to the persevering discourtesy of the Foreign Secretary, who made a point, at every possible opportunity, of insulting the Confederate States through their accredited representative. Whether dictated by ill-breeding or by the menaces of Mr. Adams, Lord Russell's treatment of Mr. Mason was such as it was not becoming for the envoy of a high-spirited nation to endure. Historicus is well aware that Lord Russell, behaved not merely with coldness and unfriendliness, but with pointed and wilful rudeness; and that the ingenious account which has been fabricated by his advocate of the reasons for Mr. Mason's departure is without the shadow of foundation. Historicus seems to think that the displeasure expressed at the detention of these vessels by those whom he calls "the English advocates of the Confederate cause," and by the Richmond journals, proves their destination to the Confederate service. Has it never occurred to him that Southern journalists—who, by the way, are not in the secrets of the Administration—may naturally be indignant at the unworthy and dishonest partiality displayed by a foreign Minister, who does not attempt to put a stop to Federal recruiting in Ireland, but takes energetic measures to prevent alleged Confederate purchases of ships in Liverpool, whether that allegation be true or not? Is it not plain to him that the complaisance of Lord Russell towards the North must move the disgust and anger of every honest and patriotic Englishman, whether or no his sympathies be with the South? It matters not whether the ships were or were not really intended for the Confederates: Lord Russell detained them because Mr. Adams thought that they were so intended; and it is this, whether Mr. Adams were right or wrong, this violation of British law, this intended departure from British neutrality, that provokes the resentment alike of Southerners and of Englishmen.

Historicus still clings to the hope, that, if he cannot prove the legality of the seizure, he may, at least so bewilder the public mind on that question as to prevent any dangerous outburst of popular indignation. Accordingly, a considerable part of his letter is taken up with a renewed attempt to twist the law to the condemnation of these vessels; to establish, by quotations from the English statutes book, and from American law reports, that if these vessels be intended for the Confederate service, it is the right and duty of our Government to seize them. On the two new points which he raises, we join issue with him at once.

First, he quotes the clauses of the Foreign Enlistment Act which forbid the fitting out, equipping, or arming of transports or men-of-war for the service of a belligerent Power; and proceeds to argue that from the very structure of the vessels now in question they are "armed" within the meaning of the statute, although they have not on board a single gun or an ounce of powder. Now it is clear, to begin with, that a "ram" without guns could make but a poor fight on the high seas. She can move but slowly, and a swift-sailing cruiser, with a heavy armament, would soon compel her to surrender, without ever becoming exposed to a blow from her beak. If, therefore, she pass out of neutral jurisdiction without receiving an armament, she is in no state to resist the belligerent right of capture; and, if that right be not infringed or resisted, the belligerent has no cause of complaint. We have a right to sell, and he has a right to seize; he has no claim to any other remedy. Next, as regards ourselves, the Act is a penal one, and as such must be construed strictly. The literal sense of its words is in no way to be extended or strained, but they are to be interpreted in the narrowest sense that they will fairly bear. It seems that the words "fit out or equip" were intended to refer to the case of transports and store-ships, which for the most part are not armed, and whose distinctive purpose is evinced, not by armament, but by a special sort of fitting-up. On the other hand, a ship-of-war becomes such, and evinces her purpose, not by fittings, but by armament; for without armament she is not capable of acting as a ship-of-war. If, therefore, the suspected vessel be neither equipped as a transport nor armed as a cruiser, it would seem that there is no case for seizing her. Further, the Act carefully omits any restriction on the mere building and sale of ships, whether transports or cruisers, intended for the service of a Power engaged in war against a State with which Her Majesty is at peace. This is not a piece of carelessness, but a deliberate and intentional



reservation in favour of the freedom of a most important branch of national industry. It is clear, therefore, that the "arming" intended by the Act is not a part of the building of the ship, but something altogether apart therefrom and subsequent thereto. The offence contemplated clearly consists in some offensive armament superadded to the building of the vessel, and cannot be meant to include a mere peculiarity in her original construction. These vessels, therefore, are not fitted out, equipped, or armed within the meaning of the Foreign Enlistment Act; in leaving Liverpool to enter the service of a Power at war with the United States, or with France or with Russia, they would commit no violation of our law; it is needless to add, that if they left Liverpool as the property of a French owner, and were not transferred to Confederate purchasers save in a French or other neutral port, our law would in no way be violated, and the complaint of the United States would lie, if at all, not against us, but against the Power from whose ports the ships first departed in the character of Confederate cruisers.

Historicus has brought forward an American decision, for which he is indebted to a correspondent of the *Economist*—on which he lays great stress. The *Gran Para*, prize to the *Irresistible*, was brought into a port of the United States; the case came before the Supreme Court. It appears that the *Irresistible* had sailed from a port of the United States, carrying her armament as cargo, and a crew sufficient for a man-of-war. She entered the *La Plata*, was there commissioned, re-enlisted her crew, and cruised under the flag of the local government against the commerce of Spain. Held, by Chief Justice Marshall, delivering the judgment of the court, that this was a fraudulent evasion of Federal law; and judgment pronounced against the *Irresistible*. We confess that, though this case does not bear upon the question now in hand—seeing that there is all the difference in the world between going out in all but fighting trim, with an armament ready to mount, and going out without arms or ammunition—the judgment of the Chief Justice conflicts with that which we have always affirmed to be the law expounded by Federal courts. Are we right, or not? In the case of the *Santissima Trinidad*, tried one day previous to that of the *Gran Para*, how did the court decide? The *Independencia* left an American port armed, and with a crew sufficient for a man-of-war, entered the port of Buenos Ayres, passed into the hands of the local government, was commissioned, re-enlisted her crew, and cruised against the commerce of Spain. Held, by Mr. Justice Story, delivering the judgment of the court, that there had been no violation of Federal law. Take again the case of the *Bolivar*, which left an American port "in search of funds to fit her out as a privateer." She was acquitted. Pass from judicial decisions to national practice. During the war with revolutionary France several privateers cruised under the French flag, while we were still at peace with the United States, which had never been in any but an American port. During the Canadian rebellion the rebels were reinforced by American sympathisers, armed with weapons from the public arsenals; and neither State nor Federal authorities took any means to check these lawless proceedings. During the Russian war a vessel was built for Russia in an American port, and sailed thence under command of an officer formerly holding a commission in the Federal navy. A British and French squadron proposed to overhaul her. Her captain declared that he would not submit to the exercise of our right of search, and the Federal squadron on the Brazilian station sustained him in this resistance to the law of nations. Will Historicus take up the challenge, more than once offered him, and say what he thinks of American law and American practice? and with what face his clients, after the decisions and acts we have cited, can claim from us protection against proceedings which, at worst, are but imitations of their own?

Mr. Laird has had a word to say to his fellow-townsmen and constituents concerning the language used by the Attorney-General about the Alabama and the proceedings of the Government in the case of *El Tousson* and *El Monastir*. He points out the utter inconsistency of the speech delivered by the Attorney-General in defence of the Ministry against the attacks of the Federalists in the House of Commons, and that recently delivered at Richmond, in defence of Earl Russell's proceedings in regard to the *Alexandra* and the vessels recently seized: an inconsistency which destroys all respect for Sir R. Palmer's authority, by showing that he has spoken, not as the legal adviser of the Crown, but as an advocate retained for the Ministry. He spoke with just indignation of the insolent demeanour of the Foreign Secretary at Blairgowrie, when, admitting almost in so many words that he had exceeded the law which Parliament had enacted, he declared his intention to ask Parliament to pass the law which he had put into execution: Mr. Laird

does well to be angry. Lord Russell's conduct towards him has been evidently dictated by other motives than an honest desire to do what he thought best for the public service. Had that been the only object, it was enough to mark the broad arrow on the masts of the vessels and give notice that their exit would not be allowed: To place a guard of marines on board, and order a man-of-war to make fast a cable to one of the vessels, and keep her fires up, ready for hostile action at a moment's notice, was utterly needless, and could be intended for no other purpose than to gratify the personal malignity of Mr. Adams, or to offer a wanton and ungentlemanly affront to a political opponent of the Foreign Secretary. An outrage on the decencies of political life so gross and so deliberate, an abuse of official power for the indulgence of ill-temper of an individual Minister so palpable and so flagrant, has not been ventured by any English statesman since first political warfare was brought under regulation, and rendered compatible with private goodwill and personal courtesy.

### A German Professor on the American Quarrel.

THE Federal cause must be hard up for arguments and advocates, when the *Daily News* prints and comments on such miserable trash as we find in its columns of Tuesday week. We hardly thought that the Northern factions in England had sunk to so low an ebb. Have they not Harriet Martineau and Professor Newman? Or if religious scruples have suddenly arisen in our contemporary's consciousness, are not Mr. Newman Hall and the Rev. Baptist Noel on his side? Why need he print the ungrammatical twaddle of a learned German, who, having renounced two countries, has finally settled in the great city which, like Rome in her earliest age, gives refuge to the outcasts of all the world; who was once a German rebel, then a citizen of South Carolina and Professor in her University, and who, happening at the outbreak of secession to be settled in the North, has found it expedient to become a Yankee patriot and a vehement enemy of rebellion? Or, if for any reason it was requisite to publish this letter, why not let it rest in safe obscurity in the smallest print and least-read columns of a not very widely circulated journal? Why force upon public attention a performance which the public will not take the trouble to understand and is certain to laugh at?

Dr. Francis Lieber is a learned man, after the bad fashion so prevalent in Germany, and too generally favoured in America. He has read a great deal on many subjects, and crammed into a very limited brain an unlimited number of facts and fancies on all departments of human knowledge. He is the editor of an American Encyclopædia, borrowed (*more Americano*) from the German, and he is said to be the author of the extraordinary "Rules and Regulations" appended by Mr. Stanton to the military code of the United States. One of these betrays the amount and value of the man's political knowledge: "The uniform protects the soldier, of whatever class, condition, colour or former political relations." That is to say, an Englishman found serving against England in a French uniform is not liable to be hanged as soon as taken. We should not advise Dr. Lieber under any circumstances to put his theory to the test of practice; as, for instance, by enlisting in the Danish army to fight against the German Confederation. Not only would he certainly be hanged, but no jurist on earth would doubt the justice of his sentence. For the rest, his description may be found in Lowell's "Fable for the Critics":—

"'Twould be endless to tell you the things that he knew,  
All separate facts, undeniably true.  
But with him or each other they'd nothing to do.  
No power of combining, arranging, discerning,  
Digested the masses he learned into learning."

We are sorry to say that, in all his learning, one thing, extremely essential to his present purpose, appears to have been omitted. He does not understand the language he assumes to use. His letter is not written in German, nor in English, nor—unless the secession of the South has ruined as completely the language as the Constitution of the North—in American, nor in any other tongue with which we are acquainted. Who can tell us what is meant by "dignified geography?" We now of such things as eccentric grammar, and incoherent logic; so that terms of moral and intellectual qualification may be applied, we suppose, to the names of abstract sciences. But it requires the imagination of a German and the knowledge of an encyclopædist to invest geology with amiability or geography with dignity. We shall look with interest, hereafter, to the advertising columns of the *Daily News*, expecting that some enterprising publisher will announce

a dignified map of the United States or a pious chart of the Atlantic Ocean.

We must do Dr. Lieber the justice to say that his first point is stated with some ingenuity; though, whether from imperfect comprehension of the English language or from malice prepense, he has altogether perverted the arguments of his opponents. "What right have you, whose entire government and national existence are founded on the idea that there exists such a thing as a right of revolution, according to which a new Government may be established—what right have you to resist the South if its people choose to establish a separate policy?" He goes on to argue that it does not follow, from the existence of a conditional right of revolution, that every revolution is justifiable. But the Federal Government is founded on a revolution which can only be justified on the theory that the right of revolution is unconditional; for if wrongs or grievances be required to give it, then never was there a more unjustifiable rebellion than that of the Thirteen Colonies. They rebelled simply because England asked of them, as she now asks of all her colonies, that they should contribute to their own defence. The fundamental idea of the American Revolution is, that the will of the people of any country is of itself a sufficient justification for a change of government. The existence of the United States is based on the idea that the right of revolution may be exercised at pleasure. Mr. Lincoln stated this idea pretty distinctly at a time when he little dreamed that he would one day wage desperate war against a people bent on national independence:—"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and form a new one that suits them better. . . . Any portion of such people that can may revolutionise, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionise, putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose their movement." This is the theory on which the American Government is founded. Justly, therefore, is it thrown in the teeth of the North that they are now opposing by force of arms the fundamental principles of their own political existence. The argument has no weight for Englishmen, who hold rebellion a crime; it is conclusive as against Yankees, who treat it, in the abstract, as a virtue.

Then follows a beautiful bit of logic. "The South is not fighting for independence, for it has never been dependent." In that case, no nation can ever fight for what it possesses already; and Englishmen, fighting on their own soil against a would-be conqueror, would not be fighting for national existence. Dr. Lieber fails to perceive that the same reasoning disposes of his subsequent assertion, that the South is fighting for slavery. She always was a slaveholding country; always independent; it is, therefore, as possible that she may be fighting to retain independence as to maintain slavery. And inasmuch as the North offered her every guarantee for slavery, if she would but forego independence, it is pretty clear, which is the real object of the present struggle.

The South is not to be let go, because the "dignified geography" of the country marks it as intended by Providence to be the territory of a single people. This is curious English, and still more curious reasoning. It is precisely by reasoning of this sort that Frenchmen claim for France the left bank of the Rhine; and the same logic would clearly justify the United States in appropriating Canada and the outlet of the St. Lawrence. "All large transmarine colonies" are destined to independence; but contiguous portions of the same empire can never separate. This justifies the claim of Russia to oppress Poland, and of Austria to retain Venice; it clearly proves that Belgium never ought to have been separated from Holland, Portugal from Spain, or Greece from Turkey. The disruption of the Roman Empire, too, was a defiance of natural laws; and the dissolution of the German Bund ought to be prevented at the point of the sword. It is unfortunate for the Professor's doctrine that England finds her colonies often eager to separate from contiguous governments, but always resolute to retain their allegiance to the mother country.

After a good deal of childish abuse of the South—abuse which, if it were not so extremely childish, would be justly described as sheer Billingsgate; after calling the Southerners cut-throats, and comparing them to thieves collared by a policeman, the Professor comes at last to his grand and conclusive argument. The North has the same right to resist secession, at least, that the South has to achieve it. If the South have the right of revolution, the North has the right of repression. And Dr. Lieber, as a citizen of the United States, has as much right to fight for the United States against the secession of Louisiana, as a Frenchman would have to fight for France against the revolt of Languedoc. Most



sane men conceive that there is a vast difference between the dissolution of a confederacy and the disruption or dismemberment of an empire. Not so Dr. Lieber. In his view the Federal Government is a Sovereign Power, and the States are its subjects, possessing no more independence than Lancashire or Normandy. Is this quite consistent with his assertion that the South has never been otherwise than independent? Or is logical consistency one of those trivialities which professors are at liberty to disregard, along with historical truth and political facts? "But, say others, and it is sad to observe there are many Northerners of great notoriety among them, we have no right to fight the South, inasmuch as they, being Sovereign States, had a sovereign right to secede. We deny it. We maintain that the word 'sovereignty' applied to our States has merely slipped into our political language—merely slipped in, and much mischief has it done. The Constitution does not contain the word once from beginning to end." It is perfectly true that the Constitution does not contain the word; and for a simple reason—the position of the States was a matter ascertained long before the Constitution was framed or the Union came into being. What does Dr. Lieber conceive to have been the position of the States before 1789? They were independent of England; they were not subject to a Federal power; what was their status? The Constitution does not call them sovereign, forsooth! But has Dr. Lieber never read the treaty with England, prior by many years to the Union, which declares the States at that time to be "free, sovereign, and independent?" If the Constitution nowhere contains the word "sovereign," by what form of words was that State sovereignty given up? or, if not given up by the Constitution, when did it cease to exist? or how comes its existence to be recorded and asserted in the constitutions of the States themselves? We cannot help suspecting that among the few subjects of which Dr. Lieber is wholly ignorant must be reckoned the history and the law of his adopted country.

Driven from every other position, Dr. Lieber at last takes up that which, in the opinion of the South herself, is the actual position of the aggressors, and takes his stand boldly on the "right of the strongest." "Let us, however, for argument's sake, accept this position. Either the South had a perfect right to secede, or it had no such right. If the latter, we are of course right in fighting for our policy and Government, for law and country; and if the South had a right to secede, why then they constitute a sovereign nation; and we, being a sovereign nation too, have, according to all law of nations, the right of conquering another sovereign nation."

Granted, in one sense. The soldiers of a nation engaged in such a conquest are not pirates or murderers. They are entitled to the courtesies of war; to be kept as prisoners, not hanged as assassins. But universal opinion brands the Government which sends them on such an errand as a criminal against the common interests of mankind; it is held that all foreign Powers are justified in interfering, nay, bound to interfere, to prevent the success of its crime, and even to punish, by personal and national severities, the authors and accomplices of the monstrous iniquity. The Professor puts the enterprise of the North on the same footing as the attempts of Napoleon on Spain and of Nicholas on Turkey. Does he remember that Napoleon died at St. Helena, a prisoner and an exile? that Nicholas died of a broken heart, amid the curses of Europe? Does he know that Napoleon's conquests cost France three years of foreign occupation, and thirty years of prostration and poverty?—that Russia has not yet recovered the punishment she brought upon herself ten years ago? From the moment when the world clearly understands that the enterprise of Mr. Lincoln is of this nature—that it involves "the conquest of one sovereign nation by another"—its doom is sealed. Three months will not elapse before the intervention of Europe will have ended the contest, and driven back the would-be "conquerors," to learn, in humiliation and misery, that the maxims of the twelfth century are not to be applied to the nineteenth, and that he who now asserts the right of the strong hand against one of the family of nations draws upon himself the vengeance of the whole.

#### THE COTTON TRADE.\*

In these days, when it is the fashion for magazine contributors to republish their articles in book form, we often meet with volumes, the chapters of which are in no way connected, except by the binding. It is likely enough that a cautious reader, going through the title page and table of contents of the work before us, might think it one of those patchwork performances. He might think that "The Mississippi Union Bank Bonds," and "The Wheat Trade of Great Bri-

tain, France, and America," were rather incongruous subjects to treat in a book devoted to the history of the cotton trade, but such a conclusion would be unfair. It would be impossible to write a complete history of the cotton trade without, at the same time, writing a history of the commerce and social progress of England and the late United States. For example, not only is the wonderful industrial development of Lancashire and the rapid expansion of our foreign trade due to cotton, but it is to the cotton lords, backed by the cotton operatives, that we owe the greatest and most beneficent revolution of modern times—the substitution of free-trade for protection. So in America. It is not only that the cotton cultivation of the South has been the means of fertilising both North and South, but that to cotton cultivation must be ascribed the extension and preservation of that institution which has been the means of saving the South from the political demoralisation that has overtaken the North. Here and there Mr. McHenry has given prominence to details and introduced topics that are hardly necessary to the elucidation of his subject. But it ought to be remembered that he has had to work a comparatively virgin mine, and that it was nearly impossible for him to entirely separate the gold from the quartz. We hope to show that there is much sterling metal in the book; for though many passages will provoke sharp criticism, every chapter contains valuable information, and reflects great credit on the industry and research of the author.

A very few figures from Mr. McHenry's elaborate statistics will set forth the intimate relation between the progress of England and the development of the cotton cultivation in the Southern States. From 1750 to 1801, a period of fifty years, the population of England and Wales had increased from 6,517,305 to 9,156,171, and from 1801 to 1861, the population had increased from 9,156,171 to 20,223,746. In 1801 our total importation of cotton was 56,000,000 lbs., of which 18,500,000 lbs. came from America. In 1860 our total importation of cotton was 1,390,938,752 lbs., of which 1,115,890,608 lbs. was from America. Our author says:—

"What more conclusive evidence of the importance of the Southern cotton crops to England can be given than this? These great augmentations in the population, it will be seen, occurred subsequent to the extension of the cotton industry of the kingdom. The population of Scotland within the same period, about sixty years, and for the same reason, nearly doubled."

To this it may be objected that the deduction is not strictly logical, and that our author has fallen into the too common error of assuming a coincidence to be a cause. Now we understand from the whole tenor of Mr. McHenry's book, that he does not think that without American cotton the world would have remained stationary, and that the steam-engine and the electric telegraph would have been born in vain; but he asserts that to American cotton must be assigned a greater progress than could have been achieved without it; and this, we think, is unquestionable. What other article would so exactly have met the industrial and commercial requirements of England? The chief raw materials of our wealth are coal, iron, and mechanical inventiveness. Is it possible to visit a cotton-mill and not be struck with the idea that no other manufacture can call forth so much ingenuity, or make a more ready use of steam and machinery? The locomotive has been compared to a horse, and the machinery of a cotton-mill invariably suggests a comparison between it and the handicraft of man. Then, again, we find that cotton, to a greater extent than any other article of general consumption, is increased in value by the process of manufacture, and so gives us the largest margin for profit, and fits in so nicely with our peculiar advantages—iron, coal, and mechanical inventiveness—as to confer upon us a virtual monopoly. Our commerce is with all the ends of the earth, and cotton fabrics are a leading article, that we can sell anywhere—in China, India, and Africa—in all our colonies—in cold as well as hot climates. At whatever port our ships touch, a market is found for it. So long as we can buy raw cotton in practically unlimited quantities, and at such cheap rates that our fabrics compete against home manufactures in the East, and tempt consumption by their cheapness, England must continue to be the great clothing emporium of the world. Are we not indebted to the Southern States of America for such an abundant supply of cheap cotton as we could get from nowhere else? See now, when the normal price is multiplied, what other countries can do for us. They send us an inferior article, but only in such limited quantities that a vast army of our operatives are yet standing idle in the market-place. Well, then, is not Mr. McHenry justified in looking to the cotton trade as a principal cause of our marvellous industrial and commercial progress? And is it not manifest that the English cotton trade could not have attained to its late—alas, that we should have to so describe it!—gigantic proportions without the aid of the cotton-fields of the Confederate States?

We have omitted one important item respecting the adaptability of cotton for the staple of our industry and commerce. It is not perishable, and its value is not affected by the fluctuations of fashion. A stock of cloths and yarns may be kept for years without deterioration. Like corn, it is always in demand; but unlike corn, it may be worked up ready for use, and stand for any length of time without spoiling. We refer to this because we desire to direct the attention of our readers to a valuable, and, as we believe, original suggestion, made by Mr. McHenry, and which solves a problem that has hitherto puzzled economists and politicians. When the war in America commenced,

and it was evident that our cotton trade would be paralysed, it was supposed that the total commerce of England would be injured, and that our resources would be forthwith crippled. We all know how agreeably these anticipations have been disappointed. Our trade-returns exhibit hardly any falling off, and except in Lancashire the country is flourishing. We cannot account for this result, except to a very small extent, by the impetus given to commerce with France by Mr. Gladstone's treaty, or by the large orders from the North for munitions of war. How then, is it that we have escaped the evil that seemed imminent? Is it possible that the largest limb of our commerce can be disabled and the whole body not suffer? Mr. McHenry points out the true reason of the anomaly, and that the evil we dreaded is only postponed. He reminds us that clothing, not being perishable like food, is kept in store. There is generally a two years' stock of clothing in the world, but in 1861, there was at least a three years' stock of cotton—including raw cotton and cotton fabrics. In 1858, '59, and '60 a greater breadth of land had been planted with cotton than in any previous period. The South—to her detriment in 1862—had begun to rely on the West for her bread-stuffs, and to devote more of her land and labour to articles of export, and particularly to cotton. If war had not intervened, both the Southern planters and the English manufacturers would have been called upon to pay a heavy penalty for over-production. In 1861 our stock of cotton was large, and the markets throughout the world were glutted with our cotton goods. Our manufacturers were saved from ruin by the war, and their stocks both of raw material and manufactures attained to a value that more than compensated them for the inactivity of their mills. Besides, we have been doing an exceedingly lucrative trade. We have been selling at war prices the goods we bought at peace prices. But the game is nearly over. The cotton famine is at our doors. Henceforth, until the American supply is restored, we must do a smaller business at less profit. We shall soon see the crippling of our cotton trade telling upon our commercial resources.

We cannot attempt to follow Mr. McHenry through his elaborate discussion of negro slavery. To do so would involve the writing of a book; for the work before us so bristles with facts that they could not be summarised in the longest review. Englishmen will, no doubt, join issue with our author respecting many of the conclusions he draws about slavery in the South, but they will not be slow to testify to the value of his information. Mr. McHenry does not beat about the bush, but frankly and openly defends the institution of negro slavery. In this he represents the sentiments of the Confederates. Convince the people of the South that their institution is wrong and they will not do as some of their friends on this side have done, they will not apologise for it, but they will abolish it. On the other hand, the Confederates seek not to make converts to their own opinions on the abstract question. What they are willing to do, and what Mr. McHenry does, is to publish the plain unvarnished truth. They have a right to tell us that, whatever we may now think of negro slavery, it is to us that the South owes the institution. We forced it on them against their will. We who have been so zealous in suppressing the slave-trade, were for 246 years engaged in it. Nor need Englishmen blush to confess it. When our forefathers carried on the traffic they as much thought it lawful and expedient as we to-day think it unlawful and inexpedient. But what modesty ought this to teach us in speaking of Southern institutions! For two centuries and a half we were slave-dealers, and yet shall we have no patience or tolerance for the fruit of our enterprise? The gift of £20,000,000 for the redemption of the West Indian slaves was a noble act, though we cannot say the result has been a happy one, either for the West Indies or for the slaves so emancipated. But Mr. McHenry throws out a suggestion that should make us careful not to reproach the South with our chivalric generosity. The total number of negroes imported into the West Indies was 1,706,000, and the total number of negroes in the West Indies at the time of Emancipation was 660,000. The total number of negroes imported into the Southern States, was 350,000, and in 1860 the total number of negroes in the South was 3,953,760. In one case the negroes had dwindled away to one-third of the number imported; in the other case the number imported had increased elevenfold. If the negroes had increased in the West Indies as they have done in the South, their redemption would have cost us £500,000,000; if the negroes in the South had decreased as they did in the West Indies, they might have been redeemed with £4,000,000. To this might be added, that if the slaves in the South had not increased more than the free negroes in the North, a very few millions would have redeemed them. Mr. McHenry explains, that it was the custom to import only males into the West Indies, while the females were sent to the continent. With us the negro was a chattel only, and it paid us better to import him than to suffer him to increase naturally. In the South the negro is a person as well as a chattel, a human being as well as property, and he has a social status. It would seriously tax the eloquence of a Brougham and the fervour of a Wilberforce to depict the horrors of a system that made the negroes die away as they did in the West Indies; and none can be so blind as not to perceive that the rapid increase of the negroes in the South is an undeniable proof that they have been treated in a way that reflects the highest and enduring honour on the Christian philanthropy and kind y generosity of the Southern people. But further comment is needless. The statistics we have quoted are their own interpreters and their own exponents.

We had intended to advert to several passages in Mr.

\* The Cotton Trade: Its Bearing upon the Prosperity of Great Britain and Commerce of the American Republics, considered in connection with the System of Negro Slavery in the Confederate States. By George McHenry. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.



McHenry's book in which he points out the efforts made by the South to stop the slave-trade. The Constitution of the Confederate States, unlike that of the United States, forbids the traffic. We should have liked to dwell on the constitutional question discussed by our author in different chapters, as well as in his introductory letter to Mr. Gregory, M.P. But we must bow to the exigencies of space, and for these and other interesting matters refer our readers to the volume itself. We shall conclude our notice with a few remarks on an episode in the commercial history of the United States, that we commend to any sensation novelist who is in want of . . . that is not the less strange for being quite true.

In 1836 the Charter of the Bank of the United States expired, and President Jackson refused to renew it, justly declaring that the Federal Government had no power under the Constitution to establish a bank or any corporation that could acquire and hold property. The legislature of Pennsylvania came to the rescue, and passed an Act establishing a State bank, to be called the Bank of the United States. The president and officers of the old bank, instead of winding up, transferred to the new one all the business, together with the books, papers, notes, and obligations, including a quantity of notes that had been issued under the Federal charter. Although the nominal capital of the new Bank was \$35,000,000, and it obtained large credit all over the world, it was from the first insolvent, and paid dividends out of the property of its creditors. In order to bolster up its credit it established branches in every direction, and resorted to a regular system of accommodation bills. At the time it commenced business—in 1836—the United States people were in the flush of a wild speculation which had in seven years raised the nominal banking capital of the country from \$110,000,000 to \$378,000,000, and consequently its operations did not meet with careful consideration. Mr. Biddle, the president of the bank, sent Mr. Jaudon to London to act as agent, and his son, Mr. Edward Biddle, a youth of twenty, with a Mr. Humphreys, to Liverpool, where they established the firm of Humphreys, Biddle, and Co. At the same time arrangements were made with Messrs. Bevan and Humphreys, of Philadelphia, to accept bills drawn in the South against consignments of produce. Bevan and Humphreys were reimbursed by the bank; the bank sold bills on European houses; Humphreys, Biddle and Co., of Liverpool received the bills of lading and pawned them, and the money so obtained was sent to Mr. Jaudon to meet the engagements of the bank. The crash came in 1839. Messrs. Hottingue and Co., of Paris, refused the drafts of the bank, but the bank determined to die hard, and applied to Messrs. Hope and Co., of Amsterdam, for assistance, and from that and other firms got advances upon the deposit of securities of State bonds. So depressed was the credit of such securities that for \$1,000,000 Messrs. Hope and Co. received \$13,000,000 at par value. Amongst the securities were some bonds of Mississippi which had been issued to the Bank of the United States, for the purpose of founding the Mississippi New Bank. The bonds were, according to the Act of the Mississippi legislature, to be sold at par value and for cash. So far from this being done, the bonds were pledged for credit, and not a sixpence of the money was ever paid into the State coffers. In 1841, Messrs. Hope and Co., were informed of these circumstances, and yet after that they passed the bonds to "innocent holders." The State of Mississippi, Mr. McHenry argues, was not legally bound to pay these bonds, any more than a man is bound to pay an acceptance to an "innocent" holder who bought it cheap, knowing it to have been stolen. It might, perhaps, have been expedient for Mississippi to have retired these bonds, which the "innocent" holders had bought at 10 per cent. of the par value, and were willing to sell at a profit of cent. per cent., but such a proceeding on the part of the government of Mississippi he thinks, would have been unjust to its constituents. The Bank of the United States he pronounces a gigantic fraud, and charges the "innocent" holders of the Mississippi bonds with trying to make something out of the crash, just as wreckers seek to despoil a stranded vessel. The chapters devoted to this subject by Mr. McHenry will repay perusal.

A work like that before us must necessarily partake of many of the characteristics of a dictionary, in which the compiler must avail himself of the labours of his predecessors. But it is due to Mr. McHenry to say he has contributed vastly more from his own stock than he has borrowed from others, and that he has produced something more valuable than a mere compilation, a compendium for permanent reference of all the most important facts and figures relating to his subject. He has, moreover, afforded to the reader such copious materials for forming their own opinions, that even those who may decline to follow him in his deductions, or who may find fault with details of arrangement or of style, cannot fail to consult the book with advantage.

#### THE "QUARTERLIES" FOR OCTOBER.

EXCEPT the little clique of British subjects who regard the worship of New England as the only true religion and the vilification of their country as the most exalted virtue, and who desire to see the dismemberment of the British Empire, and Great Britain solely intent on money-getting and carrying on business by the kind permission of other nations—except these men, no one can read the article in the *Edinburgh* on "Queensland" without heart-felt satisfaction. Perhaps the day may come when India will pass from our dominion, and our rule be only remembered as a wonderful episode in our career;

but our colonies, whether they remain in political union with us, or whether, having attained to maturity, they prefer to take their places as distinct members of the family of nations, will be conspicuous and enduring monuments of our glory and greatness. And in colonisation we have beaten all our compeers so effectually that we may, without vanity, say that rivalry is now impossible. The dominant nations on the continent of North America are our descendants, and so far as Canada is concerned, our fellow-subjects. Turn we to Australia, and we find that that land also has become the heritage of the Anglo-Norman race. In that distant region our progress is unprecedented. In the course of a single generation, from being regarded as a convenient settlement for convicts, for raising wool, and for giving employment to a band of officials, Australia has become populous, rich, and important, and is already parcelled out into distinct and jealous nationalities. Of this progress Queensland is a wonderful example; but instead of dwelling on the rapid development of that colony, we think it will be more useful to point out some close but natural analogies between the colonial history of America and that of Australia. Every student must have been struck with the well-defined persistent individuality of the colonies of British America. It might have been expected, that as soon as the original grantees were dead, and their influence was withdrawn, the colonies would have coalesced, especially as their populations were small and their interests a century ago almost identical; but so far from amalgamating, they were, at the time when they threw off their allegiance to the British crown, perfectly separate powers; and despite the pressure upon them and the urgent demand for united action, they rigidly maintained their character as sovereign States; and when they formed that "more perfect union" which eighty years ago was necessary to protect and guarantee their independence, the Articles of Federation contained an emphatic declaration that the Federal Union did not involve any violation of the sovereignty of the several States, and the world was called upon to acknowledge the independence, not of a single nationality, but of thirteen independent nations. In Australia we behold precisely the same spirit prevailing. Australia is divided into distinct countries, with their distinct parliaments, and having no other political tie than their common allegiance to the British Crown. There are angry disputes about boundaries and strivings for territory that are surprising when we consider that the greater part of Australia is still unoccupied land. How can we account for this colonial disunity? How is it that members of the same race, brought together on the same continent, form themselves into distinct nations as soon as they have cleared forest enough to build a town or two? The phenomenon is easily explained. The English emigrant carries with him to his new home an instinctive perception that local self-government is the surest guarantee of liberty. The Briton is everywhere very patient of taxation, but he will not submit to taxation that is severed from representation, or be satisfied with a representation that is so distant as to be beyond his control. Some visionary colonial reformers have proposed that Canada and Australia should be represented in the British House of Commons, but neither Canadians nor Australians would accept such an offer, if we were foolish enough to make it. True freedom demands that the parliament—the taxing power—should be localised, and this involves the formation of separate nations in Australia, as it did in America. And what is now happening in America will teach the Australians to cherish their State independence. In the North they see a party in power that would abolish State lines, and in the attempt to do so has established a despotism such as has never before been imposed upon any community speaking the English language; and in the South they see a Government set up for the purpose of defending the sovereignty and independence of the States, and that in the midst of a numerically unequal and terrible struggle the rights of the Southern citizens are respected and political and personal liberty are inviolate. This doctrine of States Rights, which it has pleased our Government to ignore in deference to the mandates of Mr. Seward, is not an invention of American politicians, but is a manifestation of the vital principle of British liberty, just as the doctrine of the Northern Republicans is a manifestation of the vital principle of despotism—such a despotism, for example, as that of Russia.

Australia holds out a brilliant promise for the future, but what has occurred in America warns us of the folly of speculating upon the continued prosperity of nations. There is, however, one circumstance connected with Australia which, though now a source of discord, will, it is to be hoped, preserve that country from becoming the prey of the unscrupulous demagogues of an unbridled democracy. Australia, at least until the discovery of the gold-fields, was the resort of a better class of emigrants than those which flocked to the Northern States of the late Union. America was comparatively an easy refuge from poverty at home, but to go to Australia, so new and so distant, required greater nerve and resolution. Fortunately, though accidentally, the terms upon which a man could become a landowner in Australia were so favourable, that English gentlemen of small means—including many retired officers and younger sons of county families—and yeomen were allured by them; and before the gold discoveries brought emigrants of all sorts, there had grown up a powerful landed interest—a veritable aristocracy, except in name. Efforts have been made to oust this class from their possessions, but the only result has been to confer upon them a stronger and indefeasible title. Australia, then, will not be parcelled out into

small tenements, but, on the contrary, there will be a large body of large landowners, embracing the best blood of the country, and who, for the defence of their property rights, as well as for other reasons, will have to make their voice heard and their influence felt in the government of the country.

The article on "Queensland," which has suggested the foregoing remarks, is the first in the current number of the *Edinburgh*, and the last article treats on a somewhat kindred subject—"The Colonial Episcopate." In nothing are people more conservative than in their forms of worship; and this is particularly the case with the members of the Church of England. When the doctrine of baptismal regeneration was being discussed there was much less excitement than when some clergymen preached in a white surplice instead of in a black gown. It is not that there is comparative indifference about points of doctrine, but that any change in a matter of form is a more palpable heresy, and is supposed—and wisely supposed—to indicate some radical change. It is, then, not surprising that members of the Church of England, when emigrating, should have felt it as not the least of their afflictions that they had to separate themselves, not only from the parish church in which they had been christened and married and from the churchyard in which their fathers slept, but, in fact from what appeared to them communion with the Church. It is true they took with them their Prayer Books, and they had clergymen to minister to them, but they had not the *Establishment*, or even a counterpart of it. The Episcopal Church in the American colonies was reproached by her enemies, that in her baptismal service she bound the sponsors to bring the child to the bishop for confirmation, well knowing that there was no bishop within 3,000 miles. Then again the want of bishops limited the supply of clergy, for a colonist however fitted for the work of the ministry, had to undertake a long, and in that era, perilous journey for the purpose of being ordained. Yet from year to year, and from reign to reign, the matter was shelved, and the anomaly was continued of an episcopal colonial Church without an episcopacy. Nor ought we to be surprised at the delay or hesitation. The Church of England is essentially a duality, being a Church, and also an institution of the State. How was the episcopacy to be planted in the colonies, seeing that there were no revenues or other means for supporting the episcopal dignity? Would not the creation of mere missionary bishops degrade the home bishops in public estimation? However, the necessity became urgent, and in 1787 Nova Scotia was created an episcopal see; and lately, the colonial episcopate has multiplied so rapidly that there are not less than forty bishops. The system does not yet work smoothly, and at present the question is pending whether the metropolitan rights conferred by the Crown on suffragan bishops are valid. If not, then it seems that colonial bishops are not amenable to any authority, and that they might turn Hindoos without forfeiting their rank and revenues. The *Edinburgh* notices the constant visits of colonial bishops to England, and we are afraid that there are many cases in which they live in England and only now and then visit their dioceses. It is wonderful that in the early days of the House of Hanover some minister did not hit upon the expedient of creating non-resident colonial bishops, and giving them seats in the House of Lords as well as revenues. It would have been an excellent way of making a batch of new peers to swamp the Opposition. The Church of England will flourish in the colonies, but divested of her formal state attributes. For example, it is absurd to have Lord Bishops in a country where there is not a titled aristocracy. It would be as well to drop the "lord" in all cases, both at home and abroad, when the bishop is not a peer of the realm.

Of the other articles in the *Edinburgh*, we need only mention two. One is a review of Mr. Phillimore's "History of England, during the reign of George the Third," which is exceedingly bitter, almost too bitter to do Mr. Phillimore much harm. Readers will enjoy it, because it is natural to enjoy the abuse of one's neighbours; but everyone will suppose that something besides the badness of the book made the critic angry. The other paper that we wish to mention is concerning "Cinchona Cultivation in India," which gives an interesting account of the means adopted for extending the cultivation of that most useful medicine, Peruvian bark. Mr. Markham has introduced it into India with complete success, and it is also thriving in other places. Plants from Peru have been transplanted to places where the climate and soil are in all essential particulars like those of Peru. At the end of the article on Cinchona, a few words are thrust in about cotton and the reviewer observes, "On the extensive cultivation of cotton in India the hopes of this country must necessarily rest for future supply." It occurs to us that the hope would be more reasonable if we had found in India a soil and climate identical with those of the cotton districts of the Confederate States.

The *Westminster* opens with a sensation article entitled, "The French Conquest of Mexico," of which the purport is to abuse the Emperor of the French. We shall offer a very few words in reply to this attack, which is marked by illogical conclusions more than by false premises. We cordially uphold the principle of non-intervention; and if the French had conquered Mexico we should not have defended the act, although we might think it good for the Mexicans. But what are the facts? The government of Juarez had so flagrantly repudiated its engagements that England and Spain, as well as France, agreed upon an armed demonstration. England and Spain withdrew, and the French alone had to complete the work. The result has been the overthrow of Juarez, and the



election of the Archduke Maximilian as Emperor. Did the French overthrow a popular government in Mexico? So unpopular was Juarez that he could not find money enough to pay an army to keep the peace of the country, or even to procure "the small sum necessary" for paying the journey of an envoy to Paris. Juarez's minister, writing to the British representative, admits (p. 321), having resorted to the expedient of imprisoning "persons of the highest respectability in order to obtain resources from the sums paid for their release." Can greater wretchedness, and a more unpopular government be conceived? But the character and progress of the French expedition are a sufficient answer to the charge of conquering Mexico. If the intervention had not been at the instigation and with the consent of the great majority of the people of Mexico, could 30,000 French troops have prevailed against the whole nation? Ballot-boxes may be tampered with, but there is no gainsaying such facts as 30,000 troops being allowed to entrench themselves in the heart of a country inhabited by millions, and their advent being immediately followed by the overthrow of the very form of government. We might as well say that Garibaldi conquered Sicily. We do not wonder at the Mexicans being sick of republicanism, seeing that in forty years they have had no less than seventy presidents. The line of defence adopted for Juarez by the *Westminster* is peculiar. The reviewer admits that robberies and crimes of violence were of frequent commission, and were allowed to go too often unpunished, and that in such instances as the murder of Mr. Boale, an Englishman, and the shot fired (during the excitement of a popular rejoicing) at the French Minister, the Mexican Government does not appear to have taken any prompt steps to bring the offenders to justice. We should have thought that the murder of a British subject and an attempt to assassinate an ambassador being winked at, were crimes for which no excuse could be found. The *Westminster* is equal to the occasion. It is suggested that the Mexican Government was negligent because diplomatic relations had been broken off by England and France, and that Juarez consoled himself with the reflection that it was "as convenient to be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb." Here there is just a glimmering of truth; for certainly nothing that Juarez could do could make his title to the gallows more apparent. But the following excuse for the Mexican Government is the climax: "It must be owned, too, that whatever may be the usage of international law, it is not easy clearly to define the precise degree of responsibility which should be visited upon the Government of a disorganised country for the crimes of individual subjects." Now, "the government of a disorganised country" is a contradiction of terms; for the sole function of government is organisation, and where there is not organisation there is not a *de facto* Government, though there may be a sham Government. But as to responsibility, there is no question either in law or morals. A government is responsible to foreigners for the acts of its citizens; and if the respectable persons in a community sanction the existence of a Government that is too weak to enforce punishment against offenders or to protect the lives of ambassadors they must be prepared for war. The Mexicans have wisely embraced the first opportunity of getting rid of Juarez and his clique.

Altogether the *Westminster* is rather below the average. An essay on Miracles is not quite deistic, which is saying much for it, considering the theological principles of the Review. A paper on Wit and Humour is rather heavy reading. Wit and humour, like sparkling wine, are spoilt if we wait long to consider and criticise before we taste. An article on Poland betrays the same hate and envy of the Emperor Napoleon as does the article on Mexico. Europe is called upon to interfere in Poland, lest France should do the work alone, and so secure the gratitude of the Poles. According, however, to the following passage, there is little need for intervention:—

And if we look at the strength which the Confederates of America have put forward during their insurrection, which nevertheless was considered sufficiently great to justify their recognition by Europe as belligerents, we shall find that their efforts have been as nothing compared with those of the Poles. The Confederates, rich, free, and prosperous, began the struggle with their own disciplined armies and on their own ground for a disputed question of Federal rights; the Poles, ground down by a despotism without parallel impoverished by excessive taxation, and watched by the most elaborate system of espionage in the world, rose against their oppressors, unarmed and surrounded by enemies, for the holy cause of independence and freedom. The Confederates are defending themselves against an invader from without: the Poles are making desperate efforts to expel the oppressor within. And on which side has been the balance of success? The vast armies of the South, fighting for a point of law, are yielding; the half-starved and ill-armed insurgents, fighting for their homes and all that is most dear to them, are disputing, step by step, every inch of their country with the enemy, defeating his troops, counterchecking his manœuvres, and superseding his government by their own.

We certainly were under the impression that for every soldier put in the field by the Poles the Confederates had at least one hundred. We were ignorant of the fact that the Confederates began the struggle with "disciplined armies" and we thought that both South and North had to form the armies with which they have fought. The Confederates aver that they are fighting for independence—and Lord Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and all intelligent Englishmen agree with them—and the Federals say that the South is fighting for empire. But the *Westminster* declares all are wrong, and that the Confederates are fighting for "a point of law." We do know something about the success of the Confederates, and as we

are told the Poles have been even more successful, we cordially congratulate them on their triumph. We only wish in this respect the above passage was correct—a passage, by the way, that is without precedent in a quarterly review, and rivals anything that has appeared in the *New York Herald*.

The "Progress of Engineering Science" is admirably described in the *Quarterly*. Great and enduring works were accomplished by the use of wind and water, but the steam-engine has totally eclipsed all former mechanical contrivances. It is an inadequate estimate to say that in the last hundred years "the engineers have doubled the mechanical power, and more than doubled the productive resources, of mankind." Machinery, which the workman spurned as an enemy, is the working-man's best friend. Demagogues have often complained of the burden of a class of consumers who were not producers, and who, therefore, were a charge to those who toil; surely they ought to praise mechanical contrivances for every machine that economises or multiplies the labour of man is a producer without being a consumer. That the working-classes are preparing to profit by the increase in the world's wealth, of which they get the lion's share, is evident from the formation of co-operative societies. From a carefully prepared article in the *Quarterly*, we learn that in Great Britain there were in April last 332 societies, having 90,458 members, with a paid-up capital of £429,315. This return is exclusive of the co-operative stores in Scotland and Ireland, and of many in England not upon the official register. The societies that are established for manufacturing purposes are only joint stock companies, and we do not see how the shares can be kept in the hands of the workmen; for they are marketable, and if the workman is willing to sell and the capitalist to buy, no law can prevent them passing into possession of the latter. But the stores are only available for workmen. The goods are sold (in most cases for cash) at the usual retail dealers' prices. The profits, after paying a small dividend on the capital, are divided amongst the purchasers in proportion to the amount of their purchases; in some cases the return to purchasers has been equal to 2s. 6d. in the pound. There is no doubt that the co-operative principle induces frugality, and ensures to the working classes better value for their money. It is likely, too, to have the good effect of putting a check to the system of adulteration, which cheats the working man of his health as well as his money.

The *Quarterly* contains reviews of "Thomas Hood, and his Life and Writings;" of Sir C. Lyell's "Antiquity of Man;" and of Mr. Froude's History of the Reign of Elizabeth. An article on Japan is very apropos to the present moment, and will be a boon to our public writers and speakers, who will therein find a store of useful information about a subject very little understood.

#### COLONEL LAMAR AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Some of your contemporaries having connected my name with the African slave trade, permit me to state through your columns that the only connection of any kind that I have ever had with that traffic has been to denounce it, as well in the halls of Congress as before my constituents in Mississippi.

Yours very respectfully,

17, SAVILLE ROW, W.  
October 24th.

L. Q. C. LAMAR.

The following letter from Mr. Lindsay, M.P., has been published in the *Star*:—

(To the Editor of "The Star.")

SIR,—My attention has been called to an article in your paper of Saturday last, in which you invite me to render you information in so special a manner, that I cannot refrain from doing so. I shall do so in specific terms.

1. It is not true, as I learn from Colonel Lamar, that he owned, or ever had anything whatever to do with, the yacht *Wanderer*, which you represent as having been engaged in the slave trade. On the contrary, if you refer to his speeches in Congress, and to his constituents in the State of Mississippi, you will find that he denounced and expressed his abhorrence of that trade.

2. It is not true that the Southern Confederacy favours the slave-trade. On the contrary, its Constitution prohibits that trade, and makes it imperative on Congress, by law, to carry that prohibition into effect.

3. It is not true that, whilst a member of the "house of Lindsay and Co.," or at any time since, I entered into any of the "business relations" set forth in the intercepted despatches to which you refer. I knew nothing of the contents of those despatches or their allusions until they were published.

4. It is not true, as you insinuate, that pecuniary motives have, or ever had, any influence over the course of conduct I have considered it my duty to adopt as a public man. In justice, you ought to remember that though the Crimean war afforded large sources of profit to British shipowners, I opposed that war and condemned it.

5. It is true that my "house on the banks of the Thames" is always, and I hope ever will be, open to the "representatives of oppressed nations," but not because they are "the bearers of lucrative contracts." Exiles have been there who have had nothing to give, and their welcome was warm for the cause they espoused; but I do not, as a rule, open my doors to Russian admirals or Austrian generals.

6. It is not true that I have any pecuniary interest whatever in the independence of the South. On the contrary, if that kind of interest had any influence over me I would have advocated the cause of the North.

I have now answered in distinct terms, as you request, your several inquiries and your charges.

Allow me in conclusion to express a hope that in future you will measure the motives which guide the conduct of public men by a somewhat higher standard than that which, for the last two years, appears to have guided your own.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. S. LINDSAY.

Shepperton Manor, Middlesex, Oct. 26.

#### THE STEAM-RAMS.

The following correspondence, called forth by a letter of "Historicus," has been published in the *Times*:—

(To the Editor of "The Times.")

SIR,—*"Historicus"* has the pen of a ready writer. He has evidently the confidence of the Government, and has become the medium of explaining to the public the reasons which induced Lord Russell to seize the Liverpool rams. For these reasons I might not have ventured to question his conclusions if his facts could have been depended upon. But in this instance he appears to have reared his superstructure upon a quicksand. He says these vessels are without doubt for the Confederate Government and built to its orders, because certain "intercepted correspondence" makes it clear "that a special mission has been established and a special fund provided for the purpose of fitting out, equipping, and arming vessels in this country without her Majesty's licence, for warlike purposes, against the dominions, ships, and goods of a foreign State." "This is no matter of inference," he continues; "it is the express object for which the vote of the Confederate Congress was passed;" and therefore he arrives at the conclusion that her Majesty's Government was perfectly justified in stopping certain vessels now in course of completion at Birkenhead, and thereby inflicting a heavy blow upon a very important branch of British industry.

*"Historicus"* does not doubt the authenticity or accuracy of the "intercepted correspondence" sent by Mr. Adams to Lord Russell, and published in a blue-book by command of her Majesty; and though I cannot enlighten him on this point, I may state, for his information, that in the same blue-book there is another document sent by Mr. Adams to Lord Russell in which a somewhat unwarrantable use is made of my name. The book is not at present before me, but I think this document professes to give a list of twenty-two vessels which were about to run the blockade, and my name, or that of my late firm, is given as the owners or agents of no less than eighteen of these ships. Now, sir, to the best of my recollection, I never heard of any of these vessels till I saw them published in the blue-book, and though I have had many inducements, I never owned a ton of shipping or to the value of one sixpence in any vessel that ever ran or attempted to run the blockade.

So much for the value of the information and the accuracy of the documents furnished by the Federal Government, on the faith of which, I fear, her Majesty's Government founds its American policy, maintains its "impartial neutrality," allows munitions of war to a fabulous extent to be shipped to the North, shuts the door against all communications, official or otherwise, from the South, and stamps the broad arrow upon every ship supposed to be for the service of a brave and an oppressed people, who have already given abundant proofs that they are a nation. Is that neutrality? Is it justice, or is it English honour?

May not the "intercepted correspondence" be as inaccurate as the document to which I have just referred? I can at least assert, in regard to that correspondence, in which my name is also introduced, that the "naval store bonds" referred to in it were not negotiated by me nor by my firm, and that not one of the "six vessels" was built or contracted for by me or by my late partners, or by any of our correspondents.

Not satisfied with the quotations which referred to the part I was represented to take in these transactions, *"Historicus"*, to attain a political end, under the immunities of an anonymous writer, impugns the motives and questions the veracity of the late Commissioner from the Confederate Government to England, by inferences derived from the same intercepted documents. To connect Mr. Mason's name in some way with these ships, *"Historicus"* states that his withdrawal from England was "timed" to evade any possible inquiries of the hypothesis, and the assent of the British public is challenged to the hypothesis.

Now, sir, every person conversant with the tone of public sentiment in the Southern States must be aware that the people there had been very indignant at the refusal of her Majesty's Government to have any relations, official or otherwise, with Mr. Mason, and were clamorous, through the press, for the termination of his mission. It is also well known that a resolution requesting the President to terminate the mission had been approved by a majority of the House of Representatives. To this feeling President Davis was at last obliged to respond, as is shown by the terms of the despatch of recall quoted by Mr. Mason in his note to Lord Russell. But if Lord Russell desired any information from Mr. Mason (having no official relations with him) he could address him with like propriety on the subject of these ships after his withdrawal as well as before. To such flimsy material has *"Historicus"* descended.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. S. LINDSAY.

Shepperton Manor, Middlesex, Oct. 24.

(To the Editor of "The Times.")

SIR,—Your correspondent "*"Historicus"*" has laboured to justify the seizure of Mr. Laird's steamers in the Mersey by trying to identify them with the vessels contemplated by my contract with the Confederate Government; and some of the papers treacherously stolen from my son (Major Reid Sanders, now in Fort Warren,) communicated to Earl Russell, and by him laid before Parliament, have been quoted by *"Historicus"*. Two documents, purporting to be letters, are set forth by *"Historicus"*. One is signed by me, and is genuine; the other, although without signature, is presented to the public as mine. The unsigned letter was neither written, dictated, nor in any manner suggested by me, nor did I know of its existence until I saw it in print. My handwriting is peculiar, and could not be mistaken, and is well known in the State Department at Washington. I leave it to Mr. Adams or Mr. Seward, or their subordinate tools, to explain how this spurious paper has been palmed upon the American people and British Government, which, so far as it is attempted to be fastened upon me, I utterly repudiate. Neither my own genuine letter, signed by me, nor those of the Confederate Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy, contain a syllable at variance with the perfect legality of the transaction. The contract in question, although requiring care to prevent any false appearance of illegality from being attached to it (which might lead to embarrassments being thrown in the way of its execution), was of a perfectly unimpeachable character, being simply a mail contract for steamers designed to ply between neutral and Confederate ports, and so constructed as to be able to enter and leave the latter without much regard to the shots they might receive from the Yankee blockaders *en passant*. Not even *"Historicus"* would contend that the building of such vessels involved the slightest violation or even evasion of any law, international or municipal. By thus running the blockade with regularity and impunity, such a line of steamers would indeed render important service to the Confederacy, and, therefore, the



latter was willing to promote their construction by the contract in question. My contract with the Confederate Government is of the perfectly unimpeachable character above explained, and I am willing to show it to Lord Palmerston himself in proof of this declaration. Mr. Laird's steamers have not, and never have had, anything to do with it, directly or indirectly; nor, directly or indirectly, have I had any communication with that gentleman on that or any other subject.

It is but simple justice to Mr. Laird that the facts should be known, to shield him from the blow Historic aims at, and on the strength of this spurious letter; and it is with that view that this communication is made.

Respectfully,

Pimlico, Oct. 26.

GEORGE A. SANDERS.

THE REV. MR. BEECHER.—Rector Campbell has sent the following letter to the secretary of the Emancipation Society:—"Childwall, October 10, 1863. Sir,—In reply to your letter requesting me to inform my congregation that Mr. H. W. Beecher will 'deliver a lecture in the Philharmonic Hall on the American war and emancipation,' I beg to inform you that I decline to invite my congregation to attend a lecture on that species of emancipation which Lord Brougham, in my opinion, justly calls 'a hollow pretext designed to produce a slave insurrection.' I return you the platform ticket you have sent me, not intending to attend the lecture; being of opinion that persons professing themselves to be the ministers of a merciful God, 'the author of peace and lover of concord,' might be better employed than in advocating a fratricidal war, accompanied by atrocities which, as Lord Brougham says again, 'Christian times have seen nothing to equal, and at which the whole world stands aghast almost to incredulity.' Your obedient servant, AUG. CAMPBELL, Rector of Liverpool. Mr. Robert Trimble."—*Liverpool Albion*.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Oct. 28.

### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

THERE is nothing to occasion fear or anxiety in the position of the general Money Market. If the rate is not increased by the Bank directors, we shall go steadily forward, the bankers and brokers being fully supplied. Trade is sound, and the prospect exists of its remaining supported. The only drawback that is likely to arise, if inconvenience is experienced, will be from the too rapid increase of public companies, and the gambling in shares, which appears far from being repressed. The rate for the negotiation of first-class paper is  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and six months bills have been taken at  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., indicating that little undue stringency is expected here or abroad.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The amount of gold sent into the Bank this week has been exceedingly small, only £54,000, whilst on the other hand, £107,000 in sovereigns have been withdrawn for transmission to the East. The arrivals of specie have been rather large, being £517,299, all of which is from New York, and the Saxonia, from the same destination may be expected hourly with £36,555 more. The shipments of specie by the Ceylon steamers for Alexandria and Bombay were £540,100. This amount is chiefly for the payment of cotton, and is divided as follows: Alexandria gold £90,400; Bombay gold £74,050, and Bombay silver £375,650. The quotation of bar silver is firm, and may be called about 61 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 61 $\frac{3}{4}$ . There has been nothing doing in Mexican dollars, but the price is nominally 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The market for the English Funded Securities has been particularly steady throughout the week, nevertheless a fair amount of business has been transacted, but with scarcely a fractional alteration in prices. Consols closed this evening at 93 to  $\frac{1}{8}$  for money and 93 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  for the account, which is precisely the same as they were on this day week. Exchequer Bills are also unaltered, being 1.10 to 2 prem. There has been less business doing in the Foreign Stock Market than for some time past, and the speculative movement appears for the moment to have subsided. Nevertheless a fair amount of business has been transacted in some of the fancy stocks, but without any material alteration in prices. The closing quotations of some of the chief descriptions were:—Greek, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; Mexican, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Spanish Passives, 35 to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; do. Certificates, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Turkish Six per Cents. (1854), 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; do. (1862), 71 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

Although there has been rather more doing this week in American Government and Railway Securities, business has been far from active, and prices do not present any improvement. The dealers are evidently waiting for some decisive news regarding the hostile armies, and till that arrives there will be very little disposition evinced to operate, either speculating or otherwise. The dealings have been as follows:—Virginia State Six per Cents. 38. Atlantic and Great Western Railway, New York Section, 76; Ditto, do. Pennsylvania, do. 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 75, and 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Erie \$100 Shares, all paid, 66, 65, and 66; Ditto ditto, Seven per Cent. Preference, 70, x. c.; Ditto, ditto, Third Mortgage, 66; Ditto, ditto, Fifth Mortgage, 70; Illinois Central, 82 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 83; Ditto \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 19 and 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  dis; Ditto, ditto, all paid, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 74; Marietta and Cincinnati Railway Bonds, 71 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Michigan Central Six per Cents., 70; Panama Railway, first mortgage 101, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 101 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Pennsylvania Central Bonds, second mortgage, 86, 87, and 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A good business has been transacted in the English railway share market, and for most descriptions prices close at an improvement upon the quotations of this day week. In London and North Western there has been a rise of 1 per cent. In Sheffield and South Eastern, of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; in Great Northern, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and North Eastern (Leeds),  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and Great Western and Midland, of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. On the other hand, there has been a decline of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and in Brighton of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. In the foreign railway market business has been rather quieter, but in general prices are fairly supported. With regard to shares in British Possessions, a full average business has been transacted, at uniformly steady prices.

### BANK MEETINGS.

At the usual half-yearly meeting of the Oriental Bank Corporation, Mr. H. G. Gordon in the chair. The business of the meeting was solely confined to the declaration of a dividend of 35s. per share, being equal to 7 per cent. for the half-year. At the first ordinary general meeting of the proprietors of the Bank of Wales, the Chairman (Mr. Daniell) stated that the first branches were opened in May, others in July, and the

last during the present month; the board were, therefore, not in a position to submit to the shareholders a profit and loss account. The prospects, however, of future success, with an increased capital, were, as far as their present experience enabled them to judge, promising.

### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

We have no change of importance to notice with regard to this security. The news from the States continues favourable, but is not of such a decisively favourable nature as was expected from the previous account. Hence the stock, after going to 66-68, has gradually receded, closing 64-66, with a steady market.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The Constantinople and Alexandria Hotels Company is started for the purpose of establishing superior hotels, replete with every accommodation that can contribute to the comfort of European and other families, at present unable to obtain the advantages and facilities required even at the most extravagant prices, both at Constantinople and Alexandria. At the former, a convenient site has already been secured, and one will be immediately obtained at the latter. The proposed capital is £300,000, in 15,000 shares of £20 each. The first issue to be restricted to 5,000 shares.—The prospectus has been issued of the Littlehampton, Havre, and Honfleur steamship Company. The object being to run fast iron steamers, to perform the passage from Littlehampton to Honfleur, calling at Havre, in eight hours. The Brighton and Western of France Railway Companies, having agreed to enter into satisfactory traffic arrangements. The capital required is only £150,000, in 15,000 shares of £10 each, of which only one-half is to be issued in the first instance.—The prospectus has been issued of the Staffordshire Joint Stock Bank, with a capital of £1,000,000, in 10,000 shares of £100 each. It is stated that arrangements have been made for the purchase, on very favourable terms, of a private bank of high reputation, whose principal will be a shareholder and director, and also that negotiations have been entered into for the purchase of a second private establishment. It is proposed to commence business immediately at Bilston and West Bromwich, and subsequently at Walsall, Willehall, and Darlaston.—The prospectus has been issued of the Mercantile Credit Association with a capital of £2,000,000, in 40,000 shares of £50 each; but of this number it is only proposed at present to issue 20,000, of which 10,000 are already subscribed for. The Company has been formed for the purpose of assisting the development of those constantly extending operations in all departments of trade and commerce, which present so extraordinary a feature in the industrial statistics of this country. It is not the purpose of the Company to assume the functions which belong to ordinary banking, but it will make cash advances upon the deposit of all sound and *bona fide* securities, such as debentures and dock-warrants, including approved bills of exchange.—The Gloucestershire Smelting Company is another new undertaking, with a capital of £70,000, in 14,000 shares of £5 each.—The Otea (New Zealand) Copper Mining Company is another new undertaking just brought forward, the capital required being £50,000, in shares of £2 each. The property is freehold, and it is stated that £30,000 worth of ore has already been sold from it. There is no land carriage, the mine being on the coast. The purchase-money is £15,000, two-thirds of which are taken in paid-up shares.—The Lundy Granite Company is established for the purpose of working the granite quarries of Lundy Island, which already possess considerable reputation, and the supply of stone is practically unlimited. The situation of the island and the advantages possessed for railway or shipping transit will, it is expected, prove of considerable importance. The capital proposed to be raised is £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each; the deposit to be 10s. per share on application and £1 on allotment, after which no call will be made for six months.—The Deep Dale Mining Company has been established for the purpose of leasing and working an extensive and valuable mineral property at Fell, in Rhenish Prussia, about two miles and a half from the river Moselle, and held under a concession from the Crown Prince of Prussia. The required capital is £20,000, in 10,000 shares of £2 each; deposit 10s. per share on application, and 10s. on allotment.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting to-day of the proprietors of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, a report was read, which stated that the receipts compared with those of the corresponding half of last year, show nominally a falling-off of £11,566, but that as £30,007 was there included for hire of some of the Company's ships as transports, the ordinary business shows an increase of £18,441. At the same time there has been a reduction of £19,691 in expenditure, of which £7,807 was in coal, owing to the diminished consumption and reduction in cost. The freight traffic had increased, but the passenger traffic had been less, the latter having last year been augmented by the International Exhibition. Looking at the satisfactory return of the accounts, a dividend of £3 per share was recommended, together with a bonus from the insurance fund of 30s. per share. The Chairman (Captain Mangles) having referred to the satisfactory nature of the reports, concluded by moving that the report be adopted, which after some discussion was agreed to. The dividend and bonus are at the rate of about 15 per cent.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In these departments business has progressed for the most part slowly, but steadily, the New York advices having had little effect. In the cotton market purchases have been less extensive than they were last week, but they are still above an average; the late advance in prices is firmly maintained; the value of cotton goods is also supported, and confidence in the future course of the trade is undiminished. American provisions have ruled dull; fine butters have scarcely supported the recent currency, although the better sorts of Friesland have risen several shillings per hundredweight. Cheese is without essential change. The grain trade remains in the same dull state as noticed for some time past, and prices, although very moderate, have a drooping tendency, although no absolute decline can be quoted. Forced sales of petroleum by weak speculators have caused renewed depression in this article. At one period the price was as low as 1s. 11d. per gallon for refined Pennsylvania, but there was a recovery to-day to the rates quoted in our last. Consumption is very good, and the position of the market as regards supply and legitimate demand is considered strong. Turpentine has also been pressed for sale, and is now 5s. per ton. lower, 70s. per cwt. for French being the last price paid. Owing to heavy arrivals from St. Petersburg, tallow gave way in the early part of the week, but has to-day sustained a partial rally. We, however, have to reduce our quotations 6d. per cwt. The advance in jute has made further progress, fine qualities now ranging as high as £32 10s. per ton. In hemp there has been less doing, and quotations

are unaltered. The speculative movement in sugar continued up to the close of last week, and another 1s. per cwt. was added to the enhancement already quoted under this head. Subsequently the tone became more subdued, and for inferior brown descriptions slightly easier rates have been accepted. Our quarterly sales of indigo have closed, having exhibited considerable animation throughout, one element in which was the demand that prevailed on American accounts. The proportion disposed of is the largest on record for ten years past. Prices averaged an advance of 3d. to 7d. on the rates of the preceding quarter, the greatest improvement being on good shipping Bengal and good Kurpah. Cochineal has risen 2d. per lb. since the public auctions a fortnight ago, bringing the rates for good and fine Honduras silver-grain up to 3s. 5d. and 3s. 7d. per lb. respectively. The demand for manufactured iron continues healthy, and the market for Scotch pig is steadier, at a slight improvement in value.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, gd. ord. to fr.	0 2 0	to 0 2 3	0 1 8	to 0 2 3
CHEMICALS—				
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 7	0 1 7
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	8 0 4	0 5 0	0 0 5	0 0 5
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 0 8
Sulphate, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 6
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 7
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 7
DRUGS—				
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 12 0	1 0 0	2 5 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 4
" Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 2
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 8 0	0 11 0
" Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 10	0 3 9	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 0 0	5 5 0	5 12 0	5 15 0
" Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 5 0	5 10 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 14 0
" Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 5	0 0 6
" Orange, lb.	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 8
" Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 19 0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3
" Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6
Snakeroot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 2 3	0 2 3
Spermaceet, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 2
DYES, cwt.—				
Safflower	4 5 0	7 10 0	3 10 0	7 0 0
Turmeric, Bengal	1 12 0	1 14 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
" Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries.	1 19 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	6 10 0
GUMS, cwt.—				
Animi, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gedda	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 6 0	1 7 0
Kowrie	2 5 0	2 12 0	1 5 0	1 6 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	3 1 6	..	2 16 6	..
Iron, Scotch, Pig	115 0 0	..	111 0 0	..
Tin, English	..	..	..	..
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	80 0 0	..	84 0 0	..
Linsed	43 0 0	..	42 0 0	..
South Oil, Crimee	19 10 0	..	..	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	4 14 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine	2 6 0	2 18 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 10 0	2 8 0	1 10 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	2 2 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	2 8 8
South do.	2 2 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	2 8 8
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	..
TOBACCO, lb.—				
Maryland	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 9
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5	0 1 0
Kentucky	0 0 6	0 1 7	0 0 4	0 1 1

### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 28.  
There has again been a considerable business transacted in the Liverpool Cotton Market, but still there has not been quite so much excitement as for some weeks previous. American Descriptions have been in more demand and an advance of from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2d. per lb. has been obtained. The sales this week have amounted to 60,000 bales, of which 28,000 bales were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year down to the present time, are 2,209,650 bales, against 2,343,220 bales to the same period last year. The total imports this year have been 1,295,490 bales, and to the same period in 1862, there were 1,019,136 bales. There have been exported this year 382,691 bales, and to the same time last year 361,905 bales. The present computed stocks are 177,657 bales, whilst in 1862 they were 316,729 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,124,550 bales, to the same period last year 979,500 bales. Taken on speculation this year 599,370 bales, and in 1862, 941,810 bales. Taking the results of the week's dealings, American may be quoted for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2d. dearer. Brazil, 1d. Egyptian, 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Surat, 3d. to 1d. and Bengal and China, 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. The latest quotations were:—Middling Orleans, 30d. to 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Mobile, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Upland, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Estimated fine Egyptian 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Surats, 16d. to 30d. Maranhão, 30d., and Bahia, 29d. to 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

MANCHESTER, October 27.

During the early part of the past week some little quietness prevailed in our market, owing to the extreme prices for which spinners and manufacturers held out; but the arrival of better telegrams from Calcutta on Monday caused buyers to enter the market and buy on the best terms they could, and some contracts were placed at very extreme rates, for late delivery even.

To-day there has been a good demand for home-trade yarns for which an advance of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. has been obtained on the prices of last week.

Continental export yarns are also in good request, but for this class the advance is not quite so great as in that for home trade use, excepting Nos. 20 and 30 water twist in bundle which have improved in value 1d. per lb. in the week, owing to their scarcity.

For cloth the demand continues good, and manufacturers are, on the whole, in a good position.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Oct. 22, are—  
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
INSIDE VIEW OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
MR. SPENCE, OF LIVERPOOL.  
MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR THE DEFENCE.  
THE SITUATION IN TENNESSEE.  
COLONEL LAMAR AT CHERTSEY.  
LETTER FROM THE OFFICERS OF THE SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION.  
CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTHIRE.  
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TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT  
OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in position to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, —and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course. But we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to neutral ports, the Yankees have been to the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater, sacrificing her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.

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- 21. Miscellaneous Anthropologies.
- 22. Journal of the Anthropological Society of London.

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- 2. Ferguson on the Influence of Race on Art.
- 3. On the Creation of Man and Substance of the Mind. By Professor Rudolph Wagner.
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# THE INDEX

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## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE WAR.  
THE DISMISSAL OF THE ENGLISH CONSULS.  
REPLY OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.  
MAGAZINES FOR NOVEMBER.  
A NORTHERN ESTIMATE OF ENGLISH LIFE.  
THE WAR CHRISTIAN: A POEM.  
THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSULS.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND, OCTOBER 10TH.  
THE TEXT OF THE REPLY OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE Northern people have lately had plenty of exciting war news. Just as the advance of General Lee was being used by the Government to urge recruiting it was announced that the Confederate army had retired to the South of the Rappahannock. Great was the rejoicing. Gold tumbled down to something like 44 per cent.; and General Meade, who had been terribly below par, advanced rapidly. Some said Lee had gone back because he was afraid of the designs of Burnside; others that he was short of supplies; others, that he found the Northern army stronger than he expected; and there were some persons who settled the matter by declaring that the Confederate commander had been out-generated by Meade. In this hour of triumph the Government permitted a few unpleasant facts to transpire in reference to Meade's masterly retreat. Of course, numbers of victories had been won by the Federals, but, wonderful to relate, although the retreat was conducted in the most perfect order and the enemy was always repulsed, the Federal loss was heavy—very heavy. In men and material the Federals suffered as much as if they had been badly beaten in a general battle. We learn from the New York telegram that "3,000 dismounted cavalymen straggled into Washington, all of whom agreed in the statement that the Army of the Potomac had never sustained a worse disaster, and that no fewer than 7,000 men of that branch of the service had been rendered useless. In one engagement alone Meade lost 400 killed and 1,800 wounded, missing, and dismounted." The bad tidings did not disturb the Northern jollification over "the retreat of General Lee." As to the loss of materials and horses, it was good for the contractors; and as to the loss of men, are there not plenty of recruits in Old Ireland? Then came a sudden chill. The Confederates returned to the north of the Rappahannock on the 24th October, and drove back Gregg's cavalry with heavy loss. Gold went up to 49 per cent., and news from Virginia was anxiously awaited. The object of the Confederate advance is a mystery to the Federals, but they perceive that General Lee is, to use Mr. Lincoln's expression, "pegging away" at Meade's army.

Nothing has been done at Charleston. Gilmore is said to be getting ready for an attack, and it is reported that Admiral Dahlgren has been superseded by Captain Turner of the *Ironsides*.

The Confederates attacked the Federals at Waford, Tennessee, on the 21st October, and captured a battery of cannon and a portion of a wagon train. It is said they were afterwards beaten off, but as nothing is added about the recapture of the booty, it means, we suppose, that when the Confederates had done their work, they moved off with the Federal cannon and stores which they had taken.

President Davis has visited Tennessee. Although he travelled as privately as possible, he was the object of a spontaneous ovation at every available point of his journey. He was received by General Bragg's army with great enthusiasm.

The readers of THE INDEX must have been fully prepared for the announcement that President Davis has dismissed the British consuls from the Confederate States. The position occupied by those functionaries was one of extreme delicacy, and called for the exercise of considerable tact. They were permitted to continue in the

Confederacy, and even to continue the execution of their office, by the generous forbearance of the Confederate Government. For the sake of British subjects, a high-spirited and jealous people were content to allow consuls to reside among them who have received their exequaturs from a hostile government, an excuse for this concession being found in the fact that these gentlemen had been accredited to the States, and might therefore remain, as the change in the General Government did not involve any change in the affairs of the several States forming the Confederacy. It might have been supposed that the British consuls would, under such circumstances, have felt themselves constrained to behave circumspectly, and to have embraced every opportunity of showing their appreciation of such high-minded consideration. We are sorry to say the conduct of some of them has been rude, aggressive, and we must add, exceedingly puerile. Earl Russell, with his marvellous aptitude for blundering, recalled the leading consuls, and left the consulates in charge of substitutes: gentlemen, possibly, of good intentions, but lacking experience; and, moreover, it appears that what every gentleman in England would indignantly denounce as a contemptible outrage upon the hospitality and courtesy of the Confederates, was the result of his Lordship's orders. In the despatch notifying to the British consuls their dismissal, Mr. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, says:—"It thus appears that the Consular Agents of the British Government have been instructed not to confine themselves to an appeal for redress, either to courts of justice or to this Government, whenever they may conceive that grounds exist for complaint against the Confederate authorities in their treatment of British subjects (an appeal which has in no case been made without receiving just consideration), but that they assume the power of determining for themselves whether enlisted soldiers of the Confederacy are properly bound to its service; that they even arrogate the right to interfere directly with the execution of the Confederate laws, and to advise soldiers of the Confederate armies to throw down their arms in the face of the enemy." Every one will, we are sure, agree with Mr. Benjamin, that "this assumption of jurisdiction by foreign officials within the territory of the Confederacy, and this encroachment on its sovereignty, cannot be tolerated for a moment;" and that President Davis has pursued a proper course in directing that "all consuls and consular agents of the British Government be notified that they can no longer be permitted to exercise their functions, or even to reside within the limits of the Confederacy." We are confident that the people of this country will share the indignation of the Confederates at the conduct of these consular officers, and still more at that of our Foreign Secretary who issued the instruction under which they acted.

For dauntless courage the late attack on the new *Ironsides* at Charleston will compare honourably with any achievement in naval history. A small steamer, the *David*, with a torpedo attached, was manned by a crew of four volunteers: Lieut. Glassell; J. H. Toombs, chief engineer; James Sullivan, fireman of the *Chicora*, and J. W. Cannon, assistant-pilot of the *Palmetto State*. A dark and lazy night was selected for the enterprise. About nine o'clock the little *David* was alongside her antagonist, her only armament besides the torpedo being a doubled-barrelled gun in the hands of Lieut. Glassell. The *David* was steered directly for the *Ironsides*. The look-out of the latter vessel hailed the steamer with "Take care! You will run into us. What vessel is that?" Lieut. Glassell replied by firing one of his barrels at the questioner, and then handed the gun to Pilot Cannon, bidding him take care of another Yankee who was leaning over the bulwarks. The *Ironsides* was struck and the torpedo exploded about fifteen feet from the keel. An immense volume of water was thrown up, covering the *David*, and at the same time pieces of the ballast got into the works of the little steamer, making her engine unmanageable. Volleys were then discharged from the *Ironsides* and from the Federal launches. As the steamer could not be moved, and as there was no shelter, Lieut. Glassell determined to surrender, and so hailed the enemy. No attention was paid to this, and the fire continued. Upon that Glassell, Toombs, and Sullivan jumped overboard, but Cannon, who could not swim, remained in the boat. Fortunately, as it turned out, Toombs was embarrassed with his clothing and returned to the boat. The *David* was then rapidly drifting from the *Ironsides*. Toombs found a match, and lighting a torch, went to the engine, removed the ob-

structions and got it into working order. At midnight the *David* reached the wharf in safety. Messrs. Toombs and Cannon were greatly exhausted, but rejoicing over their miraculous escape. Glassell and Sullivan were, it is reported, picked up by the enemy. When we read of such a deed, and also consider what the infant navy of the South has done, we do not wonder that it is a terror to the North, and that such dread should be felt at any prospect of its being increased.

President Lincoln's proclamation, in which he calls for 300,000 more men, deserves a careful reading. Volunteering was, according to Mr. Lincoln's own admission, utterly inadequate to the requirements of the Government, and, therefore, recourse was had to the draft. That, too, has failed, and now an attempt is to be made to work the two systems together. Mr. Lincoln, in effect, says, "Come into my 'slaughter-pens,' and you shall receive advance pay, premium, and booty: if you refuse to do so by the 5th of January, I shall drive you into my 'slaughter-pens,' and you will lose the advance pay, premium, and booty. There is no compulsion, only you must do as you are bidden." Mr. Lincoln, as well as issuing his mandate to the governors of the several States, condescends to address "the good and loyal people thereof, invoking them to lend their cheerful, willing, and effective aid to the measures thus adopted, with a view to reinforce our victorious armies now in the field." It occurs to us that to reinforce Mr. Lincoln's "victorious armies now in the field," neither volunteering nor drafting is required, and that General Halleck's pen could effectively accomplish the task.

We think, we have not the statistics before us, that Mr. Lincoln has called for 1,500,000 soldiers to put down the "rebellion," or as Mr. Seward describes it, the "insurrectionary party, which is located and is chiefly adjacent to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico." We are aware that Mr. Lincoln has not obtained all the soldiers he has asked for, and that "War Christians" and their friends have waxed rich on the rations for soldiers only existing on paper, but at a very moderate estimate Mr. Lincoln, from first to last, has had 1,000,000 of men. The total population of the Confederate States is 10,000,000, including the negroes, whilst the population of the United Kingdom is about 30,000,000: compared with England, then, the Confederates have had to resist a force of 3,000,000. But the proportion is much greater, as the negroes are not used for military service. Also, the North commenced with the entire navy of the old Union, for a portion of which the Federal Government is indebted to the Confederacy. But taking the naked fact, that 1,000,000 of soldiers have been unable to reduce the Confederacy, having 10,000,000 inhabitants, to submission, we submit, rather strong arithmetical evidence of the title of the Confederate States to recognition.

Governor Seymour, with a promptitude which shows that he has not forgotten the appearance of forty-five regiments in New York to keep the Democracy in order, has issued a proclamation in response to Mr. Lincoln's call for more men. His Excellency does not endorse his master's story of "victorious armies," but ventures to say that, "at this time the defenders of the national capital are menaced by a superior force; the Army of the Cumberland is in an imperiled condition; and the military operations of the Government are delayed and hindered by the want of adequate military power, and are threatened with serious disaster." This avowal will perhaps be forgiven, notwithstanding that the maxim of the Washington Government is, "to give utterance to the truth is a heinous and almost unpardonable crime. It would be unkind, when the dog is kicking the foot that kicked him, to punish him for a life feeble and harmless whining. Some months ago surprise was expressed at the contempt which the Confederates evinced for the Northern Democrats: that the attempt was justifiable is now manifest.

General Thomas is for the moment a favourite with King Mob in the United States, vice Rosecrans, who has been dismissed from command of the Army of the Cumberland. The *Richmond Dispatch* observes that very few Federal generals have been killed. Scott, McClellan, McDowell, Buell, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, and Rosecrans, are alive and unscratched. Nor is it difficult to account for their immunity from death and wounds. They may be all very brave, but they have had the knack or the luck of keeping out of the



fighting. Scott did not go near Manassas. McClellan nearly always "came up" when the battle was over. Pope so strongly objected "to showing his back to the enemy" that he remained at such a distance from the front as to be quite out of sight and of shot. When Burnside sent his brave soldiers to storm the heights of Fredericksburg, he, perhaps not wishing to deprive his troops of any glory they might acquire, remained at the safe distance of three miles from the scene of battle. Rosecrans, it is alleged, was at Chattanooga whilst the battle of Chickamauga was being fought. About the smaller fry—the McCooks and the Crittendens, who set their soldiers an example of flight, and the officers who love Washington too well to go far from it—we need say nothing, though the proceedings will hereafter form an amusing page in the bloody records of this war. But whilst Federal commanders escape the perils of battle they are killed off (in a military sense) by their own Government. So far as their utility is concerned, Generals Scott, McClellan, McDowell, Buell, Hooker, and Rosecrans, might as well have died on the field of battle; and Pope and Burnside are reduced to accept inferior positions.

Though General Thomas succeeds Rosecrans he does so subject to the directions of General Grant, to whom the command of the armies of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Kentucky has been assigned. Grant is not "the demi-god of war" the Federal press at this juncture represents him to be, but he is one of the few able generals in the Federal service. We think, however, that his power will be overturned by the task now devoted on him.

General Rosecrans must have been surprised at his dismissal, and think his country very ungrateful, if he was sincere in the congratulatory order he issued to his troops on the 2nd of October. In that document he told the Army of the Cumberland, "You have made a grand and successful campaign." In reference to the battle of Chickamauga, he says, "You concentrated in the face of superior numbers, fought the combined armies of Bragg, which you drove from Shelbyville to Tullahoma, of Johnston's army from Mississippi, and the tried veterans of Longstreet's corps, and for two days held them at bay, giving them blow for blow, with heavy interest. When the day closed you held the field, from which you withdrew in the face of overpowering numbers, to occupy the point for which you set out, Chattanooga." It was strange that after giving "blow for blow, with heavy interest," the army should withdraw; but we see nothing remarkable about withdrawing "in the face" of the enemy: retreats are generally effected under such conditions. General Rosecrans tells his soldiers, "you hold in your hands the substantial fruits of a victory, and deserve, and will receive, the honours and plaudits of a grateful nation." Perhaps his opinion about the grateful nation is rather changed. Such an order as that we have quoted from, reflects infinitely more disgrace on a general than fifty defeats; at least, it would, except in the case of a Federal general, in the opinion of his fellow-countrymen.

From a Canadian paper (the *Montreal Advertiser*) we glean some information of the way in which the free negroes in the South are treated by their Yankee masters. Two reports, written by Federals and Abolitionists, have been published in reference to the working of some plantations in Louisiana, stolen from their owners. Mr. Brott, a New Englander, made an arrangement with General Butler, by which he became possessed of a fine plantation, with the hands on it. He has been working it with energy and profit. If his free labourers do not accept the terms offered, or if they are in any way disobedient, they are handed over to the military to be made soldiers of; that is, to be put within range of Confederate balls at the first opportunity. Mr. Brott compels his free negroes to work for ten clear hours per day. What they do beyond their allotted task is paid for in money; but the settled task is a good day's work. They receive half rations of flour, occasionally a little fresh meat, tea and sugar, the latter as a treat. Their pay at the end of the season, about their rations, will be one-twentieth part of the net profit, estimated at \$70,000. There are 175 working hands, who divide \$3,500, giving \$20 a-year wages to each man, of which he has to maintain his family and clothe himself and them; the expenses other than for implements are reckoned at \$13,400 a year, leaving \$53,000 profit, to be equally divided between the Government and the contractor. We may be sure that if the system could be generally introduced in the South the increase in the negro population would be effectually checked, and in fifty years the remnant of the coloured race might be redeemed at a comparatively small cost. "For the moral effects of Yankee emancipation, the report says: 'I freely grant there is some foundation for the accusation so generally brought against the negroes, of laziness and dishonesty. I grant, too, that it is undeniably true that a great many of them are greater idlers and vagabonds than they were before the war commenced.'" Mr. Ware, a superintendent of contrabands on a Federal Government plantation, at Port Royal, South Carolina, reports malpractices on the part of Federal officers that would hardly be credible except on the evidence of a Federal, and attested by a warm Abolitionist. But lest we should do any unintentional injustice to Mr. Ware's report, we will give his own words. He says:—

I am sorry to be obliged to say that many of the Federal officers in power have done much to destroy the confidence of the negroes in their new masters, or rather employers, and to make them worse and more confirmed vagrants than ever before. A great many cases that happened last year have come to my knowledge, through sources which do not permit me to doubt their actual occurrence. Provost-marshal and their appointees, who had charge of the standing crops, induced the negroes to return to many plantations and take off

the crop. They promised them most solemnly, in the name of the Government of the United States, that they should be paid at the end of their work. Their promises were enforced by the uniform they wore and by the authority they were known to possess. The negroes trusted them as implicitly as they would an angel from heaven. They asked for no security but the honour of a Union soldier, an official representative of the President of the United States. In many cases these promises were never redeemed. Overseers, provost-marshals, commissioners, lessees, brokers, and the whole tribe of scoundrels, banded together, to swindle the simple, confiding negroes—who relied solely on them for protection, and who looked up to them with humble admiration and grateful love, almost amounting to idolatry—to cheat them out of the miserable pittance by which they might have passed through the winter comfortably. On this very plantation the negroes were not paid a cent, though the crop was gathered and the sugar sold, and the next year's crop almost ruined by bad management. The cowardly scoundrels who have by these means made fortunes, and perhaps are still making them, will resign from the army, and return home with wonderful stories of the bloody battles they have passed through—the admiration and envy of their simple companions at home—while, if they had their deserts, they would be covered with infamy for evermore. The right of a trusted officer to cheat the Government seems now-a-days to be acknowledged. The right of a Federal soldier or officer to fill his trunk with silver plate, female apparel, jewelry, books and everything he can find belonging to a Southern resident, whether Union or rebel, has been conceded or rather assumed by the army, from General Blank down. But I think the most thoughtless thief or the most hardened speculator could hardly look with equanimity on the dastardly atrocities of those men who have prostituted the fair name of the Government they are sworn to protect, to their own avarice and lust, and have in the eyes of a whole race, put the finishing touch of infamy and injustice to the character which the South has done her best to earn for the American people. They have taken advantage of the responsible and sacred position in which the hand of God had placed them, to commit a crime the equal of which is not set down in the annals of man. The history of slavery shows nothing to equal this perfidy. That a Southern man should do this would not be wonderful, but such a crime committed by a Northern man and a United States officer, partakes of the miraculous. For such a monstrous and ineffable wickedness, the punishment of an ignominious death would be the sublimity of mercy.

Such facts as these need no comment, except that it is natural a Yankee taskmaster should be indifferent to the welfare of his negroes, and that, seeing how the free negro is used in the North, it is not surprising that the Northerners, when they have the chance, should maltreat them in the South.

Mr. Vallandigham has written a letter to the people of Ohio, in which he ascribes the defeat of his friends to the threats of the Federal Government and the presence of a large Federal force in the State. One dodge of the Government, that of not putting the names of the Democrats on the assessor's list, is exposed by an incident of the Pennsylvania election. Judge Woodward, the Democratic candidate for Governor, went up to vote at the polls in Philadelphia. He gave his name as "George W. Woodward," and was told it was not on the list. He replied, "Very likely, and yet I've paid more taxes this year than I ever paid before, and on less property." This remonstrance had no effect, but being recognised as Judge Woodward, the officer said, "Your name is certainly not here, but it ought to be. All right, sir, vote away." An unimportant person would have obtained no redress.

The *New York Herald* has a leader on "Seven Victories for the Union in as many days." Three of these are set down to the credit of the military, and are rather more than doubtful. The rest we grant are unquestionable victories for the Administration. The *Herald* says:—"Our other four victories were infinitely greater ones than these. They were won in the four States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa. They were the victories of the people over an enemy more dangerous than the Southern soldiers, and they are not surpassed in grandeur by any four victories that our armies have ever won." It is true, in the South Mr. Lincoln's legions have gained no such decided triumphs; nor would he have done so in the United States, if the Northern Democrats loved liberty half so much as they profess.

There is a stoppage of the exchange of prisoners, which may probably lead to the disavowal of the cartel by both belligerents. The dispute is as to the number of prisoners with which each side should be credited. General Meredith, the United States Commissioner, contends that there is a balance of 10,024 in his favour, while Mr. Ould, the Confederate agent, says that more than 7,000 exchanges are due to the Confederate States. Mr. Ould announced to General Meredith that the Confederate Government now considers itself at liberty to pursue any course it thinks proper with regard to exchanges and paroles.

General Polk, in his farewell address to his command, says, "In consequence of an unfortunate disagreement between myself and the Commander-in-Chief of this Department, I have been relieved of my command, and am about to retire from the army. Without attempting to explain the circumstances of this disagreement, or prejudicing the public mind by a premature appeal to its judgment, I must be permitted to express my unqualified conviction of the rectitude of my conduct, and that time and investigation will amply vindicate my conduct on the field of the Chickamauga." The cause of the disagreement has not transpired.

Senor Rombo has returned to Washington as Minister for the defunct Juarez Government. As the Federals recognise a Government that has no army, no revenue, no capital, and no administration, they could not object to European Governments recognising the Confederate States. By-and-by they will be reminded of this precedent.

In one of his recent speeches Mr. Chase spoke of the President of the United States as "Old Father Abe." What may be the effect of this familiarity in the United States we know not, but on this side it is apt to breed contempt for the Federal Executive and his Ministers.

The fluctuations in gold have been considerable in New York. On October 22nd, it touched 39 per cent., owing to a report that Mr. Chase had effected a foreign loan, but it quickly rallied to 43. On the 23rd it was 44 per cent., on the 24th it rose to 46 per cent., and on the 26th the news of General Lee's advance caused a further rise of 3 per cent.

## ENGLAND.

THE conduct of the authorities in the matter of Mr. Laird's steam-rams has been at once discourteous, ridiculous, and extravagant. Discourteous, because no opportunity has been lost of insulting grossly a firm of the highest honour and respectability. Ridiculous, because the precautions adopted to prevent an escape have been beyond all possible necessity. Extravagant, because the affair has already cost the country a considerable sum of money, and will, in all probability, cost yet more. No one doubts that secret weekly reports of the progress of the work have been furnished to the Government. It is pretty certain that rewards have been offered by Federal emissaries for sworn informants of conversations with men in the assumed confidence of the builders or their employees. It is believed that these sworn informants have been duly presented to Earl Russell by Mr. Adams, and that they have been adequately seasoned with threats of Federal vengeance in case of negligence or contempt on the part of the Secretary of State. However this may be, it is certain that on Tuesday, October 27th, Mr. Morgan, of the Customs, acting under the authority of the Treasury, formally demanded in writing the surrender of the rams and the instant suspension of all work. This proceeding was subsequent to the first formal seizure and the affixing of the broad arrow. Shortly after the officer had got possession of the rams, and an application to permit the uncovered turret-holes of *El Monassir* to be protected was peremptorily refused. Consequently, for more than twelve hours tons on tons of water found their way to the boilers and machinery. On Thursday, October 29th, Captain Inglefield appeared on the scene, dispossessed the Customs officials, and placed his armed officers, blue-jackets, and marines, on board of *El Tousson* in the great float, while another detachment entered Messrs. Laird's yard, fully armed, and installed itself in *El Monassir*. Finding the ship so unfinished that the men could not possibly remain on board, and finding, also, that the ship itself could not possibly move, the officer removed his men, and gave notice that on the next day *El Monassir* would be removed to the river. *El Tousson* was also to be removed from the great float. Now, as the latter vessel can only get out at high tide, and then only with the connivance of the Mersey Trust, and as a daring set of men might possibly get her out of the river, the folly of this removal is beyond conception. Moreover, in the Mersey the ship will incur as great a risk as if on a trip from Liverpool to Cork. Why, then, has this removal been made? The Mersey Trust has been insulted and a great risk incurred. It is said, too, that the object can only be to effect a surreptitious escape. Taking such a notion to be quite absurd, still it is not complimentary to Messrs. Laird to suppose that they are in such a plot. Such, however, is the present state of things. The property of private persons, men of honour and repute, and property of the value of £250,000, has been seized by an armed force, without a reason being vouchsafed for an act startling to Englishmen and abhorrent to English ideas. Moreover, at least 500 workmen have been thrown out of employ at a moment's notice. One more delightful episode in the story yet remains to be told. Captain Inglefield, with his sailors and marines, was not competent to prevent the escape of *El Tousson* and *El Monassir*; indeed, these ships must have been a nightmare to Earl Russell. So on Monday, October 26th, a telegram came to Devonport to have the new iron-clads frigate *Prince Consort*, 25, 4,045 tons, commissioned for short service, to send on board one captain, three subalterns, and 100 royal marines; to send two sergeants to prepare provisions, to take 450 seamen from three ships lying at Devonport, and to start for the Mersey. Thereupon, on the Wednesday, at noon, the beautiful and costly vessel left Plymouth Sound and stood out to westward on her course to obey the behests and calm the terror of Earl Russell. On October 30th, a telegram arrived from Dublin that the *Prince Consort* was lying off Kingstown greatly disabled, having encountered a fearful gale in the Channel. She had sprung a leak and was nearly filled with water. She would have sunk in the Channel had it not been for the immense exertions of the crew. There were seven feet of water in her, all her boats, guns, and tackle were in confusion, and many of her men disabled. Such, then, have been the results of Earl Russell's policy. Messrs. Laird and the Trustees of the Mersey Trust have been insulted; 500 workmen have been thrown out of employment in the month of November; a splendid vessel has been frightfully injured; many brave men have been disabled, and above all, we Englishmen have cringed to Mr. Adams. Beyond this there are the future risks of the steam-rams, and still worse, the costs, the incalculable costs, of heavy litigation. If the seizure of the steam-rams does not cost the country half-a-million of money, Earl Russell will have to thank his luck rather than his judgment.

The new steam yacht *Taliah*, destined for the service of his Majesty the Sultan, was tried last week, and attained the extraordinary speed of 17½ knots or 20½ statute miles per hour, being the highest velocity yet attained by any vessel of similar tonnage and power. The ship is of 912 tons burden, and has oscillating



engines of 350 horse power. She was built by Samuda Brothers and supplied with engines by John Penn and Son.

The building of the new iron frigate *Bellerophon* has been commenced in Chatham Dockyard. In this vessel the double-bottom, or unsinkable principle, is to be adopted. It is well known that such vessels as the *Warrior* and *Achilles* have the immense defect of being quite unfit as places of residence for officers and men for a continuous period of two or three years. An iron ship is liable to great injury from the extreme weakness of its bottom, and to obviate this difficulty vessels of that class are divided into short lengths or sections by means of water-tight bulkheads running across them internally. Thereby they are cut up into a number of isolated tanks or air-tight wells, in which there is little or no ventilation. This evil will be avoided by the combination of the double bottom, such as has been successfully employed in the *Great Eastern*, and of the unsinkable principle, which has been applied by Mr. Langley, of Deptford, to the two Cape Mail steamers, the *Briton* and the *Roman*. Throughout the entire central portion of the *Bellerophon*, in which the engines, boilers, and magazines are placed, the bottom of the ship will be double, the inner and outer bottoms or hulls being placed from three to four feet apart, leaving ample space for cleaning and painting. The space between the two bottoms will be divided into numerous water-tight compartments in the usual manner, whereby will be formed a series of buoyant cells, any one of which may be injured without the sea penetrating the ship beyond the centre of the vessel at either end. Mr. Langley's plan will be used, the lower deck constituting an interior bottom, and the space below it being made available for stowage by means of iron water-tight trunks rising above the water-line. Thus a combination will be formed of water-tight trunks and water-tight decks, the former being intended as a means of entering below the latter. The *Bellerophon* will also be constructed with water-tight internal walls. It is expected that the frigate will be the most powerful and the most comfortable ship afloat.

A further trial of the merits of the double or twin-screw principle has been made with the screw launch *Experiment*. This vessel is but 42 feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and depth. Her boilers and engines occupy a space in the centre of the boat of only 6 feet 11 inches by 4 feet 4 inches. The nominal horsepower of the engines being 3 inches, the length of the stroke of piston 6 inches, and the diameter of cylinder 4 inches. The total weight of engines and boilers, with platform, coal-boxes, &c., and with boilers fitted, is 2½ tons. Each screw has a diameter of 2 feet, and a pitch of 3 feet 4½ inches. When put on the measured mile, the vessel attained, in six runs, a mean speed of 6.742 knots. The results of the trials, in describing circles, are however of the most importance. With both engines going ahead at full speed, with the rudder acting, a complete circle was made to starboard in 1 min. 9 sec., and to port in 1 min. 13 sec. With one engine shut off, and with the port engine standing (the helm still being used), a circle was made in 1 min. 31 sec., and with the starboard engine shut off in 1 min. 27 sec. Reversing the motion of the respective engines, and with the starboard engine going ahead, and the port astern, the circle was made in 2 min. 9 sec. Repeating this experiment, but with the starboard engine astern and the port ahead, the circle was made in 1 min. 45 sec. The diameter of the circles described was, with both engines going ahead and rudder acting, rather under three times the length of the launch; with one engine shut off, rather over that distance; with engines reversed and screws working opposite ways, the launch turned on a pivot just abaft her centre, and within her own length, gradually working spirally and astern. It is asserted that the double screw system will carry any given weight at one-third less draught of water than that required by a vessel driven by a single screw. At present our *Minotours*, *Agincourts*, and *Northumberland*s will require some eight or nine feet too great a draught of water to be available for work on a line of coast. If, by dividing the propelling power, the required draught can be greatly diminished, an enormous advantage will, in this respect, be gained by the adoption of the double-screw principle in addition to the facilities experienced in turning and manœuvring.

Mr. William Cubitt, M.P. for Andover, died on Wednesday, October 28, at Penton-lodge, Hampshire. Mr. Cubitt, had many years since, served the office of Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and was elected an alderman of the City in 1851. He was chosen a member of Parliament for the first time in 1847, and sat continuously for Andover till his death, with the exception of a short interval in 1861-62, when he resigned his seat for that borough and unsuccessfully contested the City of London. Mr. Cubitt was twice chosen Lord Mayor of London, and was undoubtedly the most popular chief magistrate of modern times. By his high sense of honour and justice, his splendid hospitality, and his readiness to take the principal part in all charitable and philanthropic acts, he gained the unbounded respect of the citizens of London, the ruling bodies, and the nation at large. Mr. Cubitt took a memorable part in originating the public subscription towards a national memorial of the Prince Consort, and he served on the committee nominated by the Queen to assist her in deciding on the form which the Memorial should assume. Lords Derby and Clarendon and Sir Charles Eastlake served on the same committee. At the time of his death Mr. Cubitt was President of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company. Mr. Cubitt was in politics a Conservative.

The week of races, which has brought to a termination not only the season at Newmarket, but, with the exception of a few trifling county meetings, the season of

England, was replete with sport, excitement, and dissatisfaction. Nearly seventy races were decided in the six days, for Newmarket kept holiday from Monday morning to Saturday night; and in the seventy races more than 400 horses contended. It was a week of more than ordinary excitement, for objections were raised to the winners of the two principal races, and for days the issue was in doubt. It was a week of dissatisfaction, for the defeated, like the Federal armies, claimed a victory, or bore their disasters with unmanly despair; while the weather, by the force of fogs, rains, and gales, did its utmost to try the temper and the constitution of every spectator. The sport of Monday, October 26th, may be dismissed with the single remark, that the thickness of the atmosphere entirely precluded the visitors from seeing the objects of their speculation at a distance of more than forty yards, and caused the postponement of the most interesting race till the following day. On the Tuesday, however, the Heath was seen in all its glory, the company, though almost insignificant compared with Epsom on the Derby Day, or Ascot on the Cup Day, was really prodigious, and the presence of the Prince of Wales, Prince Christian of Denmark, and the Duke of Cambridge, gave additional *éclat* to the proceedings. The Criterion Stakes, with a subscription of thirty sovereigns each, and with fifty subscribers, brought eleven two-year-old horses to the post, and served still further to perplex the public mind as to the respective virtues of the future candidates for the victory at Epsom in 1864. The Scottish Chief, Blair Athol, and Cambuscan, all winners in races of a similar character, were absent; but Ely, the Knight of Snowdon, Coast Guard, and Prince Arthur once more joined issue. Coast Guard, the son of Saunterer and Lady Elizabeth, was made the favourite, and certainly his magnificent appearance and the reputation of the stable, which boasts the famous Maccaroni, Isoline, and Carnival, seemed to justify the opinion of the public. The winner, however, appeared in Fille de l'Air, the daughter of Faugh-a-Ballagh, who, carrying extra weight as a penalty for former victories, yet defeated easily her renowned opponents; Prince Arthur by Weatherbit, was second, and Coast Guard was utterly out-placed from end to end. In the All-Aged Stakes, of 100 sovereigns each, Fairwater defeated Lady Clifden, Argonaut and Sou-champ; and in a plate for three-year-old horses, the good-looking and blood-like Johnny Armstrong was victorious over Croagh Patrick, Onesander, Wingrave, and the famous Caller Ou, the winner of the Great Saint Leger and numberless plates. However, the great event of the day was the race for the Cambridgeshire Stakes, the last and perhaps the greatest of the autumnal handicaps; originally 215 horses were nominated for the race, and it may easily be imagined that it was no easy task to assign such a weight to each competitor as to give an equal chance of success to all. It is a rule in this handicap that horses who have been, in the opinions of their owners, laden by the adjuster of the weights with too heavy an impost, may be withdrawn within a few days on payment of a penalty of £5, and of this provision advantage was taken in the case of seventy-eight horses; consequently, 137 horses were considered by their respective owners to have been justly dealt with. Of these 137 horses, ninety-seven were struck out of the list before the race, and for each of them a penalty of £10 was paid. The remaining forty came to the post, and for each the stake of £25 was paid. The total net value of the stakes was £2,355. The distance to be traversed in the race was one mile and 240 yards, the last three-quarters of a mile being run on a gradual but decided incline. No less a time than three-quarters of an hour was consumed in fruitless attempts to effect a start, and it was not until the twenty-fourth attempt that the starter lowered his flag. A more magnificent sight than the advance of this column of forty horses at terrific speed has seldom been witnessed; and as the distance of the race was short, the moving mass preserved its compactness until it reached the lines of the spectators. The shouts of these, the cracking of the whips of the riders, and the thunder of the horses' feet produced an effect not easily imagined or forgotten, while the tremendous struggle for the victory roused even the most passive spirits into energy, and rendered the anxiety of those interested in the event painfully apparent. The winner, Catch-em-Alive, who is the son of Flatcatcher and a mare called Rather High, secured the prize by a short head. Merry Hart was a like distance in front of Summerside, the property of Mr. Ten Broeck, and Summerside was a length in advance of Juliet. The weights carried by these horses admirably illustrates the principal of handicapping: that is, the imposition of weights on a sliding scale, according to the supposed or ascertained merits of the several horses. Catch-em-Alive is four years old and carried 7 stone or 98 lbs. Merry Hart and Summerside are three-year-olds, and the former carried 82 lbs. the latter, 79 lbs., while Juliet, who is more than six years old, carried only 85 lbs. One other weight may be noticed, namely, that imposed on Carnival, who being but 3 years of age, carried 120 lbs., and yet was in the front rank in the finish. The betting at starting was 9 to 2 against Catch-em-Alive, 100 to 7 against Summerside, 33 to 1 against Juliet, and 40 to 1 against Merry Hart; while Lemosina, who was second for this race last year, and also second for the Cesarewitch Stakes this year, was made the favourite, at the odds of 5 to 2. Indeed, it is said, that this mare was backed by her owner, the Earl of Stamford, to win £150,000, and there is no doubt that his lordship has lost a very large sum of money. The result of the race was to him so grievous a disappointment, that he, acting on a suspicion which really seems groundless, but to which his lordship adheres, has determined to sell his stud and abandon the pursuit of racing. The mare certainly ran as badly as she well could, and Lord Stamford believed she had been dosed. Perhaps in his calmer moments he will disabuse himself of this idea, and try the favour of fortune once more. He is undoubtedly the boldest and most liberal purchaser of race horses on the turf;

he has a stud of nearly 100 horses, and the loss of his support would be a serious blow to the interests of the turf. But the marvels of Tuesday, October 27th, are not yet told. Not only was it raised, by way of objection to the victory of Fille de l'Air in the Criterion Stakes, that she was in fact a filly of three years, not two years of age (a statement proved subsequently to be utterly unfounded), but it remained a question for nearly two days whether Catch-em-Alive was entitled to the Cambridgeshire Stakes. In fact, when the riders of that race returned to scale it was found that the rider of Catch-em-Alive was about two pounds deficient in weight. So, also, was the rider of Summerside, while the rider of Merry Hart weighed correctly. Upon this Lord Westmoreland claimed the Stakes as the owner of Merry Hart, and Mr. William Day confessed that Catch-em-Alive had not carried the true weight. Yet, before the race, the jockeys had been properly weighed. Suspicion was aroused, and it was discovered that some pieces of lead had been nailed on the weight side of the scale. Thereupon, the stewards were of opinion that the deficiency in weight was explained, and awarded the stakes to Catch-em-Alive. It does not appear that the riders were weighed afresh, and there is no proof that the deficiency in weight was equal to the weight of the lead. At any rate it is clear enough that Lord Westmoreland's horse carried nearly three pounds more than was necessary, and it is equally clear that if the weights of Catch-em-Alive and Merry Hart had been proportionately correct, Merry Hart must have won. It is not necessary to refer in detail to any other races of the week except the 1st and 2nd class Nursery Stakes, which is a handicap race of two-year-old horses with an entrance of 25 sovereigns each. The 1st class was won by Sheridan, a son of Cotherstone, the property of Lord Rendlesham; Prince Arthur, who was second in the Criterion Stakes, being second for this race also. The second class was won by Union Jack, an Irish horse, who carried no less than 125 pounds, or twenty pounds more than any other horse, and thirty pounds more than most of the horses in the race. This animal is not entered for the Derby of 1864, doubtless to the regret of his owner, for his chance of victory would be by no means small. Before the year closes race meetings will be held at Shrewsbury, Liverpool, and Worcester; but the hunting season has already commenced, and its charms are rapidly superseding the fading pleasures of the turf.

## THE CONTINENT.

AFTER all the rumours of warlike despatches to St. Petersburg, it would now seem that Earl Russell has really addressed the English Minister at the Russian Court a communication of the mildest and most conciliatory character. His lordship has, it is said, confined himself to the expression of a hope that Russia will remember her promises after her victory, and will not forget that she holds Poland by treaties which give the Poles certain privileges and liberties. We do not, of course, assert that such has been the character of his lordship's despatch, but it is very confidently asserted by newspapers which are likely to have authentic information from St. Petersburg, and has been very weakly denied by his lordship's organs here. If this should be the correct version of the despatch the intervention, so far as England is concerned, is at an end.

The intelligence from Poland is not important. It is made up of arrests, executions, and assassinations. The Russian Government does not shrink now before any measure, however severe. It is prepared for an explosion in Warsaw, and probably is really desirous of provoking one.

From Paris there is little news. Everybody has been waiting for the Emperor's speech, which is to be delivered this day. There are war rumours and peace rumours, rumours about a new loan and about ministerial changes. Before these lines reach our readers the oracle will have spoken, and men will probably know whether it is to be peace or war. Oracles, however, are oftentimes enigmatical.

The Prussian elections have produced the anticipated results. The Moderate Liberals have sustained great losses to the profit of the Advanced Liberal or *Fortschritt* *Partei*. That party will number in the new House 150 members, and will be reinforced in almost every question by nearly 100 members of the so-called Left Centre, or Bockum Doff's party, which is hardly less radical. The old Liberals will count hardly a dozen, and the Chamber loses some of its best men. Herr von Vincke has been defeated—a defeat which some liberals seem to delight over. Von Vincke, in the last session, although going with the majority on the great constitutional question, showed a readiness for compromise, and gave some of the most vehement of the radicals some hard knocks. Hence thoughtless liberals rejoice at the exclusion of the ablest of Prussian statesmen, and the correspondents of English newspapers who take their original views from Berlin journals, re-echo the senseless jubilation. The Government has increased the number of its supporters from eleven to about forty. The less said about the means the better. The minor officials were driven to the poll like sheep; every kind of intimidation possible was practised. Amongst these forty is one minister: Herr von Roon, the Minister of War, the gentleman who, by his refusal to submit to the authority of the president, provoked the crisis last year; besides several of the most prominent of the reactionary leaders. This is a greater success for the liberals than for the Government. The number of the Ministerial party is too small to be mischievous; but the presence of the Ministers and of their *outré* supporters in the House will make it really a representation of all opinions, and give much more importance to its debates and resolutions. The Catholic faction has experienced a slight loss; it is reduced from 32 to 25. The Poles are about the same as before, 27;



but of this number two or three are out of the way, being accused of high treason.

The Chambers are convoked for the 9th. It is supposed that the session will be a very short one. The House of Deputies will speak out very decidedly, and that the King will not stand. He has since the elections already declared that he will not flinch from the position he has taken.

The Danish Government has given its answer to the summons of the Diet. The answer is to some extent a concession. The Danish Government is willing to enter into negotiations for a modification of the patent of the 30th March, which it recognises as having only a temporary character. This concession is the result of Earl Russell's influence. The answer proceeds to point out that all that the Diet could obtain by execution could be obtained by means of a well-considered understanding, and it concludes by saying that the Danish Government has a right "to expect that the Diet will submit the affair to a fresh examination before having recourse to any extreme and fatal measure, which, without insuring to the Confederation the realisation of a single legitimate demand, would result in nothing but injury to the most important and reciprocal interests." To this answer, presented to the Diet on the 21st of October, a supplement was added by the Danish Minister on the 31st, in which, on behalf of his Government, he observes, that "as the demands of the Diet tend to a further end than that of securing to the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg autonomic independence, the question assumes an international character, and can only be settled amicably by negotiation, which would have a better chance of success if they took place with the participation of the Powers which have bound themselves to respect the integrity and independence of Denmark."

Earl Russell, nothing daunted by the cavalier reception of his previous despatches, has addressed the Diet for the third time, through Sir A. Malet, with a proposition for the arrangement of the dispute. His lordship says, on the 21st October, that it is the opinion of her Majesty's Government that if the German Bund and the King of Denmark were animated by a wish to bring the negotiations to an equitable conclusion they would find no great difficulties in the way. Of course; but that is the difficulty: there is not, on the part of the Diet, a desire for a fair and just settlement. His lordship suggests that all the questions which relate to the finances and legislation of Holstein and Lauenburg should be regulated according to the principles in force with the Diet, and that all those questions which have an international character might be brought to a peaceful and lasting settlement by the mediation, not arbitration, of friendly non-German Powers. What charming innocence! After all his experience of this wretched question, Earl Russell actually believes that Germany would agree to an equitable solution. As well suppose that a man who has made up his mind to swindle his neighbour out of all his property, and has good reason to think he has the means of doing so, would agree to an equitable settlement of the question: a settlement which, if equitable, would give him nothing, and brand him as a scoundrel.

The King of the Greeks has reached his capital, and has had a brilliant reception. If His Majesty will only act with a little vigour he may yet make something of his new subjects. The people are well-disposed and would like to be well governed. It is the politicians who are the curse of the country, and if His Majesty will only show that he does not mean to allow the government to be the prey of every party, he may regenerate Hellas. The Ionians, who, as we noted some time since, were ready enough to accept the union, but indisposed to pay their debts to England, had the impertinence to demand that the fortress should not be demolished. As they made too much noise about this, the Lord High Commissioner prorogued the Assembly for six months, whereupon the majority have made a foolish protest. It is the last ebullition of their childish vanity.

The Turkish budget has been published. It shows a small surplus. Is the account an honest one, or has it been "cooked" with a view to another loan, to be professedly applied to a redemption of paper money, the reduction of the floating debt, or anything else of the kind—but really to make up a deficit? Until some guarantee can be given of the genuineness of the figures, which at present we have only through the electric telegraph, it would be idle to bestow any attention upon them.

#### JAPAN.

Despatches have been published which tell the authentic story of the recent proceedings of the British *chargé d'affaires* and admiral in Japan. On Christmas eve in last year Earl Russell wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale, instructing him to demand from the Japanese Government an ample and formal apology for the offence of permitting a murderous attack on British subjects, passing on a road open by treaty to them, and the payment of a penalty of £100,000, and on the event of refusal the *chargé d'affaires* was to call upon the admiral to adopt measures of reprisal. Earl Russell also directed the minister to demand from the Daimio Prince Satsuma, in whose service the murderers of Mr. Richardson were supposed to be, the immediate trial and capital execution of the chief perpetrators of the murder, and the payment of £25,000 compensation to the relations of the murdered man and the other victims of the affray. If the Prince should not immediately agree to the terms, the admiral was, at his discretion, to blockade the port or shell the palace of the Prince, situated, as Lord Russell was informed, at the south-west end of the island of Kiusin. The Japanese Government, after some demur, yielded to the threats of reprisal, made the apology, and paid the

fine. Admiral Kuper and Lieut.-Colonel Neale then proceeded to Kagosima to enforce the demands against Prince Satsuma. To the summons they presented a reply was made by a request for delay, on account of the absence of the Prince. It was also said by the Japanese that they had attempted to seize the murderers, but that other Daimios protected them, and a little delay was asked on that account. In vain: Admiral Kuper told them that they were "barbarians." Colonel Neale, declared that evasion or delay could no longer be submitted to. The Colonel wrote to the Admiral to take measures to awaken the Prince of Satsuma to "a sense of the serious nature of the determinations which have brought Her Majesty's squadron to this anchorage." The Admiral seized three steamers belonging to the Prince, and anchored them before the Japanese forts. The Japanese, irritated by the proceeding, opened fire, an act which the Admiral, says, "it became necessary to immediately resent for the honour of the flag," and he forthwith shelled the town, said to contain 150,000 inhabitants. Before night came one-half the town was in flames; the conflagration illuminated the whole bay. The next afternoon, as soon as the weather would allow, the admiral resumed his work, shelled the palace and the side of the town which had escaped, and having reasonable ground for believing that the entire town of Kagosima "is now a mass of ruins," having received Colonel Neale's compliments, departed for Yokahama. The loss of the squadron was thirteen killed, including two officers, and fifty wounded: the loss of the people of Kagosima may be numbered by thousands. An industrious densely populated city, guilty of no crime, has been reduced to a mass of ruins. At peace with Japan, the English squadron has committed a deed at which even in war public opinion would revolt. The destruction of Kagosima is the most wanton act of atrocity which the world has heard of in this century. It will not pass unpunished.

#### ST. DOMINGO.

THE news is very unfavourable to the Spaniards. The blacks have generally proved victorious, and, according to some accounts, have used their victory to commit the most brutal excesses.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, October 10.

THE recall of Commissioner Mason from his equivocal position in London has given the most unqualified satisfaction to the people of the Confederate States. The just pride of the South has long resented the scant civility shown to this gentleman by the Government of England, and had the public feeling been consulted, he would long ago have ceased to solicit interviews with Earl Russell, only to receive discourteous notes of refusal. The general impatience on this subject would have found expression on the floor of Congress last winter, but for the vague belief that the presence of so able and judicious a statesman would, in some way not easily understood by the million, unfamiliar with the practices of diplomacy, advance the interests of the country. But time and recent events having shown that Mr. Mason's residence in London was wholly without advantage to the Confederate cause, the *amour propre* of our people accepted with a sense of relief the intelligence that he had been withdrawn. The state secret of his recall was better kept than such matters usually are, where the fact is known to not less than ten or twelve persons. The first news reached us from London, and the *Enquirer* was disposed to discredit it, before its official announcement in the *Sentinel*, on the ground that a step of this sort was likely to be known sooner at home than abroad. Mr. Benjamin may, therefore, be congratulated not less upon the close guard he maintains over the mysteries of the State Department than upon having placed it out of the power of Downing-street to insult us any longer.

No more popular order could now be issued by President Davis than a prompt "notice to quit" served upon all the representatives of Great Britain at present exercising consular functions within the limits of the Confederacy: it would be the complement and proper sequel to the withdrawal of Mr. Mason, and could be no matter of complaint to a Government which has never given us the slightest credit for the magnanimity of allowing the largest measure of protection to English citizens living among us. Two of these representatives have recently given us just cause of offence. Mr. H. Pinckney Walker, H.B.M. acting consul at Charleston, in a correspondence with Colonel E. Magrath, commanding the local guard of that city, informed the colonel that he had advised British subjects that they could not be expected to perform military duty when brought into conflict with the forces of the United States; or in other words, that they were to desert the ranks of the South Carolina militia at the very juncture, that of direct invasion, when their services would be of most importance. In like manner, Mr. Fullerton, who dates his letters from the "British Consulate" at Savannah, and signs himself "Acting-Consul" for Her Majesty, has held quite a voluminous correspondence with His Excellency, Joseph E. Browne, Governor of Georgia, in which he is pleased to state that he has instructed Her Majesty's subjects enrolled in the Georgia Militia to throw down their arms in the presence of the Federal troops. Governor Brown very properly informed Mr. Fullerton that in such a contingency he should deal with Her Majesty's subjects just as he would with recreant Georgians guilty of similar conduct. The case of Mr. Pinckney Walker was brought to the notice of the Confederate Government, whereupon Mr. Benjamin

notified the military authorities at Charleston that the conduct of the consul was disapproved, and that "while the Government claims no military service from sojourners, those who have acquired residence in the Confederacy are bound by law to aid in its defence." Complications such as these are likely to arise at any time, so long as the anomalous relation continues, between the Government of the Confederate States and the representatives of foreign Powers which ignore that Government, whereby consular functions are permitted to be exercised by these representatives. The time is favourable for terminating this relation altogether, and if the President declines to discharge the consuls, Congress will most probably act in the matter at an early period of its approaching session.

The President left Richmond three days ago for the seat of war in Tennessee, for the purpose, as some say, of inquiring into the misunderstanding which has arisen between the generals of our army there. Generals Polk and Hindman have been put under arrest by General Bragg, charged with disobedience of orders at the battle of Chickamauga, in consequence of which two entire divisions of the army of Rosecrans, that would otherwise have been captured, were permitted to escape. It is more likely that the object of the President's journey is to get a look for himself at the situation of affairs before Chattanooga, and to confer with our military leaders upon the future conduct of the Western campaign. He travelled by the regular trains, and no notice whatever had been given of his intended departure, but he did not succeed in eluding public observation. At Weldon and at other points along the route he was loudly cheered, and addressed the enthusiastic multitude from the platform of the car with his accustomed readiness of speech and in his ever buoyant and hopeful spirit.

Nothing of a decisive character has been done at Chattanooga during the week. Heavy rains have so swollen the Tennessee River that Rosecrans's pontoons have been swept away, and he was engaged at the last accounts in throwing others across the stream. Our batteries at Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain had opened upon the enemy's lines and the town of Chattanooga, it was thought, with damaging effect. A house had been set on fire in the town. Rumours have been in circulation for several days that General Joe Johnston was advancing on Nashville, and it was even stated that he had occupied Murfreesboro, but no confirmation of these rumours has been received. From the Trans-Mississippi Department we have trustworthy information of a cheering nature. General Green has obtained a victory over the Federals on Red River. Guerilla and partisan warfare is successfully carried on along the banks of the "Father of Waters." A gun-boat and several transports have been sunk. A Confederate battery of three guns, which moves about from one point to another, seriously embarrasses the navigation of the stream. At last we have our own account of the brilliant affair of Sabine Pass, which turns out to have been one of the most remarkable successes on record. The Yankee expedition consisted of twenty-two transports, carrying twelve thousand men, under convoy of four gun-boats. Our whole force in the fortification was forty-two men. For several hours this little band fought the enemy's fleet and finally put it to flight, capturing two of their gunboats, the *Sachem* and *Clifton*, and three hundred and eighty-five prisoners! General Magruder at the latest advices had established his headquarters on board the *Clifton*, and the people of Texas were rushing to arms en masse to resist the invader.

The interchange of Columbiad compliments goes on as usual at Charleston, and the enemy's works on Morris Island are rapidly approaching completion, but the *feu d'enfer* has not yet been opened on the city. An attack was made on the *Ironsides* a few nights ago by the torpedo battalion, in which that monster is supposed to have sustained much injury. Throughout the succeeding day she was closely surrounded by steam-tugs, and the sound of the blacksmiths' hammers fastening new rivets in her iron sheathing, plainly announced that our destructives had found some cracks in her harness.

From the Rapidan we have nothing beyond the well-ascertained fact that Meade was retreating, two days ago, in the direction of Washington City, and that General Lee had undoubtedly crossed the river in pursuit. Ewell and A. P. Hill are with him, and his army is in high Chicka-hominy-and-maunga humour. Mosby, the indefatigable cavalry leader, is actively engaged in harassing the enemy's transportation, and last week succeeded in capturing, near Fairfax Court-house, one Colonel Dulaney, an aide of the pretended Governor Pierpont. Colonel Dulaney has been brought to Richmond, and will probably be held by Governor Letcher as a hostage for a member of the Virginian Legislature now a prisoner in the hands of Lincoln.

Apropos of Pierpont, it is exceedingly difficult for us to understand the exact status of the Western Virginia usurpation, and to know under whose gubernatorial authority we of tide-water are supposed to rest. One Boreman was inaugurated at Wheeling months ago, and this might have been reasonably thought to terminate Sancho Panza's brief and glorious reign; but in some extraordinary and incomprehensible way the Squire still maintains his official consequence, and has established his capital at Alexandria, with assumed jurisdiction over the oyster-beds of Accomac and the sweet-potato-hills of Nansemond. There is precedent, perhaps, for a dual executive, two claimants for the same office, two kings of Brentford smelling at the same nose-gay; but three governors of Virginia, it must be admitted, are *de trop*. And how this Yankee, Pierpont, who, even while



he administered the twopenny affairs of his Western Commonwealth, had his dwelling in Washington, Pennsylvania, can with any show of right, set up a magisterial authority over Eastern Virginia is inexplicable.

Governor Letcher has just communicated to the Virginia Legislature an official statement of the contributions of men and munitions of war made by the Old Dominion to the common cause. The rolls of the War Department, admitted by the adjutant-general to be incomplete, show a sum total of 102,915 men, irrespective of recruits and conscripts, and the Governor is informed by the commandant at camp Lee that 30,000 or more Virginia conscripts have been sent by him to the army. The report of the chief-of-ordnance of Virginia sets forth 399 pieces of artillery, 103,840 muskets, and 20,000 other small arms of various kinds, as having been distributed to the Confederate troops. This is a noble quota, indeed, and may well excite the honest pride of the Virginians. On the other hand, it is a humiliating fact, as humiliating to the Yankees as to Virginia, that General George H. Thomas, whose obstinate fighting at Chicamunga, according to their own admissions, alone saved the army of Rosecrans from annihilation, is a renegade son of the good old Commonwealth. He was born in the county of Southampton, and in the old United States Army was one of the majors in that famous regiment of the 2nd cavalry, whose personnel has been so brilliantly distinguished in this war. The field-officers of this regiment were: colonel, Albert Sidney Johnston; lieutenant-colonel, Robert E. Lee; majors, William J. Hardee, George H. Thomas; among the captains were Earl Van Dorn, Edmund Kirby Smith, Nathan G. Evans, and the Yankee colonel, Stoneman; while John B. Hood was a first, and Fitzhugh Lee a second, lieutenant.

The commercial world of Richmond has been startled during the week by developments of extensive swindling. One Livingston, a fast man, who gave the pleasantest little suppers at the hotels, beguiled the brokers of the city into confidence, and went off with about \$50,000 of their gold, for which he gave drafts on Savannah, that came back protested. Livingston went over to the enemy.

The *New York Tribune* tells a cock and bull story to the effect that the Hon. William Aiken, of South Carolina, is confined in the Libby Prison in this city for disloyalty. It is hardly necessary to say that there is not a word of truth in this statement.

The soft golden autumnal weather continues, and nature, in her gorgeous attire, seems to mock at the calamities of the war and the general shabbiness of soldier and citizen, town and country.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE. (From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, November 3.

THE people of Oldham, in public meeting assembled, and with every accessory that could give weight to the occasion or add emphasis to their voice, have set a spirited example to the other towns in the Cotton District, by declaring for a friendly mediation of European Powers in the otherwise endless struggle now going on in America. The meeting was convened on Thursday evening last, at the Town Hall, by his worship the Mayor (John Riley, Esq.) in accordance with the following requisition, which was signed by the local magistrates, by the members of the Corporation, by the leading mill-owners, as well as by numerous representatives of the trading and operative classes in the town:—

"That your memorialists, believing the events of the war in America to have fully demonstrated that the Federal Government cannot subjugate and hold in subjection the people of the Southern States, are of opinion that the protraction of the contest can only result in a useless destruction of life and property on that continent, and the infliction of a serious injury on the Cotton Districts of our own country; we, therefore, respectfully request that you will convene a public meeting of the inhabitants of Oldham, to consider the propriety of adopting a memorial to Her Majesty's Ministers, praying them to use all just and honourable means to procure a cessation of hostilities, with a view to afford an opportunity for the peaceful separation of the States."

The spacious hall was full to overflowing. To say there was no Northern opposition would be to deprive the occasion of some of its very salt. The few Unionists and Emancipationists in the place had taken the pains to issue a counter-placard, calling upon the "Radicals of Oldham" to attend the meeting and tell their story in full force; but it turned out, as in the case of the needy knife-grinder in the Sapphics, their story, when they did tell it, was of a far more matter-of-fact tenor than the "friends of humanity" desired. Among the visitors on the platform was James Spence, Esq., of Liverpool, who attended at the request of the Southern Independence Association of Oldham, and whose "powerful advocacy of the South," says the *Chronicle*, "has caused him to become so well-known and so much respected in that locality."

The Mayor having taken the chair, the following letter was read from J. T. Hibbert, Esq., M.P.:—

"The Grange, Urmston, Stretford,  
Near Manchester, Oct. 28, 1863.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter inviting me to attend your proposed meeting on Thursday evening next. I would willingly have done so, did I not feel that it was undesirable of me, as one of your representatives, to pledge myself to any particular resolutions which may be passed at that meeting, or to take sides on a question which must certainly come up for discussion in the ensuing session of Parliament. At the same time, I can unhesitatingly say that, while I approve of the principle of neutrality pursued by the Government up to the present time, I deem it equally their duty to take the earliest opportunity which may occur of offering a friendly mediation between the contending parties. Such has been my opinion for some time, and I need not any it has been strengthened by the wide-spread distress which prevails around us. I am, yours very truly,

"JOHN T. HIBBERT."  
"MR. WILLIAM STEEPL, Hon. Sec.  
Southern Independence Assoc., Oldham."

Mr. Councillor Harrop moved the following resolution:— "That in the opinion of this meeting the war in America is an injury to the world, and that the present aspects of the conflict afford no hope of its early termination, unless by means of the moral influence of Europe; we, therefore, earnestly urge upon the Government of this country to enter into communication with the European Powers, to concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace." (Cheers.)

He believed that every Englishman wished this unfortunate war brought to a termination. (Cheers.) They all knew the suffering it was inflicting upon the working-classes throughout Lancashire, and he believed that, as the conflict was now carried on, it could not be ended except through the moral influence of Europe brought to bear upon the Americans by means of proposals for mediation. (Cheers.) Perhaps some people might ask—"What are the South fighting for?" and the same people would say, "The North are fighting for the abolition of slavery." He would contend that the South were fighting for their homes (hear, hear) and for that which Englishmen loved—freedom; while the North were fighting for power, self-aggrandisement, and the extermination of a brave and noble people. (Cheers.) How could men talk of the freedom of the Northern States? It was not such freedom as the people of Oldham, of Lancashire, of England, were now enjoying; but such freedom as was consistent with that most despotic deed of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. (Applause.) Many of the people he saw before him had been starving for two years, and none but themselves could tell how they had suffered. (Cheers.) He hoped the result of the meeting would show an overwhelming majority in favour of the Government of England, and the other Governments in Europe, not going to war with the United States of America, but offering their mediation between the North and South, honourably and truly. (Applause.)

Mr. Councillor Milnes, in seconding the resolution, said, the North, so far from being actuated by motives of philanthropy, had not scrupled to excite the blacks to massacre the whites, and would, if they could, crown their extermination of the white man of the South with the subsequent extermination of the negro, whether bond or free. (Cheers.)

Mr. John Ashton, amid great disapprobation and uproar, rose to move the following amendment:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that the Americans should be left to settle their own domestic affairs (a voice: 'To kill all there is.' Hear,) and strongly approves of the policy of Her Majesty's Government." (A voice: "Aye, if th' might live on 2s. a week until th' war's done.") Laughter, and great uproar.)

He said: Gentlemen, I feel called upon, out of a sense of duty, not only to my country, but to my native town, to move that amendment, for I cannot in my heart believe—(interruption, and cries of "Turn him out!")—that Oldham, which from time—(interruption; a voice: "It's Mr. Wood, the teetotaler, here.") Another voice: "He's been to the pump!" laughter, and cries of "Let him speak!")—Oldham, that from time immemorial up to now has always been noted for its liberal principles, its devotion to free government and constitutional liberty, can be bamboozled into agreeing with that resolution, without giving at least a fair hearing to those who may have something to say against it. The people of this country have long since recognised the principle of non-intervention; and we have borne all the distress that has been brought upon us for the sake of maintaining that policy of non-intervention; and are we at this time, now we have borne all the distress—(A voice: "Is it over?" Another voice: "Sarat!")—now that we know we can do without their cotton—(A voice: "Sarat!" I hope you have got plenty.") Mr. Mayor, now we have borne all these things—(a voice: "Sit th' deawn!")—now that they, the Southerners, find their cause to be desperate, they are rising in favour of the glorious cause of slavery. They come by a side wind; they want, by false assumptions, to lead you to a false issue—to secure, by an alliance with France and other Powers, the putting down of the spirit of liberty in America—(great laughter, cheers, and counter cheers)—to establish—(uproar)—despotism, degradation—(Uproar. A voice: "Sit th' deawn, owd lad!" Laughter. The Mayor: "Cut it short, Mr. Ashton." A voice: "Sit th' deawn a bit.") Laughter. At this point the audience indulged in a general conversation. Mr. Mayor and gentlemen! ("Gie o'er—gie o'er!") the Southern sympathisers are now seeking to ally England with France and other Powers to save the slaveholding Confederacy, that boasts that they trample under foot liberty, equality, and fraternity! ("Oh, oh!" "Question," hisses and applause.) I repeat it. (Question.) I repeat it; they boast of it. (Hisses and uproar.) I repeat it, that they boast that they have established—(A voice: "Do they hang negroes to lamp-posts?"—applause)—in the place of liberty, equality, and fraternity, slavery and subordination. (A voice: "Who found the ships, and who fetched the slaves?" Radicals of Oldham—(Roars of laughter, uproar, and cries of "Question.") Radicals of Oldham, I know you are ashamed of listening to those who boast that, instead of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they will have slavery. (A voice: "They don't hang 'em up to lamp-posts.") Without deceit, without hypocrisy, without all the roundabout ways and side-winds of their English friends, they declare that the whole of civilisation is rotten at the core—(uproar)—cries of "Turn him out!"—that they will not have free discussion, free thought, free religion, free schools. (A voice: "And free ballies.") Laughter. Another voice: "Is s.d. a head, and the wife lying in." I shall not be long. (A voice: "It's toime th' d'ud nea.") In spite of the counsellors and aldermen of Oldham—(cries of "Question," and hisses)—the people of Oldham—(question) still know what is right. (A voice: "They dun that, and they'll let thee know to neet.") Another voice: "Tha's tow'd th' truth." In spite of all their treachery—(hisses and uproar). Gentlemen, one word before I sit down. (Cries of "Sit down now.") The Mayor: "You are losing time; if you would have listened to Mr. Ashton he would have finished long ago." A voice: "Nowt oth soart." I will give over in a minute. It is for you to judge whether you will help to establish a power that is based like a monument upon a pedestal of mangled human corpses, with their fiery bloodhounds and their bleeding human beings—(roars of laughter and cries of "Stuff!")—with pistols shooting down every man who protects his own flesh and blood—(laughter, uproar and hooting, amid which the speaker resumed his seat.)

Mr. John Tetlow, in seconding the amendment, was treated, like the mover, to plentiful interruptions in the choicest doric of the district. He felt satisfied that, without interference, the close of the war was not far distant. (A voice: "Thou's told us that many a year ago." Another voice: "Ninety days.") Laughter.) The only thing that affected us in England was the want of cotton, and the time was advancing rapidly when

we should have a full supply of cotton. ("That's not true.") Would to God we could get our wanted supply from the States of America; but was it of more importance to them as Englishmen, lovers of liberty, that the slaves should be freed, or that they should have the privilege of using slave-grown cotton, wet with the tears, and matted with the blood of the slave? (Uproar.) The war could not be long sustained, for the progress of the Federal armies had been such—"Oh, oh," laughter, and cheers.)—he remembered—(uproar, and a voice, "Ball Run." Laughter.)—he remembered Fort Donelson. He was reminded of Bull Run, but he could remember Island No. 10; he could also remember Fort Donelson, Fort M'Henry, Memphis, New Orleans, Vicksburg. (A voice: "Ay, lad; and Fredericksburg, too." Laughter.) He was referring to the progress of the Federal armies. (Laughter.) From Columbus, at or near the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi, right down to New Orleans, the Federal armies had carved their way. (A voice: "They are going back.") They had gone from the Ohio right through Nashville and Murfreesboro to Chattanooga. (A voice: "Where are they going now?"—uproar and derisive laughter.) He cordially seconded the amendment.

Mr. James Spence rose to support the original motion, and was received with a tremendous burst of cheering, followed, however, by indescribable tumult on account of an objection being raised on a point of order. It was contended by a townsman (Mr. J. W. Mellor) that this was strictly a town meeting, and therefore it was not competent for Mr. Spence to address them. (A voice—"Thee got shaved!" great laughter, and shouts for "Spence!") Mr. Mellor continued to call out in most vigorous tones "None but townsmen, none but townsmen!" but his utmost vocal efforts were quite drowned in the clamorous shouting throughout the body of the Hall, of "Hands up for Spence!" Mr. Spence, with his arms folded, stood smiling, and in act to speak, but though continually called upon to begin, awaited the Mayor's decision as to the point of order.

The Mayor: When that numerous signed requisition was presented to me, as mayor of this borough, to convene this meeting, I did not see Mr. Spence's name, nor the names of certain other gentlemen on this platform. So far as I am concerned, I should have been very glad indeed to have heard Mr. Spence, but, since the question has been raised, I feel bound to give precedence to gentlemen who are inhabitants of the borough, if they wish to speak. I do not do this out of any disrespect towards Mr. Spence; indeed, it is a point which I myself would not have raised; but as it has been raised, I have decided it according to the best of my judgment. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Spence resumed his seat amid general cheering, and soon after retired from the platform. It was understood, however, that a special invitation would be sent to that gentleman to visit Oldham on an early occasion, so that the people of that enthusiastic borough will yet have an opportunity of listening to the English champion of the Confederate cause.

During the tumult, Mr. T. B. Kershaw, of Manchester, made his appearance on the platform, and was warmly received apparently by everybody in the hall. The cheering for him was renewed again and again, but of course the same ruling with regard to speech-making applied in this case as in that of Mr. Spence.

Mr. William Steeple, the honorary secretary of the Oldham Southern Association, supported the motion in a speech of some length and considerable power. He said it was the opinion of many who supported the South that if the Union were dissolved slavery would sooner die than if it were maintained, and that opinion had been supported by those who had professed to be the friends of the slave in America and opposed to the progress of slavery. Henry Ward Beecher, in 1856, declared that the dissolution of the Union would be the abolition of slavery. (Cheers.) George Thompson, in 1834, in a letter to Mr. Morrill, used these words, "Dissolution of the Union is the object to be kept steadily in view." (Applause.) Those who held those views at that time should not find fault with the friends of the South now because they claimed the same right for the South which the others had once claimed for the North. (Cheers.) But the proposition did not deal with the question of whether the States were right or wrong in this contest; it simply declared that the war was an injury to the world, and suggested mediation, with a view to the establishment of peace. What could there be wrong in that proposition? They did not propose an armed intervention of the Powers of Europe in the struggle, but they did say, in the interests of humanity, those who were calm, unimpassioned spectators of the conflict were bound to render such assistance to bring about a restoration of peace as could be rendered without interfering with the rights of either combatant. (Hear, hear.) They did not propose to help either North or South, but as the war appeared no nearer its termination than it did two years ago, they wanted to know how long the people would yet have to suffer. Their friends on the other side talked of feeling evils which they never had to bear. (Loud cheers. A voice: "He had a full belly when he was speaking, man.") When they had felt the sufferings of the poor, seen their children with insufficient food and clothing, when they had realised those things—(uproar)—then they might come and preach forbearance to the people. As a poet of the people eloquently said—

In broadcloth clad, with belly full,  
A sermon they can preach;  
But hunger, cold, and nakedness  
Another song would teach. (Cheers.)

They said the war was for the extension and perpetuation of slavery, but the advocates of the South declared that the chief principle involved was the right of self-government, which Englishmen held dear—(Hear, hear)—that the question now submitted to the arbitrament of the sword was, whether the Southern people, from this time, should govern themselves or be governed by others. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) The question was, not whether slavery should be maintained or abolished. President Lincoln, in his letter to Horace Greely, declared that if he could save the Union without abolishing slavery or freeing a single slave, he would do it. (Hear, hear, and a voice: "I saw that in the *New York Herald*.") The profession of love for the slave on the part of the North was hypocrisy. (Cheers, and cries of "Go into them, Steeple!") If they knew anything of American politics, they would know that the vast proportion of the people of the Northern States—even those who opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories—would not only exclude slavery from the land, but the negro also, whether slave or free. (Applause, hisses, and a voice: "That's not true.") He could pity the ignorance of those not acquainted with the State constitutions. (Hisses.) He could stand hissing. (Cheers.) The State constitution of Illinois forbade the free negro to enter the precincts of that State, and since the war began, escaped negroes from the South taking refuge in that State, with those abominable laws, were seized and sold at public auction by



the authorities of that State. (Hear, hear, and shame.) That was the freedom they gave to the negro. (Cheers, and a voice: "Go into them, but keep your temper, my lad.") They told them—(Uproar. The Mayor: "Order; allow Mr. Steeple to proceed.")—or, if they did not know he could tell them—that the State of Illinois was not the only State which excluded negroes. New Jersey and Indiana did the same, and a resolution to that effect had, in the last twelve months, been introduced in the Pennsylvania House of Legislature and, he believed, carried. (No, no. A voice: "It has.") They said the North were fighting for the abolition of slavery, but that was only a hypocritical pretence, and President Lincoln, their chosen champion, said he was not in favour of making the blacks and the whites equal. The object of the North was to secure an overwhelming preponderance of political power amongst the nations of the earth, and that was why they sought to perpetuate the Union they had set up as a brazen image to which they bowed down in worship. (Cheers.) He would conclude by stating that the proposition was, not that the South be recognised, but that the best means be used to bring about peace. And he hoped that by their decision they would give the lie to the statement of Earl Russell at Blairgowrie, that the majority of the people of this country were in favour of the North, and show Ward Beecher, before he left Liverpool, that this town, like other towns in Lancashire, would pronounce in favour of peace and against the continuation of the war. (Cheers.)

Mr. James Schofield, in supporting the amendment, obtained a hearing with great difficulty. He said Mr. Steeple had not told them that in the Confederate States there were 3,000,000 of slaves—(A voice: "How many are there in the North?") nor had he said a word about the slave-market of the South, but had said he was in favour of abolition, while he did all he possibly could in an indirect manner to uphold the principle of slavery.—("No, no!")—by supporting the slaveholders. ("Slavery has nothing to do with the question.") He was sorry Mr. Spence had left the room, because, he said, Mr. Spence, could have borne him out when he said the press of the South repudiated his statement that if the South were recognised they would abolish slavery. The Richmond newspapers declared that Mr. Spence was not authorised to make that statement. (Great uproar. A voice: "Why did you not let him speak, and then reply?" Another voice: "Backbiting again!"—"Thou art a coward." &c.)

No other speakers being forthcoming,

The Mayor: There is a resolution and there is an amendment, and I will just ask you to be as steady as possible, while I call for a show of hands. You may fully rely on my doing the fullest justice.

The meeting became at this stage perfectly quiet, and, therefore, presented a great contrast to its appearance at some parts of the evening. The audience had been uncovered from the commencement, and all faces were now turned towards the mayor, eagerly looking for the result of the vote. At this point a man called out for the votes to be taken North and South, instead of amendment and motion. Great uproar followed this suggestion, and when quiet was restored, his worship said he should put it amendment and motion; and, having done so, he declared the motion carried by an overwhelming majority. (Loud and continued cheers.)

Mr. Robert Harrop then submitted the following memorial for approval:—

"To the Right Hon. Lord Palmerston,  
Prime Minister, &c., &c.

"The memorial of the magistrates, councillors, tradesmen, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and other inhabitants of the borough of Oldham, in public meeting assembled,

"Humbly sheweth: That your memorialists, believing that the war in America is an injury to the world, that its events have only demonstrated that the Federal Government cannot subjugate and hold in subjection the people of the Southern States, and that the present aspects of the conflict afford no hope of its early termination, are of opinion that the protraction of the contest can only result in a useless destruction of life and property on that continent and the infliction of serious injury to the cotton districts of our own country. Your memorialists, therefore, earnestly urge upon her Majesty's ministers to enter into communication with other European powers, and concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace." (Cheers.)

He was astonished that men could come on that platform and set themselves up as the champions of the slave, and say that their opponents were the champions of the slaveholders, when four years ago the United States was the slaveholding nation, and yet they (the Northern advocates) were silent. Where were they then? Why did they not send forth then their Sinclairs and their Ward Beechers? Were they standing on a platform, advocating the cause of the slave then? (No, no.) No, they were spinning American cotton at 6d. per pound. (Cheers.) Four-fifths of the cotton they spun then was American, at 6d. a pound, and they spun it into 32's, and sold it at 1s. a pound. Four-fifths of that cotton came from America and "was matted with the slaves' blood," as they had been told on the platform to-night, but where were the newly-found friends of the slave then? They were pocketing the produce of the slaves' labour. (Loud cheers. A voice: "Go into 'em Bobby.") Those were the gentlemen who now were trying to palm their love of Abolition on the people. The Northern sympathisers were in the field first; they held meetings, passed resolutions, and said the feeling of the people of this district was in favour of the war. He said it was not. (Hear, hear.) It was not in favour of hounding fellow-beings to slaughter; it was not in favour of the American people imbruing their hands in each other's blood. Public opinion in these districts was not in favour of a sham emancipation, it was not in favour of killing the white men in order to free the blacks. (Cheers.) What they wanted was, justice for all. (Cheers.) As Mr. Hibbert said in that room, "We have to consider it not only as affecting three millions of slaves, but as affecting eight millions of whites." (Applause.) He felt strongly on the question, for a deal of humbug had been imported into it. If the advocates of the North taunted them with being friends of slavery, they could taunt them with the same. Where were the slaves of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky? Where were the abolition measures that had passed the legislature of those States? They were nowhere—they were not in existence. Mr. Lincoln himself told them that Congress would not pay for or find the means for abolition. (Hear, hear.) For the reasons he had given, he had great pleasure in moving the adoption of the memorial. (Cheers.)

Mr. Councillor Halliwell seconded the motion, which was carried with loud cheers, only about twenty people voting against it.

Mr. Councillor Mellor said he was sure all would most cordially agree with the next proposition, which was for a vote of thanks to the Mayor. Whatever might have been the

Mayor's opinions upon the question submitted to the meeting that evening, no man, from his conduct, could have the slightest clue to them. (Applause, and a voice: "He's been very fair.") The motion, having been seconded, was carried with enthusiasm.

The meeting then gave three cheers for the South, three cheers for Mr. Spence, and three cheers for Mr. Kershaw, all with great heartiness, and then dispersed.

#### THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSULS.

(From the Petersburg Express.)

\* \* \* We have read Mr. Benjamin's expositions of the reasons which led the President to the act which terminates British consular authority in the Confederacy, and although the Secretary has been anything else than a favourite of ours, candour and a sense of justice compel us to say that his statements and views have been very ably presented to the world. We have rarely read more lucid and convincing documents of the kind than his letters addressed Messrs. to Slidell and Mason. It is very well for Lord Russell that they are outside of the sphere of his official attentions, for he would find the task of answering them one of the sorest diplomatic trials that he ever had to go through.

The dismissal by him for the cause assigned of Consul Magee, of Mobile, forms, we will venture to say, one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of this or any other war; and that portion of Benjamin's letter to Mason, in which the facts and circumstances of the case are explained, is particularly worthy of the reader's notice. Magee, for simply remitting to England in gold the interest due by the State of Alabama to English capitalists, who had invested their money in her bonds, was summarily decapitated because the act of remittance was deemed an improper and contraband one—a violation of the blockade—a violation of neutrality—a violation of law and a violation of morals; for in all these aspects Russell and Lord Lyons (another precious Exeter Hall luminary) seem to have viewed this transaction. Mr. Benjamin's remarks in this connection are eminently happy, and we defy any enlightened and honest mind to resist his conclusions. When before has it ever been held that payment of a just debt was an illegal, immoral, and disgraceful affair, worthy of the special reprobation and severe punishment of the offender? Yet Magee, for receiving the money from the debtor and transmitting it to the creditors, was held by Lords Russell and Lyons guilty of a criminal breach of trust, and therefore removed.

The results of this movement of the President against the British consuls we will be curious to see. It seems to us that some functionaries are absolutely necessary to watch over British interest in the Confederacy, for there are such interests existing here. Commercial agents, we presume, with no consular powers, will be appointed and perhaps received, for the purpose of attending to such matters as cannot possibly bring them into collision with Confederate sovereignty and laws. Such an arrangement as this is alluded to by Mr. Benjamin in his letter to Mason. However, be the results what they may, we are glad that the measure has been adopted by our Government, and we are very sure that it will be unanimously approved by the people.

We do not think our contemporary, the *Whig*, is entirely consistent in its foreign policy and the grounds on which it desired our dismissal of the British Consuls to have been placed. It thinks the Government reached a right conclusion upon a wrong reason. It thinks we ought to have banished the consuls, not because of their own official delinquencies and offences, but on account of the general relations of England to this country. At the same time it says:—

"We hope that the new policy will be made still more pointed and significant by enlarging the embassy to France, and instructing them to negotiate, if practicable, a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Emperor, subject to the approval of the President and the Senate."

It becomes us to consider questions of the magnitude and gravity of that before us with candour and dispassion. Thus considered, we think it will be difficult to perceive any essential difference of principle between the attitude of the French Government and that of England towards this country. If England has refused to recognise us for three years, so has France. If England has had consuls here when we have none there, so has France. If England has respected the "blockade," although the "requirements of the treaty of Paris" forbade it, so has France. If England has declined to intervene with its good offices in our affairs, so has France; for, although Napoleon thought he ought to do so, yet he has preferred to maintain a purely voluntary engagement with England which forbade it.

If Napoleon has allowed our war steamer to refit in his ports, yet England built the steamer itself.

What are the great principles of national "honour" which, as we are taught, should have caused us to spurn from our shores such functionaries as English consuls, even if they had conducted themselves becomingly; while, at the same time, we should "enlarge our embassy to France," and assail Napoleon with fresh importunities?

The truth is, the difference is more of feeling than of principle or fact. Napoleon has borne himself with the politeness of a gentleman. Lord Russell has offended us with surliness and indecorum. So far as accomplished action is concerned, they have done about the same thing, and, doing it by concert, each shares the other's responsibility. But they have shown different tempers. If, however, the French Emperor has indicated more favourable views towards us than the English Queen, it must be admitted, on the other hand, that the English people have shown us more favour and done us greater service than the French.

We repeat, that we do not see on what principle we would have reason for rejecting without cause or personal offence, and therefore in a hostile manner, an English consul, and at the same time redoubling our caresses to France, that stands on the same platform. If our dealings with England were disgraceful to us, as our passions may perhaps suggest, we should but double the disgrace if we pursue the same course with France with the double zeal that is asked for.

For ourselves, we are glad that our Government has sought no quarrel with England, and offered no more indignity. We withdrew Mr. Mason from England because we saw no prospect of his further usefulness there. We have dismissed the British consuls here because they have behaved badly. All this we had an obvious right to do. We retain our commissioner in France, not because he has advanced any further there with recognition than Mr. Mason did in England; but, because we have more hope of his success. We allow the French consuls here, not because France has asked for exequaturs, or recognised us any more than England, but because they have confined themselves in their proper spheres.

The truth is, many of our countrymen are impatient and irritable on the subject of our foreign relations. It seems a hardship, and indeed it is, that we should be denied our just recognition so long. But yet it is by no means unprecedented. In the days of the Revolution nothing was dearer to the wishes of France than to see Great Britain lose her colonies. Yet Franklin, aided by two coadjutors, waited for three years in Paris before recognition came; and we do not read that our ancestors felt thereby insulted and outraged. But now, because other nations have shown a less protracted reserve in adopting our own opinion of ourselves, we are not only disappointed but grow angry.

Of course we cannot expect to influence a great and proud nation by a display of mere temper. If the late action of our Government shall have a valuable moral effect, as we believe it will, it will be precisely because we have acted upon reason, and with moderation and dignity.

It will not be inferred that we are not in favour of prosecuting our negotiations at Paris, and with all the vigour which can be added to them. We think that the interests even more than the partialities of Napoleon must, ere long, decide him to the course which we desire. We would encourage those dispositions by every means in our power. As we do not accept in the case of England, so now we reject in the case of France, those grounds of action which would cause us to break off all communication, merely because the blockade has been recognised, and our independence not. And if this be the right course as to France, we acted on the right reasons as to England.

The following is from the *Macon Telegraph*:—

"WITHDRAWAL OF MR. MASON.

"We are glad that the President has found it compatible with the interests of this Government to withdraw Mr. Mason from 'near the Court of St. James,' and trust that the next tender of friendly intercourse will be suffered to come from the British Government. One of the Richmond papers, in an article extensively copied, suggests that the withdrawal of Mr. Mason should be followed by an enlarged and elevated embassy to France. Why so? What has France done? She appears to have treated our embassy with ordinary courtesy, which cannot be said of England; but she has in no particular accepted our tender of friendly official intercourse. It is believed that she has once submitted a proposition to the English Court for a joint recognition of the Confederacy; but does not everybody know that France must have been well aware beforehand that it would be rejected? and that in hinging her action in the premises upon that of England, France is as safe from friendly commitments to the Confederacy as England herself? England, in truth, has been of some service to the Confederacy, but France none, so far as we are able to judge. In both we are the victims of a vulgar fanaticism, and a policy thoroughly and exclusively selfish. If France shows a more complaisant face now, it is due simply to the fact that we may be in some sort essential to the accomplishment of her own purposes on the American continent. We see no reason for any extraordinary diplomatic provisions in France, although others, doubtless, are able to see much more than we do. To the President, who has much fuller information upon the subject, we are quite willing to leave it.

#### THE WAR CHRISTIAN.

Dedicated, without permission, to the Rev. H. W. Beecher.

[The following lines, from the *New York Daily News*, are ascribed to a distinguished English poet, but have not to our knowledge yet found their way into the press of this country.]

What say the aisles and chancels,  
Of old cathedrals dim?  
What say the pealing organs  
In chant and solemn hymn?  
Fervour of adoration  
And love in sweet accord,  
Love for the meaneast mortal,  
And glory to the Lord!

What saith the great "War-Christian,"  
High perched above the crowd,  
With his hands so white and dainty,  
And his heart so black and proud?  
He draws a little circle,  
As narrow as his mind,  
And shuts from all beyond it  
God's mercy to mankind.

He rants, he raves, he blusters,  
And from his sensual jaws  
Pours vulgar slang, mistaking  
Men's laughter for applause,  
And when the land is deluged  
With blood and widows' tears,  
Incites redoubled slaughter,  
And prates of guns and spears.

Forgetful or defiant  
That He whose cause he shames,  
Whose teachings he dishonours,  
Whose Gospel he disclaims,  
Was Lord of loving-kindness,  
And taught that war should cease;  
That swords should turn to ploughshares,  
And nations live in peace,

I'd rather for my preachers  
Have wild winds on the shore,  
Or breeze amid the branches,  
Or birds that sing and soar,  
Or silence high and holy,  
Than Christian such as he,  
Who dares to counsel bloodshed  
And knows not charity.

The following passage is from Senator Wilson's (of Massachusetts) speech in New Hampshire:—

There are forty-four noble and loyal regiments there to help the Government enforce the draft, and there is not a soldier among them who would not rather shoot a Copperhead—put a bullet through his brains—than a rebel soldier. And the poor conquered and whipped leader of the Copperheads knows it. . . . We shall subjugate the Rebel States—that's the word—subjugation! And we shall conquer the rebellion in New York; forty-five regiments are there to do it, every soldier of which, as I told you before, would sooner shoot a Copperhead than a rebel soldier.



# REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE CLERGY

THE following is a reply by Ministers of the churches in Scotland to the "Address to Christians throughout the World by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America."

We, the undersigned, ministers of the Churches in Scotland, in reply to the appeal made to us in the "Address to Christians throughout the World," recently put forth "by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America," feel bound to give public expression to our views, lest our continued silence should be misconstrued, as implying either acquiescence in the principles of the document or indifference to the crime which it seeks to defend.

We refer, of course, to a single topic—that of slavery—as it is handled in the Address. We desire to say nothing inconsistent with our country's attitude of strict neutrality as regards the war raging across the Atlantic. We do not discuss any of the political questions connected with its origin, progress, and probable issues. We offer no opinion on the measures adopted on either side; nor are we to be regarded as shutting our eyes to the past and present sins and shortcomings of the North in relation to the African races. The one object we have in view is to express the deep grief, alarm, and indignation with which we have perused the pleading on behalf of slavery in general, and American slavery in particular, to which so many servants of the Lord Jesus Christ have not scrupled to append their names. With the feeblest possible incidental admission of "abuses," which they "may deplore in this as in other relations of mankind," we find these men broadly maintaining, in the most unqualified manner, that "the relation of master and slave"—"among us," they add, to make their meaning more explicit—"is not incompatible with our holy Christianity." They thank God for it, as for a missionary institution—the best, as it would seem, and the most successful in the world. They hold it to be their peculiar function to defend and perpetuate it. And they evidently contemplate the formation of the Southern Confederacy upon the basis of slavery as one of its fundamental and permanent principles or elements, not only without regret, but with entire satisfaction and approval.

Against all this—in the name of that holy faith and that thrice holy name which they venture to invoke on the side of a system which treats immortal and redeemed men as goods and chattels, denies them the rights of marriage and of home, consigns them to ignorance of the first rudiments of education, and exposes them to the outrages of lust and passion—we most earnestly and emphatically protest. We do not think it needful to argue. The time for argument has for many a year been regarded by the whole of enlightened Christendom as past and gone. Apologists for slavery, attempting to shelter themselves and it under the authority of God's word and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, are to be denounced as really, whatever may be their intention, the worst enemies of both.

All reasonable allowance, no doubt, should be made for the circumstances of Christian ministers called in providence to labour where slavery exists. Some soreness, even, on their part, under what they regard as unjustifiable and dangerous movements on the other side, might be excused as not unnatural. And if we saw them manfully lifting their voice on behalf of universal liberty, and setting themselves to aim at the instant redress of the more flagrant of the wrongs incident to a state of bondage, we should be prepared calmly to listen to their representations as to the best and likeliest practical methods of promoting the present amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and securing, within the shortest period consistent with safety, their complete and final emancipation.

We are reluctant to abandon the hope that, upon reconsideration, and in the view of the sentiments now unanimously held and expressed on this subject everywhere else, all over Christendom, our American brethren may yet be induced to take up a position more worthy of our common faith than that which they at present occupy. But, at all events, the obligation lying upon us, as things now stand, towards them, towards ourselves, towards the church and the world, towards the Bible and the Gospel, is, to record, in the strongest possible terms, our abhorrence of the doctrine on the subject of slavery which the Southern clergy teach, and upon which they act; and to testify before all nations that any state, empire, or republic constituted or reconstructed, in these days of Christian light and liberty, upon the basis of that doctrine, practically applied, must, in the sight of God, be regarded as founded on wrong and crime, and as deserving, not His blessing, but His righteous wrath.

[Here follow some of the signatures, the total number of which, it is stated in a foot-note, amounts to nearly one thousand.]

October, 1863.

## THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND MORE.

(From the *New York Daily News*, Oct. 21.

After nearly three years of active warfare, the Government proposes to create an additional military force, in itself sufficient in numbers to meet the exigencies of any ordinary warlike occasion. This formidable display of numerical strength argues well for the resources of the republic, but at the same time it suggests most painfully the terrible nature of the task that now taxes the energies of the North. Judging from the immediate past, the events to come promise a future of unprecedented horror and desolation. There are yet some sanguine fanatics who make the President's late Proclamation the signal for a renewal of those oft-repeated and unfulfilled predictions of the speedy overthrow of the Confederacy. Experience should have taught them how vain it is to measure prospective military success by the recruiting-sergeant's progress; but as they build upon their hopes and take no counsel of realities, with every fresh call for volunteers we may expect the worn-out prophecies to be paraded before the public. When seventy thousand men answered the first call of the President, the oracles asserted that force abundantly sufficient to crush the rebellion in its cradle. We now contemplate the necessity of a host of nearly one million to arrest the threatened discomfiture of Federal arms, and yet the prophets cling to their text, and point to the ever receding goal as won. They forget that the spirit of resistance intensifies in proportion as the means of compulsion multiply. As their estimate of Southern endurance erred in the beginning and erred throughout every phase of the struggle, there is good reason to believe that it will err to the end.

The swelling of the Federal ranks, to whatever extent it may be possible to carry it, does not coerce the inexorable fates. They will trace the history of this war at the dictation of a higher Power than that which reigns at Washington. The despots of ancient Asia, in their attempts to subdue the Grecian States, invaded first with two hundred thousand men

and afterwards with a million; but it chanced that the more formidable host was the most easily repelled and the most thoroughly destroyed. Napoleon was never so utterly discomfited as when he had exerted his utmost influence to bring all the military elements of France into the field. The army that perished amid the snows of Russia was the mightiest that ever marched under the Imperial eagles.

But if we cannot estimate the result of military movements by the numbers of the combatants, it is not only possible but unavoidable to realise the enormous drain that the support of such vast armies makes upon the substance of the country. It is not within the power of the mind to compute whether they shall achieve victory or undergo defeat; but a very plain arithmetic teaches, with appalling certainty, that the cost of their maintenance will impoverish the land. One million of men transferred from productive industry to the labour of destruction, will accomplish the financial ruin of the North more surely than the political submission of the South. When, also, we take into account the blood that must be shed, the suffering that must ensue, the private griefs that will accompany the general misfortune; when we reflect upon the bitterness and hatred that must inevitably be engendered between the sections, whose almost entire active manhood is engaged in desperate conflict; the call for three hundred thousand more agents of contention suggests the confirmation of an irrevocable antagonism of sentiment more forcibly than any hopes of a friendly Union.

A political companionship that requires to be enforced by a million of armed men cannot be claimed as an illustration of self-government. The resistance that, after three years' strife, must be confronted by such an unprecedented military array, gives evidence of an intensity of feeling that can never be accommodated, upon compulsion, to the intention of the United States as constructed by our fathers. It is marvellous that the people of the North do not instinctively comprehend the absurdity of seeking to bring together discordant elements by intensifying those qualities that render them discordant. A raging fire is to be subdued, and they heap combustibles upon it. Hatred, distrust, and jealousy, are to be calmed, and they employ the incentives to those passions. They desire to reconcile a people, and they persist in those deeds that cancel every hope of reconciliation. What madness more ludicrous—if it were not so frightful—as the spectacle of enlightened men struggling like demons to whip their fellows into concord and fraternity! Dealing death-blows to promote friendship! Wielding the implements of hate to build a structure of amity and love! The three hundred thousand more will enable the North to shed a certain measure more of Southern blood. Will that appease the Southern antipathy? They will help to fill more Southern graves. Will that inspire the survivors with affection for the slayers? The more desperate our efforts to compel the South to our political embrace, the greater will be its repugnance to the already loathed connection.

## ENGLAND'S POSITION.

THE *Richmond Whig* thus summarizes the positions which Great Britain has assumed, and declared her unalterable intention to maintain, towards the belligerents in the American struggle, to the great prejudice of the Confederates, as the *Whig* justly contends, and the incalculable advantage of their enemies. Although the indictment is drawn up with somewhat of acerbity in its tone, who will assert that it contains one false count?

1. That although the law of nations permits prizes captured at sea to be taken into the ports of neutral nations for condemnation and sale, this shall not be done during the present war.
2. That though the same law permits the vessels of belligerents to seek shelter, repair, refit, obtain necessary supplies, &c., in the ports of neutrals, this shall be done during the present war only to an extent that will be of no avail to the Confederate States.
3. That though it is lawful and customary for the ship-builders of one country to construct vessels of war for another country, provided they are not armed and equipped within the waters of the country where they are built, this privilege is to be suspended during this war; and, since the law is inadequate to enforce such suspension, the law is to be set aside by ministerial fiat, and a person is to be considered guilty unless he proves his innocence.
4. That although Great Britain is bound by the most solemn obligations a nation can take upon itself to a treaty which declares that a blockade to be recognised by neutrals must be such as actually to prevent the passage of vessels, yet that treaty is to be ignored and disregarded during the present war, and ports into and out of which vessels pass daily are to be acknowledged as legally blockaded.
5. That though it has been the practice of civilised nations, and none more frequently than Great Britain herself, to recognise as independent and sovereign any people who have shown a fixed determination to be free, and an evident ability to make good that determination, in the case of the Confederate States that practice is to be disallowed, and they are not to be received into the family of nations until they are first acknowledged by the Power that is seeking to crush them.
6. That while it is an obligation of the comity of nations, as well as the dictate of humanity, for neutral nations to tender their friendly interposition to adjust controversies and terminate hostilities between nations involved in them, yet Great Britain, though nearest in blood, in interest, and in responsibility to the belligerents, is not only not the first to tender such offices, but actually rejects, discountenances, and frustrates the desires of other neutrals to that end.
7. That though it is not unusual, and appertains to the prerogatives as well as to the duties of nations to protest against the employment of barbarous and unchristian agencies in war, yet no word of disapproval is uttered, no matter how ferocious the spirit or how fiendish the means employed against the Confederate States.

## MR. LINCOLN'S CALL FOR THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND VOLUNTEERS.

By the President of the United States.

### A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the term of service of part of the volunteer forces of the United States will expire during the coming year; and Whereas, in addition to the men raised by the present draft, it is deemed expedient to call out three hundred thousand volunteers, to serve for three years or the war—not, however, exceeding three years:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof,

and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do issue this my proclamation, calling upon the governors of the different States to raise and have enlisted into the United States service, for the various companies and regiments in the field from their respective States, their quotas of three hundred thousand men.

I further proclaim that all the volunteers thus called out and duly enlisted shall receive advance pay, premium, and bounty, as heretofore communicated to the governors of States by the War Department, through the provost-marshal-general's office, by special letters.

I further proclaim that all volunteers received under this call, as well as all others not heretofore credited, shall be duly credited, and deducted from the quotas established for the next draft.

I further proclaim that, if any State shall fail to raise the quota assigned to it by the War Department under this call, then a draft for the deficiency in said quota shall be made in said State, or on the districts of said State, for their due proportion of said quota, and the said draft shall commence on the fifth day of January, 1864.

And I further proclaim that nothing in this proclamation shall interfere with existing orders, or with those which may be issued for the present draft in the States where it is now in progress, or where it has not yet been commenced.

The quotas of the States and districts will be assigned by the War Department, through the provost-marshal-general's office, due regard being had for the men heretofore furnished, whether by volunteering or drafting; and the recruiting will be conducted in accordance with such instructions as have been or may be issued by that department.

In issuing this proclamation I address myself not only to the governors of the several States, but also to the good and loyal people thereof, invoking them to lend their cheerful, willing, and effective aid to the measures thus adopted, with a view to reinforce our victorious armies now in the field, and bring our needful military operations to a prosperous end, thus closing forever the fountains of sedition and civil war.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

It has been asked why, if a Southern minority had a right to break up the Union, a Federal majority had not equal right to prevent it? and why, if the South used force to effect its object, the North may not do the same? These questions show the confusion that exists in the Federal mind. No State of the South ever claimed the right to break up the Union; what is claimed is simply the right to retire from it. It is one thing to go out of a house, and another thing to pull the house down. Nor do constitutional rights depend on numbers. 160,000 persons in Rhode Island have equal power in the Senate with 4,000,000 of the State of New York; and this condition cannot be altered, though the alteration were desired by all the other States and people of the Union, without the consent of that little handful of people. What would become of this indisputable right of Rhode Island on any principle of numbers? And there is no truth in the implied assertion that the South used force to break up the Union. Each of those States retired from it by the calm, deliberate vote of a Convention, duly summoned by an act of its Legislature. No force is needed to repeal a law. The force used is that of the North to subjugate the sister States, and that of those States to repel the attempt. Amid the gloomy prospects of the Federals, a ray of light is about to cross from this side to cheer them, in the person of the so-called "Reverend" H. W. Beecher. He will tell how he converted unbelievers, and bears back with him the sympathies of Exeter Hall, which represent those of England. It is true, that in connection with his addresses there does not appear the name of a single person of the smallest political, social, or literary weight. It was not, indeed, likely that Mr. Bright would lower himself to fellowship with this style of oratory, or that Mr. Forster would march through Coventry in such company. Nevertheless, numbers did attend from a natural curiosity to hear a speaker of so much notoriety. If Butler came over here, and escaped being mobbed, he would draw an immense audience. But what is there in these addresses that we have not heard hundreds of times before? What new light, or able suggestion, or thoughtful plan—what trace of that love which is the root of our religion, or of that spirit which we are taught to believe is greater than faith, greater than hope—charity? Instead of these we find some dozens of the exaggerated statements of Olmsted and Helper; a joke whenever it can be thrown in, or, better still, an innuendo; and, mixed up with these, a most irreverent use of the sacred name of God. These things, put, so to speak, into a kaleidoscope, and turned round and round, as bits of glass and straw might be, are made to produce an amusing variety of patterns. All this, "though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve." It is suited to the calibre and the tastes of a New York audience.—*S. (Letter in the Times.)*

THE DISMISSAL OF THE CONSULS.—An impertinent and insulting correspondence which has just been had with the Governor of Georgia by one of the British consuls, exhibits something of the extent of the powers with which they are charged and the temper of the instructions they receive. A summary of this correspondence may be seen in another column, from which the reader will perceive that they are expected to exert a restraining power over our right to raise armies and to employ militia. Acting under authority from the Washington Government, and acknowledging no other, and receiving their instructions from the British Minister to that Government, who is known to be bitterly hostile to us, those uninvited, unrecruited and intruding functionaries arrogate to themselves the sovereign privilege of prescribing to the free Republics of this Confederacy the extent of their rights in providing for their own defence. They presume to bid a particular class of soldiers, in service by regular operation of law under certain circumstances to throw down their arms. They have the effrontery to admonish us that this war against independent and sovereign States, by a people who are foreign to us, and by a Government that was never anything more than our servant and agent, is a "civil war," and, consequently, that we are rebels and traitors. They dare to threaten us with "such representations" as will compel a compliance with their demands from Governments that will permit no "representation" from us.—*Richmond Whig*, October 7.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance.

All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—

At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, At Manchester, F. A. HASLEHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PREIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1863.

## The War.

THE recent movements of the Federal and Confederate armies in Virginia are not very readily comprehended in the haze which the correspondence of the New York press—our only source of information—has thrown around them. If we are to credit the ubiquitous staff of reporters who accompany the Northern army to illustrate its valour and recount its successes, General Lee's advance has been a most complete failure, and was, perhaps, from the outset, a purposeless demonstration. The object assigned to the Confederate commander is nothing less than the circumvention and destruction of Meade's entire army. General Lee's plan was, we are told, to march round the right flank of the enemy, plant himself upon his communications along the direct road to Washington, and thus compel Meade to assume the offensive and give battle. It was asserted with equal confidence that the Confederates began their advance in light marching order and with only seven days' provisions, trusting to the Northern commissariat for subsistence. As the plan was not carried out; as Lee failed to plant his army between two fires—between the defences of Washington and Meade's army—the Federal press is in ecstasies over Meade's generalship, and declares that the Northern commander has not only beaten but outmanœuvred his opponent. The truth seems to be, however, that Lee intended little more than to frighten the enemy back to the Potomac, and in this he most completely succeeded. It would be hardly possible to find a parallel to this precipitate retreat from the Rappahannock to Arlington Heights. Lee's army, at the outside, could not have mustered more than two-thirds of the Federal force. It had, comparatively speaking, no train. It had to march almost two miles to one. Yet, the moment the news of the advance reached the Federal quarters, it was "up stakes" and skedaddle. "Strategic reasons" were all powerful. Some faint attempts at cavalry reconnaissance were made, in which the Federal horse got fearfully mauled, but they only contributed to swell the grand panic, and for two days and nights those poor Federal soldiers toiled wearily on to reach a place of safety. Strange to say, nothing like an infantry fight took place. The Federal press speaks of Lee's army, drawn in battle array for the space of twenty-four hours, inviting attack, and of Meade's large force moving northward in four great columns, all prepared for instant action; yet the fighting seems to have been throughout done by cavalry and horse artillery. Even at Bristow's Station the affair magnified into the importance of a pitched battle, was but a cavalry attack upon the rear-guard. And when at last the grand Army of the Potomac took heart and breath under Arlington Heights, Lee was nowhere to be found; infantry

and cavalry had altogether disappeared, and Meade, after cautiously exploring his ground, commenced a leisurely—pursuit, as the New York press terms it—of his baffled adversary. The results, according to the same reliable authority, are *nil*. Some forty miles of the Orange and Alexandria railroad had been destroyed, a few waggons had been captured. On the other hand, at Bristow's Station the North gained a brilliant victory. Southern advices tell a very different tale; they talk of an immense amount of stores burnt to prevent them falling into the enemy's hands, of repeated cavalry encounters, in which the Federals suffered the heaviest losses during the war, of no less than 10,000 prisoners, and nearly as many horses, the trophies of the raid, and of such damage done to the roads and railroad by which the Federal army and its trains advance as will effectually quiet the cry of "On to Richmond" until next spring. These are the natural results. But the moral effect is still greater. Lee's army has once more proved its ability to out-march and outmanœuvre the enemy. It has shown its power at any moment to drive back the invader to the walls of Washington; it has concluded the campaign in Virginia by a brilliant movement, which has more strongly than ever demonstrated the innate superiority of the Southern soldier, and the higher military skill of his leaders.

But we believe General Lee's object is not yet fully disclosed. He has not only prevented the despatch of reinforcements southwards; he has, there is every reason to think, covered the transport of a considerable body of troops to the scene of hostilities in Eastern Tennessee and South-western Virginia. It is said, that leaving a very powerful cavalry force, and two strong infantry divisions strongly posted on the Rappahannock, he has thrown a portion of his army by rail upon Burnside's line of operations, and that the real purpose of his recent advance was to make this movement. According to the latest intelligence, Burnside, so far from working his way through the mountains to Chattanooga, was moving northward along the line of the Virginia and East Tennessee railroads, and his cavalry was reported to have reached Bristol and Abingdon, the latter place 175 miles distant from Lynchburg, where there were large Confederate stores. To throw a powerful force upon this isolated corps would be quite in accordance with Lee's strategy, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Burnside has been compelled to concentrate his army and select a strong position for receiving the assault of superior numbers. There seems to be no doubt that for the next month or six weeks, if not through the winter, the whole strength of the Confederates will be brought into play in Eastern Tennessee, and that something like a crisis in the war is imminent in that quarter. The Confederates have enormous advantages in their unimpeded communications; the Federals have the larger numbers, but it is not certain that they can be brought to bear. Up to the latest date, there is no news of reinforcements from the Army of the West, having reached Chattanooga; on the contrary, the advance of Sherman's army of relief from Memphis, though it ultimately beat off its assailants, was very roughly handled by Confederate cavalry, losing prisoners, colours, and guns. Guerillas were pouring into Tennessee from all points; a large force was operating to effect a diversion in Kentucky. Altogether, there was a prospect of a campaign as interesting from a military point of view, as it was likely to be important in political results. In the midst of all this movement and activity, the North is thunderstruck by the news that Rosecrans is superseded. The whole Northern press, true to its instincts, kicks at the fallen hero, and there is no charge too vile to be flung at the man who, three months ago, was the hope of the republic. One paper states that he was asleep during the heat of the battle of Chickamauga; another, that he fled hopelessly panic-stricken from the field; a third, that he is utterly incapable of command. And yet, this is the man who has achieved the most notable successes of the Northern arms, who has wrested Tennessee inch by inch from the South, and

who has organised the best army the North possesses. One error has shattered the pedestal on which he stood, and he shares with McClellan and McDowell the displeasure of Mr. Lincoln and the contumely of the fickle Yankee rabble. If anything could ensure reverses to the North, this change of command ought to do to. Grant, his successor, is an able, resolute soldier, but has yet to prove himself Rosecrans's equal; and unless common report has very much maligned him, his health has suffered so much from his excesses since his triumph at Vicksburg, that he is not very likely to prove himself fit for the tremendous responsibilities that now devolve upon him.

In the meantime the great Confederate triumph at Chickamauga is beginning to tell. Whether the victory has revived the spirits of the South, or the necessities of the Army of the Cumberland have drained the Federal armies, certain it is that the South is showing a threatening force at all points. In Arkansas we hear of 20,000 troops marching upon Little Rock. In Louisiana, General Herron has been defeated with heavy loss and superseded. At Chattanooga the South is defiant and jubilant. In Richmond the destruction of the Federal army, or its surrender, is regarded as almost a certainty. At Charleston the Confederates are opening new batteries, and General Gilmore's bombardment is postponed day by day, until the inhabitants of the Palmetto City have cause to believe their town impregnable, and have sworn to keep it so. Fortune smiles on the South. Towards the close of the third year of the war her armies are stronger and better equipped, better fed, and more efficient than ever they were, and there is promise that before the year has expired she will have yet more nobly vindicated her claim to independence, and a place amongst the nations.

## The Dismissal of the British Consuls.

As early as the 10th of March of the present year we invited the attention of Parliament to a subject which can now be fully stated in precisely the same words we then used:—"We trust that in the debate which may be expected to ensue to-night in the House of Lords on Lord Campbell's motion, attention will be directed to one consideration of the subject of Recognition, which has heretofore been almost entirely overlooked. We refer to the fact that during the present anomalous condition of the relations of this country with the Confederate States, the large number of British subjects resident in those States, and the immense amount of British property located there, are dependent for protection at this time, when protection is most needed, upon the forbearance alone of the Confederate Government. The appointed protectors of the rights and property of their fellow-countrymen in foreign countries are the consuls, of whose office this is the most important duty. The British consuls who discharge this duty in the Confederate States are accredited to, and receive the permission to exercise their functions from, a Government with which the Confederate States are at open war. For two years they have continued at their posts solely by the toleration of the Confederate Government: a toleration, be it remarked, quite inconsistent with the strict theoretical construction of absolute *de facto* independence.

"Suppose the Confederate Government, weary of this inconsistency, weary of retaining this only remaining vestige of a repudiated authority, should decline any longer to recognise the official status of functionaries whose *exequaturs* and presence are a contradiction of its rights and powers. A proposition to this effect, viz., to dismiss all foreign consuls not accredited to the Confederate Government on the 1st of May next, is actually before the Confederate Congress. The number of British subjects and the value of British property thus left without consular protection in a country engaged in one of the fiercest wars on record, must be reckoned by tens of thou-



sands of persons and scores of millions of money. We do not mean to imply that the Confederate authorities would seize this occasion to wantonly insult and injure the persons and property so unprotected. Far from it. On the contrary, we feel assured that every care would be taken to mitigate the evil and to relieve individuals from the inconveniences caused by a public necessity. But if consuls are deemed necessary to the protection of personal and property interests abroad in time of profound peace and of uninterrupted and rapid international communication, they can scarcely be dispensed with at a time and in a country where general conscription laws convert whole populations into armies, where military conflagrations complete or anticipate the work of retreating or advancing hosts, when Death, in many shapes, stalks over the land, and when, in fact, every part of the social and political fabric is strained in an agony of desperation. It is at such times and in such places that the foreigner most needs the advice and assistance of his country's representatives, and these alone can prevent or relieve much grievous individual loss and suffering.

"It is this humane consideration which has induced the Confederate Government to forbear, where forbearance from any other motive would have implied a want of self-respect. Its right to dismiss summarily from within its jurisdiction all consuls exercising their functions by virtue of an *exequatur* from the Washington Government is unquestioned. It is undeniable, also, that were it to-day to enforce this right, no one could justly accuse it of a lack of moderation in the enforcement. It has given the other Governments of the world two years to consider upon the propriety, expediency, or convenience of establishing with it the usual relations which obtain among Governments. If, after two years' consideration, the other Governments conclude such relations to be improper, inexpedient, and inconvenient, we could not well blame the Confederates for accepting the conclusion as final, and refusing in their turn that convenience of relations which is refused to them. As matters now stand, the forbearance of the Confederate Government affords to foreign nations all the essential advantages resulting from recognition, without reciprocity. The dismissal of the foreign consuls, although not a step which we are prepared to advise, would simply place all parties on the same footing. Sooner or later, if recognition is indefinitely delayed, the Confederate Government will be forced to this measure."

The contingency which we then foreshadowed, has now actually arisen. The telegraphic summary of American news during the past week tersely informs us that the Confederate Government has dismissed all British Consuls from its jurisdiction. We are credibly informed from Richmond, under date of the 10th October, that a full publication, in the form of a despatch to one of the Confederate representatives in Europe, of the reasons which induced this measure, would immediately be made, and until this document is before the public it would be premature to indulge in any extended comments. Meanwhile, we may rest assured that that Government, having forborne so long, and resisted a popular pressure in this direction at a time when it was much stronger, has not come to its present decision without weighty and sufficient reasons. Nor are we left altogether to guess what these reasons are. The correspondence of Mr. Fullarton, Her Majesty's Acting-Consul at Savannah, with the Governor of Georgia, which we summarised last week, displays an excess of presumption and official arrogance on the part of that functionary, which has not only aroused a feeling of just resentment among the people at large, but has compelled the Government, in very self-respect, to vindicate its violated sovereignty. Mr. Fullarton assumed to set his consular fiat above the laws of the Sovereign States composing the Confederacy, to regulate and prescribe the duties of individuals residing within their jurisdiction, to encourage and protect certain of these individuals in open mutiny when under arms, and even to decide the character and morality of the war in which those Sovereign States are engaged.

It is a matter of notoriety that the Confederate Government, in its desire to preserve amicable relations with neutral countries, and to avoid even the appearance of giving offence, has erred, if at all, rather by being too prone to waive incontestible rights than by unnecessarily asserting them. This it has done, although well knowing, as one of our ablest contemporaries on the ministerial side expressed it last spring, "that one of the chief reasons why the Confederate States had not been admitted into the family of nations was, that their non-admittance had not been heretofore felt as a serious inconvenience;" in other words, that they delayed their own recognition by not making other nations experience the same inconveniences of non-intercourse which they themselves were made to experience. The soundness of that policy it is not for us here to discuss; about its moderation and conciliatory object there can be no question. Thus, for a considerable period after the conscription first went into effect, the Secretary of War, acting rather according to his wishes than to a rigid construction of the law, habitually ordered the discharge of foreign subjects conscripted in the Confederate armies. At last the evil became so great, the consuls used their power of exemption by certificates of alienage in so loose and wholesale a manner, that the subject had to be referred for official decision to the Attorney-General as law-adviser of the Confederate Government. His opinion, given at some length, was, in substance, that aliens temporarily sojourning in the States were exempt from the obligation of military service, but that such as had acquired, or had by word or deed proved a fixed intention to acquire, a permanent residence, by engaging in any profession or avocation, becoming possessed of landed property, and similar acts, were as much liable to such service as native or naturalised residents. We doubt whether this decision was ever strictly enforced; still, to the extent that it was enforced, it gave rise to several adjudications under the Habeas Corpus Act, both before State and Confederate tribunals, and in every case the judgment of the court sustained the view taken by the Attorney-General as conformable to common sense, to municipal law, and to international usage. It is remarkable that Mr. Fullarton himself, in the extraordinary correspondence to which we have referred, admits the justice of this view, but affects to draw a distinction between the liabilities of aliens in a foreign and in a civil war; and treating the war between the Confederate and the United States as of the latter class, admonishes his fellow-subjects to fight in defence of their adopted home against all enemies except the Yankees, but on the approach of these to throw down their arms.

If we are to believe Mr. Fullarton, his conduct is not, as we should prefer to regard it, simply that of an over-zealous and indiscreet official, but he is, according to his own assertion, only obeying the "strong instructions" he has received from the Foreign-office. Indeed, without feeling amply assured of the approval of his superiors, we should scarcely think that so vicarious and humble a functionary would have undertaken to threaten in so insulting a manner the Government of a great country which, in its acts and professions, has always manifested the most friendly disposition towards his own. We are prepared, therefore, to see in this occurrence another of those consequences of Earl Russell's singularly unfortunate diplomacy. He has succeeded in forcing the Confederate Government to take action on a question which it has shown every wish, for two years past, even against its own interests and a strong popular opinion, to leave in abeyance. The result is, that with a country in whose fortunes Englishmen have a greater interest than in almost every other—during a war which involves a larger amount of British property, and in which England as a neutral has more at stake than in any other of modern times—this Government has no intercourse whatever, whether direct or indirect. The Confederate States, successfully waging the greatest conflict of the age, supporting armies of many hundreds of thousands of men, whose exploits are in every mouth and fill every

newspaper, are still, by a curious fiction of the Foreign-office, represented by Mr. Adams at London, and not so much of a *de facto* government as even to have a consul accredited to them.

## The Reply of the Scottish Clergy.

AN "Address to Christians throughout the World, by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America," which originally appeared in these columns, and has since been very extensively circulated through the advertising sheets of various magazines and other periodicals, has provoked a reply, similarly circulated, from "the Ministers of the Churches in Scotland." Among the names appended to this "Reply" are those of nearly if not quite all the leading divines of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns of Scotland, and in a note it is stated that nearly one thousand signatures have already been received.

Courtesy to so highly respectable and influential a body of signers, as well as the fact that of those they address many will thus be reached more easily and speedily than through any other medium, require us to give a place to this document in our columns. We cannot, however, do so without accompanying it with some comments and reflections, which we hope to offer without being wanting in respect to so many distinguished gentlemen, and without offending sensibilities which we have no right to wound or even to ignore. Compared to the hackneyed abuse of the South, the Reply of the Scottish Clergy is moderate in its tone; it certainly stands in striking Christian contrast to the vehement excommunication of Mr. Newman Hall, who declared that he would neither admit to his house, nor to the Lord's table, nor include in his prayers, the slaveholders of the South. Strong language, indeed, the Scottish ministers use, but it is the earnest language of men who, from the depths of an honest conviction, protest and exhort against what they believe to be a most heinous and deadly sin. If, then, we charge them with injustice to their fellow Christians in the Confederate States, we hasten to absolve them of any wilful intention of so doing, and we moreover record our testimony, that the injustice is not theirs, but rather that of a falsely informed but honest public opinion. This injustice consists in charging the Southern clergy or the Southern people with the defence or justification of wrongs or crimes which they would be the first to denounce and as sincere as their accusers in abhorring. It is not true that the "Address to Christians throughout the World" is a "pleading on behalf of slavery in general." "Slavery in general," is associated in all men's minds with wanton and cruel abuse of power, with a disregard of human rights and of Christian duties. For these no Christian minister, and least of all they who signed the Address, could plead, and they would deem it a fearful sacrilege to use God's Word to justify such crimes. Our ideas of slavery are derived from the enormities of African pirates, from the wail of suffering humanity that went up to an offended Heaven from the West Indies, from the horrors of the slave-ship, and more recently from the novels of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and the sensational fiction of a depraved and debauched press. Had such ideas been associated in the minds of the Southern clergy with the relations between the whites and blacks among whom they live and preach the Gospel, they would have hid their heads in shame, or they would have addressed the Christians throughout the world only to beseech their aid and counsels and prayers to save themselves and their countrymen from the retributive justice of Providence. True, they had slavery under their eyes, but it was not "slavery in general," nor was it the slavery of the West Indies; for under the latter the African race decreased as rapidly as under the servitude of the Southern States it has increased. But it is not even true that the Address was a pleading in behalf "of American slavery in particular." Had it been such a pleading they would have said, and must in justice to themselves and their congrega-



tions have said, that the white master claims over the soul and body of his black bondsman no greater rights, or at least that usage and society allow him no greater rights, than has the employer in any land over his hired servant, or the father over his minor children. They would and must have said that the word "slavery," as that word is generally understood, is an unfortunate misnomer; that in reality it is an apprenticeship for life, which can fairly be charged with no greater moral wrong than that it considers a whole race, instead of individuals only, in tutelage. They would, while deploring many shortcomings and admitting many grievous defects, have proved by irrefutable evidence that this apprenticeship does not in practice open the door to wilder or more lawless passions than systems of more complex and more perfect machinery. They would have pointed to the general morality, the general well-being, the wide-spread piety of their fellow-countrymen of either colour; and they might have sincerely joined with their Scottish brethren in protesting against "a system which treated immortal and redeemed men as chattels; denies them the rights of marriage and of home, and exposes them to the outrages of lust and passion." They would not in this description have recognised the features of any system with which they were personally connected, but to the extent to which they might have recognised a resemblance, however faint, they would have deplored it, and pledged their unremitting efforts to reform. This the Confederate Clergy might and would have done, had their object been to plead for slavery; but as they knew that these truths were contrary to the preconceived opinion of those they addressed, and the expression of them would unnecessarily give offence, and as their object was to bespeak the prayers of their fellow-Christians for a country in deep distress and in the agonies of a great calamity, they contented themselves with the assurance, not obtrusively but meekly made, that they recognised and were striving to discharge their duties to their coloured fellow-man. The manner in which they spoke, in the few brief sentences at which our Scottish friends have taken offence, of the material and spiritual interests of the African race, shows how very far they were from regarding them as mere chattels, to whom the rights of marriage and of home might be denied, and whom they were willing to expose to the outrages of lust and passion.

It is a common error, when Southerners deny false charges brought against them, to accuse them of defending or pleading for slavery. Now, apart from the fact which we have endeavoured to make clear, that the slavery which the Southerner knows is a very different thing from that against which the "Reply of the Scotch Clergy" inveighs, it would be as rational to say that a man approves and justifies an offence which he denies having committed. All that right-minded Southerners ever claim for themselves is, that in circumstances which they did not create and for which they are not responsible, they have conscientiously tried to do their duty; that they are prepared to continue to do that duty, and should the nature of that duty alter with altered circumstances, they will still do it then. England planted slavery in America; she abolished it in her distant island colonies where it was comparatively easy and involved no crisis of her whole imperial fabric; she fed it on the continent by being the largest buyer and consumer of the products of slave labour. If there is moral guilt, then, in the system *per se*, independently of its incidents, she shares it at least equally with the Southern States. If each of the reverend gentlemen who sign the reply were placed for six months in charge of a Southern congregation, they would be in a position to testify whether the Southerners had done or were trying to do the best that could be done with existing facts; few of them, we opine, would advise, at the imminent peril of white and black, an immediate emancipation. Meanwhile, it would only be Christian charity to take the word of their brethren on the spot.

It is painful to find, in a document which, despite

its errors of fact, commends itself by so many titles to respectful consideration, an assertion which we had thought belonged exclusively to the stock-in-trade of political hucksters. The signers evidently take for granted that the struggle of the South for independence has no other object than to perpetuate slavery; apparently forgetting that a vigorous people of eight millions, of English blood, inhabiting half a continent, and differing, as this war has shown, so widely from their late associates, might have abundance of better reasons for desiring to live under a government of their own choice. It would be dragging these gentlemen too far into the field of politics to tell and to prove to them that the South, if it would but have the Union, might have slavery, unmolested, and that in securing independence it forfeits many safeguards for that institution and many opportunities for its expansion; but as they had obviously in mind Mr. Stephens' famous "corner stone" speech, though they do not quote it, a very few words in that connection may not be an improper conclusion to our friendly quarrel with the ministers of the churches in Scotland. Be it known, then, to our esteemed Scottish friends, that Mr. Stephens, so far from being a leader of the secession movement, was its most determined opponent up to the last moment: that he was the last public man of note who abandoned the cause of the Union, and that despite his eminent talents and great local popularity, his election to the purely passive office of vice-president was solely due to a desire on the part of the Secessionists to propitiate a supposed Union sentiment in the seceding States. This is the connection with the Revolution of the only Southern statesman who ever uttered words which could warrant such an interpretation as is hinted at in the paper before us, and he himself doubtless would disclaim such an interpretation as most unfairly perverting his real meaning.

#### MAGAZINES FOR NOVEMBER.

JUDGE REDFIELD, of the United States, has written a letter to the *Law Magazine and Law Review*, on "American Secession and State Rights," in reply to an article which appeared in that periodical in August last. The writer of that article observed, "Now, from what has been said, it is apparent that the States of the American Union, being Sovereign States, cannot be legally bound to the Union; that as they are not legally bound, their Secession from it is not an illegal act, and that the Federal Government, in attempting to adjudicate upon the right of dissolving the Federal compact by the respective parties to it, is clearly going beyond its delegated powers and acting *ultra vires*." Judge Redfield rejoins, that "all this array of damaging consequences depends upon a merely gratuitous assumption," and he proceeds to argue that the States were not sovereign, but parts of a sovereign power. It is somewhat singular that in the midst of war this question should be so much discussed. At the outset it was natural that the South should urge her title to rank forthwith as an independent Power, and it was equally natural that the North should zealously oppose the claim. Europe gave judgment in favour of the North by declaring that the issue should be determined by the sword. If public opinion had been as well informed in 1860 of the merits of the quarrel as it is now the bloodshed of the last three years would probably have been averted; but the opportunity was lost, and it now seems idle to debate the constitutional question. Yet, as long as the partisans of the North persist in setting forth perverted and fallacious doctrines, the friends of the South must reply, lest silence should be construed to mean consent.

Judge Redfield rests his case mainly on two points: on the circumstances which led to the establishment of the present Federal Government, and on the text of the Federal Constitution. He repudiates the assertion that, it appears, some persons have been ignorant enough to make, that the Articles of Confederation were anything more than a contract between a number of Sovereign States, and upon this admission he constructs about the shallowest theory ever invented. He quotes from the *Federalist* some remarks of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Madison, in which the League is denounced for its weakness, and a National Government advocated. From these premises he jumps to the conclusion that as those leaders disliked a league of Sovereign States, and wanted a single Sovereignty, it was impossible that they could sanction a mere Federation. This is indeed deducing a mountain from a molehill. It is known that some of the fathers of the Union were in favour of anarchy, if it had been possible; and, therefore, adopting Judge Redfield's logic, we must conclude that Mr. A. Lincoln is, not a president, but a king. It is, however, of little consequence what Messrs. Hamilton and Madison thought; we are only concerned with what was done. We have the Constitution by virtue of which the Federal Government exists, or

rather, did exist, until the Lincoln despotism usurped its place. What says this deed about the matter?

Judge Redfield contends that the preamble: "We, the People of the United States," &c., proves him to be right. Is it possible he does not know why that formula was adopted? The draft of the Constitution began with "We, the people of" such-and-such "States," and the draft was accepted, but referred to a Committee for revision as to style. This Committee was confronted with a difficulty about the wording of the preamble. If nine States seceded from the articles of Confederation, and gave in their adhesion to the new Federation, that would be sufficient to constitute a government. It was uncertain whether all the States would come into the Union, and therefore their names could not be stated in the preamble. On the other hand, to exclude some that might come into the Union would have been awkward, for at every fresh accession to the Union it would have necessitated the repassing of the Constitution with an amended preamble. The problem was solved by the convenient device of "We, the people of the United States," an expression which is sufficiently general to be both inclusive and exclusive.

Judge Redfield's argument upon the text of the Constitution amounts to this, that the Federal Government must be sovereign because so many specific sovereign powers are conferred upon it. Without stopping to show that these powers had reference to external relations, for which the Federal or General Government was constituted, we think it must be apparent that the granting specific powers, and stipulating that the sovereign powers not so conferred are reserved to the States, is an unanswerable proof that the Federation was the creature and not the sovereign, of the States. Surely, if it had been intended to change the Articles of Confederation into a Nationality and not into "a more perfect Union," the change would have been solemnly announced, and the States would not have conferred special powers on the Federal Government, reserving to themselves the rest appertaining to sovereignty. If Judge Redfield will read the debates that occurred in the various legislatures upon passing the ordinances of accession to the Union, he will find that there was a very jealous anxiety to preserve inviolate the sovereignty of the several States. Not to weary our readers with a multitude of proofs of that which no man out of the United States disbelieves, we will on this head content ourselves with the following interrogatories. If it was intended to weld the States into one Nation, was it not curious that the seat of the National Government, instead of being at New York or at Philadelphia, or at some other city in the *Empire*, should have been fixed at Columbia, a small plot of neutral ground? If the Federal Government was to be a Sovereign, was it not remarkable that the President should have to ask the permission of the Governor before he could send Federal forces into or through any State? If the Federal Government was to represent a united People, and not a union of States, is it not exceedingly strange that Mr. Abraham Lincoln is President, in spite of being in a minority in the popular vote, and because he obtained a majority of State votes? Why has Rhode Island, the smallest of the States, the same representation in the Federal Senate as New York, the most populous of the States?

Judge Redfield falls into the blunder of confounding nullification with secession. He tells us that President Jackson and Secretary Livingston, both Southern men, prepared that memorable message in reference to the nullification of South Carolina in which occurs the following passage:—"I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union; contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution; unauthorised by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle upon which it was founded, and destitute of the great object for which it was formed." Without entering into the merits of the question of nullification, it must we think be conceded that a secessionist may consistently hold that President Jackson was so far correct, and that so long as a State is in the Union, it has no right to annul an act of the Federal Government. What then? What does it prove? That a State has no remedy for the violation of its rights? That if, for example, the slaveholding States had been in a majority, and had determined to impose the institution of slavery upon Massachusetts, that Massachusetts was bound to submit? No, it only proves that secession, and not nullification, is the proper remedy for a State grievance. That no State, nor any number of States, can lawfully impede the machinery of the Federal Government; but if it or they are injured by the Union, it or they must seek redress by going out of the Union. Judge Redfield confesses that the Federal prospects are gloomy, and that it would not surprise him "to find the Republic ultimately broken into more than two irreconcilable sections." And what gives him the greatest uneasiness is the threat of the dominant party in the North to treat the South as conquered territory, if the South can be conquered. He argues that as the States were not sovereign, and as the allegiance of the citizens of the several States was due to the General Government (an assertion, by the way, which is the precise reverse of the truth) there cannot be any forfeiture of State rights. He says:—

"And we have never been able to comprehend the theory which treats the Southern States as having forfeited any of their State rights. If the rebellion is put down, and the people of those States return to their allegiance, we cannot comprehend why or how any of the laws or constitutions of the States will have ceased to be of binding force. The claim that they have ceased to be of binding obligation seems to us to rest



wholly in misconception of the true relations of the States in their corporate capacity of the national sovereignty. And the claim of any such forfeiture of the State laws and constitution seems to us as truly a usurpation as the rebellion itself, so far as the theory of the thing is concerned. And such a theory must necessarily interpose a very serious barrier against the future restitution of the empire in its original character."

We quote this passage as an illustration of the confusion of thought and ideas which results from the attempt to defend the policy of treating secession as rebellion, and simultaneously to uphold the Constitution of the United States. It must, we should think, be manifest to everyone, that rebellion is a greater crime than breaking off an alliance and compact with an independent power; and that if the Confederate States are Sovereign States they would have a much greater claim to the consideration of the North if they were conquered, than they would have if they had been parts of a national territory. Judge Redfield thinks, or is rather driven to argue, differently. We hold that the men of the North, who are always selling the skin of a lion which there is no prospect of their killing, are right enough in theory; though of course we do not approve the savage use they would make of their power as conquerors. Rebellion, as we have remarked, is the most heinous offence and demands the severest punishment; but though the Confederate States did not rebel, they seceded from the Union, and in so doing, gave up all their rights under the Constitution of the United States. The Confederacy is now engaged in a foreign war, and cannot avoid the consequences of failure. The Confederates know this, and therefore treat with the contempt they deserve propositions of peace based on reconstruction. The Republicans in the North are aware of the rights of conquest, and profess their firm intention of using them, if they conquer. Even the Democrats, whilst prating about the Constitution and standing idly by consenting to its destruction, are obliged to let the truth out. They ask Mr. Lincoln to grant an amnesty. Now an amnesty means an act of mercy on the part of a conqueror, and if the Confederates accepted such a measure they would acknowledge that they hold their property by the grace of Mr. Abraham Lincoln. For the South there is no other alternative than independence or subjugation; and for the North—assuming, for argument's sake, that the conquest of the Confederacy was at any time possible—the choice was, (we no longer think is) between letting the South go, or the establishment of a military despotism.

Another American lawyer, the Hon. W. B. Lawrence, the editor of "Wheaton's International Law," and who dates from Newport, Rhode Island, contributes to the present number of the *Law Magazine*. He calls attention to the unreasonableness of Mr. Seward's complaining that the European Governments were too prompt in recognising the Confederates as belligerents; seeing that the Supreme Court of the United States decided in March last "that a public territorial war, as contradistinguished from a personal insurrection, had existed since the proclamation of the President in April, 1861," and which decision, we should think, must be rather perplexing to those Northern advocates who contend that the South began the war. The Supreme Court was very emphatic in the terms of its judgment. Mr. Lawrence remarks that "it pronounced the existence of a public war, with all the attributes of an international war, having a territorial locality. What was somewhat at variance with the views of those who had hitherto denied the right of secession; it recognised the war as made by the States in their political capacities, and, as a corollary therefrom, it declared all the inhabitants of the seceded States, on account of their residence, and without regard to their individual locality, alien enemies. Indeed, among the first condemnations of the prize courts were cases where the sole inquiry was the place of residence of the claimants." Mr. Lawrence denounces the conduct of his Government in regarding the Confederate States as alien enemies, and yet not exempting them from municipal penal legislation. "Disregarding," he says, "the time-honoured principle, as well of our Common Law derived from our English ancestors as of international law, that protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the statute book already contains provisions which virtually confiscate the property of Southern residents, from whom all pretence of protection had been withdrawn, especially of those in anywise engaged, even in a judicial capacity, in the administration of the *de facto* Confederate Government, as well as of the governments of the several States that have joined the Southern Confederacy, which conflict with no existing authorities, while their organisation is essential to the maintenance of order and the prevention of anarchy." In short, the Federals are avowedly bent on doing that which no nation has hitherto ever openly attempted. Not content with seeking to recover their real or imaginary sovereign rights in the South, they declare their intention of confiscating Southern property, and of holding every Southerner guilty of the civil and municipal crime of rebellion—that is, holding every man in the South liable to be hanged or shot. No doubt, if the Federals conquer, they will be fully entitled to treat the South as conquered territory, without paying any regard to the former political connection—but that does not include the right to treat the Southerners more brutally than their Imperial ally the Emperor of Russia has treated the Poles.

Mr. Lawrence touches upon several points of maritime law. He notices a dodge of Mr. Seward's, which was short-sighted, dishonourable, and unsuccessful. The Confederate States had not any commercial marine, and therefore privateering was not of much use to the North; the United States had a large com-

mercial marine, and therefore privateering was of great use to the South. Mr. Seward therefore offered to accept the privateer clause in the declaration of the Paris Congress. Mr. Lawrence observes: "the history of the negotiation as to privateering shows that it had its origin in objects wholly unconnected with the improvement of the maritime code. The attempt to gain a technical advantage is not the less disreputable to our diplomacy; because, as the archives of his department, and especially the correspondence of John Quincy Adams, when Secretary of State, will abundantly show, no treaty concluded subsequent to the *de facto* disruption of the Union could have had any effect on the relations of foreign Powers to the Confederate States." When the history of Mr. Seward's diplomacy is written, when his gross unscrupulousness and his disreputable chicanery are thoroughly exposed, his conduct will not be thought the least extraordinary or the least infamous feature in the present contest.

Mr. Lawrence is very outspoken on the subject of the sale of war vessels. He says: "As regards the sale of ships, *whether armed or not*, in neutral ports, as matters of commerce, I cannot think that, under the law of nations, they stand on any less favourable footing than the sale of munitions of war . . . . nor, according to the decision of our courts, do I consider the case altered by any provisions of our Neutrality Act." And he adds:—"The gist of the matter is, using the neutral territory as the basis of a hostile expedition; and in that respect, where the ship was built or to whom it belongs is immaterial. It falls within the same category as carrying on hostilities in neutral waters, or using them to watch the enemy." So Earl Russell, in stopping the rams in the Mersey, because he is told they are Confederate property, is doing that which is condemned by the common sense of mankind, and also by the independent jurists of the United States. Our Foreign Secretary will find a policy of servility is as dangerous and inexpedient as it is unjust and dishonourable. How can we wonder that the Federals think we are truckling to them when their own independent lawyers are of opinion that we are taking in their favour, and against the Confederates, proceedings that are not called for by international law?

An article in *Blackwood*, entitled "Our Rancorous 'Cousins,'" deals with the American question from a purely English view. The conduct of the Federals to this country is peculiar. "No covert or overt hostility on the part of France can rouse this sensitive people to remonstrance—no servility on the part of our own Government can induce our 'Cousins' to refrain from threatening to punish our partiality for their antagonists with immediate war." This *Blackwood* aptly calls a policy of sheer impudence. Does it succeed? Our press, except a few Federal organs, that "are perhaps a little more frantic than the North in abuse of their own country and peremptory demands for sympathy," is favourable to the South. Yet the sympathy for the South is very mildly expressed, and the North is treated with great consideration. "Nobody ever talks of our Southern cousins; nobody ever asserts Southern rights. . . . Heroism is all very well to be sentimental about; but for solid, appreciable success, give us good steady impudence." But the important question for Englishmen is, whether or not the policy of our Government is patriotic and good for our country. If it was right to permit Lancashire to suffer, let us confess it was not from any other reason than that some of our statesmen thought intervention would lead to hostilities with the North, and that the loss of our trade in cotton would not be so great as the loss entailed by such a war. Our forbearance could not arise from gratitude to the North for its friendship to us; or from our approbation of despotism as established by the Lincoln Government; or because we think the Union is essential to human happiness; or because we think it is a righteous thing to exterminate, or to seek to exterminate, an entire population. But the grotesque part of the business is this: whilst the Anglo-Federals have exhorted us not to do "injustice" to the North for the sake of our interests, they now turn round and ask us to do injustice to the South for the sake of our future well-being. "Having just disputed the assertion, that where no law forbids we must not pursue our own benefit, we have to face about to meet an argument which affirms that in pursuit of our own benefit we may enlarge the bounds of our law. Such is, in reality, the argument of the gentleman who, under the signature of 'Historicus,' has undertaken to lecture the public on international law." For instance, it is evident that a blockade is for the benefit of the belligerent, not for the benefit of neutrals. Therefore it is not an offence to break a blockade, though vessels trying to do so are liable to capture. Mr. Adams, Mr. Sumner, and Historicus take a different view. They regard trading with the South as a sinful act. The last-named writer, going a trifle further than his Federal coadjutors, says the trade to Nassau and Matamoros is suspicious, and asks, "Can we profess to be ignorant that the great majority of vessels bound to these ports are engaged in adventures which the American navy are entitled to prevent?" Now, it is as honourable to ship quinine to Wilmington as it is to ship rifles to New York, though in the former case there is the liability of capture. But, according to international law, there is no such liability in shipping to a neutral port like Matamoros. Yet when complaints are made of illegal captures the merchant is told "that he must expect no sympathy when he engages (unheard-of crime in a merchant!) in an uncertain enterprise for the sake of gain. An extension of the argument would abandon our traders to the mercy of pirates." The real argument is, however, that we, as the leading

maritime nation, have an especial interest in extending the law of blockade. This is a grave error. In times of peace our commerce suffers more than any other by blockades; in time of war, "as the strongest of all maritime Powers, we are best able to derive from the present rights of blockade the fullest effect. By a fictitious extension of them we are best enabling weaker Powers to approach the measure of our strength." Probably the next session of Parliament will prove whether England is willing or not to commit such a breach of neutrality, and whether we are so blinded to our own interests by the sophisms of Federal advocates, as to change our law in favour of the United States. In May last, Earl Russell wrote to Mr. Adams, that when Her Majesty's Government are asked "to overstep the existing powers given them by municipal and international law, for the purpose of imposing arbitrary restrictions on the trade of Her Majesty's subjects, it is impossible to listen to such suggestions. . . . The Federal Government cannot expect that Great Britain should frame new statutes to aid the Federal blockade, and to carry into effect the restrictions on commerce which the United States, for their own purpose, have thought fit to institute." But in September last, Federal impudence had done its work, and his lordship was as subservient as the most exacting Yankee could desire. He declared that, if necessary, "the sanction of Parliament should be asked to further measures." That is, our neutrality, already very favourable to the Federals, is to be rendered still more unfavourable to the Confederates. We have no doubt what kind of answer the House of Commons will return to such a demand.

There are several points in the article before us worthy of notice, but hoping that it will be read as extensively as it deserves, we shall give only one more quotation from it. Commenting on the equivocal declaration of Earl Russell, that it would "have been for ever infamous if, for the sake of interest of any kind, we had violated the general laws of nations, and made war with the slaveholding States of America against the Federal States," it is observed: "Though there can be no disgrace for the best of us in an alliance with a country defended by Lee and Jackson, yet we will venture to say that most English gentlemen would think their good name blemished if they were compelled to make war in alliance with Butlers and Turchins, with Popes, Milroys and Hookers, or even with Gilmores and Grants."

We have devoted so much space to the articles on America that we can barely mention many others of merit and interest that appear in the *Magazines* for November. In *Blackwood* there is a clever paper on the progress of geography, and a sketch of "The fall of King Otho," which is by far the best account that has been published of the affair, and has evidently been written or inspired by some one who has been behind the scenes. The *Cornhill* accomplishes a wonderful work; that is, it makes "The Story of the Mhow Court-Martial" intelligible. Whether Colone Crawley be guilty or not of the crimes laid to his charge, it is impossible to differ from the conclusion that our administration of military justice is disgraceful and loudly calls for amendment. One of the remedies frequently suggested is to let the civil tribunals take cognisance of military disputes and offences, except during an actual campaign; and it is hard to see how military discipline would suffer from officers and soldiers knowing that he who commands and he who obeys are alike amenable for their conduct to an independent tribunal. "Domesday Book" is a popular account of one of the most useful and curious of our national records. The essayist points out the analogies between the Englishman of 1085 and of the present age, and they are neither few nor far-fetched. "Unctuous Memories" is rather a commonplace essay on the well-worn adage, that hunger is the best sauce; or, if the author does not mean that, we must confess we are unable to understand the object of the paper. Mr. Thackeray contributes "Strange to Say, on Club Paper." The codicil of Lord Clyde's will was written on club paper, and as it was signed at Chatham, and not in London, some good-natured gossips invented a story of his lordship's meanness, and charged him with pillooting club stationery. The explanation is, that Lord Clyde's solicitor, being a member of the Athlone, wrote the codicil at the club and sent it to Chatham, and his lordship signed the original draft. Mr. Thackeray administers a severe rebuke to scandal-mongers.—In *Macmillan* we have the first part of a new story by Mr. Henry Kingsley, called "The Hillyars and the Bartons." The first chapter presents a vivid picture of colonial life, and promises a better novel than "Ravenshoe,"—by which remark we do not mean to infer that "Ravenshoe" was not a very excellent work of fiction. "On Maritime Captures and Blockade," by Lord Hobart, is an exposition of the views of those who think that not only ought free ships to make free goods, but that all private property at sea, even that belonging to the enemy, ought to be free from capture, as it is—at least in theory—on land. Lord Hobart condemns "commercial blockades." He admits that when a blockade is necessary for military purposes it is a legitimate military proceeding, but that "it is surprising that the right of excluding the commerce of neutrals by blockade should have been considered to hold good when the blockade is what is termed 'commercial';" that is, when it is established for the express and single object of excluding that commerce, and not for any purpose which can be termed military." We agree with Lord Hobart, that it is doubtful whether England, with her large commercial navy, does not lose more by the law of blockade than she could gain in time of war by her naval superiority. Besides, our naval



superiority would not be relatively diminished by the proposed changes, and the laws of blockade, like all other laws, are more for the protection of the weak than the advantage of the strong.

#### A NORTHERN ESTIMATE OF ENGLISH LIFE.\*

WE confess that we have never been able to understand the popularity of Mr. Hawthorne's romances; and still less the favour with which they have been received by the critical world. We began to read "The Scarlet Letter," and gave up the attempt in despair after the few first chapters, equally disgusted with the subject and the author. We made more progress with "The House with the Seven Gables," a thing begun it under a strong sense of duty; but we found it utterly impossible to get beyond the middle of that dreary and incomprehensible story. The reviews of "Transformation," all eulogistic, disclosed enough of its character to determine us not to make the attempt. "Our Old Home" is, therefore, the first of Mr. Hawthorne's works that we have read through; and certainly nothing but professional duty would have sustained us through so wearisome a task. We have read few works more disagreeable in themselves, or more completely proving the unworthiness and unmanliness of the writer.

Had the consular experiences been omitted, and the author's name concealed, we should certainly have attributed these volumes to a woman, and to a woman of that most disagreeable class—the American variety of the species yeclapt "strong-minded." Had we been asked to name any one person as the probable authoress, we should have named Mrs. Stowe. The book is full of the worst faults of the worst female writers. It has the conceited tone of Mrs. Stowe's "Sunny Memories," the maudlin sentimentality of Miss Wetherall's Nursery Novels, and the insufferable egotism of the lady so mercilessly caricatured in Mr. Lowell's "Miranda." It is pervaded by that spirit of petty malice and insidious spite which we call feminine, not, thank heaven, because it is characteristic of women, but because it is almost unknown among men. There is also discernible a vein of brutal coarseness which we should not readily attribute to any writer of the other sex, had we not recently had occasion to read and review the scandalous journal of the divorced wife of Pierce Butler. In one word, the best comment we can make upon the work is this: that it is hard to understand how it can have been written by a man, and impossible to conceive that it could have been written by a gentleman. It suggests the reflection that the brutality of a Butler or the virulence of a Beecher are simply extreme exhibitions of the innate character of New England, and by no means contrasts and exceptions to the general disposition of her people, as their advocates in this country would have us believe. We know the measure of the Abolitionist orators and the robber-generals of Massachusetts; we know that the policy of that State was controlled, and her people represented to foreign nations, by men whom their own public language proved to be as brutal and as ignorant as the lowest and most vulgar of our own demagogues. We knew that the place of Sumner, and Cheever, and Beecher, and their associates, was with the Thompsons and the Barkers, or at best with the Spurgeons and the Peter Taylors of England: men who never, in this civilised land, find their way to honour either in the State or in the Church. But we were told that the prominence of such creatures was merely the result of the disrepute into which politics had fallen in the North; that there were in New England gentlemen as honourable, refined, and well-bred, as those of the mother-country; and we tried to believe it. If we had asked for the names of any such men, those who knew him only by repute would certainly have inserted on their list the author of "The Scarlet Letter." He may be taken as a type of Massachusetts refinement; he is the friend of a late president, he is one of the most distinguished of American authors, he has received a high tribute of praise from one of the ablest and severest of American critics, Mr. James R. Lowell. This man comes among us; he enjoys our hospitality; he is treated by us with distinguished attention, partly because he is a favourite author, and still more because he is an American of note, through whom we can render courtesy and display goodwill towards his country. He is feted in public; he is caressed in private; he is admitted to the intimacy of some of the most agreeable society in England. Now we admit that foreigners who come among us without introductions, who fail to find the password that admits a stranger into English homes, and who, therefore, live in England for years without seeing anything of English life, go home and abuse us with great heartiness and with tolerable excuse. But whenever a Frenchman, a German, a Russian has really had access to English society, and has had the opportunity of understanding England, he has borne testimony to the cordiality, the kindness, and the substantial courtesy of her people, and has returned home in charity and goodwill towards us. It is only Americans who come here, are received with open arms, and go home to revile us. Few Americans have ever been more kindly welcomed than this New England novelist, and none has ever written a book so unscrupulous in its misrepresentations, so vulgar in its abuse, so mean and carping in its criticism. We received this man as a type of the best society of his country; we know by his return for our hospitality what he is worth, and feel entitled to judge his countrymen by him; and so judging, we are bound to pronounce that, with all her civic virtues, her religious pretensions, and her military boasts,

the State of Massachusetts appears to have a soil and climate eminently unfavourable to the development of that product of Christian and chivalric civilisation which we call a gentleman.

Mr. Hawthorne's fitness to understand England is incidentally demonstrated by his selection of a third-rate watering place for his abode, and the evident satisfaction which this most American form of English life afforded him. His intellectual shallowness is made equally apparent by the frequency with which he contrasts the English love of what is old—old laws, old homes, old customs—with the restless love of change which distinguishes the Yankee. If he had the least glimpse of the terrible meaning underlying the disastrous phenomena of which his country is now the scene, he would have avoided this contrast or inverted the moral he draws from it. For it is this want of reverence for the past, this want of love for ancestral homes and ancient usages, this utter absence of a conservative instinct in the people of the Northern States, which has undone the work of Washington and Hamilton, and first reduced the State republics to unlimited democracies, and then let loose the passions fostered by democracy to the destruction of the Union and the ruin of liberty. But Mr. Hawthorne finds nothing to admire in England. Our institutions are out of date, our social usages provoke a sneer by their simple cordiality, our charities are feudal and ostentatious, our people gross, earthly, and stolid. There is something ludicrous in the mingled envy and contempt with which the Yankee rears to the traditional diet of Englishmen, and refuses to see in the most stalwart race of men that the world has produced—the soldiers of Waterloo, the seamen of Trafalgar, the statesmen who have made England the first Power in the world—anything more than modifications of beef and ale. To Nelson only does he allow any higher attributes, any finer composition; and Nelson, he will have it, was not an Englishman! It would a little astonish Nelson to hear this off-hand estimate of his relation to the country which he loved with all his soul, and which returned to him with such hearty enthusiasm; but Mr. Hawthorne hardly deserves refutation. We will only ask him what he would think of the Englishman who, premising that Washington was not an American, should go on to say that his memory alone seemed capable of stirring up to its depths "the gin-sling and beef-steaks" of the Yankee composition? Certainly, Americans eat at least as much as Englishmen; and their diet is hardly choicer. What they do eat, however, at least in the North-East, does not agree with them quite so well; and the national malady of indigestion has done more to affect the individual and national character of the Yankee than beef and ale have done to mould the nature of the Englishman.

But the "male Bull" is more civilly treated by Mr. Hawthorne than his partner. It is difficult to conceive that the vulgar abuse of Englishwomen, and the carping criticism of English girls, which crop out at every page of this disgusting book, were really written by a man. They bear the stamp of a woman's mind; of the mind of a woman fading into unloved middle age, with waning charms and feeble health, hating the women of her own age for their healthful, honest, matronly womanhood, and detesting the maidenly beauty of their blooming daughters with an envious malignity of which only a decaying coquette is capable. The sickly delicacy of an American complexion, the unnatural beauty which illness lends to the girl who was fed on beef-steaks and pastry at three years old and "brought out" into society at thirteen—the languor which tells of rooms heated by hot air; the "intellectual pallor" which bespeaks a brain tasked at school beyond the powers of girlhood—these Mr. Hawthorne calls "refinement." The loveliness of an English girl, whose pure, fresh complexion bears the hue of health, whose rounded figure tells of fresh air and wholesome exercise, whose maidenly modesty assures us that she was not forced into premature self-consciousness before she had ceased to be a child—this is, in his opinion, the loveliness of a dairymaid and not of a lady. English girls, he informs us, are rarely "genteel." That is a merit which we are willing to leave to the undisputed possession of New York waiting-maids and Massachusetts factory-girls. In England, the word and the thing are only known in the families of second-rate tradesmen. A "genteel" servant would be intolerable to an English gentleman. We expect every woman to be modest, well-behaved, and womanly; every lady to be ladylike; but we recognise in the affectations of "gentility" the stamp of low breeding and a bad education. And the "gentility" of the men and women of New England is one of the qualities which most profoundly move the contempt of English travellers.

We recommend, in conclusion, to those of our contemporaries who have given to this book a praise which it little merits, the following choice description of an English matron:—

"Oddly enough, the only figure that comes fairly forth to my mind's eye is that of a dowager, one of hundreds whom I used to marvel at, all over England, but who have scarcely a representative among our own ladies of autumnal life, so thin, careworn, and frail, as age usually makes the latter."

"I have heard a good deal of the tenacity with which English ladies retain their personal beauty to a late period of life; but (not to suggest that an American eye needs use and cultivation before it can quite appreciate the charm of English beauty at any age,) it strikes me that an English lady of fifty is apt to become a creature less refined and delicate, so far as her physique goes, than anything that western people class under the name of woman. She has an awful ponderosity of frame, not pulpy, like the looser development of our few fat women, but massive with solid beef and streaky tallow, so that (though struggling manfully against the idea,) you inevitably think of her as made up of steaks and sirloins. When she walks, her advance is elephantine. When she sits down, it is on a great round space of her Maker's footstool, where she

looks as if nothing could ever move her. She imposes awe and respect by the muchness of her personality, to such a degree that you probably credit her with far greater moral and intellectual force than she can fairly claim. Her visage is usually grim and stern, seldom positively forbidding, yet calmly terrible, not merely by its breadth and width of feature, but because it seems to express so much well-founded self-reliance, such acquaintance with the world, its toils, troubles, and dangers, and such sturdy capacity for trampling down a foe. Without anything positively salient, or actively offensive, or, indeed, unjustly formidable to her neighbours, she has the effect of a seventy-four-gun ship in time of peace; for, while you assure yourself that there is no real danger, you cannot help thinking how tremendous would be her onset, if pugnaciously inclined, and how futile the efforts to inflict any counter-injury. She certainly looks tenfold, nay, a hundredfold, better able to take care of herself than our slender-framed and haggard woman-kind; but I have not found reason to suppose that the English dowager of fifty has actually greater courage, fortitude, and strength of character than our women of similar age, or even a tougher physical endurance than they. Morally, she is strong, I suspect, only in society, and in the common routine of social affairs, and would be found powerless and timid in any exceptional strait that might call for energy outside of the conventionalities amid which she has grown up.

"You can meet this figure in the street, and live, and even smile at the recollection. But conceive of her in a ball-room, with the bare, brawny arms that she invariably displays there, and all the other corresponding development, such as is beautiful in the maiden blossom, but a spectacle to howl at in such an overblown cabbage-rose as this."

#### LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 20.

MILITARY operations have been comparatively languid since I wrote you last week, except in Eastern Virginia. By one of those sudden and rapid movements with which General Lee surprises his friends and astonishes his enemies, the Confederates made an advance movement last week, which compelled General Meade to withdraw his whole army from the line of the Rapidan and post it so as to cover Washington City. He and the Department at Washington are still in doubt as to the plans of Lee—whether he meant to outflank Meade and force a battle, or to make another march into Pennsylvania, or only into Maryland. There seems to be a total ignorance, not only of what General Lee's plans are, but what is the amount of his forces. At present it is considered "brilliant strategy" in General Meade to have succeeded in retreating with so little loss into the environs of the Capital; and therefore we can be assured that he is so posted as to be able successfully to resist any attack upon him, and that Washington is beyond peradventure safe. They who wish well to Lee are equally in doubt as to his strength and his objects, but they feel as much confidence in his discretion as in his bravery and skill, and are disposed to feel proud that, after a war of two years and a half, the guns of the terrified Confederates are heard within twenty-five miles of Washington City. The Army of the Potomac is congratulated upon having made a masterly escape, and that it is the Federal, and not the Confederate, capital, which has been disturbed by the advance of an enemy.

In the dearth of news from the South, where they practise reticence about their military affairs, and the general ignorance and falsification of what little is known at the North, it is impossible to conjecture what amount of force General Lee detached to the support of Bragg in Tennessee, and to what extent his army has been recruited. When the Federals desire to account for Meade's enforced retreat, they show Lee to have nearly a hundred thousand men; when they want to prove that the "rebellion" is nearly crushed, and the Confederate Government incapable of raising any more armies with which to resist the "victorious" troops of the Union, they tell you just as positively that it is not possible that Lee can have 50,000, "and may not have more than 30,000 men." The truth is, they know nothing of the strength or resources of the Confederacy, or of General Lee's numbers or plans.

It is evident, from the new call for 300,000 more men just issued, that they have little confidence in their own gasconading declarations that the rebellion is practically crushed and the spirit of the rebels broken. With a million of men on the pay roll, an impending conscription of one in five of the whole military population of the country, the Government demands 300,000 more, as volunteers, but with the alternative, that unless the volunteers are obtained before January, a new conscription shall be had for the deficiency.

"Military necessity" has been the apology for a great many extraordinary acts by this Administration. The hardest necessity they have yet confessed, is the need of 300,000 more men, and the threat of a second conscription, towards the close of the third year of a war to suppress a little insurrection, which is holding the two finest armies of the Union behind entrenchments, one at Washington and the other at Chattanooga, both sending out convincing assurances that they cannot be captured!

The position at Chattanooga is not altered. There is no evidence that any large bodies of the troops sent to reinforce Rosecrans have yet reached him, and there is evidence that the Confederates are harassing his rear, and occasionally cutting off his supplies. The movements in East Tennessee are hard to be comprehended at this distance. We can only gather here that Rosecrans is sadly straitened, and wonder why the decisive action, which both parties appear to think inevitable, has not been brought on. I continue to think that all the Confederate movements are directed to the making of East Tennessee the battle ground for the next great struggle, and that Lee will permit no great battle to be fought in Virginia this winter. If he does, it will be because he has found the opportunity for striking a blow near Washington. There is a rumour in town that Rosecrans has been removed from the command; no successor named.

\* Our Old Home. By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "Transformation," "The Scarlet Letter," &c. &c. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.



The Texas expedition is getting on slowly towards the Sabine, without having, as yet, met with any check or obstruction from the Confederates. Nevertheless the tone of the Texans is confident.

The elections in the Middle and Western States ended as I wrote to you in advance that they probably would end. The Radicals carried them all—Ohio by a very large majority, Pennsylvania by a decided one; somewhere near 15,000, on a poll of more than 400,000 votes. In all the elections held, the Radical war party gains votes over last year's elections. Vallandigham in Ohio, a peace man, who is for stopping the war, and endeavouring peacefully to reconstruct the Union by consent, got about 200,000 votes for Governor; but Brough, who is for war to the utter extinguishment of all armed resistance before he will consent to treat of terms with "traitors," received in all ways, in the State and in the camps, nearly 300,000 votes. This, too, notwithstanding the issue was distinctly made on the questions of the arbitrary and cruel arrest of Mr. Vallandigham by President Lincoln for a political speech, and the sending him into banishment without colour of law. A majority of 100,000 in Ohio have by this vote said that they would support and submit to every degree of unconstitutional and arbitrary power in the Executive Department at Washington, rather than listen to a proposition for a suspension of arms, until the Southern States are scourged into unlimited submission. In Pennsylvania, Judge Woodward, the candidate of the opposition, the Conservative Democracy, as it delights to be called, represented the prevailing Democratic idea that the war is to be prosecuted in all contingencies, until the South is subjugated into submissiveness. He is a War Democrat, one of those who charge the Administration with unspeakable crimes against the South, and with meditating, and having partly accomplished, by their management of the war and the war powers, the overthrow of constitutional liberty at the North and a disastrous change in the form and functions of Government; but who, nevertheless, support the war, with the protest that they would prefer it to be conducted constitutionally, and for constitutional objects, and by lawful, constitutional, and Christian means; but as the Administration will make war in their own bad way only, they will support it, rather than that the South should escape the extermination they describe as its doom, at the expense of any loss of power or territory or dominion to the North. With all these concessions to the Radicals, Judge Woodward was defeated in Pennsylvania; the majority was small, compared with that which rejected the peace candidate in Ohio. Between a War Democracy of that sort and the Radicalism of the Administrative war party, there is so little for choice to a friend of the South or to a real lover of the principles of constitutional liberty and the old theories of self-government in the American republic, that it is of small importance which wins in an election. In Ohio it is tolerably certain that a very large part of the two hundred thousand who voted for Vallandigham really desire peace without conditions; except that they would be glad to give liberal terms for a reconstruction of the Union. This is something, though not much, in the face of the vast majority, which declared for war to unconditional subjugation. In Pennsylvania, it is only decided, that the party which is for war, in the whole Administration sense, without conditions, phrase or reservation, is stronger than the party which is for war, with an if and a though.

The moral of these elections is, that there is no peace party at the North, and that there is no real constitutional party at the North. The passion for dominion and plunder has engrossed the thoughts of the great majority of both parties. They do anything, and submit to anything, and sacrifice everything, rather than consent to surrender their hold upon the territory, whose six or seven millions of inhabitants desire to be emancipated from their control and to govern themselves.

The New York elections will follow in November—a few days hence. There is no reason to expect a different result from that in Pennsylvania, and little cause for any friend of the South to desire it. The Democracy, as they call themselves, are for war and blood as stubbornly as Mr. Lincoln and his partisans are. Indeed, their organs watch the opposite faction keenly, to find some expressions which can be construed into a willingness to make peace on terms short of Southern independence, and denounce it as a disloyalty which no Democrat will countenance. On a canvass so conducted no friend of the South can look with any sympathy. It does not content him that either of the sides, both of which are its enemies, should succeed over the other. The bases on which these election contests are fought, and the modes in which the canvass is carried on, serve to confirm the deliberate judgment of the people of the South that there is no party here fit to be trusted as their friends under any circumstances, and that reunion, under the ascendancy of either or any of the parties would be unmitigated slavery and total destruction.

The next demonstration of Democratic devotion to the war on the South will be in the effort to get the 300,000 men which the President's new proclamation calls for.

The conscription ordered in July has failed to get over 35,000 or 40,000 men, when 300,000 were counted on. The Western States were, however, exempted from the operation of the draft for various reasons alleged; but the principal and real reason was undoubtedly partly a desire to avoid the reaction against the Administration if the law were sternly enforced where men have more independent ways and are less within the control of the military power than the helpless crowds who were placed within the range of Federal guns in the City of New York. Where the draft was enforced, the exemption boards discharged so many that the drafting produced few men and comparatively little money. The exemption fees, instead of \$25,000,000 produced somewhere, as estimated, about \$9,000,000.

Still the men must be had; and while the people go to the polls and vote clamorously that the war shall be prosecuted, very few consent to do the fighting themselves. When Mr. Lincoln ordered the late draft, the Democrats opposed and denounced it, and denied that it was made necessary, as the Administration claimed, by the unwillingness of the people to volunteer. They asserted that if they were permitted to appeal to the people, sufficient inducements would be found to obtain all the needed troops without compulsion. The Administration, in the new draft, apparently, but not really, abandoned its own plan and adopted theirs. It calls for the 300,000 volunteers, and appeals to the governors of the States to bring them out within two months. At the same time it gives notice that if the troops be not forthcoming before the 1st of January, the drafting will be resorted to, as before, to make up the deficiency. It is a very adroit political movement. It imposes on the opponents of the Government policy the task of carrying out their own policy at their own expense. If they fail—as they must fail, for a want of cordial aid by the Government would defeat the best-laid plans—the Administration will come in with its own substitute, and hold the conscription as a necessity, demonstrated by its adversaries to be

unavoidable. The movement has thrown the War Democracy into great perplexity, and really it does greater credit to the party strategy of the Cabinet than their field operations do to their strategy in war.

The pro-Russian *furor* is settling down into a chronic mania, of which the most marked symptom is animosity towards England and France, for having done that which the Czar did not do—granting belligerent rights to the Southern Confederacy. The municipal banquet given by the corporate authorities yesterday to the Russian Admiral and his officers teemed with proofs of this. The adulation of Russia as the greatest and most magnanimous of modern nations, and of the Emperor of Russia as the most beneficent of monarchs, and the wisest of statesmen, was measured and balanced by angry denunciations and loud threats of the punishment which the united arms of Russia and America are to bring upon those two Powers of Western Europe, which have stood between Russia and Poland in Europe, and refused to pander to Northern lust for power in America against the struggles of the South for political independence. The British and French Ministers and officials were fortunately, or wisely, absent, when a banquet, given in the name of the city, was made the occasion for pouring out taunts and threats against their several nationalities; but it is not very creditable to the sense of propriety of the Russian officers, that they sat silently and listened complacently to such indecent philippics. From the position they hold, the public character in which they were entertained, and the official character of their hosts and many of the guests about them, the exhibition has greater significance than any mere popular manifestation of national prejudices could possibly have had.

The resentment against England has not been much mollified, in the highest official quarters, even by Earl Russell's Blairgowrie speech, in which he took so much pains to soothe the American restiveness under the operation of the British neutrality laws, and made haste to promise that to avoid difficulties with this country, he would propose to Parliament to assume statute obligations favourable to the North, which the law of nations and the existing law of England do not impose. The speech of Mr. Chase, the Cabinet Minister of the Treasury, made at Cincinnati on Monday of last week, just before the other election, shows in what spirit the master mind of the Administration and of the dominant party in this country receives this truckling of England to the powerful at the expense of the weak. It was Earl Russell's reasoning, that peace is the first interest of England. The Confederates, however wronged, could not make war; but the Northern Government is powerful at sea, and it might, even when it is in the wrong. Therefore, reasons Earl Russell, by his acts, special legislation should be interposed to remove every doubt and create new rights, in favour of the party which is strong enough to resent—and against its rivals; because being weak, the interests of peace will be preserved by making the oppression fall upon them. This is not my version, only, of Earl Russell's policy, as defined by himself; it is the interpretation by Mr. Chase of the motives by which the English Cabinet is directed; and he has no reserve in stating it broadly to the people of Ohio. The following passage is a key to his opinions of the ruling principle of action in England, towards the United States: "I hate, which would destroy this Government, if it could, and fear of its power as the only restraint upon its enmity. 'You know what has been done in England; you know that a great deal of sympathy has been manufactured for the South; but just in proportion as we advance, partly through the proclamation and partly through the success of our armies, the sympathy has become less and less available, and just in proportion as we carry this war on will they think less and less of interference with us. I am asked now and then what I think of intervention, and while I am here among my old friends in Ohio I can tell you what I think myself. It is this: if we are weak they will interfere; but when despotism sees we are strong it will sink away. (Cheers.) I think we have demonstrated some strength in the field. What nation before ever maintained such armies in the field and was so lavish of its strength? We are showing our strength to the nations of the earth; and I think if we simply go on thus showing our strength there is no danger of intervention. No danger, because it won't pay. (Cheers.) It is true that Great Britain has behaved a very unneighbourly part towards us. We used to think that this great Anglo-Saxon family was to stand together the world over on Anglo-Saxon principles; such as the freedom of the press, the freedom of the ballot, free thought, free speech, and freedom for all men. But of late years we have seen manifestations of an unkind and unfriendly spirit, and sometimes I have felt as if I should like to take old Mother England by the hair and give her a good shaking. (Great applause.) I am not sure that this would be the wisest plan; but of one thing I feel well assured—that England won't send any more piratical ships to prey upon our commerce. And of another thing I feel certain: that when England looks this matter over calmly, and considers that a certain ship, the Alabama, was fitted out in a British port, manned by British sailors, and armed by British guns, and has since been roving over the seas, plundering American vessels, without daring to bring a single prize into port, she will conclude upon the whole that it is best to pay American merchants for all the damage the Alabama has done." (Great cheers.)

These are not very courteous phrases for a Cabinet Minister here to throw back into the teeth of your Foreign Secretary, in reply to gentle expostulations about American unreasonableness and copious promises of more decided friendship hereafter. It is a very Western brusquerie to tell Earl Russell that his courtesy is begotten by his fears, and that England slinks away from the side of the South simply and only because she sees how capable the North is of punishing her interference. There is a good deal of Western stump-oratory in the gasconade about the freedom of the press, the freedom of the ballot, free speech, free thought, and freedom for all men, as the peculiar law of a republic which is engaged in stamping them all out for six or seven millions of men born free; but this was in Ohio, where an election was coming on, and the old cant phrases were still powerful to extort the applauses of the crowd. But it is worth noting, that this leading member of the Federal Administration thought it needed, in order to please the Ohio populace, to talk of the English people in the language of ribaldry, and more so, that he should give out there an intimation that it is part of the policy of the Government he belongs to not to be content with the coerced friendship of the British Cabinet in their dealings with the United States hereafter, but to look for and require indemnity for the past. Mr. Chase looks to Great Britain to pay for all the damages which the Confederate privateers have done to American commerce. Will Earl Russell, in order to keep on terms of peace with this dangerous Government, apply to Parliament for authority to settle and pay that little bill?

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 3.

I HAVE described to you the uncertainty which marks the present phase of French politics and the daily-varying conjectures which diplomatic mystery gives rise to. While other newspapers have ventured upon foreshadowing, each of course in its own sense, the gist of the Imperial speech, the *Pays* more boldly comes forward to deny altogether that there is any need of such ill-directed ingenuity. Only those who have not watched the Imperial career, or who have done so with little profit, can be so blind as to suppose that some great revelation may be looked for in the speech. The Emperor, as it says, does not confine his public speech to the annual meeting of the legislative bodies. He is always thinking for France, and always speaking, for his acts speak for themselves. It is satisfactory to know, on official or semi-official authority, that the popular ideas of the Emperor's systematic love of silent mystery are false, and that he who runs may read his intentions, but with the knowledge that before this is in print you will have the text of the speech, I shall not risk writing myself down an ass by anticipations on the subject.

The Empress's tour in Spain was not only a triumph, but, what triumphs rarely are, a most enjoyable holiday. A part of the time at least she was free of all the restraints of state, and returned to that private life which sovereigns are apt to long for. She even managed to come in for a little of the roughing, which is the real zest of a "play." At San Lucar, where she went for a single day's hunting, as the guest of the Duke of Ferdinand, being tempted to prolong the diversion, the whole party was put up in a hunting lodge of only seven rooms, sleeping accommodation being obtained only by a general contribution of mattresses and straw beds from the neighbourhood. Fortunately, in the absence of a change of linen, there was a laundress in the suite, thanks to whom her Majesty was not reduced to wearing the Isabella colours. The evenings were spent in front of the lodge, where a huge bonfire was kindled, in the light of which the dances of the south were performed to accompaniment of guitar and castanets. There is a geniality in the Empress's character, of which such little traits are specimens, which is most attractive to all who have the honour of approaching her.

Much speculation has been excited by a paragraph copied into the *Moniteur* of Saturday from the *Daily News*, to the effect that the building of ships for the Confederates had been forbidden in France. The expression used, namely, that the permission had been withdrawn, renders the story suspicious, as one can hardly suppose that the previous permission of Government would be asked. What is much more authentic, is the order given to the Captain of the *Kearsage*, in the port of Brest, to put out the fires, which he had kept alight for the purpose of giving the *Florida* chase whenever she should sail. The papers have of late contained only insignificant allusions to the American war, but the public in general is rapidly arriving at a just appreciation of the merits of the case. The ignorance which prevails here on the affairs of all foreign countries, the obloquy attaching to the word "slavery," while its real significance is unknown, had done much to warp French judgment. The gallantry of the Southern armies, and the sufferings which the civil war is occasioning among the manufacturing classes here, combine at length to change the general feeling. Any step taken in favour of the South would now be received with universal approbation. Some of the papers regard Marshal Forey's return by way of New York as symptomatic of another attempt to stop the present effusion of blood; but as the last was so ill-received, it is more likely that the Marshal, in calling at New York, has only taken the most convenient route home from Mexico. He has certainly not gone to enjoy the civic hospitalities.

Having little to boast of the feats of French diplomacy in these last weeks, the press has made itself merry with the defeats of Lord Russell. The Hudson correspondence was simply a scandal, as at present interpreted, which might arise with any minister who has Scotch brothers-in-law to provide for; but the telegraphic interception of the "prave words" which he had addressed to Russia, at first discredited and now so nearly proved that it is everywhere believed, have given a text for commentaries in every paper. Some of them see in the whole conduct of the question a studied attempt to urge France into a war with Russia, from which England would have kept aloof; while others, who do not give the English Secretary credit for the talent such a plot would have required, content themselves with pointing out how our country has sunk in European influence since her foreign policy has become so wavering that only the telegraph is rapid enough to register its changes.

It is this evening announced that, although the yellow-book will not be distributed until after the verification of the return as a *résumé* of its contents will be distributed the day after the opening. M. Foul's report is also to be held back till the discussion of the budget comes on, and the necessity for this is probably the reason that the other is delayed.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.—November 3

1863. Dr. James Hunt, F.S.A., President, in the chair—five new members were elected. A paper was read by C. Carter Blake, Esq., F.G.S., on the "Anthropological Papers read at the British Association at Newcastle," and another by Prof. John Marshall, F.R.S., on the "Superficial Convulsions of a Microcephalic Brain," which had been already described before the society by R. S. Gore, Esq., of Bath. Mr. George E. Roberts, F.A.S.L., read a paper by himself; and Prof. Bask, F.R.S., on the "Opening of a Cist of the Stone Age on the Moray Frith," in which some remarkable human remains, obtained by the former gentleman, were described. The last paper of the evening was by Captain Eustace W. Jacob, on "The Indian Tribes of Vancouver's Island." The society adjourned till the 17th instant, when Dr. James Hunt will read a paper on "The Negro; his Place in Nature."

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOV. 4.

## MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

The warnings given of the uncertainty of speculation have at last been realised. The Bank directors suddenly placed the rate of discount at 5 per cent. on Monday, and the consequence has been a rapid fall in prices, with general tightness in the money and discount markets. Notwithstanding the large imports of American gold, and the fair supply of Australian, the financial position of France is so critical, and the efflux of coin to the East Indies and Egypt for the payment



of cotton so extensive, that no balance has been left to increase the resources of the national establishment. In this state of things, with rates rising on the Continent, there was no other recourse, and while it has nipped unnecessary speculation in the bud, the variation will rectify the course of the exchanges. The fall in securities and new shares was to be expected from the late excess of gambling, and if it should be necessary for the Bank further to apply the "screw," the consequences may prove extremely disastrous. Five per cent. is the lowest charge now for first-class commercial paper; 4 months bills being 5½ to 3, and 6 months 5½ to 6. The French loan of £16,000,000, if introduced, would further affect the future prospects of the money market.

#### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The bullion movements at the Bank have, within the last few days, undergone a complete change. During the last week there has not been a fraction of gold sent in, whilst, on the other hand, there have been daily withdrawals for transmission to the Continent, the total, down to this evening, being £391,000.

The arrivals of specie this week have been large, amounting to £698,356, but of this only £94,740 is from New York, the remainder being from the West Indies, Port Phillip, and the Brazils. The India and China mail steamer Poonah takes out specie to the amount of £167,239, of which £148,060 in gold is for Alexandria and Suez, £600 in gold for Madras, and the residue of £1,620 in gold, and £16,959 in silver for China and the Straits. The silver market is very active; bar is in good demand, and the price has improved to 5s. 1½d.; the Mexican dollars brought by the last mail have been sold to-day at 5s. 3½d., being an advance of ½d. on previous sales. The only gold ship at present known to be on its way from Australia is the True Briton, with £138,000 in gold.

#### ENGLISH AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

A very steady business was transacted in the early part of the week in the English Funded Securities, but without any alteration in the prices which had prevailed for some days previous. But, on Monday, as soon as it became known that an advance had been made in the Bank rate, the dealings became more animated, but prices declined, and have continued to do so down to the termination of business this evening. The closing quotations of Consols were 92½ to 3, for money, and the same for the account, which, as compared with this day week, is a fall of ½ per cent. Exchequer Bills, from 1s. dis. to 2s. premium, have declined to 4s. dis. to par. There has been a brisk business transacted in Foreign Stocks, but chiefly in Greek and Mexican, though the variations had not been very great—Greek having oscillated between 31 and 28; and Mexican, between 42 and 39½. The latest official quotations were, Greek, 28 to 28½. Mexican, 39½ to 39½. Spanish Passives, 34 to 34½. Do. Certificates, 12½ to 12½. Turkish Six per Cents. (1854), 92 to 93. Do. do. (1862), 70½ to 71.

#### BIDDINGS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 40,000,000 rupees in bills on India, took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were, to Calcutta 22,000,000 rupees, to Bombay 16,000,000 rupees, and to Madras 2,000,000 rupees. The minimum price declared was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits amounted to 283 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 90 per cent.; on Bombay at 2s. 0½d. about 28 per cent., and on Madras at 1s. 11½d. all.

#### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The business transacted in American Government and Railway Securities has been on an exceedingly limited scale; in fact, there is scarcely anything whatever doing. Prices have nearly all a downward tendency. The dealings comprise Maryland Five per Cents, 76 and 75½; United States Five per Cents, 61; Atlantic and Great Western, New York section, 76½; Do. do. Pennsylvania ditto, 76, 75½, 76, 76½, and 76; Erie \$100 shares, all paid, 67½; Do. Third Mortgage, 70; and Panama Railway, Second Mortgage, 104½.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Business in the English Railway Share Market has been particularly brisk, and in the early part of the week prices had considerably improved, but after the alteration in the Bank rate, with the decline in consols, railway securities immediately declined to a much greater extent than had been previously regained. As compared with this day week, there has been a decline of 1½ per cent. in South Eastern; of 1 per cent. in Bristol and Exeter, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Great Northern, London, and North Western, North British and North Staffordshire, and of ½ per cent. in Caledonian, Great Eastern, East Anglian, Lancashire and Yorkshire, Chatham and Dover, London and South Western, Sheffield, Metropolitan and Midland. On the other hand, there has been a rise of 1 per cent. in North Eastern (Berwick), and of ½ per cent. in do. (Leeds), and do. (York). In foreign railway shares, business has been more quiet, but the fall in prices has not been quite so great as in other descriptions. In the shares of British Possessions the dealings have been more numerous, and for the majority, fair prices have been obtained.

#### BANK MEETINGS.

At an extraordinary general meeting of the London, Buenos Ayres, and River Plata Bank, the resolutions passed by the directors on the 13th ultimo, in favour of increasing the capital from £500,000 to £1,000,000 sterling by the creation of 20,000 new shares of £25 each, to be offered at a premium of 30s. each to the holders of existing shares, were confirmed. The chairman stated that having carefully examined the accounts up to the 31st August, he had every reason to believe that a satisfactory dividend will be paid in due course. Increased capital was necessary on account of the extension of business. So far, he had not been able to trace a single bad debt.—At the first annual meeting of the London and Colonial Bank the report, which was of a satisfactory character, was adopted. It stated that the short time which had elapsed since the bank commenced business enabled the directors to look forward to a permanent and solid success.—At a meeting of the Standard Bank of British South Africa a resolution, passed by the proprietors at an extraordinary meeting on the 28th September, relative to the alteration in the articles of the association, was confirmed.

#### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The market for this security has been very steady all the week, and only limited business doing. In spite of the heavy fall in most of the speculative stocks this maintains its value, and closed to-day, with a good tone, at 65 to 66.

#### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the shareholders in the Great Central Gas Consumer's Company, Mr. Alderman Dakin in the chair, the report of the directors was adopted, and a dividend of 5 per cent. for the half-year, and 1 per cent. on account of arrears of dividends from 1857, declared.—At an

adjourned general meeting of the proprietors of the Great Ship Company, on Tuesday, a rather lengthened report, with reference to the employment of the vessel on long voyages was read and adopted, and resolutions passed reducing the qualification for directors from 1,000 to 500 shares, and recommending that Mr. Hawes, Mr. Frowse, and Colonel Brownrigg should act as directors.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

Several very large and important Joint Stock undertakings have been brought forward this week. The first in point of magnitude is the English and Swedish Bank, which is introduced under the auspices of the London Financial Association. The object of the undertaking is to afford increased banking facilities in Sweden, where banking accommodation has not kept pace with the increase of trade. It is also intended to embark in the large financial transactions between Sweden and England. The capital is £2,000,000, in 40,000 shares of £50 each, but the first issue is to be limited to 20,000.—The National Steam Navigation Company, Limited, is another large undertaking, for which a capital of £2,000,000 is also required, in 20,000 shares of £100. This important project has been chiefly fostered through the circumstance of a long list of London mercantile firms of the highest standing having affixed their signatures to a paper affirming that "a great and urgent necessity exists for the establishment of a line of screw steamers between the two ports, in consequence of the large and increasing trade between New York and London, and vice versa," and promising to the undertaking their warmest support. According to the prospectus, the first object of the Company will be to place on the New York station a fleet of screw steamers from Liverpool and London, of large size and great capacity, which will be able to carry almost if not quite as cheap as sailing vessels, while at the same time, from the regularity of their passage, they will command a full share of the steam trade; and the directors also intend sending steamers to the American cotton ports when the war is brought to an end and the trade re-opened. They have also under consideration the wants of the Brazil and other trades.—The prospectus has been issued of the City and County Assurance Company, with a capital of £500,000, in 25,000 shares of £20 each. The chief objects of the Company are to meet an increasing necessity for fire-insurance companies, to be conducted under a less arbitrary system of business than that adopted by most of those at present established, and to transact life assurance business upon the most improved principles, consistent with sound and profitable.—The Merchant Banking Company of London, Limited, is another of the levithian undertakings which is seeking a capital of £2,000,000 sterling, 20,000 shares of £100 each, but the first issue will be limited to 10,000 shares. The class of business proposed to be carried on, is briefly described as that of "merchant bankers," a business which has long been conducted with success by many mercantile firms. The Company, it is explained, "will grant negotiable or other credits, by and upon their foreign agents, to importers of produce in this country, on the continent of Europe, and in America." They will also make advances on the manufactures of this country under documentary bills or consigned to their agents abroad, for such periods as may be necessary to realise the sale of such goods. Deposits at interest will be received by the Company in London, and employed through their agents abroad, the intention being at the same time to avoid costly foreign establishments.—The Australian Mortgage, Land and Finance Company, Limited, is introduced under most influential auspices, and will rank amongst the best of the mortgage, land and finance undertakings, in consequence of the experience, which will be brought to bear in connection with its management. It is explained that the object of this Company is to afford a safe medium for the investment of capital on mortgage in the Australian colonies, including New Zealand. It is proposed, in fact, to carry out in that extensive field the *Crédit Foncier* principle, already so successfully developed in many parts of Europe. Capital is to be borrowed in England by the issue of debentures, and employed at higher rates in the colonies. The Company will also act as agents for negotiating government, municipal, or other loans, in the colonies, for the collection of debts and the management of estates. The capital is £1,000,000, in 20,000 shares of £50 each. But the first issue will be for £500,000 only.—The London and Caledonian Marine Insurance Company, Limited, seeks a capital of £500,000, (with power to increase to £1,000,000) in 20,000 shares of £25 each, the deposit being £1 per share on application, and £2 on allotment. The Company, it is said, is formed to supply the want of a new Marine Insurance Company for Scotland, where a number of the first firms have already promised their support to the undertaking. It is intended that the head office shall be in London, with offices at Glasgow, Greenock, Dundee, and other Scotch towns, as well as at Manchester, where also support has been secured.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In American produce, transactions since our last have been upon a diminished scale, owing principally to the increased caution usually observed, under the circumstance of an advance in discounts. The markets, nevertheless, maintain a healthy position, and prices almost without exception continue to be well upheld. The most perceptible change has, perhaps, been in cotton, but even here the reaction has scarcely exceeded ½ per lb. The grain trade is still inactive. In what is passing, however, late rates are paid. The provision market is, at the moment, rather unsettled. American cheese sells readily at 98s. to 100s. for fine, whilst bacon is difficult to move off at 2s. per cwt. decline. In lard the variations have not been important; but purchases are confined to the mere provision for immediate requirements. For petroleum the market has again proved very uneven. Shortly after our last issue, the demand increased, and at 2s. 1d. per gallon for refined Pennsylvania a good deal was done. Subsequently the tone became heavy, and 1s. 11d. and 2s. must now be quoted for all this year's delivery. The clearances of this article continue very satisfactory, and present low prices evidently are stimulating consumption very materially. Crude has not been largely dealt in, and may be purchased upon easier terms. The depression in turpentine is unrelieved, a further reduction of 2s. cwt. per having taken place. French new oils at 68s. to 69s. 6d., and American is nominally quoted 85s. per cwt. Rosin keeps very firm, American more especially so. In the oil trade but little change has occurred. Linsed is a point lower, whilst sperm is nearly stationary. Oil-cake sells steadily. Tallow, since the advance in the Bank rate, has been rather pressed for sale, recent heavy arrivals having helped the movement. Another 6d. per cwt. must consequently be taken off our reduced quotation of the previous week. Neither dearer money nor the pause in the cotton market has had effect upon jute, in which the dealings have greatly extended, whilst prices have further risen fully

30s. per ton for the better qualities, which now range up to £33 15s. Russian hemp maintains a firm position, but is inactive, whilst Manila is 20s. to 30s. per ton dearer; good roving £31 per ton. The sugar speculation has made further progress, quotations being again 1s. per cwt. higher, although business is quiet at the close. The late advance in cochineal is well supported. Manufactured iron is active, and Scotch pig maintains its previous value. In drugs and drysaltery articles a steady business is passing, without quotable change in prices.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	1863.				1862.			
	£	s.	d.	q.	£	s.	d.	q.
COTTON, per lb.—								
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0	1	11½	0	0	1	8	0
CHIMICALS—								
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0	1	5½	0	0	1	7½	0
Arsenic, white, lb.	0	16	6	0	0	17	0	18
Iodine, oz.	0	0	4½	0	0	0	5½	0
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0	0	8½	0	0	0	7½	0
Hydriodate, lb.	0	0	4½	0	0	0	5½	0
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0	0	6	0	0	7	3	0
DRUGS—								
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1	10	0	2	1	0	0	2
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0	0	11	0	0	1	3	0
" Peru, lb.	0	4	9	0	0	5	0	5
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0	7	0	0	0	8	0	10
" Quinine, lb.	0	3	0	0	0	3	9	0
Castor Oil, lb.	0	0	4½	0	0	0	6½	0
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5	0	0	5	5	12	0	5
" Brown, cwt.	4	5	0	15	5	0	5	10
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0	9	0	15	0	8	0	15
" Lemon-grass, oz.	0	0	8	0	0	5½	0	6½
" Orange, lb.	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	6
" Citronelle, oz.	0	0	5	0	0	5½	0	5
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0	18	6	0	0	19	0	0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0	0	2	0	0	2½	0	0
" Alexandria, lb.	0	0	3½	0	0	4	0	0
Shikaroot, lb.	0	3	0	0	0	2	3	0
Spermace, lb.	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
DYES, cwt.—								
Safflower	4	5	0	7	3	10	0	7
Turmeric, Bengal	1	12	0	1	1	3	0	1
" Madras	1	14	0	1	0	14	0	15
Yellow Berries	1	19	0	4	5	0	10	0
GUMS, cwt.—								
Anini, medium	7	10	0	9	0	8	10	0
Gedda	1	13	0	1	15	0	1	7
Kovrie	2	5	0	2	12	0	1	6
METALS, per ton—								
Copper, American	3	1	3	0	2	16	6	0
Iron, Scotch, Pig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
" The English	115	0	0	0	119	0	0	0
OILS, per ton—								
Sperm, American	79	0	0	80	0	84	0	0
Linsed	42	10	0	0	42	0	0	0
Rock Oil, Crude	18	10	0	0	14	0	0	0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—								
Butter, American, fine	4	10	0	5	0	3	14	0
Cheese, do., fine	2	6	0	2	18	0	2	12
Bacon Sides	1	9	0	2	6	0	1	18
TALLOW, per cwt.—								
North American	2	1	0	2	3	6	0	0
South do.	2	1	6	2	3	6	2	7
Wax do.	8	10	0	8	15	0	8	10
TORACCO, lb.—								
Maryland	0	0	5½	0	0	0	4½	0
Virginia	0	0	10	0	1	0	5½	0
Kentucky	0	0	6½	0	1	7	0	4½

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Nov. 4.

The Cotton Market in the early part of the week was exceedingly buoyant, the demand both by the trade and by speculators was very active, and the market was further stimulated by improved advices from the East Indies, and prices advanced from ¼d. to ¾d. per lb.; but subsequently holders have shown less firmness, and the advances have not been maintained, and to-day there has been an additional decline of about ¼d. to 1d. per lb. The sales this week have been 35,000 bales, of which 15,500 bales have been taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 2,273,470 bales; to the same period last year, 2,355,690 bales. Imported this year, 1,318,614 bales; to the same period in 1862, 1,032,890 bales. Exported this year, 398,164 bales; to the same period last year, 371,487 bales. Present computed stocks, 163,550; at the same time last year, 313,090 bales. Taken for consumption this year, 1,146,300 bales; same period in 1862, 987,200. Taken on speculation this year, 631,400 bales; to the same period last year, 943,870 bales. The latest official quotations are Middling Orleans, 29d. Mobile, 28½d. to 29d. Upland, 29d. Estimated fine Egyptian, 29½d. Surat, 17½d. to 28d.

MANCHESTER, November, 3.

From the date of our last report up to Saturday last, our market maintained a firm position, and a good steady business was done from day to day, both in yarn and cloth, at extreme rates.

On Monday, the directors of the Bank of England, having unexpectedly advanced the rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent., caused merchants to pause from placing further contracts at present, and to await the further development of affairs weighing on the money market just now.

Some few of our merchants are under the impression that we shall see a further advance this week of one per cent. in the rate of discount, and that the result of this will be a great shock to the speculative excitement which has prevailed in our Liverpool cotton market for some time past, and consequently, a rapid decline in the value of the raw material.

To-day, Tuesday, our market has been very flat, very little business having been transacted. Home trade yarns have suffered a decline of fully ¼d. per lb., and other kinds, although not so depressed, are almost as much neglected.

Manufacturers being well under contract for some time to come, will not feel this depression, even if it should continue, until a little before the time arrives for the execution of their orders now in hand.

#### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of October 29—are

- NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.
- LETTER FROM NEW YORK.
- LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.
- PARIS TOPICS.
- THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCAHIRE.
- VIRGINIA AND TENNESSEE.
- STATE ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH.
- THE MERSET STEAM-SHIPS.
- A GERMAN PROFESSOR ON THE AMERICAN QUARREL.
- THE COTTON TRADE.
- THE "QUARTERLIES" FOR OCTOBER.
- COLONEL LAMAR AND THE SLAVE TRADE.
- LETTER OF THE HON. W. C. RIVERS.
- AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and encouraged by the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been any understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, —and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a large degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice, her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most friendly relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country enable men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.

Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, E.C. Meetings every Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place.

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathise with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

Contributions will be received by J. H. ASHBRIDGE, Treasurer, Walmer Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool; or in London, by HENRY HOTZE, Esq., 17, Savile Row, W.; in Paris, by H. O. BREWER, Esq., 6 Rue Circulaire; and DANIEL HUBBARD, Esq., 24, Rue Lord Byron.

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Holders of Paid-up Scrip of this Loan are hereby informed, that the BONDS will be READY for DELIVERY, in Exchange for Scrip, on and after MONDAY, the 24th August, between the hours of eleven and two o'clock. The Scrip must be left two clear days for examination.

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Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence

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The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COURTIS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 81.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE PREMIER ON THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.  
THE WAR IN TENNESSEE.  
THE IMPERIAL SPEECH.  
A SOLDIER'S STORY.  
GENERAL SAM HOUSTON, OF TEXAS.  
PRESIDENT DAVIS'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.  
THE N. Y. WORLD ON THE DURATION OF THE WAR.  
AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE war intelligence of the week reminds us of the Irishman's *stone soup*, which was nothing without the water, and the meat, the vegetables, and the condiments. Take away from the New York telegrams all the surmises and contradictions, and all that was known before, and all that is known to be false, and of war news there remains almost *nil*. The reported success of Hooker at Chattanooga, even if true, does not amount to much. The Federal army is still shut up and suffering from short supplies; the troops being on half rations, and the horses dying of hunger. In Virginia, nothing is reported since the advance of the Confederates on the 24th Oct., when the Federal cavalry was beaten with heavy loss and driven back on Bealton, and from Bealton to Liberty. Gilmore has thrown a few more Greek-fire shells into Charleston, and bombarded Fort Sumter without effect. General Bragg officially reports that on the 20th October his cavalry defeated the Federal cavalry at Philadelphia, Tennessee, capturing 700 prisoners, fifty waggons, ten ambulances, six pieces of artillery, and a large number of horses and mules. It is asserted by the Federals that on the 25th they recaptured the waggons. General Banks has returned to New Orleans. Such is the sum total of the war intelligence we have to record, except one item, which we will give in the words of the telegram, lest we should fail to do justice to it:—"Deserters from the Confederate camp bring reports of a fight between a brigade of Tennesseans and the main force of Bragg's troops. It seems that the Tennesseans wished to desert to the Federals, and had to be prevented by main force. These reports are, to say the least, greatly exaggerated, and it is doubtful whether they have any foundation whatever." According to the Federals the Confederate soldiers are few in number, unclad, half-starving, beaten on every field, and now, we are told, are in open mutiny. What a wonderful thing it is that under such circumstances the magnificent Northern armies have not long ago annihilated their enemy!

We elsewhere publish an address of President Davis to the Army of Tennessee. We learn from it that the Northern assertions of the immense superiority of General Bragg's army, said to be obtained at the cost of depleting all the other armies in the Confederacy, are the reverse of the truth. President Davis says, "When your countrymen shall more fully learn the adverse circumstances under which you attacked the enemy, though they cannot be more thankful, they may admire more the gallantry and patriotic devotion which secured your success." In the hour of defeat, President Lincoln and his subordinates told the Northern people that their task was nearly completed; in the hour of

triumph, President Davis tells the Southern soldiers that "very much remains to be done."

In a recent report Mr. Memminger observes that the precious metals have become in the Confederate States, owing to the blockade, simply articles of merchandise, and that the price of gold in relation to the currency is merely nominal. The North has all along had the means of selling its produce to foreign nations, and so the price of gold—that is, the currency price—has been comparatively moderate. When the Southern ports are open and Southern produce can be sent to European markets, it is evident that the price of gold in the South will quickly fall, not to par, but to a premium that is equivalent to the then inflation of the currency. Of the truth of Mr. Memminger's assertion that the precious metals are now merely articles of merchandise, of which the price is enhanced by the supply being cut off by the blockade, we have a proof in the fact that in Richmond gold is 25 per cent. dearer than silver. That is, gold is quoted at \$11 50 cents., and silver at \$9 50 cents.

A very important judgment has been delivered in the New York Supreme Court in reference to the Indemnity Bill passed in the last Session of the Federal Congress. The Honourable G. W. Jones, of Iowa, on his return from Bogota, where he occupied the position of United States Minister, was arrested at Washington and confined in Fort Lafayette, by order of Mr. Seward. Mr. Jones brought an action for false imprisonment against the Federal Secretary, and the latter moved for the transfer of the case from the State Court to the United States Courts. Mr. Seward based his application on the 5th Section of the Indemnity Bill, which provides that if any suit has been or shall be commenced against any officer, civil or military, or any other person, for any arrest, imprisonment, trespass or wrong done, or any act omitted to be done, during the present contest, "by virtue or under colour of any authority derived from or exercised by or under the President of the United States or any act of Congress," the defendant may remove such action into the Circuit Court of the United States for the district where the suit is brought, on complying with certain requirements stated in the Act. Justice Clerke, before whom the motion was argued, delivered a judgment that must seem inexplicable to those who look upon the Federal Congress as a National Parliament, who think with Lord Palmerston that the late United States is "a nation split in two," and who forget that the Federal Government, Congress included as the creature of the States, is bound to observe the laws of the Powers that founded it, and that only those Federal acts are lawful and command obedience, which are in accordance with the Constitution, and which do not exceed the specific jurisdictions conferred by that Constitution. Justice Clerke did not inquire whether the 5th section of the Indemnity Bill was applicable to the case before him; he did not inquire whether the suit met the requirements of the Act; but the issue that he felt first called upon to decide was, whether the Act itself was valid, whether the Constitution of the United States had granted the Federal Government any such power as that claimed by Mr. Seward. If not, the Federal Government could not assume it. It is well to bear in mind a truism that Justice Clerke did not think it necessary to repeat. The Constitution of the United States distinctly prescribes the functions of the several parts of the Federal Government. The President does not create the Congress or the Congress the President, and neither can augment the authority of the other. Congress cannot make the President a dictator, any more than the President can give up a portion of his authority and make

the Speaker of the House of Representatives the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. In a word, Congress cannot give to the President powers that are not at its disposal. The point to be decided, then, is, whether, under the Constitution of the United States, the President can assume or be invested with dictatorial authority, such as that claimed by Mr. Seward, or as Justice Clerke puts it, "has the Constitution of the United States invested its chief executive officer with power to arrest or imprison, or to authorise another to arrest or imprison, any person not subject to military law, at any time, or under any exigency, without some order, writ or precept, of some civil Court of competent jurisdiction?" In set terms it has not done so. Has it done so indirectly? Justice Clerke declares that the Constitution is totally opposed to such a theory. After being "anxiously and deliberately considered and thoroughly discussed by the people at large and by their delegates in the Convention," a Constitution was adopted, "conferring extremely limited powers, concisely and minutely defined," and "any man proposing to confer unlimited power, on any pretext whatever, would have been deemed insane." The object of the Constitution was to establish a limited and delegated Government and not a despotic Government. Justice Clerke aptly remarks that the fathers of the Union were exceedingly jealous of personal liberty, for they knew its importance, and the long struggle that it had cost Englishmen to achieve it. There is nothing in the Constitution that, either directly or by implication, gives the President dictatorial power. And, indeed, it is but fair to say that no one whose opinion is worth noticing, has attempted to justify the arbitrary conduct of Mr. Lincoln on any other plea than that of military necessity, and that plea Justice Clerke thoroughly refutes. No doubt, as commander-in-chief, the President of the United States can lawfully arrest men without the intervention of a civil tribunal. Yes, but then, according to the usages and laws of all nations, and according to the plainest behests of common sense, the area of the despotic power of the commander-in-chief is limited, strictly limited. He is, so far, in the position of a general in charge of an expedition. His *fiat* can only suspend the civil rights of those who are within his lines. Justice Clerke illustrates this by a reference to the recent operations in Tennessee. He says, if General Rosecrans "discovered any plots to mar those operations, or to give intelligence to the enemy, or to afford them any kind of aid or comfort, he would have a right to try the offenders, whether civilians or soldiers, by a court-martial. But this power does not extend beyond his lines. If a man at Cincinnati has a correspondence with Bragg, giving him intelligence of the plans of Rosecrans, the latter cannot have the offender arrested at Cincinnati, brought within his lines, and tried by court-martial. This man is, indeed, emphatically a traitor; he is guilty of high treason against the United States of America; but he is to be tried by a civil tribunal, according to the course and practice of the established law, on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury. His case has not arisen in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger. (See 5th amendment of the Constitution.)" The reply made to this is, that the commander-in-chief can by virtue of his office proclaim martial law throughout the country and so, by a *ruse*, everywhere usurp the authority of the civil tribunals. Justice Clerke might have shown that such an assumption is utterly incompatible with the whole theory of the Federal Government; but instead of so doing, he pointed out the absurdities of the argument. He says, if the President possessed such power "a whisky insurrection in western Pennsylvan



would authorise him to abrogate the law of liberty in Massachusetts or any other State." There never would be wanting a pretext for suspending the operation of the laws, and personal liberty would at all times be at the mercy of the Executive. Moreover, as it is claimed that the arbitrary power belongs to Mr. Lincoln, not because he is President but because he is commander-in-chief, it follows that as commander-in-chief he has no more power by reason of his Presidential office. Justice Clerke on this suggests a very pertinent question. "Suppose," he says, "the Constitution vested the command in chief of the army and navy in some person other than the President: could this functionary subvert the Constitution and laws of the land on the plea of military necessity? Surely not, and if he could not do it, neither can the President, unless the Constitution has empowered him to do it in his civil capacity." Justice Clerke, in conclusion, says, "The President, therefore, whether in his civil capacity or as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, has, unquestionably, no power to authorise the act of which the plaintiff complains. The ground upon which this application is made has no colour of right. It cannot, in my opinion, be entertained as a question in any State or United States Court. The only questions in this action worthy of consideration, and which can be entertained, do not arise under the Constitution of the United States, but are fitly within the jurisdiction of this Court," and therefore, he rejected Mr. Seward's application, and so impugned the validity of the Indemnity Bill. From this decision Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates will learn that it is in vain for those who violate the law to seek for the protection of law in their illegal proceedings; and that the power acquired by the sword can only be upheld by the sword. The practical effect of the lesson will be to make them cling to power with increased tenacity, because, in their continuance therein lies their only hope of personal safety.

Lieutenant Glassel, the gallant leader of the attack on the Ironsides off Charleston, was, as we stated last week, picked up by the Federals. Instead of being treated with the respect due to his rank, and as a prisoner of war taken in action, he was heavily ironed, and in that way led to the marshal's office, where he was subjected to an insolent examination. He refused to answer any questions, and said, "I am William T. Glassel, Confederate States Navy. I was born in Virginia. I decline answering any more questions. I was captured by the naval forces off Charleston, and they know all about me at Washington." Still being ironed, he was, after the examination, sent to Fort Lafayette to await the instructions of the Government concerning his final disposition. Such is the way the Federal authorities treat a brave enemy.

There was a "Union demonstration" at the Cooper Institute, New York, on the 23rd of October. The first speaker was Senator Lane, and, as usual, he was very ferocious and very blasphemous. He said, "This God-accursed rebellion has no cause. . . . He would negotiate on the bloody battle-field. His message of mercy should be sent at the cannon's mouth and on the point of the sabre and the bayonet." He approved of the Emancipation proclamation, and said it gave the "rebels" warning "to flee from the wrath to come;" meaning, that if the amnesty of Mr. Lincoln had been accepted, the Southerners might have kept their slaves. How grateful the pious emancipationists ought to feel to the Southerners that they refused to keep slavery in the Union on the terms proposed! Senator Lane, excited by the cheers of his audience, attained to a pitch of frenzy that even Parson Brownlow might have envied. He protested against the term of "our Southern brethren," and declared that "no rebels were brethren of his. He had but one brother, whom he loved as himself; and if that brother were a rebel against the Government he would, as God was his judge, take him in his arms, as Abraham did Isaac, and offer him on the altar of his country." He added, that the Southerners "had to-night but two rights—a divine and a legal right: a legal right to be hanged as traitors upon earth, and a divine right to be damned as traitors hereafter." This sentiment was received by the meeting with applause; and was soon followed by the remark, that "he had no doubt of the suppression of the rebellion. To doubt it would make him an infidel—would make him doubt the justice and omnipotence of God in heaven." So far as he was personally concerned, Senator Lane said "he would sell the garment off his shoulders and be buried as a pauper at the public expense, before he would see the rebellion triumph over his country." It did not occur to this human bloodhound, to this "War Christian," that whenever the hungry spoilers of their country are

ruined, the country itself will be bankrupt and not have the means of paying for his funeral.

Senator Lane was followed by the Hon. Lyman Tremaine, who made a long attack upon the Democratic party in general, and on Governor Seymour in particular. Mr. Tremaine wound up by saying, "I believe this wicked rebellion will be overthrown. When that grand result is accomplished, let the welkin ring with loud huzzas, and once more may heaven's vast space re-echo with Hosannas to the Highest." A few days later a meeting was held at the same place, on which occasion Governor Yates, of Illinois, told one of Mr. Lincoln's profane jokes. Governor Yates said he had telegraphed to "Old Abe" to issue the Conscription Act and Emancipation Proclamation, and Mr. Lincoln telegraphed back to him, "Dick, wait and see the salvation of God."

For want of more important matter, the telegraph wires have lately reported the sayings of some Richmond editors, who, assuming the alleged proprietorship of the Mersey rams as a fact, forthwith conclude that Great Britain has allied herself with Mr. Lincoln against the South. Though there is probably as little foundation for the assumption as there certainly is for the precipitate deduction, our Richmond contemporaries are so far excusable that Earl Russell's action in regard to these ships, by whomsoever owned, was avowedly taken at the instigation of the Federal Government; and, moreover, was made most unnecessarily to assume all the characteristics of a military demonstration.

In his reply to the Missouri Committee, Mr. Lincoln refuses to remove General Schofield and draws a rather graphic picture of "unity" in the North. Putting aside all those who are against the reconstruction of the Union, he says there are "at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union. Thus, those who are for the Union *with* but not *without* slavery—those for it *without* but not *with*—those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *with*—and those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *without*. Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual extinction of slavery." To this Mr. Lincoln might have added that on other questions besides slavery there is a like difference of opinion. Thus, those who are for the Union *with* but not *without* a Constitution—those who are for it *without* but not *with*—those who are for it *with* or *without*, but prefer *with* (War Democrats)—and those who are for it *with* or *without*, but prefer *without* (the Republicans). Some wish the Southern people to be exterminated, and others will be contented if they are only decimated. The Republicans wish to get hold of all the property of the South, and the Democrats wish to have their share. Can Mr. Lincoln point out a question on which his subjects agree?

General Rosecrans has delivered a speech at Cincinnati, which is a strange commentary on his removal. He told his audience not to forget their duty to the Government, whatever might happen to individuals, and that "the question as to how he had been used, he desired to leave for future time to answer." Having said this, he forthwith proceeded to deny there was a shadow of excuse for his removal from command. About his reported ill-health, he observed, "The army of the Cumberland thinks I am well enough, and so do I." He treated the report about his taking opium with disdainful sarcasm: "As for the quantity of opium I have eaten, consult my druggist." So far from Generals Crittenden and McCook intending to make charges against him, he said they had assured him "that they regretted that such false reports should be started." Finally, he announced that "since the battle of Chickamauga he had received a letter of approval from the President for his action in that affair." Perhaps there were political reasons for the dismissal of General Rosecrans.

New York is to contribute 60,378 men toward the call of the 17th October, and to make up a deficiency of 46,657 men under the August draft, together making the number of soldiers to be furnished by that State before the 5th of January 107,035. We expect Mr. Lincoln's enrollment officers will require the aid of many regiments to get that number, or even half of it.

The *World* complains of the injustice of this demand. If the draft failed in New York, it also failed in other States, and yet New York is called upon to make up her total deficiency, and it seems that no credit is given to the State for commutations that were paid. The *World* also remarks, in reference to the quota of 60,378, that "it is plain the quota assigned to New York is excessive when we state that the apportionment to the city districts is precisely the same as in the original quotas for the draft last summer, which were so glaringly absurd that President Lincoln reduced them by one-half."

The Federal Provost-Marshal, General Fry, has, under date of October 10th, reported to Secretary Stanton, on "certain general facts connected with the draft." He states that of those drawn, eighty per cent. reported themselves; of those examined, thirty per cent. were exempted from physical disability, and thirty per cent. for other reasons. This left forty per cent. of the examined held to service. Of these one-half paid commutation, and of the remaining half, one-third have gone to camp in person, and two-thirds have found substitutes. That is to say, for every 100 men conscripted, Mr. Lincoln has obtained sixteen soldiers, but of these rather more than ten were substitutes, so that rather less than six per cent. of the conscripted men have gone into the army. Thus does Provost-Marshal Fry testify to the utter failure of the draft. He does not give any returns of the number of substitutes that have deserted.

A beautiful instance of Republican loyalty has come to light. It appears from the returns of the recent elections in Ohio, that Highland county alone gave to Mr. Brough, the Republican candidate, a majority of 502 votes more than its whole population. What chance had Mr. Vallandigham against such zeal?

The *New York Herald*, commenting on the removal of Rosecrans and other generals from their commands, warns the Federal Government "to look well to its own record in these matters, or we shall learn some day before a great while that the people have 'relieved' the Administration, and have found a new commander-in-chief for the armies and navies of the United States."

On the 30th of October money was tight in New York. Gold was quoted at 45½ per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

HER MAJESTY the Queen of England received on Monday morning, November 9th, an autograph letter from His Majesty the Emperor of the French, containing a request to the Queen to send representatives to a Congress of the chief European States, with the object of recognising the points in which the treaty of Vienna has been infringed, and adopting such measures with respect to present complications as may best secure the general peace. Her Majesty's ministers met in Cabinet on the two following days to consider of the answer to be returned by Her Majesty to the Emperor of the French. We elsewhere publish the Imperial letter.

The Very Rev. Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster, has been nominated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, vacant by the death of the late Dr. Whately. Dr. Trench is the second son of the late Mr. Richard Trench, a brother of the first Lord Ashtown, in the Irish peerage, and his family has its original seat in the city of Galway. Dr. Trench was educated at Trinity College, was ordained in 1832, and placed in the curacy of Alverstoke by the then vicar, Samuel Wilberforce, now Bishop of Oxford. In 1845, Lord Ashburton presented Dr. Trench to the vicarage of Ithen-Stoke; two years later the vicar of Ithen-Stoke became professor of theology in King's College, London, and in 1856 was appointed Dean of Westminster by Lord Palmerston. Dr. Trench is known as the author of two volumes of poems entitled *Sabbatien*, *Honor Neale*, and the *Story of Justin Martyr*, and also as the author of many works of merit on theology and general literature, among the former of which his treatises on our Lord's parables and miracles may be specially mentioned. Dr. Trench has not shown himself a party man in religion or in politics, nor do his works betray any leaning to either extreme in the doctrines embraced by the Church of England. His appointment to the Primacy of Ireland has given general satisfaction.

The Rev. Dr. Stanley succeeds Dr. Trench as Dean of Westminster. Dr. Stanley is a son of the late Dr. Stanley, sometime Bishop of Norwich, was educated at Rugby School under Dr. Arnold, and graduated in the University of Oxford, in 1837, as a first-class-man in classics. He became fellow and tutor of University College, and was Secretary of the Oxford University Commission. In 1851 he was nominated by Lord John Russell to a canonry in Canterbury Cathedral, and in 1858 he was made Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. Dr. Stanley is known as the author of an admirable life of Dr. Arnold, of the famous work "On Sinai and Palestine," and of many theological efforts. Dr. Stanley accompanied H. R. H. the Prince of Wales in his tour in the East, and also has up to the present time discharged the duties of examining chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London.

On Monday, November 9th, Alderman Lawrence was



installed Lord Mayor of London with accustomed rites and with ancient splendour. The civic dignitaries assembled at Guildhall, and the cavalcade started thence at noon by way of Gresham-street, Moorgate-street, King William-street, Cannon-street, St. Paul's, Fleet-street, and the Strand, to Westminster. The Lord Mayor elect was escorted by the late Lord Mayor (Mr. Alderman Rose), by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and the principal officers of the corporation. The 12th Lancers formed a military escort, and the bands of the Grenadier and 1st Life Guards, with the City Artillery Company, the 3rd Tower Hamlets Volunteer brigade, and the Irish Rifle Volunteers, assisted to constitute the cortege. On arriving at Westminster Hall the civic dignitaries entered the Court of Exchequer into the presence of the Lord Chief Baron Pollock and the Puisne Barons. Thereupon the Common Sergeant, in the absence of the learned Recorder, presented the new Lord Mayor, and signified that the choice of the Livery had, through the Lord High Chancellor, received the gracious sanction of Her Majesty. The Common Sergeant then told how the Lord Mayor's father had laid the foundation of his fortune in the work of rebuilding and adorning important portions of the City; how he had served in the Court of Aldermen, and in the office of Sheriff; and how death alone had prevented him from attaining the civic chair. Then he told how his two sons became aldermen within five years from the father's death, and how the present Lord Mayor had been sheriff at the time of the marriage of the Princess Royal of England with the Crown Prince of Prussia. Then the Common Sergeant spoke of the late Lord Mayor, of his splendid hospitality, of the magnificent reception by him and the City of London of the Prince of Wales and his bride, and of the reward for the patriotic conduct of the Lord Mayor not consisting, as was universally expected, in honours bestowed by the Crown, but in the approval of his own conscience and the applause of his fellow citizens. The Lord Chief Baron then made reply, in which the state of the country, the loss of the cotton trade, the endurance of the people and the generosity of the wealthy were dwelt on, and the question raised whether philanthropists and philosophers would always believe that it is right that the act of a belligerent should injure those with whom he is at peace more than his foe. The Chief Baron then praised the loyalty of the City of London and its constant vindication of the liberties of the people; and thereupon the Queen's Remembrancer administered the oath to the Lord Mayor, and the Lord Mayor invited the learned Barons to the banquet at Guildhall. Then the civic authorities returned, accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, by way of Ludgate-hill and Cheapside to the Guildhall.

In the evening of the same day the accustomed banquet was held in the Guildhall, to which ministers of State, judges, members of both Houses of Parliament, envoys and ambassadors, to the number of 800, had been invited. The hall, the vestibule, corridors, lobbies, and court-room were gorgeously decorated; coats of arms, trophies of Prince of Wales' plume in spun glass, heraldic bearings of the guilds, banners and antique armour in the great hall, contrasting with paintings, sculpture, exotic plants, and ferns in the lobbies, and with a lovely panoramic view of Chamoyni by moonlight, in the court-room. Lord and Lady Palmerston arrived at seven o'clock, and were received with enthusiastic applause; and immediately afterwards the company sat down to dinner. After dinner, and after the loving cup had been passed, the healths of the Sovereign, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Royal Family were given in due order. Then the Lord Mayor gave "The Navy, the Army, and the Volunteers," to which toast the Duke of Somerset and Earl de Grey and Ripon responded. His Excellency, Mahmoud Khan, returned thanks in Persian for the *Corps Diplomatique*. Lord Palmerston spoke on behalf of Her Majesty's Ministers, Earl Granville for the House of Lords, and Mr. Cardwell for the Commons. The speech of Lord Palmerston contained nothing new or worthy of note. The Premier spoke of the lamentable struggles in the East and the West, of the failure of all remonstrances against the conduct of Russia, and of the neutral attitude of the Government in respect of the war in America. He also referred with pride to the commercial and material prosperity of England at the present time.

Monday, November 9th, was also the anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Wales, in celebration of which the royal town of Windsor was decorated with banners, the bells of St. George's Chapel were rung, and salutes were fired; also, at King's Lynn guns were fired, banners waved, and at night there was a general illumination. In the metropolis there were illuminations at the shops of the royal tradesmen, who, to the number of 150, dined together at St. James's Hall, His Royal Highness contributing a present of venison for the entertainment. The Inner Temple was illuminated, and the benchers, barristers, and students of the society dined together in the hall. After the dinner, Mr. Ingram, M.P., the Treasurer of the society, proposed "the Health of the Prince of Wales" in highly complimentary terms. At Sandringham, the country seat of the Prince of Wales, the children belonging to the schools of the three villages over which the estate extends were entertained at dinner, as were also the cottagers and work-people. The Prince and Princess of Wales and the Princess Royal were present at the children's dinner.

A cabman, named Parker, on Saturday evening last, was hailed at the Great Eastern Railway Station, at Shoreditch, by a respectably dressed man, who got into the cab with a woman about thirty-five years of age, and two little girls of the ages of seven and four respectively. The cabman first drove to the Green Dragon, Bishops-gate Street, where, at the orders of the man in the cab, the driver dismounted and purchased a pint of half-and-

half, which he handed to the man. The cabman, being at his horse's head, did not see who drank the liquor. The man having emptied the remnants of the half-and-half on the pavement, gave the pewter pot back to the driver, who took the same into the inn. The driver then drove through Cornhill to Furnival's-inn, Holborn, where the man got out of the cab, shut the door, paid the driver his fare, with sixpence over, and bade him drive to the Royal Oak, Westbourne-grove. The driver did so, and having arrived there dismounted, and opening the door of his cab discovered the woman lying on her face at the bottom of the cab, with the elder child in her arms. A doctor came up at the time and pronounced the woman and the two children to be quite dead. All three smelt very strongly of prussic acid. The bodies were taken to St. Mary's Hospital, where a post-mortem examination was held, and the stomachs removed and sealed up for analysis. At present there is every reason to suppose that the death of the three persons was caused by prussic acid. The driver of the vehicle and the landlord of the Green Dragon inn both expressed their ability to identify the hirer of the cab. The distance from the Green Dragon to Furnival's-inn is rather more than a mile, and from Furnival's-inn to the Royal Oak more than four miles. For two days after the death of the woman and children no trace was discovered of the murderer, but the suspicions of a neighbour being excited by the description which appeared of the murdered persons, information was given to the police, and the murderer was arrested in his own house, in Camberwell, on Monday evening. However, while the police were breaking open the barred door the man found time to take poison, from the effects of which he died an hour after his apprehension. The murderer was employed as traveller for a firm of "seedsman, herbalists, and druggists," and had a small laboratory fitted up in his own house. He appears to have lived unhappily with his wife, and had often threatened to "do" for her. He had been at his regular employment all day on the Monday, and towards the evening was in high spirits. His body has been identified by the cabman Parker, and by another cabman who had driven him from Camberwell to Shoreditch.

The steam-rams *El Tousson* and *El Monassir* have been valued, in accordance with instructions from Government. The valuers were Mr. C. W. Kellock (Curry, Kellock, and Co., of Liverpool), Mr. Jordan, surveyor to the Liverpool underwriters, and Messrs. Luke and Hobbs, of the Admiralty. *El Tousson* was valued at £106,000, and *El Monassir* at £80,000. The builders' measurement of each vessel is 1,800 tons. Messrs. Laird refused to disclose the contract price. It is said that the Government wish to purchase the vessels from the French owners, Messrs. Brevey.

The Alexandra case has advanced one stage in its journey of litigation. The seizure of this ship in May last, in the yard of Messrs. Miller, at Liverpool, was, as may be remembered, followed by a trial on an information of 98 counts, pursuant to the clauses and verbiage of the Foreign Enlistment Act, before the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. At the time of the trial we endeavoured to put before our readers the contents of the Act of Parliament under which the information was laid, and we gave a general report of the evidence adduced by the Crown to prove that the ship in question was being built to be used in war in the service of the Confederate States. It will also be in the recollection of our readers that the jury returned a verdict for the defendants, and that the Crown officers were so dissatisfied with the interpretation of the Act propounded by the judge as to tender a bill of exceptions to his ruling. Now, according to the system of procedure in England, all actions, whether between subjects, or between the Crown and a subject, in which last case the action is called an information and lies at the suit of the Attorney-General, issue originally out of one of the supreme courts at Westminster. In the present instance the information issued out of the revenue side of the Court of the Exchequer. Where matters of fact are at issue, and therefore where the intervention of a jury is required, the case is tried at Nisi Prius, or, in other words, a judge is commissioned to try the case with the assistance of a jury. After the decision of the jury is obtained, the record of the case comes back to the court whence the writ issued, in order that final judgment may be given, or, if necessary, the proceedings stayed for further inquiry. Now, supposing the counsel at a trial before a jury is dissatisfied with the ruling of the judge on a point of law, he has two courses open to him. He can either tender a bill of exceptions to the judge before the verdict is given, or after verdict he may make an application at the commencement of the next legal term to the court whence the writ issued. Supposing that he tenders a bill of exceptions—which is in reality a simple statement of those portions of the ruling of the judge to which he objects, it is essential that he obtain the signature of the judge to the bill. If he obtains that signature, then the case does not go back to the court whence the writ issued, but, passing over that court, ascends to the Court of Error or Court of Appeal, usually called the Court of the Exchequer Chamber, and thence by a regular process to the Supreme Court, the House of Lords. Now, in the present case, the Attorney-General, on the part of the Crown, tendered a bill of exceptions to the ruling of the Chief Baron, which the latter refused to sign, for the simple reason that the bill tendered put words in the mouth of the judge which he absolutely denies that he ever used. In point of fact, the bill made the Chief Baron say that unless the vessel was "armed" there was no offence; whereas the Judge declares that he left the case to the jury in the alternative, using the very words of the Act of Parliament; that is, the judge said to the jury, "if you think this vessel was 'armed,' or 'equipped,' or 'fitted out,' or 'intended to be armed,' or 'fitted out' or 'equipped,'

your verdict must be for the Crown; if not, it must be for the defendants." Under these circumstances it is clear that the Attorney-General was compelled to abandon the bill of exceptions and to resort to any other method of reviewing the question which the law offers. Now, in ordinary civil actions, the course open to counsel is, on one of the first four days of the term next ensuing after the trial, to move the court whence the writ issued to grant a new trial, or to set aside the verdict and enter judgment for the other party on certain grounds, which he must allege at the time moving the court. Then the court, on giving judgment on this motion, may also, if it think fit, grant leave to the party against whom it has given judgment to appeal to the Court of Error, and thence to the House of Lords. That the same rule held good in cases where the Crown was plaintiff is not so certain, and in the course of the case the Attorney-General applied to their lordships to make a general order, applying to the proceedings on the revenue side of the Court of Exchequer the provisions of the Common Law Procedure Act, which held good in civil actions. This, however, is a point to which attention need not be drawn.

Now the Attorney-General, finding, after a discussion before the Court of Exchequer, that he must abandon his bill of exceptions, (though, it may by the way be observed, that the learned counsel, in a somewhat unseemly manner, endeavoured to set aside Baron Pollock's interpretation of his own language and to convict him of contradiction, and to show that the finding of the jury was consequent on the judge's words, all of which the Baron stoutly denied,) fell back on one of his remaining remedies, and on November 5th moved for a new trial or the reversal of the verdict, on the ground of misdirection by the learned judge, and also upon the ground that the verdict was against the evidence. Immediately on the opening of the case, Baron Bramwell, on behalf of the bench, said that he wished it to be clearly understood, first, that the bill of exceptions is abandoned; second, that the court would take the Chief Baron's own report of his direction to the jury; and third, that there should be no appeal from their lordships' decision except on a point of law. Thereupon the Attorney-General proceeded to state all the facts connected with the case as disclosed at the trial, the names of the defendants, and the nature of the charges alleged in the information. He endeavoured to show on that evidence that the *Alexandra* was destined to be a vessel of war, and was able to take the seas as such at the time of her seizure; next, that she was built for the service of the Confederate States; and lastly, that the effect of that evidence was to bring the vessel within the condemnation of the Act. This he did by showing the reasons for which the Act was passed and the mischief which it was intended to obviate. After hearing the address of the learned counsel the court adjourned, and on the return of their lordships into court, the Lord Chief Baron said, that "without in the least saying what the opinion of any member of the court was, as to the ultimate fate of the rule, they were all of opinion that what had fallen from the Attorney-General was unquestionably matter fit to be discussed. If the Attorney-General was satisfied to take a rule to show cause why the verdict should not be set aside as contrary to the evidence, or as not being warranted by the evidence, or on the ground of misdirection by the judge on the trial, or on the ground that although there might have been no positive misdirection, that there was a want of information furnished to the jury to enable them to discharge their duty fairly—if he were content to take a rule on these two grounds, dividing the second ground into positive misdirection, or imperfect direction, he might take a rule to show cause at once." The Attorney-General having assented, the rule was granted. A short discussion then ensued, in which the Chief Baron said that he had laid down the law as he understood it to be laid down by the highest possible authority, at least now, in what is called "another place," that he thought himself remarkably safe in taking that course; but that, perhaps, after all he was wrong: a charming piece of irony, in which the Chief Baron quoted against the learned counsel the opinion of the head of that Government for which the Attorney-General was retained. Our readers will clearly understand that at present only a rule *nisi* has been granted; in other words, the necessary step has been taken to re-open the question before the court. Within a short time the case will come on again, and be fully argued by the counsel on either side. What is obtained at present is a mere permission to the Crown lawyers to argue the case. It should also be understood that the discretionary judgment of the court as to the granting of a new trial or reversing the verdict will be final, and from it no appeal will lie; but, on the other hand, there will be an appeal on any matter of law, which appeal will be to the Court of the Exchequer Chamber, and thence to the House of Lords.

We may shortly expect to hear that Earl Russell has seized another vessel. "The Glasgow Emancipation Society," which really seems more justly to deserve the title of the "Lincoln and Seward Spy Society," has addressed a memorial to Earl Russell, stating that a vessel has lately been launched from the building-yard of Messrs. James and George Thomson, and is now being fitted in Glasgow Harbour with great rapidity; that she is of similar construction to the *Alabama*, and that Earl Russell's attention is requested to the matter. Lord Russell has replied that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has already been directed to the matter. The vessel in question was formerly named the *Canton*, but is now called the *Pampero*.

The Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P. for Wolverhampton, addressed his constituents on Monday night, at a dinner given to the retiring mayor of that borough. The experience, the talents, and the virtues of Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, and Mr. Gladstone were duly



proclaimed, and unduly admired by this somewhat more humble member of the Cabinet, and the very consolatory notion was expressed that it would not be wise to overturn the present Administration, and thereby excite the feelings which an angry political contention was sure to provoke. These, however, are sentiments that only too readily fall from the lips of a man in office who is thoroughly satisfied with himself, his place, and things in general, and being expected, as a matter of course excite no inordinate surprise. There is a part, however, of Mr. Villiers' speech to which attention may be more properly drawn. The right honourable gentleman, having extolled the principle of non-intervention, proceeded to say that "he wished that this forbearance could be fully carried through, and that they would be very careful of their criticisms; that nations would be more careful of saying anything which would be likely to provoke hostile feelings. Severe measures had been meted out to the Federals in their misfortunes. He had heard the bitterest remarks made against the President of the Union for endeavouring to maintain the Union; and also against the Southern States for endeavouring to retain possession of their property." Now this, from the mouth of an advanced Liberal, who is deified by the extreme Radical party, is rather too much for human endurance. We are told simply that we are not to make remarks on men and things on the other side of the Atlantic; not to express our horror at Butler, McNeil, and Turchin; not to refute the revolutionary doctrines of Chase and Stanton, nay, not even to laugh at the blustering Hooker, or the follies of the frivolous President. Were it not for the reasons given for this forbearance, we should be inclined to think that the Liberal Mr. Villiers would be a valuable addition to that Cabinet which has gagged the press and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. But the reason follows:—"Such criticisms provoke hostile feelings." Mr. Villiers, like Lord Russell, is afraid. He has an overwhelming idea of the indignation and power of that North which is vainly endeavouring to overwhelm a country of eight millions of people. But what follows? Mr. Villiers goes on to say that "he had been in Parliament during the agitation for the repeal of the Union with Ireland. Those who advocated the repeal of the Union stood in the same relation to that measure as the Southerners did to the North. He never saw one member who was not ready to oppose it, and who was not ready to say that he should be guilty of treason if he voted for it." Surely Mr. Villiers must read history in a style peculiar to himself, or he must have thought such an illustration good enough for Wolverhampton voters. He would do us a great favour if he would repeat this curious illustration on the first opportunity in the House of Commons. What possible analogy can there be between a conquered country that has been under the sceptre of the ruling Power for nearly 500 years and a Confederacy of Sovereign States which have seceded from a Union into which they entered of their own free and sovereign will, preserving even after that entrance their ancient sovereign rights? We take it that a case must be a very poor one when it has to be supported by so absurd an illustration as that which is the latest and worst invention of this humble member of the English Cabinet.

### THE CONTINENT.

THE speech in which the Emperor of the French opened what is called the legislative session of 1864, is probably the longest, as it certainly is the ablest address ever delivered from a throne. That it has been understood, differently in London and Paris, by the partisans of war and the partisans of peace, is not the fault of the author. His words speak plainly enough, and if men will set themselves to work to find hidden meanings, they can always make that which was distinct appear indefinite, if they cannot turn white completely into black. We give the full text of this important manifesto in another column. As we have said, this speech has been differently interpreted. We can have no hesitation in accepting the words in their literal sense. The Emperor does not deem it the duty of France to go to war single-handed in behalf of Poland, but he is desirous of effecting a fair solution of that question as of the other questions agitating Europe. With this object he renews his proposal of a general congress, which shall substitute a new fundamental pact for the broken one made at Vienna. If the Emperor really intended war, he would never have summoned this congress. Whether the congress meet or not, the situation is altogether changed. Russia no longer stands on one side, with Europe on the other. Poland is no longer the battle-field. The Emperor demands the revision of the treaties of 1815, and on the questions which that demand raises the enemies of yesterday will be the friends of to-day. If the Emperor means to go to war in the spring, he would never have taken a measure which would make that war one waged by France and Italy against the whole of Europe. We have no doubt about the sincerity of the Emperor's language, and if we cannot hope for any successful results from the congress, or even for its meeting, if we believe the self-love and the jealous rivalry of nations still too strong for such a harmonious arrangement, we acknowledge the noble purpose which has prompted the proposal, and earnestly desire that our doubts may be proved groundless.

The *Corps Législatif* held its first sitting on Friday. The Duke de Morny, its president, opened the proceedings in a speech full of liberal sentiments and in excellent taste. He observed that the late elections had awakened political aspirations which had long been slumbering. "The name of liberty had often been pronounced; the Government would not be disturbed by its repetition," the Emperor himself being the first cause of the movement. The Duke referred to the liberal measures enumerated in the speech, and ex-

pressed his personal satisfaction with them. He had been brought up to admire English society, to which he paid a glowing tribute. "Liberty," he said, "can only be peaceably established by the sincere co-operation of a sincerely liberal sovereign and a moderate Assembly." He was glad that the suffrage had replaced amongst them old parliamentary celebrities. "Their adhesion is a homage to the form of the Government which is not that of their political school, and I hold them in too great estimation to doubt for an instant the loyalty of their intentions. . . . The Government could only gain by being investigated." The Duke concluded with an appeal to the members to try and enlighten each other by loyal and courteous discussion, and to seek to solve pending questions with the sole object of promoting the real interests of the country, and by a feeling tribute to the memory of M. Billault.

The English despatch to St. Petersburg has been published. It answers to the character we gave it last week. The despatch, which is dated October 20th, and is probably the shortest Earl Russell has written during his career as Foreign Minister, acknowledges the receipt of Prince Gortschakoff's despatch of the 7th September, declares that Her Majesty's Government have no wish to prolong the correspondence for the mere purpose of controversy, that they receive with satisfaction the assurance that the Emperor continues to be animated with intentions of benevolence towards Poland and of conciliation towards other Powers, that they acknowledge that the relations of Russia towards European Powers are regulated by public law; but that the Emperor has special obligations in regard to Poland, Her Majesty's Government having shown in their despatch of the 11th of August that the rights of Poland are contained in the same instrument which constitutes the Emperor of Russia King of Poland. And so ends, as far as England is concerned, this most unfortunate diplomatic intervention, from which the Poles at one time hoped so much and by which they have been so grossly injured.

From Cracow we have accounts of Polish victories' which bear, however, on their face the assurance that they are inventions. From Warsaw we have accounts of arrests and executions about the veracity of which no doubt can be entertained.

Langiewicz has addressed an appeal to the Austrian Government to set him at liberty, that he may retire to Switzerland, or to hand him over to the Russians. The latter request is a pretty safe one. The Austrian Government may not let him go to Switzerland. It certainly will not hand him over to General Van Berg.

The Polish cause has sunk a great deal in public favour in Austria since the barbarous murder of Von Kuczynski, a councillor of the Lemberg tribunal. Kuczynski executed the duties entrusted to him with a little more zeal than some of his colleagues; he was charged with the management of the prosecution against Prince Sapieha, had been denounced by a secret National journal published at Lemberg, and some fourteen days before the murder had received a letter threatening him with death. The Czar of Cracow has published a notice professing to emanate from the National Government in Warsaw, denying that the assassination had been committed by the order of a revolutionary tribunal in connection with it, or that any such tribunal exists in Galicia, but the statement has found little credence. It has been shown, in the first place, that it was quite impossible that such a declaration could have reached Cracow from Warsaw within the dates assigned, and, granting the denial of the National Government, no one believes it. That a revolutionary tribunal does exist in Galicia is generally believed; that Kuczynski was murdered because he did his duty as a judge towards political offenders is certain, and the Austrian Government, getting alarmed at this lawlessness, has, it is said, resolved upon the adoption of severe measures even to proclaiming the state of siege. Von Kuczynski's death will cost the Poles dear.

The King of Prussia has opened the session of the Landtag in a speech which puts an end to any faint hopes which might have been cherished of conciliation. His Majesty indeed professes his "earnest wish for a termination of the differences between the Government and the Chamber;" but he hastens to add, that he "can only assent to such a budget as will ensure the maintenance of the new organisation of the army." In plain words, His Majesty will be happy to be reconciled with the House of Deputies on condition that they give up their claim to hold the purse-strings. As they will not do that there will be little opportunity for the consideration of the programme which the Ministry has prepared for the session. Long before the balance sheets for 1859, '60, and '61, the bill for establishing the expenditure and receipts of 1862—that is, for authorising the expenditure which the rejection of the budget made illegal; the budgets for 1863 and 1864; the bill for regulating the rights of the Government in case of the budget not being legally settled, i.e. for filling up the *Lücke*, or void in the Constitution which the Government supporters discovered in the autumn of 1862, and in filling up the gap to deprive the House of Deputies of its constitutional rights; the bills with regard to the legal position of associations and the press ordinances of June, &c., can be taken into consideration by the House, and the conflict provoked by the declaration of the King that he holds fast to his point, will have broken out, probably in an address, and the House will be prorogued or dissolved. His Majesty indeed offers one concession: he says that the bill regulating the period of military service has been modified; but as the three years service is a main feature of the reorganisation the modification cannot be important. The revenue is in a very satisfactory condition, but should the Federal execution in

Holstein require extraordinary means the Lower House will be asked to vote them, and would probably be blind enough to do so. The Government, the King said, was endeavouring to secure the continuation of the Zollverein, whilst maintaining the commercial treaty with France—a labour almost certain to be vain. He concluded thus: "We live in an agitated time, perhaps stand upon the brink of a more agitated future. I ask you, therefore, the more urgently to bring about an understanding upon the solution of home questions." That understanding the King could easily bring about; he refuses, and he must take the consequences.

The King of the Hellenes—a protocol, signed at London on the 13th October, recognises this title, which the Russian Minister at first declined to acknowledge—has addressed a manifesto to his people. Although it promises much the proclamation is yet modest in its tone. King George says, "I bring to you neither wisdom nor experience, but I come to you with confidence and sincere devotion, with a firm belief in the prosperity of our future, to which I promise to devote my whole life. I shall respect and conscientiously observe your laws especially the Constitution, that keystone of the Greek edifice. I shall also endeavour to love and respect your customs and language—everything that is dear to you, as I love you already." Could a lover promise more to his mistress? "I shall collect around me the best and wisest men among you, without any regard to past differences. My ambition is to make Greece the model State of the East. The Almighty will give strength to my weakness and enlighten my efforts. He will aid me not to forget the obligations which I have contracted towards you." His Majesty proposes to himself a noble and an arduous task: a task in which he cannot succeed unless his subjects will cordially help him. There is the difficulty. The Greeks may show that they are true patriots, that they can bury personal rivalries in cordial action for the common good, but hitherto they have given no signs of such a virtue.

The session of the Spanish Cortes was opened by the Queen on the 4th. Her Majesty expressed her pleasure at seeing herself in the midst of the national representation, "an institution accessible to all the constitutional opinions which aspire to exercise a legitimate and advantageous influence upon the Government of the State, and a sure guide for the Crown, which with its support resolves pacifically the most arduous problems and overcomes the most formidable conflicts." Referring to the dissolution, she observed that "the electors came in great numbers to deposit their votes in the urns"—a statement which, considering that the great majority abstained from voting, is rather bold, and she accepts it as "a sign of the progress which constitutional education has made among us." "Our relations with foreign powers are pacific and friendly." Her Majesty then enumerated several projects of law which the Government will present in the session; amongst others, a definitive regulation of the constitutional reform voted in 1857, comprising an hereditary senate, measures for the reform of military and naval jurisdiction, for the organisation of commercial courts, a law relative to municipal corporations, in a decentralising sense, a law regulating the liberty of the press, a reform of the electoral law for military Cortes; finally, a budget will be submitted to the Cortes, which apparently is not to be very favourable. "In epochs of encouragement and progress, like ours, in which immense material ameliorations are undertaken and executed, we must resign ourselves to the sacrifices they require in the confidence that they will be largely compensated by the ulterior development of the public wealth." Peace has only been troubled in St. Domingo, and the Government has hastened to take the necessary measures to restore it. The Government also devotes itself to the amelioration of the administration of the provinces beyond the seas. Her Majesty concludes by hoping that "God in his mercy will favour her projects for the happiness of her dear country, and counts upon the co-operation of the senators and deputies." Her Majesty's gratitude to the nation is boundless. "It has surrounded my cradle and defended my right, imposing upon me the sacred duty, which I fill with eagerness, of giving to its happiness the priority over mine and that of my children. In short it has made me the personification of its new social state—(God forbid!)—and has identified me with the constitutional institutions of which I shall always be the axis and the support." Very touching!—if we could only fancy that the words were Her Majesty's and not her minister's, and if we did not know that a large proportion of the Spanish people is as discontented as it well can be, not with Her Majesty but with her Government.

Another royal speech. The King of Saxony has opened the session of his Diet. The only points of general interest in the speech are the expression of His Majesty's expectation that the approaching conference at Berlin will result in a universal understanding upon the commercial treaty and the maintenance of the Zollverein (a very sanguine expectation, indeed,) and a promise that the Federal execution in Holstein shall be carried out. *Tant pis* for the unfortunate Saxons who have to carry it out.

The New Fundamental Law for Denmark and Schleswig has been adopted by the Rigsraad. The amendments were rejected by 40 votes to 14. It is affirmed very confidently by the Danes that the treaty of alliance between Denmark and Sweden has been signed, and denied as stoutly by the Germans. A few days will tell which are in the right.

The King of Italy has been at Foggia in Naples to open a new railway. His Majesty reviewed the Italian Fleet at Naples on Monday. His stay in the South will



be short, as he must be in Turin to open the session of the Chambers on Monday.

The Austrian reply to the Prussian criticism of the Reform Act has reached Berlin. It consists of a short memorandum: the purport being to show that the Prussian Government, by Prussia before entering into negotiations—the veto, the direct election to the Federal House of Representatives, and the parity of Prussia with Austria—are inadmissible, and to invite Prussia to enter frankly, and without any such stipulations, upon friendly negotiations.

Yet, another royal speech. King Leopold, who has been spending some time in Italy by the Lake of Como, opened the session of the Belgian Chambers on Tuesday. The speech is devoid of general interest. The King thanked the country for the testimonies of affection it had given him, enumerated the measures which would be submitted to the Chambers, and announced that the financial condition of the country was satisfactory.

# THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE. (From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, November 11.

It turns out that the above heading is not broad enough to cover all that has to be written under it. The Confederate cause has just asserted itself with singular success in Cheshire. Stockport, with its 50,000 inhabitants and its smokeless factory chimneys, has declared for the South, by a majority as overwhelming as in any town in Lancashire.

"One of the largest meetings," says the *Stockport and Cheshire County News*, "that have been held in Stockport for some time, took place in the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute on Wednesday night week, for the purpose of giving expression to the public feeling on the great American question. Long before the hour announced for the opening of the hall doors the various approaches to the building were crowded with people anxious to obtain admittance. When the proceedings commenced every available position in the hall, either for sitting or standing, was occupied, and there could not have been fewer than 2,000 individuals present, notwithstanding which several hundreds were unable to gain admission. The vast majority of the audience were evidently warm sympathisers with the South, the Northern sentiment being chiefly represented by a small knot of individuals located in the front of the gallery. In common with the other parts of the hall the platform seats were crowded, amongst the occupants being many members of the Corporation and other gentlemen of influence. The following gentlemen attended as a deputation from the Southern Independence Association: James Spence, Esq., and Charles Pooley, Esq., of Liverpool; and J. H. Clarke, Esq., and T. B. Kershaw, of Manchester. The chair was taken, according to previous announcement, by Mr. Councillor W. Fernley."

The chairman opened the proceedings of the meeting amid loud and continued cheering. He rejoiced, he said, to see the meeting so crowded, because it proved to him that the sympathies of the people of Stockport were with the South. (Loud cheering and "No—no.") At a previous meeting on a similar occasion, he had confidently made the assertion that 9 out of every 10 of the people of Stockport were staunch supporters of the Confederate cause. (Loud cheering, again followed by "No—no.") He knew the heart of the people of Stockport was in the right place: while they hated the slavery of the black, they loved the freedom of the white man. (Cheers.) He believed there was not one present who would not vote against the maintenance of slavery. But the question was—How could slavery be abolished? If President Lincoln was really the "friend of the black man" he professed to be, he would have set about abolishing slavery in a very different way. (Cheers.) The abolition of slavery must be looked for from the South. (Cheers.) Everybody in this country, and specially in the cotton districts, was tired of hearing of the mutual destruction and bloodshed now going on between the North and South; and as nobody could tell when that horrible carnage would end, he thought the time had arrived for the Powers of Europe to offer their friendly offices. When they saw two men fighting and tearing each other to pieces, was it not merciful to step forward and try to pacify them? and had we not motives, as well of interest as of kindness, prompting us to interpose between North and South? (Cheers.) The working-classes had suffered quite enough, and were tired of working "Sarat." (Cheers.) So long as the American war was permitted to continue, they could still be subject to the same hardships they had been experiencing for two years, and therefore the question ceased to be a domestic one for the United States, and became an international one for the world. (Loud cheers.)

Considerable confusion was caused at this stage of the proceedings, on account of some gentleman rising in the body of the hall to protest against the tenor of the chairman's remarks. The gentleman was eventually ejected from the room.

Mr. William Leigh, a member of the Stockport branch of the Southern Independence Association, rose to move the following resolution:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the war in America is an injury to the world; and the present aspects of the conflict give no prospect of an early termination, unless by means of the united influence of Europe. We, therefore, earnestly urge upon the Government of this country to enter into com-

munication with the European powers, and concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace."

(Loud cheering and some expressions of disapprobation.)

He had remarked, during the forcible ejection which had just taken place, it was a pity the majority of the meeting should make an ungenerous use of its power. (Cheers and laughter.) The North formed a small minority in that meeting, and he thought the South might have permitted some little dissension without opposing it by force. (Cheers.) The resolution he had just read was one which ought to conciliate North and South; at all events, it was one of which the people of the cotton district could not but approve. They all wanted peace as unanimously as they wanted the emancipation of the negro. (Loud cheers.) But the Northern Abolitionists were murdering the white people without emancipating the black; and that was a system of abolition with which Englishmen could feel but little sympathy. (Applause.) Justice, like charity, should begin at home. Although there were a million of slaves in the Northern States, the President had so high a regard for the Constitution, that he refrained from declaring them free; but our sympathy was invited for him, because, in the Southern States, he had pretended to extinguish slavery, on paper, as a war measure, and not for the sake of the negro. (Loud cheers.) What was the worth of a President like that? What claim upon our sympathies had such a policy as that? (Cheers.) But, as it was stated in the resolution, the war in America was an injury to the world. They had an instance of it in the sufferings they had gone through in Stockport. (Cheers.) A great part of the working classes had already become paupers; the capitalists had been compelled to shut up their mills. And yet we were asked to remain neutral. (Cheers.) Our so-called neutral policy, he contended, was not a neutral, but rather a belligerent policy—a policy of hostility to one of the parties in the conflict. (Cheers.) If the people of Stockport wished to be really neutral, let them urge Her Majesty's Government to take sides with other neutral powers, and ask for a cessation of hostilities. (Cheers.) At the commencement of the war, Earl Russell uttered a sentiment which found an echo throughout the whole of the country; but owing, apparently, to the visit of a certain reverend stump-orator, his lordship had changed his views, for now, he said, Englishmen were chiefly on the side of the North. Perhaps, when in that district as well as others, the people had unmistakably spoken out as they would do on that evening, Earl Russell would come back again to the truth. (Loud and continued cheers.)

Mr. Spence was the next to address the meeting. We need not say that his speech was exhaustive of the subject, and we regret that our space is so limited that we cannot do more than glance at its leading points. Mr. Spence said that whilst sympathising with both North and South, for the war was injurious to both, he also sympathised with the people of Stockport, a cotton district, who had suffered greatly from this deplorable war. It was not their fault, or owing to a blight that they were without cotton. The planter had cotton and was willing to sell, and the manufacturer was willing to buy, but a third party stepped in and forbade the transaction. It was, therefore, with us a domestic question why the Government of this country would not so much as lift a finger or speak a word to mitigate the evil. The only objection that could be urged by the Northern sympathisers to our Government seeking to bring about peace was, that the North was fighting for emancipation and that we ought not to interfere with that object. Mr. Spence declared that emancipation was a hollow sham, and discussed the question at length. He sided with the South from a sense of right and justice, but it was unfair to charge him with sympathising with slavery, as he had never said or written one word in defence of it. He was not an Abolitionist, but he objected to slavery, not only for its own sake, but because he held it to be a great evil to the people of the South. But slavery had no part in the objects of the war. Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone had testified to this; and Lord Brougham and those who bear the names of Wilberforce and Buxton had told them that the anti-slavery pretence of the North is an artifice and an imposition. The persons who tried to mislead the public as to the real object of the war have formed an association, which they call the "Union and Emancipation Society." Now, the two cannot co-exist, the one being destructive of the other. If any one is for the Union he cannot have Emancipation, for the Union is bound by a Constitution, under which slavery is "protected, sustained, and invested with political power." If any one desires Emancipation he must give up the Union, for emancipation is a violation of the Constitution, and as soon as that is violated, the Union is at an end. A real emancipation by the success of the North can only result in a Yankee Russia and a Southern Poland, and 4,000,000 slaves being made free, and 8,000,000 of freemen being made slaves. Let them not prostitute the word by calling such a state of affairs a Union. Now, how was it all their anti-slavery zeal was directed against the Confederate States? Were the members of the "Union and Emancipation Society" ignorant of the fact that slavery existed in Cuba, Brazil, and in Turkey? Had they never heard of Dahomey? And how was it that before the war broke out, Federal slavery was not equally denounced? In further proof of his assertion that emancipation is not the object of the war, Mr. Spence read extracts from the Republican manifesto of 1860, and Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address, which distinctly repudiated an emancipation policy. He also cited the Act passed by the Federal Congress on 3rd March, 1861, "that no amendment shall be

made to the Constitution which will authorise or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the law of said State." Mr. Lincoln had distinctly told the negroes that they must emigrate to foreign parts; and in a letter to the Union Committee, dated August, 1863, he says he issued the proclamation to aid in saving the Union, and that when that object is effected "it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes." The negro is hated in the North, and the emancipation proclamation was issued to deceive Europe. Mr. Spence then commented on the failures of the North, and expressed his belief that the negroes could only be emancipated gradually and by their Southern masters. In his opinion this would be brought about by the break-up of the Union; for he thought that should the South be under the direct influence of European sentiment, that the "system of slavery can no more be maintained than you can hold a handful of darkness in a room after you have opened the door and let in the light of heaven." Mr. Spence, after exposing the real objects of the war—national vanity and a desire to monopolise the Southern trade—said it was now the duty of Europe to endeavour to stop the bloodshed, and that the three years of war had removed the pretence that secession was the act of a band of conspirators, and not of the Southern people. Interest and duty alike demanded that we should try what could be done by moral intervention. Mr. Spence was loudly cheered throughout his speech and on resuming his seat.

Mr. E. O. Greening, one of the secretaries of the Union and Emancipation Society, moved the following amendment:—

"That this meeting, whilst deploring the continuance of the war, would yet deprecate such a departure from the governmental position of neutrality as would necessarily array England on the side of the slaveholders of America." (Groans and cheering.) The speaker had ten minutes allotted him by the chairman, but so great was the uproar during the whole time that, beyond a few introductory sentences, in which he promised that Mr. Spence should be answered on some future occasion, scarcely a word was audible. He complained that the chairman did not exert his influence in obtaining a more favourable hearing for him.

A Mr. Apperson, of Cincinnati, Ohio, seconded the amendment, but beyond the "stump" character of his speech, there was little of note in what he said, except that he complimented Mr. Spence as a gentleman whom he considered "a noble specimen of an Englishman."

The meeting was then addressed by Mr. T. B. Kershaw, who, to expose the malevolence and trickery resorted to, as he said, by the Northern party in Manchester, read a letter addressed to his employer, and written, as he contended, with a view to injure his material prospects and welfare:—

"Is Mr. — aware that the two men in whom he reposes the greatest confidence and responsibility, are devoting his time to their own interest in public matters? Does he know that last winter his premises at a night were frequently deserted the greatest part of the night, and on more than one occasion the whole of the night? Hours of Mr. —'s time are spent by these two servants with reckless regard to his interest."

"A WELL-WISHER."

A scene of great uproar followed, during which Mr. Apperson and others denied, for their part, any knowledge of the slanderous document.

Upon a show of hands being called for the "North" and the "South."

The chairman declared, as he had stated before, the Confederacy had it by 10 to 1. (Cheers.)

The meeting terminated with thanks to the chairman, and three cheers for the "South."

From the peace party in Lancashire to the peace party in New York is no very wide step. A leading merchant in the Empire City, in writing to one of the largest cotton-spinners in Mr. Cobden's constituency of Rochdale, makes the following remarks:—

"That speech of Dr. Channing's in Liverpool contained about as many falsehoods as it did lines, and to all who know the truth upon the subjects discussed in it it could of course have no weight whatever. Upon the culture of cotton and the immense superiority of the 'slaves,' now that they were transformed into 'freemen,' the better quality of cotton they produced, and the low rates at which it would be furnished—upon these subjects the remarks of the speaker were rich in the extreme. How can a person calling himself a minister of Christ stand up and breathe forth such a string of the most palpable untruths?"

"And Beecher, too, I see, is blazing away with his blasphemous doctrines. It is such men as he and Channing that lit up the flame of our fratricidal war; and for all that England and Europe are suffering because of our war these men are responsible. Let the honest thinking people of England remember that important fact when they would gather round and applaud those who were forced to flee from their own country for shelter. This man Beecher was 'egged' in the public streets of Brooklyn, he was pointed at with derision, personal violence was threatened if he did not abandon his vile and incendiary language, and he made good his escape to Europe until the bitterness then existing against him should subside."

"The dismissal of the British consuls from the Confederacy is probably as important an item of news to England as the present steamer will carry out. The step has been meditated for a year past, but its execution was delayed until Her Majesty's consuls assumed the 'right to interfere directly



with the execution of the Confederacy's laws, and to advise soldiers of the Confederate armies to throw down their arms in face of the enemy: and when this was found to be the case, President Davis was not long in ordering the summary dismissal of every British consul in the South. At best they occupied a false position, inasmuch as they professed to represent a Government which did not exist in localities to which they were accredited. They were never sent by England as Her Majesty's representatives to the Confederate States of America, and their residence in those States during the war was, of course, permitted only by the courtesy of the Confederate Government. It maintained that courtesy to the utmost limit, and has now only performed an act which most nations would have done long since.

"The responsibility is now thrown upon England of leaving her subjects without the protection of even a representative; nor can she send such without first recognising the independence of the Confederacy.

"The residence of French Consuls, or indeed the consuls of any other nation, you will note, is not interfered with, though in point of fact there is no difference in the position between these and the consuls of Great Britain, except perhaps the interference with the "Confederate laws," of which, in the case of the latter, Mr. Benjamin complains.

"New Orleans will most likely be an exception to the 'order to quit,' for the reason that the Confederacy is just now unable to enforce the order in that city: so the consul there will probably remain, unless the British Government should see fit to recall him. In this, however, it must be its own judge whether New Orleans belongs to the United or the Confederate States. Any map will show that it clearly belongs to the latter, and though temporarily occupied by an invading foe, it is none the less the property and a portion of the Confederate States.

"And a very pertinent query might here be put. Was it fair to give Mr. Mason the cold shoulder and yet continue representatives in all the States, the Government of which it had thus far refused to recognise? I have myself admitted that England was right in refusing official correspondence with Mr. Mason when it had not recognised the Power that sent him; but it was none the less right that she should have also recalled her own consuls without waiting for the Confederacy to dismiss them.

"There is a report that the Confederate Government has permitted the agents of France to remove the tobacco purchased by them in the South, provided it is taken away in French ships. It is understood, however, that the authorities at Washington object to this, although some three months since they agreed with M. Mercier to let the shipments be made, on condition that it was not construed into a precedent or as a warrant for other shipments at any future time. . . .

"Cotton has been weak since Saturday, under what I regard as a false impression that at large lots will reach New Orleans. It is offered to-day at 86 cents for Middling, some of the brokers quoting it one cent below this figure."

#### THE IMPERIAL LETTER.

The *Moniteur* publishes the text of the letter addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe by the Emperor of the French, proposing a general Congress to settle the affairs of Europe. The following is a translation:—

"Most High and Most Illustrious Sovereign Princes and Free Towns which constitute the High German Confederation:—

"In presence of the events which every day arise and become urgent, I deem it indispensable to express myself without reserve to the Sovereigns to whom the destiny of nations is confided.

"Whenever severe shocks have shaken the bases and displaced the limits of States solemn transactions have taken place to arrange the new elements, and to consecrate by revision the accomplished transformations. Such was the object of the treaty of Westphalia in the 17th century, and of the negotiations at Vienna in 1815. It is on this latter foundation that now reposes the political edifice of Europe; and yet, as you are aware, it is crumbling away on all sides.

"If the situation of the different countries be attentively considered, it is impossible not to admit that the Treaties of Vienna upon almost all points are destroyed, modified, misunderstood, or menaced. Hence, duties without rule, rights without title, and pretensions without restraint. The danger is so much the more formidable because the improvements brought about by civilisation, which has bound nations together by the identity of material interests, would render war still more destructive.

"This is a subject for serious reflection; let us not wait before deciding on our course for sudden and irresistible events to disturb our judgment and carry us away despite ourselves in opposite directions.

"I therefore propose to you to regulate the present and secure the future in a Congress.

"Called to the throne by Providence and the will of the French people, but trained in the school of adversity, I am perhaps bound less than any other to ignore the rights of the sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of nations.

"Therefore I am ready, without any preconceived system, to bring to an International Council the spirit of moderation and justice, the usual portion of those who have endured so many various trials.

"If I take the initiative in such an overture, I do not yield

to an impulse of vanity; but as I am the Sovereign to whom ambitious projects are most attributed, I have it at heart to prove by this frank and loyal step that my sole object is to arrive without a shock at the pacification of Europe. If this proposition be favourably received, I pray you to accept Paris as the place of meeting.

"In case the princes, allies and friends of France, should think proper to heighten by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them my cordial hospitality. Europe would see, perhaps, some advantage in the capital from which the signal for subversion has so often been given becoming the seat of the Conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification.

"I take advantage of this opportunity to renew to you the assurance of my sincere attachment and of the lively interest which I take in the prosperity of the States of the Confederation. Whereupon, most high and illustrious Sovereign Princes, and Free States which constitute the most exalted German Confederation, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

"Written at Paris on the 4th of November in the year of grace 1863.

"NAPOLEON.

"Countersigned, DROUYN DE LHUYS."

#### SPEECH OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

The French Chambers were opened on the 5th instant by the Emperor, who delivered the following speech:—

"Messieurs les Sénateurs,

"Messieurs les Députés:—

"The annual assembly of the great bodies of the State is always a happy opportunity for bringing together the men who are devoted to the public welfare, and for manifesting the truth to the country. The frankness of our mutual intercourse calms anxiety and strengthens our resolutions. I, therefore, bid you welcome. The Legislative Body has been renewed a third time since the foundation of the Empire, and for the third time, in despite of some local dissents, I can only congratulate myself upon the result of the elections. You have all taken the same oath to me: that is a guarantee to me of your support. It is our duty to attend to the affairs of the country promptly and well, remaining faithful to the Constitution which has given us eleven years of prosperity, and which you have sworn to uphold.

"The *exposé* of the situation at home will show to you that, despite the forced stagnation of labour in certain branches, progress has not been slackened. Our industry has contended successfully against foreign competition, and, in presence of undeniable facts, the fears engendered by the Treaty of Commerce with England have vanished. Our exports during the first eight months of the year 1863, compared with those of the corresponding months of the year 1862, show an increase of 233,000,000*fr.* During the same period our shipping trade shows an excess over that of the preceding year of 175,000 tons, of which 136,000 are under the French flag. The abundant harvest of the present year is a blessing of Providence, which will assure to the population a cheaper price of food. It is also a proof of the prosperity of our agriculture.

"Public works have been actively carried on. About 1,000 kilometres of new lines of railway have been thrown open to traffic; our ports, our rivers, our canals, our high roads have been continually improved. As the Session has met earlier than has been customary, the report of the Minister of Finance has not yet been published. It will be produced shortly. You will find therein that, if our expectations have not been fully realised, the revenues have followed a continuous rise, and that without extraordinary credits we have been able to meet the expenses caused by the war in Mexico and in Cochin China. I shall have to point out to you various reforms which are deemed advisable; among others, one relating to the freedom of the baking trade, one which will render the maritime conscription less onerous to the populations on the coast, a project for modifying the law on joint-stock companies, and one for suppressing the exclusive privileges for theatres. I have also ordered a Bill to be taken into consideration with a view to increase the powers of the general and communal councils, and to remedy the excess of centralisation—in fact, to simplify administrative formalities, to modify the laws applicable to the classes deserving of all our solicitude. This will be a step in advance to which you will gladly associate yourselves.

"The sugar question will also be submitted to your consideration, a question which stands in need of a final solution by a more distinct enactment. The project submitted to the Council of State tends to grant to home produce the facility of exportation which is granted to sugars of other parts. A Bill on registration will abolish the *double décime*, and will replace that impost by a more equitable repartition.

"In Algeria, despite the anomaly which subjects the same populations, some to the civil some to the military authorities, the Arabs have learnt to understand the mild and equitable sway of the French rule, while the Europeans do not place the less confidence in the protection of the Government.

"Our ancient colonies have seen removed the barriers which obstructed their transactions, but circumstances have not been favourable to the development of commerce.

"The recent establishment of credit institutions will, I trust, improve the state of affairs. In the midst of these material considerations nothing has been neglected which concerns religion and public morals. Religious and benevolent institutions, science and public instruction, have received great encouragement.

"Since 1848 the population of the schools has increased

one-quarter. At the present day nearly 5,000,000 children (one-third of them gratuitously) are admitted into the primary schools; but our efforts must not be slackened, as there are still 600,000 devoid of instruction. The higher class of studies has been encouraged in the secondary schools, where special instruction is under re-organisation.

"Such, gentlemen, is the substance of what we have already done, and of what we still intend to do. Assuredly, the prosperity of our country would advance still more rapidly if political anxieties did not disturb it; but in the life of nations unforeseen and inevitable events occur which must be boldly and fearlessly faced, and met without shrinking. Of this number is the war in America, the compulsory occupation of Mexico and of Cochin China, the insurrection of Poland. The distant expeditions which have been the subject of so much criticism have not been the result of any premeditated plan; they have been brought about by the force of circumstances; and yet they are not to be regretted. How, in fact, could we develop our foreign commerce if, on the one hand, we were to relinquish all influence in America; and if, on the other, in presence of the vast territory occupied by the Spaniards and the Dutch, France was to remain alone without possessions in the seas of Asia? We have conquered a position in Cochin China which, without subjecting us to the difficulties of the local government, will allow us to turn to account the immense resources of these countries, and to civilise them by commerce. In Mexico, after an unexpected resistance, which the courage of our soldiers and of our sailors overcame, we have seen the population welcome us as liberators. Our efforts will not have been fruitless, and we shall be largely rewarded for our sacrifices when the destinies of that country, which will owe its regeneration to us, shall have been handed over to a Prince whose enlightenment and high qualities render him worthy of so noble a mission. Let us, then, put faith in our expeditions beyond sea. Commenced to avenge our honour, they will terminate in the triumph of our interests; and if prejudiced minds will not see the good promise of the seed sown for the future, let us not tarnish the glory achieved, so to say, at the two extremities of the world—at Peking and in Mexico.

"The Polish question needs a fuller explanation. When the Polish insurrection burst out the Governments of France and of Russia were on the most friendly footing. Since the conclusion of peace they were always agreed upon the great European questions, and I do not hesitate to declare so.

"During the war in Italy, as well as at the time of the annexation of Nice and of Savoy, the Emperor gave me his most sincere and cordial support. This good understanding demanded forbearance, and it was only the Polish question very popular in France, that could induce me not to hesitate to compromise one of the first alliances of the Continent, and to raise my voice in favour of a nation rebellious in the eyes of Russia, but, in ours, heirs to a right inscribed in history and in treaties. Nevertheless, this question touched upon the most serious European interests. It could not be treated by France alone. An insult to our honour or a menace against our frontiers alone imposes upon us the duty of action without preliminary concert. It therefore became necessary, as at the time of the events in the East and in Syria, for me to come to an understanding with the Powers who had equal rights and similar reasons as ourselves to express an opinion. The Polish insurrection, which from its duration assumed a national character, aroused sympathy on every side, and the aim of diplomacy has been to attract to its cause as much adhesions possible, so as to bring to bear upon Russia all the pressure possible of the public opinion of Europe. This almost unanimous expression of wishes appeared to us to be the best means of persuading the Russian Cabinet. Unfortunately our disinterested counsels have been interpreted as an attempt to intimidate; and the steps taken by England, Austria, and France, instead of putting a stop to the struggle, have only tended to embitter it. Excesses are being perpetrated on both sides, which, in the name of humanity, must be equally deplored. What, then, is to be done? Are we reduced to the sole alternative of war or of silence? No. Without having recourse to arms, and without remaining silent, one means remains to us: it is, to submit the Polish question to a European tribunal. Russia has already declared that conferences at which all the other questions which agitate Europe shall be discussed would in no wise offend her dignity. Let us take note of that declaration. Let it serve us to extinguish once for all the ferments of discord which are ready to burst forth on every side and from the disquietude itself of Europe, which in every quarter is mined by the elements of dissolution, let a new era of order and of peace arise. Has not the moment arrived to rebuild on new foundations the edifice destroyed by the hand of time, and piecemeal by revolutions? Is it not urgent to recognise by new conventions that which has been irrevocably accomplished, and to carry by common accord what the peace of the world requires? The treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist. The force of circumstances has upset them, or tends to upset them. They have been discarded nearly everywhere—in Greece, in Belgium, in France, in Italy, as upon the Danube. Germany is agitating to alter them, England has generously modified them by the cession of the Ionian Islands, and Russia treads them under foot at Warsaw. In the midst of these successive infringements of the fundamental European pact, ardent passions become over-excited, powerful interests demand solution in the South as well as in the North. What, then, can be more legitimate and more sensible than to convoke the Powers of Europe to a Congress, in which self-love and resistance would disappear in face of a supreme arbitrament? What can be more in conformity with the ideas of the age, with the wishes of the greatest number, than to address ourselves to the conscience, to the reason, of statesmen in all countries, and to say, Have not the prejudices and rancour which divide us already lasted long enough? Is the jealous rivalry of the great Powers incessantly to obstruct the progress of civilisation? Shall we be constantly casting defiance at each other by exaggerated armaments? Are our most precious resources to be indefinitely exhausted in vain ostentation of our strength? Shall we eternally preserve a position which is neither peace with its security nor war with its chance of success? Let us no longer give factitious importance to the



subversive spirit of extreme parties by opposing ourselves with narrow calculations to the legitimate aspirations of nations. Let us have the courage to substitute a regular and stable state of affairs for an unhealthy and precarious condition, even if it should cost sacrifices. Let us meet without a preconceived system, without exclusive ambition, animated by the sole thought of establishing an order of things based henceforth upon the well-understood interest of the sovereigns and of the peoples.

"I cannot but believe that this appeal would be listened to by all. A refusal would lead to the supposition of secret projects which fear the light of day; but even if the proposal should not be unanimously adopted, it would have the immense advantage of having shown Europe where lies danger and where safety. Two ways are open: the one leads to progress through conciliation and peace; the other, sooner or later, conducts fatally to war, by the obstinacy of maintaining a past which is rolling away.

"You know now, Gentlemen, the tone which I propose to adopt towards Europe. Approved by you, sanctioned by the public assent, it cannot fail to be listened to, for I speak in the name of France."

#### PRESIDENT DAVIS'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

The following Address was published on the 16th October, and received with the greatest enthusiasm:—

Head-quarters, Army of Tennessee,  
October 14, 1863.

**SOLDIERS**—A grateful country recognises your arduous services, and rejoices over your glorious victory on the field of Chickamauga. When your countrymen shall more fully learn the adverse circumstances under which you attacked the enemy, though they cannot be more thankful, they may admire more the gallantry and patriotic devotion which secured your success. Representatives of every State of the Confederacy, your steps have been followed up with affectionate solicitude by friends in every portion of the country. Defenders of the heart of our territory, your movements have been an object of interest, anxiety and hope.

Our cause depends on you, and happy it is that all can rely upon your achieving whatever, under the blessing of Providence, human power can effect.

Though you have done much, very much remains to be done. Behind you is a people providing for your support, and depending upon your protection. Before you is a country devastated by your ruthless invaders, where gentle women, feeble age and helpless infancy have been subjected to outrages without parallel in the warfare of civilised nations.

With eager eyes they watch for your coming to their deliverance, and homeless refugees pine for the hour when your victorious arms shall restore their family shelters from which they have been driven and forced to take up arms to vindicate their political rights, freedom, equality, and State sovereignty, which were a heritage purchased by the blood of your Revolutionary sires.

You have but the alternative of being slaves of submission to a despotic usurpation, or of independence, which a vigorous, united, and persistent effort will secure.

All which fires a manly breast, moves a patriot, or exalts a hero, is present to stimulate and sustain you. Nobly have you redeemed your pledges, given in the name of freedom, to the memory of your ancestors and the rights of your posterity.

That you may complete the mission to which you have devoted yourselves will require of you such exertions in the future as you have made in the past, and the continuous self-denial which rejects every consideration at variance with the public service as unworthy of the holy cause in which you are engaged.

When the war shall be ended the highest meed of praise will be due, and probably be given, to him who has claimed the least for himself in proportion to the service he has rendered. And the bitterest self-reproach which may hereafter haunt the memory of any one will be to him who has allowed selfish aspiration to prevail over his desire of the public good.

United as we are in a common destiny, obedience and cordial co-operation are essential. There is no higher duty than that which requires one to exert and render to all what is due to their station. He who sows the seeds of discontent and distrust prepares for a harvest of slaughter and defeat.

To your gallantry, energy and fortitude you crown this harmony with due subordination, and cheerful support of lawful authority.

I fervently hope that this ferocious war, so unjustly waged against our country, may soon end, and that, with the blessing of peace, you may be restored to your homes and useful pursuits; and I pray our Heavenly Father may cover you with the shield of his protection in your battle and endow you with the virtues which will close your trials in victory complete.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

**PRESIDENT DAVIS AND THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.**—A letter in the *Memphis Appeal* says:—The President, attended by Generals Bragg and Longstreet, held a review. The ceremony was not different from all other occasions of the kind, except that the brigades were not so full as usual, by reason of the strong details on picket and at work. The cortege rode down the line, the bands played, the President, with hat off, saluted the war-worn banners, so often stirred by battle breezes, and then moved on from right to left. As the cavalcade progressed, it gathered strength and interest, and by the time it reached the division of General Hood, now commanded by General Jenkins, of South Carolina, presented a striking appearance. We saw grouped together, in a picturesque cluster, around the chief of all, officers, whose traces have been written on every battle-field and whose names are household words. General Bragg, Lieutenant Generals Longstreet, and D. H. Hill; Major Generals Cheatham, Buckner, Breckinridge, McLaw, Walker, and Stewart; Brigadier Generals (commanding divisions) Preston and Jenkins; Brigadier Generals Mackall, and others, whose names I do not at present recollect. Attending the President were Colonels Chesmit and Johnston, of his personal staff, Generals Curtis, Lee, Colonel Preston, of Kentucky, and most of the day, and I learn that the President ex-Lieutenant General Pemberton. The review occupied the President his gratification at the general appearance of the army. The President was, during a portion of the time, within one thousand yards of the Federal batteries. The Federal pickets, during the review, were in plain sight. Subsequent to the review the President rode up the Lookout Mountain and inspected the Yankee camps.

#### LORD PALMERSTON AT THE GUILDHALL.

The following is a report of Lord Palmerston's speech at the Lord Mayor's Dinner on Monday last, in reply to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers":—

My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—For myself and my colleagues I beg to return you our most sincere thanks for the kind manner in which the last toast has been proposed and received. I can assure you that those who are charged with the conduct of the affairs of this country must always feel the highest gratification at being permitted to be present at the splendid hospitalities of this great city. And not only do we receive personal gratification, but we feel that on these occasions that which takes place cements that union between the different classes of the community which is so important to the interests of the whole. It is well that those who are engaged in carrying on those commercial transactions upon which the wealth, the strength, and the happiness of this great country depend, should mix from time to time with those who are the responsible advisers of the Crown in conducting the political affairs of the nation. I do not mean to say that when we meet at your festive board matters of national importance are discussed—we are too much engaged in enjoying the festive hospitality which surrounds us for that (a laugh)—but acquaintances are formed on these occasions which ripen afterwards into friendships; and it is well-known that the transactions of business are made much more easy when those who meet to carry them on know and like each other. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I say, these gatherings are of great political importance by bringing together those who are charged with the commerce of the country and those who are responsible for its political government. There have been occasions when it was the lot of those who had to explain the state of affairs to congratulate you on the tranquil condition of the civilised world. I am afraid I cannot do that in the present instance; for, although I trust there is nothing in our horizon which can grow into a cloud of war, yet we see on all sides—in the far West and in the distant East—struggles going on of the most lamentable character, and scenes enacted which make us shudder for humanity, and excite our deep compassion for the countries in which they are occurring. (Hear, hear.) In the far West we see a nation of the same race, the same language, the same religion, the same manners and literature as ourselves, split into two, slaughtering each other by hundreds of thousands, and carrying on a contest the result of which it is impossible to foresee, and the end of which now, after more than two years' duration, he would be a bold man indeed who would venture to predict. (Hear, hear.) Lamenting that state of things, the Government of this country have felt it their duty not to yield either to the entreaties or the oburgations of the one party or the other. (Cheers.) Blandishments on the one side and threats on the other have equally been fruitless to affect our course. (Renewed cheers.) We have felt it our duty to abstain from taking any part in that deplorable conflict. If, indeed, we had thought it had been in our power to put an end to it by friendly intervention, no efforts would have been wanting to accomplish so holy an object. (Cheers.) But we felt that our interference would have been vain, and we deemed it our duty—and in that I am sure we but followed the wishes of the country—to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality. (Loud cheers.) In the East also scenes of a lamentable character are taking place. We there see, on the one side a barbarous system of deliberate extermination carried out, and on the other side revenge venting itself in acts of murder and assassination. (Hear.) We endeavoured to enlist the feelings and opinions of civilised Europe in a joint remonstrance against that which we thought was unjust. Those remonstrances have failed. We have done our duty; and we can only hope that those who have the conduct of affairs in the Russian empire may at length cease to pursue that course which has drawn upon them the condemnation of Europe, and that peace may be restored upon terms of equity and justice in that unfortunate country. (Hear.) Well, though abroad things look ill, and much misery and calamity are sustained, this country forms a happy exception to that which seems to be the prevailing condition of nations. We have been blessed by Providence with an abundant harvest; we have been preserved by the conduct of the Government and the sense of the country from the misfortunes of war; our population are contented and loyal, and they feel that for a long course of years the Legislature has been occupied in remedying grievances, in removing defects from our laws, in sweeping away those obstructions which the less enlightened policy of former times had placed in the way of the productive industry of the nation. By all these means, I am happy to say, I believe that the commercial and material prosperity of the country has reached a point which it never attained at any former period. (Hear, hear.) Those who know the course of the commerce of the world will tell you that year by year this great city of London is growing more and more to be the centre of all the commercial transactions of other States, that bills are drawn upon London to pay debts all over the world, that commodities destined for other countries are sent in deposit here—a tribute paid by the people of other nations to the industry, good management, integrity, and high honour of our own commercial community. (Hear, hear.) I congratulate you, my Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, on this happy state of things, and I trust that the people of England will feel that they are greatly indebted for it to the reign of that beneficent Sovereign under whose mild and enlightened rule they have the good fortune to live. (Hear.) My Lord Mayor, I beg again to thank you on my own part and on that of my colleagues, and to assure you that we derive the highest gratification from being allowed to join this festive board. (Loud cheers.)

Respecting the affair at Charleston, Shenandoah Valley, on the 18th October, General Lee reports as follows:—

Head-quarters, Northern Virginia,  
October 23.

To General S. COOPER,—

General Imboden, on the 18th, attacked the garrison at Charleston, Shenandoah Valley, and captured 434 prisoners with their arms, transportation, and stores. To this add the prisoners already forwarded, making 2,462.

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

The total number of prisoners held in Richmond on the 23rd October was a fraction under 12,000.

#### SHALL WE HAVE AN EIGHT YEARS' WAR?

(From the *New York World*, October 23.)

Is the Union worth an eight years' war? Except for illustration, this is an idle interrogatory; for it is certain that the war cannot last eight years on its present gigantic scale without engulfing the country in hopeless bankruptcy.

The war has already lasted two years and six months, and in that time we have accumulated a national debt amounting to about \$2,000,000,000. Each year of the war must cost more than the year next preceding, for the constantly increasing inflation of the currency will cause a corresponding increase in the cost of military supplies. With the same number of men in the field it is probable that, taking one year with another, at least thirty per cent. will be annually added to the cost of supporting the war. A simple calculation will show the impossibility of the war continuing eight years without bankrupting the nation. It may fairly be doubted whether it can continue five years from its commencement, or double its present duration, without prostrating the credit of the government.

As an offset to this we may be told that the rebel government, being so much weaker in resources, is certain to break down financially much sooner than ours. This is very true; but the rebel war debt will never be paid, and the accumulation of a great debt is a very different thing where it is to be wiped out with a sponge from a debt no part of which is to be repudiated. Whatever may be the result of the war, the United States, as a long established government bound in honour to pay its debts, or at least the interest on them, will remain. It is absurd to argue this question as if the United States were running a financial race against the rebels. We are not to judge of our debt by comparison with a debt that will never be paid, but by our ability to pay the interest on it. It is clear that a war even for the Union cannot be indefinitely prolonged; and consequently that an Administration which spends much and accomplishes little will, if continued in power, bankrupt the nation, and fail to restore the Union at last.

"The Union at any cost!" is a well-sounding cry till you come to examine it. Do we want the Union at the expense of national honour? Ought we to purchase the Union by national bankruptcy? We are shocked by such questions; we recoil from the alternative they present. But if the thought of either part of the alternative is intolerable, what shall we say of an Administration that is so managing the war as to threaten us with the accumulated horrors of both? If the war continues to be mismanaged as it has been—that is to say, if the Republican party continues in power another four years—we shall have a nation bankrupt and dishonoured, without the compensation of a Union restored.

"But the war has made considerable progress." If you look only at the credit side of your balance sheet, and shut your eyes to the debit side, you may easily fancy yourself rich. It may be satisfactory to have an omelet on your breakfast table, but if you have paid enough for the omelet to buy a house and lot you have really very little to show for your money. In proportion to the number of men called into service and the amount of debt accumulated, the Administration have accomplished very little. "Washington is safe,"—and so is Richmond. "Vicksburg is ours,"—but a cry comes from all the western cities that the Mississippi is no more open to commerce than when Vicksburg was in possession of the enemy. "The Army of the Cumberland is in Chattanooga,"—but it was driven there defeated, and stands there on the defensive. The Administration has called successively for 75,000 men; for 500,000 men to end the war early by a single overpowering effort; for 300,000 men to save Washington and repel the invading rebels; for 300,000 men again to serve nine months and end the war within that time beyond all peradventure; for 300,000 men still again to replace the nine months men who were mustered out, with Washington again menaced and the North again invaded; and now the President calls for still another 300,000 men, to be allowed for, he tells us, on a future draft!

Unless the war makes a more rapid progress in proportion to the colossal scale of our expenditures, our resources will give out before the rebels give up.

**THE "TIMES" NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT.**—Charles Mackay, correspondent of the *London Times*, left this city in the *Persia* on Wednesday, having received leave of absence for one month. At the expiration of that time he proposes to return and resume his duties. Dr. Mackay came to this country with an unprejudiced mind, prepared to receive impressions according to the result of an impartial observation. As the correspondent of the first newspaper of the Old World, he aimed to transmit facts as they happened, and to suggest theories as they occurred to his unbiased judgment. He has accomplished this difficult task with a faithfulness and sagacity that fully justify the *London Times* in its choice of a representative in this region of political convulsion. Holding himself entirely aloof from influence of a partisan nature, and scanning the progress of events and the tone of popular feeling with a cosmopolitan spirit, he has given his countrymen to understand the actual condition of American affairs. Dr. Mackay's sojourn in this city has procured him many friends. His rare intellectual qualities and social attributes are of a kind to elicit both admiration and esteem. He evinces in private life the depth of feeling and sincerity that, as the first lyric poet of the day, he has imparted to his lyric verse. It is well for his American friends and his European employers that his absence is to be of short duration.—*The New York Daily News*, October 23.

LORD RUSSELL has withdrawn himself from the clutch of the Tartar whom he so unwisely caught. The despatch which was published by the Foreign-office on Friday is a formal retreat from the neighbourhood of the unreasonable Russian who refused to be frightened. Lord Russell has had to do with a man who would not stand when he was bidden, and he has been fain to follow neighbour Dogberry's advice, and take no note of him, but let him go. "Her Majesty's Government have no wish to prolong the correspondence on the subject of Poland." This is the end of the cogent demands, of the half-suggested menace, of the loud tone of dictation, and of the feint to form a league for armed coercion. The threat has broken against the defiance. The bear holds his victim in his hug, and the bystanders, who cried "shame" and threatened spears, fold themselves up in their cloaks and withdraw in undignified dudgeon when he shows his long teeth. Lord Russell has been the first to perform this inevitable ceremony of retrenchment, and he has done it in this curt and sulky despatch, the most lame and impotent conclusion of an ill-advised policy.—*Times*.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOIZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings, Manchester, F. A. HASLEHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to MESSRS. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

J. N. Beach, Esq.	£5 0 0
Wm. G. Crenshaw, Esq.	50 0 0
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## The Premier on the Great Questions of the Day.

UPON the sensitive ear of one who cherishes and glories in the imperial traditions of England, Lord Palmerston's reference to the two greatest questions of the day, at the Lord Mayor's dinner on Monday last, must jar painfully, as he compares the dainty and *debonnaire* handling of momentous topics with the bold and commanding words of the representative of a more heroic age. On each hemisphere there is a brave people freely pouring out its heart's blood in self-defence against attacks as wicked in design as barbarous in execution, and the predominant feeling which this spectacle moves in the mind of the Premier of England is one of complacent self-congratulation at the uninterrupted tranquillity and prosperity of these islands. Some commonplace expressions of compassion and of unfeigned aversion to scenes of bloodshed and unparalleled suffering he does indeed feel due to his self-respect and as a tribute to humanity, for Lord Palmerston is essentially a kind-hearted man. Such expressions a lady of delicate nerves might use at being unwillingly made to witness a surgical operation. But here is the man, venerable for years, respected for a long life of public services, enjoying an unbounded popularity and almost equally unbounded power—a man on whose lips a whole nation hangs attentively, and who, when he speaks, speaks to the civilised world:—in the mouth of such a man, such expressions, however proper in themselves and however genuinely felt, sound, if made empty, like cruel mockery.

Lord Palmerston's speech is certain to be applauded, because it is his. Men will praise its wisdom, its caution, its reserve, because it chimes admirably with the love of ease, the lack of earnestness, the political lethargy that characterise our unchivalric age, and we do not blame Lord Palmerston for understanding the present temper of his countrymen. Yet we will not believe that prosperity has so thickly coated with animal fat the British heart as to make it impervious to noble and generous thoughts; and had the Premier addressed himself to the conscience of the nation, and risen above the phrases of meaningless sentimentalism to the announcement of great purposes and a magnanimous policy, we believe that he would have awakened an echo so loud and universal, as to drown the timid ex-

postulations of the counting-rooms, or the impotent curses of Yankee-maniacs. But Lord Palmerston, perhaps from habit, perhaps from other motives, has chosen, not to lead, but to follow—and follow somewhat in the rear—the public opinion of the hour. We may be told that "a festive board" at the Mansion-house is not the proper place, or a Lord Mayor's dinner the proper occasion, to promulgate startling views on affairs of State; but immemorial usage has made the attendance of the Ministers at these civic banquets a political event, and the time of their annual occurrence—marking the transition from the topics of one Parliamentary session to the unshaped topics of another—has given to the Ministerial utterances on those occasions a significance peculiarly distinctive. Viewed in this light, the practical indifference and unconcern revealed in Lord Palmerston's speech at the Lord Mayor's dinner, will wound those with whom he faintly professes to sympathise, more deeply than the blundering diplomacy and dexterous balancing of contradictions of Earl Russell or the denunciations of avowed enemies. Lord Palmerston's is an honoured name in Poland and in the Confederate States, and in both countries his frigid commonplaces will dispel cherished illusions.

The drooping spirits of Poland, just abandoned by Lord Palmerston's cabinet to worse cruelties and more inhuman outrages, after sufficiently irritating her foe by a species of diplomatic phlebotomy, will scarcely be cheered by his declaration that within her bloodstained borders "scenes of a lamentable character are taking place," or by the assertion, in which there is nevertheless more truth than in another part of the noble lord's speech, that the struggle is "on the one side, a barbarous system of extermination," and on the other "revenge, venting itself in acts of murder and assassination;" or even by the mildly-expressed hope that the bird of prey will be gently reasoned into mercy to his clutched victim. It is not, however, with Lord Palmerston's treatment of the Polish question that we desire especially to find fault. Poland has her own champions, and she has gained little by their being generally found in the camp of the enemies of another and, to say the least, equally deserving nationality.

It is of the jaunty, careless dismissal of the whole of the grave issues involved in the American struggle that we, and history after us, may justly complain. Two great peoples, whose radical dissemblance is now as patent to all the world as that between the English and the French, are lightly spoken of as "a nation" unhappily "split into two." We might pardon even the chief Minister of England for the slipshod style which treats as a nation a Confederation of States whose very name refutes the idea, whose whole history disproves it, and on none of whose statute books or official acts the words "nation" or "national" are to be found, were it not that this slipshod style in this connection sanctions the miserable slang of the aggressive party in this war, and by a single word justifies the whole scheme of national murder for which the war is waged. Even Earl Russell had the grace to say that the North was fighting for empire, the South for independence. Even the most bigoted partisans of the Federals on this side of the water, even the most passive sympathisers of the South, have not altogether blinded themselves to the inevitable issues of a contest waged with such motives. Lord Palmerston will not thus deprive the North of hope and discourage it from further efforts. To his indifferent eye, "it is impossible to foresee the result." The dignified reserve of the aggrieved side, the uncomplaining endurance, the unobtrusive argumentative assertion of their rights by the Southern people, the calm imperturbable Premier smilingly treats as "blandishments," to be placed in exactly the same scale and to have exactly the same weight as the "threats" of their blustering opponents. Not a word has he to tell the nation over whose destinies he presides, that in so gigantic a struggle they cannot ignore the questions of justice, and that in an issue between moral right and brute force they cannot remain indifferent. He has

taken Mr. Seward's view that this war is "an insurrection chiefly confined and adjacent to the Gulf of Mexico," and while he "deplores" this "lamentable state of things," as doubtless Mr. Seward also does, he has felt it the duty of England—to do what? "To maintain a strict and impartial neutrality,"—so he says; but in reality to disregard, to the prejudice of the weaker side, the Paris Convention on the subject of blockades—to exercise the undoubted right of every Government over its own ports in so unusual manner as to exclude the only belligerent who could make prizes on the commerce of the other—to discountenance all other Powers likely to interfere and stop the war—to strain the law against the belligerent who wants ships, and to relax it for him who has the seas open and wants men and munitions—to goad a high-spirited but patient people by repeated insults into absolute non-intercourse—in brief, to use Earl Russell's frank and expressive confession, "to construe the law of nations liberally in favour of the North," i.e., the stronger side.

The Confederate States will not be disappointed by this speech of the Premier's, except in so far as it affects the elevated estimate which had been popularly entertained there of his personal character. They have long since abandoned all expectations, as President Davis has just expressed it most emphatically at Mobile, of aid from Europe. Nor would we be understood as pointing censure against Lord Palmerston individually. In the language held at the Mansion-house he simply represented a transient phase of English thought, or rather, want of thought. His worst fault is, that he was content to represent and express, instead of endeavouring to correct and improve it. This phase is so callously, and yet unconsciously selfish, that most men who now unquestioningly accept it would recoil from its avowal were it nakedly presented to them, either by some living voice that could enforce attention or by the mirror of history. But is it to be wondered at, that when the poised and well-weighed words of the leaders of a nation embody and crystallise such a phase of thought, and become significant only by their poverty of generous purposes, of a fixed policy, or of lofty motives—can it be wondered at, when this is the case, that of such a nation the strong should think that it can be insulted with impunity, and the weak that its friendship is not to be trusted? In other words, can we wonder at the growing arrogance of the Yankees, or the alienation of the Southerners, which statesmen of the Earl Russell school seem industriously, though we trust ineffectually, bent upon rendering permanent and incurable?

From the sentimental cant, which expends itself in fine phrases, without ever solidifying into an honest effort to punish or avert the iniquities it professes to deprecate, we turn with real relief to words which have the old English ring about them. In an article, every sentence of which is the embodiment of ripened thought, and from which we only regret that our space does not permit us to quote more fully, *Blackwood's Magazine* puts the touchstone of a vigorous manly logic to the false coin of hypocrisy and sophism which has gained such extensive currency among the unwary and thoughtless. It thus concludes its vivisection of "Our Rancorous 'Cousins':"

It would then be a great benefit to clear the question of the ideas or phrases of "cousins," "domestic quarrel," "alliance with slaveholders." It is extraordinary how easily people accept such counterfeit coin, merely because they don't take the trouble to look at it. People write seriously about our American cousins, who are not ambitious of claiming cousin Butler, or cousin Lincoln, or cousin Ward Beecher, or cousin Sumner, as their kin—and, if not these, why so affectionate to the people who seem to regard these as their most famous men? Cousinship is an extremely pleasant relation, as many young persons in this and other countries can testify; but if the term is to be made so inclusive as to take in the American nation, it will become, as Doll Tearsheet says, "as odious as the word occupy, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." . . . . . We have been frequently told, in the course of this quarrel, especially when any new insult has been inflicted on us, that it is the duty, both of our press and Government, to be extremely forbearing. This transference of the duty of forbearance from the assailant to the assailed is certainly a new doctrine in ethics. And is it consistent with our own character? Is it a



fact, that we have attained to our present position, and expect to maintain it, by persevering patience under insult? Do we intend to pursue this course rigidly in future, and to hold out our cheeks alternately to the smiter? In that case, we shall find plenty of hands ready to smite: but we shall scarcely be entitled to rate ourselves as before. Or are we to make this policy of poltroonery applicable only to our relations with the North? If so, excellent reason should be shown for a course that must sink us in the world's esteem and in our own. But if we are bound, as of yore, to uphold, under gravest penalty our honour and independence, as things too sacred to be made the sport of a shifty policy, let us reply to insults, menaces, and aggressions in a tone which can leave no doubt possible that we are prepared to use our power for the assertion of our rights.

## The Struggle for East Tennessee.

THE movements of the Federal and Confederate forces, though difficult to trace through the confused and one-sided accounts which reach us from Washington, possess at the present moment an interest which has not been surpassed during the war. At no time since the first encounter at Bull's Run, or the battles on the Chickahominy, have such important issues been involved; nor on any prior occasion has one point of conflict so completely attracted to itself the whole energies, strength, and resources of the two Powers. It would seem as if the whole fury of the war were about to culminate in East Tennessee, and Chattanooga were destined to be the Armageddon of North America. From all parts the Northern armies are being put in motion for the relief of General Thomas's beleaguered force; North, South, and West, are being drained of Federal troops to recruit the thinned and famished battalions standing on their defence in the midst of a hostile country. Roads are forming, long trains of camels are picking their way through well-nigh impassable tracks; great convoys, armies in themselves, are dragging painfully through swelling fords and heavy mud, and with them every available soldier is hurrying to the great battle-field. The Federals boast that General Grant is at the head of 200,000 men, and announce that Chattanooga is safe and East Tennessee won to the Union. But the truth is, that the only reinforcements which have reached the Tennessee River belong to the army which Hooker has pushed along from Nashville *via* Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and that at the latest date, even including Burnside's isolated corps, the Federal forces available for action in East Tennessee did not reach half that number. We hear of large forces *en route* from Memphis through Corinth, but we know that their advance had been attacked and badly handled by the Confederate cavalry, and that at Tusculum, on the direct line of march, a formidable body of troops are concentrating and entrenching to bar their future progress. We know, too, that close to their route General Wheeler was in command of an efficient cavalry force, ready at any moment to be thrown upon a weak point and sweep off their wagon trains and mules. A Georgia paper reclaims, as the produce of this active officer's recent raid, 1,160 wagons, 1,000 of which he destroyed, 3,500 mules shot, and 1,000 horses captured; at McMinnville he destroyed thirty days' rations for Rosecrans's entire army, and two trains of cars laden with military stores. If his numbers are anything like as great as they are represented, we may expect to hear of another dash upon the invaders' line of communication, attended with similar results; and in that case the reinforcements that may reach General Thomas will be rather in the way than otherwise. The last reports from Chattanooga were to the effect that they are suffering from want of rations, and that the horses were dying off rapidly, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining forage. Let our readers picture to themselves the difficulty of transporting forage for the horses of an army of 100,000 men, some 200 miles, over bad roads and through a hostile country, and they will at once see that this want of forage is likely to become a serious danger to the Federal army. The hills of East Tennessee at this season are not good feeding grounds. The Confederate army under General Bragg has for months

"subsisted" in the neighbourhood. We may be sure, therefore, that very little has been left for the invaders. General Thomas may possibly hold his position at Chattanooga against any direct attack for months to come; whether he can feed his troops is another question; for at the present season every day must increase his difficulties, and even an augmentation of his strength may only involve him in greater straits, as swelling the number of mouths to be fed. Advance he cannot. The moral effect of a retreat would be hardly less disastrous than that of a decisive defeat; and we can readily understand why Richmond is exultant as it has never yet been, and why the destruction or capitulation of the Army of the Cumberland is not thought beyond what the South may hope for and even expect.

President Davis is evidently alive to his advantage and determined to press it home. His tour in the South is something more than an inspection. It is an appeal to the people to enable him to make Bragg's victory at Chattanooga the turning point of the war—and a successful one. He asserts that the invading army is in his power if adequate efforts are made by the citizens of the South; and we may rely upon it that nothing which skill, enterprise and gallantry can do, will be left undone by the Southern leaders and their troops. It would seem, indeed, that every movement of Southern troops, with the exception of those engaged in the defence of Richmond and Charleston, and in the campaign in the Tche, is connected with the operations against the Federals at Chattanooga. In Arkansas and Mississippi the Confederates are pressing forward with a view to prevent the despatch of reinforcements to General Thomas. From Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia troops are marching for East Tennessee. Guerillas are active in Kentucky, and all along the Federal lines of communication between Nashville and Chattanooga. Long before Grant's army can reach the scene of conflict, Johnston and Hardee, with their 60,000 veteran troops, can join Bragg, with the whole resources of Georgia and Alabama at their backs. It is true, Hooker's successful advance may be construed as a sign of Confederate weakness; but we have no reliable accounts of his movements. Unless he has learned modesty by repeated failures, his report of his last battle in no way suggests a decisive victory, and we may still learn that the affair was only a night surprise, and that the Confederates claim all the advantages. If the object of General Thomas were to fight a general action at once, the arrival of Hooker might ensure his safety. If he is only striving to maintain his position throughout the winter, Hooker's force may prove almost an encumbrance. For it is now quite plain no direct attack is intended. The Confederates have withdrawn from the right wing of Thomas's army, and thrown a considerable force between Knoxville and Chattanooga. The communications of the two Federal armies are therefore interrupted, and the object of General Bragg is doubtless to secure the defeat of Burnside's corps as a preliminary to a blow against the communications of General Thomas.

If we interpret General Lee's recent movements aright, they had reference rather to East Tennessee than Washington, and any day may bring us news of Burnside having been compelled to fight against a superior force. But if any disaster befalls Burnside, Kentucky will be open to the guerillas, and the Federalists in Tennessee will be in terrible danger. It would be hardly possible to retain Nashville or Murfreesboro, and keep open the communication from the Cumberland River to Chattanooga after such a blow; and the fall of Nashville means nothing less than the loss of Tennessee to the Union and the destruction of a great portion of the army under Grant. In a week or two we may hope for more precise accounts of the operations and plans of the Confederates. But we believe that the struggle in East Tennessee is only just commenced, and looking at the position, strength, and resources of the two armies, we see no reason to doubt that it will end as it has begun, favourably to the South.

## The Imperial Speech.

THE King of Prussia would do well to take a lesson in dignity and courteous language from Napoleon III. We can hardly suppose that the result of the elections was altogether satisfactory to the Emperor. Though we suspect that he neither directed nor approved the violent language and strong measures of his Minister of the Interior, it can hardly have been agreeable to him to see how promptly and angrily the challenge imprudently offered by M. de Persigny was taken up by some of the chief constituencies of the Empire; and the return of some of the members of the anti-Imperial coalition must be displeasing to him, not merely as a sovereign, but as the upholder of civil law and social order in France. But instead of rebuking the country with the petulant ill-humour of his brother monarch, the Emperor accepts its decision gracefully, and thanks the people for the proof of unshaken confidence in his government which the nation at large has given him. He does not ignore the return of some thirty of his personal and political enemies; but he speaks of it frankly as what it really was, the result of local misunderstandings. And, if M. de Persigny had been a little more discreet, it is possible that the election of some of the leading opponents of his policy might not have been displeasing to the Emperor. While the Chambers contained only Imperialists, it was possible for Republicans, Orleanists, and Legitimists to say that the real voice of France was stifled, her real feeling unrepresented, and her true policy subordinated to purely selfish or dynastic objects. Above all, a strong sympathy was excited abroad for men who were supposed to have more liberal views of foreign policy and more honest intentions towards foreign Powers than the Emperor or his Ministers. If we are not greatly mistaken, the session now opened will dispel all these delusions. The factious coalition of the parties hostile to the Government will be speedily dissolved, and their mutual antagonism will prove the utter futility of all hopes founded on the supposed possibility of a fusion among them. Legitimists and Orleanists, Royalists and Republicans, the party of Lamartine and that of Louis Blanc, hate one another far more bitterly than they hate the Emperor; and when they are allowed to speak their minds it will soon be patent that each faction has objects of its own, neither consonant with the welfare nor agreeable to the feelings of the French nation. "Give them rope and they will hang themselves." They will prove themselves impracticable, irrational, reckless of consequences, and contemptuous of principles. They will satisfy France that she has everything to fear from them; they will prove to Europe that, under any of them, France would be far more dangerous than she has ever been deemed while Napoleon III. has directed her policy. These men would not abandon Rome; they would not give up Nice and Savoy; but they would make war in the name of Poland for the frontier of the Rhine, and they would probably pick a quarrel with England in the hope of "avenging Waterloo." We suspect that the little knot of orators and editors who constitute the French Opposition will speedily make both France and Europe thankful that they are, and are likely to remain, powerless to do the evil they contemplate. Without admiring the system or justifying the conduct of the Emperor, it is impossible not to prefer his rule to that of the Republicans and his principles to those of the Socialists. Guizot has damned himself on paper. Thiers will do the same in the tribune. Nothing but silence could preserve for these men the sympathies of Europe; it is well, therefore, for the Emperor, that they should be allowed to speak. Let them once declare to Europe that they approve the occupation of Rome, and condemn the occupation of Mexico; that they would fain help the Federal Government to crush the independence of the South, and establish that of Poland against Russia; that they abhor war in Cochin-China, but would welcome war on the Rhine; that they condemn the liberation of Italy, but approve the annexation of Savoy; that, as some of the most eminent and



moderate among them have declared, they would forgive the deeds of December to any sovereign who would restore the glories of 1802; and Europe will rest satisfied for the future that the reign of Napoleon III. is the best for the world, and far too good for the French Liberals.

Napoleon III. has a good right to congratulate his country on the development of her commerce and the progress made by her industry. It is to him, to his own statesmanship, and his thorough comprehension of her wants, to the courage which has induced him to carry through, in despite of popular alarms, the measures which he saw to be necessary for the public good, and to the firm will and decision judgment which refused to be frightened or argued out of a wise commercial policy, that France owes the vast improvement in her condition which has taken place since 1851. The Emperor has given her order: the first necessity of commerce. He has given encouragement to trade and manufactures, which was sorely needed in France, though it might seem superfluous to English observers. He has contrived to utilise the hoardings of the peasants; he has instituted financial operations which have succeeded so admirably and done so much to develop the resources of the country, that we are beginning to imitate them in England. With a heavy taxation and an increasing debt, France has grown rich under his guidance. He has so greatly improved the condition of the labouring classes, that he feels able to relax the laws which were thought necessary, some years ago, to prevent the continual risk of that most dangerous form of discontent which arises from the fear of famine; and the promised relief of the bakers from the restrictions on their trade, trifling as it seems in itself, is the result and the proof of great achievements in the field of social amelioration. It was an enemy who, reviewing the present and past condition of France, remarked: "Perhaps, after all, it was not the First Napoleon that was Napoleon the Great." And certainly it is not to the First Napoleon that France has most reason to be grateful.

Those who imagine that the policy of the Emperor has no object but the maintenance of his dynasty, and that he looks for the accomplishment of that end to achievements popular with the army and gratifying to the vanity of the nation, if they are not silenced by the results of his domestic administration, ought to be convinced by a very cursory glance at his foreign policy. That has been anything but consonant with their theory; it has been sometimes prudent, sometimes generous, often brilliant and almost always successful; but it has never been popular. The Emperor is in advance of the country; his enterprises are too farsighted, his diplomacy is too patient and temperate, to suit the taste of France. The Crimean war was extremely unpopular; the English alliance is approved by statesmen, but is not relished either by the army or the multitude; the Italian campaign was exceedingly obnoxious to a great proportion of the people; the distant expeditions in which France has lately engaged are the work of the Emperor alone, and would never have been sanctioned by a plebiscite. A campaign in Belgium—a war for the left bank of the Rhine—a quarrel with England—would suit the temper of the people and gratify the army; but these distant wars, which condemn the soldier to years of exile, in which France does not see the glory she is winning, and by which her neighbours are not humiliated nor her frontiers extended, do not tend to make the Emperor a favourite either with the troops or with the populace. The expedition to Mexico is the most honourable and useful in which the French armies were ever engaged. It has given back to civilisation and commerce the richest region of the earth. It has restored order and prosperity to a great empire. It has broken for ever the arrogant pretensions of an insolent and encroaching republic. It has created for France an ally with the finest position in the world; with ports on two oceans and holding the key to two continents. It has given her a claim on the gratitude of her greatest and nearest continental rival. It has done more for the promotion of French commerce and the perpetuation of French renown than the liberation of Italy. But it has not added to the popularity of the Emperor, and it will be the topic of fierce and angry denunciation in the Chambers. The Emperor serves France too well to secure her gratitude; it is enough if she forgive him for understanding her interests better than she does herself.

The speech is almost silent in regard to the American war; noticing it only as a drawback to the commercial prosperity which France has recently achieved. From this silence some of our contemporaries have inferred that the Emperor intends under no circumstances to interfere in that war. Without pretending to any information on the subject which is not open to all the world, we venture to question this inference. If such had been the determination of the Imperial speaker it would prob-

bably have been announced in plain terms; first because it would have silenced the unfriendly criticisms of the Federalist organs in America, France, and England; and secondly, because it would have been but an act of justice and courtesy to the Powers most interested in the matter. Is it not possible that the Emperor's reserve is to be attributed to the fact that he was dissatisfied with the past and uncertain as to the future? It is notorious that he wishes well to the South, and has only been restrained from giving effect to his wishes by the strenuous opposition of England; and we can well understand that he does not care to parade this restraint before the French Chambers. It is not likely that, whatever his future policy, he will proclaim it to the world before the moment at which he is prepared to act. He will neither give notice to England that he is thinking of separating his policy from hers until he is convinced that such separation is inevitable, nor will he invite the United States to pick a quarrel with him until he sees that a quarrel must come and that the time is ripe for it. The only thing, then, which seems to us certain is, that his silence does not mean that he is determined to do nothing; but simply that he is not determined to act immediately. For our own part, we have always warned the Confederate States that their independence must be achieved by themselves. All they can hope from Europe is that, when her patience is exhausted, she will for her own sake put a period to the war. Neither France nor England will go to war, or incur the chance of war, out of pure good-will to the South; neither Power is likely to persist in the policy of non-intervention after it is convinced that that policy is dangerous and disastrous to its own interests. The days of national chivalry, we fear, are past.

Some people, we know, think otherwise. There are some who wish England to draw the sword in the cause of Poland. There are a good many Frenchmen who wish France to do so; though few of them intend that Russia shall be her only enemy, or Poland the sole gainer by the collision. The Emperor, if not a better, is a wiser man than any of these enthusiasts. He knows that France will, under no circumstances, be allowed to possess herself of the Rhenish Provinces. He knows that France would not be satisfied if a Polish war had no other result than the liberation of Poland; if it added a hundred millions sterling to the debt of France, without adding an acre to her territory. He is not, moreover, partial to European wars. They involve great sacrifices and great dangers, and they promise no commensurate prizes. At the same time he is anxious to serve the Poles, and he knows that on this point the sympathies of France are with him. He sees, also, that the Polish question is not the only one that menaces the peace of Europe. The dispute between Denmark and Germany, the aspirations of Italy, the condition of northern Turkey, the discontent of Hungary, all promise ill for the future; they must be settled by the sword, if not by negotiation; and in no one of these questions will it be possible, the sword being once drawn, for France to remain neutral. Therefore, the Emperor desires a general Congress to revise and correct the work of the Congress of Vienna; and if it were probable that such a measure would accomplish the object in view the world would have cause to be grateful to its originator. The national pride of France, which is concerned in the dissolution of the treaties of 1815, could not be gratified more cheaply; the peace of Europe could not be secured in a manner more satisfactory or more honourable.

Unhappily we see no reason to hope that such a Congress could be successful. That of Vienna sat just after the conclusion of a great war, which had effaced all the landmarks of Europe, and made a *tabula rasa*, on which the Congress could draw what frontier-lines it pleased. This is not the case now. Again, in 1815 the preponderating voice rested with England, which had nothing to ask and nothing to resign; and nevertheless the Congress was forced to do many unjust and undesirable acts to gratify the selfish ambition of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. We see no reason to think that Russia and Prussia are more reasonable now; and we see great reason to think that they will pay less regard to the moderating voice of France—the Power which must take the lead in 1864—than they paid to England in 1815. Again, they will be called upon, not to renounce aggrandisement at the expense of others, but to resign what they already possess; and we see no hope that they will consent to make such a sacrifice. We have little hope that Austria will voluntarily give up Venetia; we have no hope whatever that Russia will relax her gripe on Poland, or Prussia abandon her designs on Holstein. We fear that the proposed Congress can result only in a diplomatic quarrel and a general state of distrust and mutual resentment. And therefore, while we give full credit to Napoleon III. for a sincere desire to earn the gratitude of Europe by a great peaceful revolution and reorganisation, we confess

our own belief that revolutions must be made by force, and that reorganization must be preceded by such a dissolution of existing ties as the sword only can accomplish.

#### GENERAL SAM. HOUSTON OF TEXAS.

We hear from Texas, through the Richmond papers, of the death of a noted personage in General Sam Houston of Texas. There have been several previous reports of his death, since the beginning of the war, which have proved to be premature; this is probably authentic, for time and place are given. He has had a long and chequered career, and figured in important affairs that have had great influence on the destinies of this Continent; and though he survived to the patriarch's age of three-score-and-ten, they who have lived nearest to him are at a loss to decide whether he was a sincere man, an able man, or even a brave man, or only a successful charlatan in politics and war.

Houston was born in the State of Virginia, in 1793; but the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, in 1815, found him an officer in General Jackson's army, in the South-west. He settled in Tennessee, in the profession of the law, but soon got into political life. His first civil office was that of District Attorney; he became then Major-General of the State Militia, and was Representative in Congress during the presidency of Mr. Adams, in opposition to whom he joined zealously in the support of General Jackson. He did not make much figure in Congress, being remarkable only for a certain recklessness of private conduct and political radicalism, which at that time distinguished the young members from the West. During the Jackson excitement Houston was elected Governor of Tennessee, at which point his political career in the United States was brought to an abrupt suspension, by a domestic incident, the mystery of which has never been cleared up. He had addressed a young lady of Tennessee, and the marriage took place, it was said at the time, less through the persuasions of friends than the attachment of the bride. If that were true, it is singular that it should have been he that deserted her, which he did, a few days after marriage. The common version of the story is that it was the next day. They were never reconciled, and no reason was ever assigned for his extraordinary conduct. The public opinion ran strongly against him at home. For that cause, or from the original cause of grief, he abandoned his home, renounced civilised life, and went to dwell among the Indians, giving himself up to their customs and way of life. Some years afterwards he re-appeared at Washington in Indian costume, but soon discarded that and emigrated to Texas, which was then in the first throes of the revolution, for independence from Mexico. Houston soon became identified with that struggle, and rose rapidly to be President of the republic, and commander-in-chief of her armies, and was in that capacity at the battle of San Jacinto, where Santa Anna was defeated and made prisoner and the war practically closed, for no subsequent attempt was ever made by Mexico to reconquer the territory. The early popularity showered upon Houston in Texas is attributed by his adversaries to the favour in which he was supposed to be held by General Jackson, then President of the United States, which combined in his favour, the great confidence and admiration entertained towards General Jackson, and the political results to be hoped from him in the interests of Texas.

The battle of San Jacinto was a culminating point in his military career, and afforded him an inexhaustible capital for his subsequent political advancement. With the voters he was always the "Hero of San Jacinto," the founder of Texan Independence, especially with that multitude who thronged in to fill up the country. General Houston became the leader of a party, and every impeachment of his title to these epithets was resented by his followers as springing from the malice of rivals. But there is nothing more unsettled in contemporary history than Houston's conduct in that battle. The old Texans generally, and especially the officers who were with him in the army, have denied him any military merit, and even disputed his personal courage. Numerous pamphlets have been written by military men of unquestionable character, averring, and giving specifications of their charges, with names and places to sustain them, that he was destitute of military knowledge and capacity; that he never succeeded except through the greater blunders of the Mexicans or by the superiority of some one of his subordinates; and that at the battle of San Jacinto, so far from having shown soldierly qualities, he would not have fought at all if he had not been forced into it by his officers, and that throughout the battle he was bewildered and panic-struck. It would be a marvel if some of these were not true—though much is doubtless exaggerated—for never was such a mass of accusations heaped upon a general after a victory and in the hour of a national triumph. Such things could not be without any cause. It may be said for him, for as much as it is worth, that these charges, constantly repeated, and many serious faults besides, did not break his hold upon the voting masses of the State as the undoubted hero of San Jacinto, even when most of the intelligence of the State was against him. It used to be noted in Texas that an educated person travelling, in the State, and associating with persons of his own class would rarely meet with a political supporter of Houston and would infer that his career was closed; but when the elections came on his supporters would be found triumphant at the polls and in the legislature, and acting with them would be discovered many who in private abused their chief. A man



of whom this could truly, that he had through a series of years, managing a wild and turbulent population, lived down his manners, associated with them constantly, skilfully managed their prejudices, and still kept his hold on their imaginations so as to retain popularity, may have lacked the capacity to be a statesman and failed as a military commander, but must have had rare and vigorous qualities. He may have been unstable and unprincipled, but could not be imbecile or a poltroon.

As soon as the battle of San Jacinto secured the peace of Texas commenced the agitation in both countries for annexation to the United States. General Houston was President of Texas during a good part of the time, though not at the time when the union of the two countries was effected, and in that capacity directed his cabinet and foreign ministers, and afterwards wrote voluminously on the subject as a citizen; and yet has left it in doubt whether his inclinations were ever really in favour of annexation. He never seems to have assented cordially to either of the two propositions by which the measure was mainly defended: that Texas could not by possibility maintain a government strong enough to support her independence against the encroachments of European Powers; and that her accession to the Union was indispensable in order to frustrate the schemes of France and England, as well against Texan independence as against the power and progress of the United States, and especially against the peace of the Southern States. He either did not believe in such schemes or was indifferent to them, if they could be turned to the use of upholding Texas. He was, therefore, but a cold and capricious advocate of annexation. When it was effected under his successors, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of the people of Texas, and he was taunted for not having been its friend, he replied that he had been merely "coquetting" with France and England, only to stimulate the desires of the people of the United States. But the suspicion which was entertained at the time never died out entirely, that he would have defeated annexation, if he could, and had believed possible to maintain the republic until his ambitious dream could be realised of extending itself in the opposite direction and building up a new confederacy with the States of Mexico.

When Texas was received into the Union, General Houston was elected one of the first two senators in the United States senate and was re-elected. His career there was not distinguished by any remarkable statesmanship or ability. It was eccentric and ambiguous. He was scarcely heard of during the Mexican war—in which annexation had involved the United States—but when peace was made, and territory was acquired, and the question sprung up concerning the rightful disposition of it he was found temporising with the objects of his early animosity—the political fanatics of New England—and joining with them in assailing the more sturdy supporters of the Southern Rights as enemies of the Union they were striving to make worth preserving. These new associates suddenly changed their old contemptuous estimate of him into judicious laudation, and talked of him occasionally as a possible candidate for the Presidency, on whom a Conservative success might be obtained against the Democratic party, whose half-way and equivocal support of the Southern views of constitutional rights began to be imputed to them as sympathy with disunionism. Conservatism, among the people of the North, had come to mean so much prudence and policy in the prosecution of schemes for sectional aggrandisement, as not to alarm the South into unity of resistance; and, at the South, to mean the positive support of the Union, in the hope that in some unexplained way it might be made consistent with their safety. General Houston was among those hopeful compromisers, giving way on the compromises of 1850 and in the Kansas controversies which followed. He grew into favour with the North but began to lose his hold on the people of Texas. They were not prepared for the extreme measure of separation for what had occurred; but they had begun to see that compromise and conservatism were preparing the way to utter subjugation, and that with every new concession from their constitutional rights the power of resistance was growing weaker and their ruin made more certain. For the first time in his career General Houston fell into a minority in his own State, and seeing the set of the tide against him, withdrew from the field, and at the conclusion of his term went into private life—a martyr as Northern friends asserted, to his love for the Union. But his political vitality was not so easily extinguished. The Union feeling was still strong in portions of the State; and skilfully availing himself of that and of the internal quarrels of the Democratic party, and aided by local topics of irritation—he became an independent candidate for Governor, and was elected by a large majority. He held that place during the Presidential election of 1860, but was not heard of much, the State feeling being largely in favour of J. W. Breckinridge, the candidate of the party of the South.

The secession of South Carolina followed, and yet General Houston had given no sign on which side he was to be in the struggle, which had commenced. The excitement in the State was universal, but the Governor was mute. He withheld all co-operation in the measures proposed, by which the sense of the people of the State on the nature and duties of the crisis could be taken. It is not necessary, in order to trace his course, to review the whole progress of the controversy. The people of the State persisted in their primary action and called a convention, which was approved and concurred in by the State legislature, regularly chosen, and by their decision Texas joined the Southern movement for liberation and independence. General Houston acquiesced, but by no means graciously, and seemed to go with his State. It was constantly avowed, how-

ever, at the North, that he was opposed to the Southern Confederacy, and would co-operate in any effort to restore the Union. It has been denied for him by his Southern friends that he ever entertained either the hope or the design. It may be doubted, considering his temperament, and looking into his history, how far his acquiescence in the actions of his State might have been relied upon, if the Administration of the United States had conducted the war on different principles. Houston was in private life, aged and infirm, and there was no motive left for him to become prominent in public affairs. But it is as certain as anything can be said to be, that, after the development of the war policy of Mr. Lincoln General Houston declared to his friends against it, against the Administration, and against the policy of re-union or re-construction, without reservation. Several short speeches, into which he had been drawn, breathe the utmost abhorrence of the war and the most uncompromising adherence to the cause of Southern independence.

The Northern journals which speak of him continue to praise him as a "good and great" man, who would have been prepared to assist in the reconstruction of the Union, such as a successful war would make it. They over-rated even his endurance, as they do that of many others, who, because they could once be reckoned as adversaries of secession, are counted now as possible partisans of the North. Nothing can be more delusive than such notions. The most prominent men in the Southern Confederacy and the most resolute in their adherence to Southern independence, at all costs and to the last extremity, the most unmeasured in their denunciation of every form of possible re-association with the North, are the men who hesitated longest before accepting the necessity, and who refused to believe the hideousness of the Northern character, until the war developed it in all its effrontery of crime. Of such men are Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, and Thomas H. Watts, of Alabama, now Governor of that State, late Attorney-General of the Confederate States; William C. Rives, of Virginia, formerly United States Minister to France; John Bell, of Tennessee, once United States Secretary of War, and Conservative candidate for the Presidency in 1860; and E. Geo. Rencau, of Louisiana; and I might name scores of others. Confining myself only to old line Union Whigs—men of the most unblemished character, who were long and late Unionists, but are now straining every nerve to kindle and sustain the Southern resolve, never again, come what may, to submit to the rule of a Government in which the North has any part.

General Houston is not to be classed with these men in their political steadfastness or in weight of character; but it is true of him, as of them, that the North made it impossible for any man of the South to be a unionist without being poltroon or traitor, or both.

#### A SOLDIER'S STORY.\*

We have had a good many books on the American war, from different points of view. Curiously enough, not a single work of interest or value has emanated from any Northern writer: probably because no one could write on that side without making up his mind either to be torn in pieces by his countrymen for speaking the truth, or to be consigned to ridicule and contempt by the rest of the world, as the most unscrupulous liar that ever wrote history. It is impossible for any one, except such experienced authors of fiction as Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton, to write an account of the war which shall not call down upon the Federal Government, its officers and a large proportion both of the army and of the people of the North, the execration of the civilised world and the ridicule of all military readers. There are but two works on the Northern side that it is possible to read. The political argument of Mr. Ellison, and the military narrative of the French Princes. The South has as much the best of it in the literary conflict as on the field of battle. Mr. Spence and General Williams have unanswerably disposed of the question of moral and political right; Mr. Pollard is the sole "historian" of the war; Captain Chesney's "Review of the Campaigns in Virginia," though written with strict impartiality, is, from the necessity of the case, a tribute to the superiority of Southern strategy; even the false and malignant narrative of a pretended colonel and probable spy who once served under General Wise, though written with a violent Northern bias, serves inevitably to prove the case of the Confederates; and a dozen narratives of experiences in Southern travel have met in this country a reception which proves the popularity of the subject, and a kind of hostile criticism which shows what has been their effect, in the opinion of Federal partisans, upon public feeling in England. In its way, the work before us is perhaps the best that has yet appeared. It is not of much value as a history of military operations and strategic policy; for a subaltern never knows very clearly either what the commander-in-chief actually designed, or what the troops have contrived to accomplish. He sees the general result; he knows the part which his own corps has borne in the strife; he hears the experiences and opinions of others; but he does not see what is taking place throughout the field, nor has he any peculiar means of appreciating the difficulties encountered and the strategy employed. The interest of these volumes is of another kind; and the best passages are those which relate the personal ad-

\* Battle-fields of the South, from Bull Run to Fredericksburg; with Sketches of Confederate Commanders and Gossip of the Camps. By an English Combatant, (Lieutenant of Artillery on the Field Staff), London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1863.

ventures and observations of the author, or describe the scenes in which he was an actor. Writing with great *naïveté*, and with an unusual freedom from offensive egotism or conscious purpose, he gives us an excellent idea of camp life, especially during the earlier stages of the war. He is too much accustomed to Southern peculiarities to think it needful either to conceal or to comment on them; and when he incidentally notices the faults inherent in the character of their troops, or the mistakes originally committed in their organisation, he does so with a simple good faith which convinces his readers that he is stating the exact truth, as it appeared to him; not softening a disagreeable fact which he is reluctantly compelled to admit, or stating a part in order more effectually to conceal the whole. He writes with perfect frankness; and his soldierly freedom from all affectation of straitlacedness allows him to say, with amusing *insouciance*, things which would afford to writers more prone to moralise occasion for grave condemnation or evasive excuse. That the Southern soldier drinks, after the manner of his nation, more than his officers think good for him, seems to the good-humoured English combatant no reason either for shame or sermonising; that insults are now and then resented with the bowie-knife, instead of the more deliberate method of a challenge and a duel in cold blood, suggests to him, not the propriety of stricter discipline, but the necessity of refraining from such provocations as a freeman cannot be expected to endure, even at the hands of a military superior. The *naïveté* which allows him to relate such things without comment or surprise is a guarantee for the fidelity of his story, and the truthfulness of his enthusiastic praises of his comrades. The life-like character of his sketches and the vivacity of his style make his book very pleasant reading. But we could wish that the letters which relate the simultaneous progress of events in different parts of the Confederacy had been omitted. We don't believe in their genuineness. They resemble the rest of the book in style, and they differ from it in this: that they want for the most part the internal evidence which conclusively proves the narrative of the Virginian campaigns to be the work of an eye-witness. On the whole, however, we fancy that readers who sit at home at ease will obtain a better idea of "what the war is like," from these volumes than from any other source; and we hope that they may enjoy the popularity they certainly deserve.

Of some of the advantages enjoyed by the South, which have counterbalanced the Northern superiority in wealth, numbers, navy, and every species of military material, these volumes give us a very good idea. They bear testimony to the universal enthusiasm of the people; the eagerness with which companies and regiments were filled up, and the envy with which those who were first ordered to the seat of war were regarded by the comrades they left behind; the willingness with which the conscription was admitted, in spite of its questionable legality—discussion on that point being postponed till the war should be over—the high spirit and loyalty of the conscripts as they came in; the thorough devotion of the people to the cause; the patriotic enthusiasm of the women, and the pressure brought by them to bear upon all men of military age. The "English Combatant" remarks that the position of a private, as involving greater hardships and greater sacrifices for the common cause, was deemed more honourable than that of an officer, and was a readier passport to the favour of the ladies; whose attention to the wounded is affirmed, perhaps with some gallant exaggeration, to have made the chances of a rifle ball or sabre cut seem almost desirable to those who were suffering the wants and privations of a campaign. Of the superiority of the Southern Generals it is hardly necessary to speak; but one remark is made by our author which ought not to pass without notice. Very few general officers, and none of the highest rank, in the Northern army have fallen on the field of battle, and wounds have been rare among them. They are seldom seen in front, and rarely exposed to personal danger. The Confederate commanders expose themselves with exaggerated indifference. One commander-in-chief has been killed, and another wounded, in pitched battles; several generals of the second rank—Stonewall Jackson, Zollicoffer, Ashby, McCulloch, for example—have been killed in the front of their troops. Without accusing the Northern Generals of cowardice, it is only just to their troops to remark that that superior disregard of danger which characterises the Southerners is not less remarkable in the highest ranks than in the lowest; that in their greater caution and reserve under fire, the Yankee soldiers only imitate the example of their leaders.

Two other facts deserve to be mentioned in regard to the Southern leaders. One is the unselfish patriotism with which the best men employed in the service of the Union threw up their commissions, declined all Northern offers, and without stipulation or hesitation—often at great personal risk and sacrifice—offered their swords to their native States. The other is a statement made in "camp gossip," by one of the author's comrades, that this conflict had been long ago foreseen and provided for by President Davis; who had noted down the names of promising students at West Point and of distinguished officers in the army, with their respective capacities and peculiarities, when Secretary of War under the Federal Government, so that he knew at once who and where were the men on whose knowledge and character he might rely, and who were fitted to fill high military offices under his Administration.

Mr. Davis has been accused of many crimes and misdemeanours, and among others of actual cowardice during the



advance of McClellan upon Richmond. It is said that he had packed up everything for flight, and by so doing had spread a general panic through the city. The "English Combatant" takes a very different view of the President's character and conduct. He remarks that no man could possibly be guilty of all the charges brought against him, as personally responsible for every unpopular act or military blunder:—

"Of President Davis I knew something, but nothing in his character was like the picture angrily drawn of him by the unthinking. He could not attend to everything; after appointments were made, the most he could do was to suggest on matters pertaining to the duties or requirements of those in the various chairs of office. It would not only be presumption, but gross ignorance, to suppose that he did this or ordered that. His own duties were more than any dozen men except himself could have pretended to perform; still, although labouring night and day, planning, consulting, providing, receiving visitors, writing, speaking, he was blamed for everything that went amiss. He bore it all, however, without murmuring. The press might abuse him, office-seekers annoy him, petty councillors bore him, mistakes and bickerings of his Cabinet vex him; State, political, social, or religious deputations pester him with demands, petitions, and a thousand other daily annoyances; yet, the poor, pale, hard-working President bore it all with philosophic equanimity. Putting on his blue flannel overcoat, he would mount his chestnut mare, smoke a cigar, and take a quiet ride, unattended, through the streets in the afternoon, as calmly and unostentatiously as if he were merely Mr. J. Davis, proprietor of a 200 acre farm, with a round dozen of bouncing babies. Heigho! who would envy the poor President? If a negro were worked a twentieth as much, his master would be imprisoned or fined for inhuman treatment."

It is not true that the President set or encouraged the example of panic in Richmond. The panic was very general; but those who were in the confidence of the Administration did not share it. "There was not the slightest trepidation observable in the government offices; all things went on as usual, and President Davis took his evening ride as placidly as ever." Indeed, it was a positive assurance given by him to Governor Letcher, that Richmond should be held to the last, which alone sufficed to allay the general consternation.

The "English Combatant," like most men who have seen anything of slavery, has no sort of sympathy with the Abolitionists. He finds the negroes heartily loyal, thoroughly happy, attached to their masters, contemptuous of the Yankees and far more likely to fight for than against the Confederacy. He tells us some amusing stories of negroes who could not be kept out of the fight by the energetic commands of their masters; but who insisted on leaving the cookery and camp equipage to take care of themselves, while they followed the regiment to which they were attached into action. Some of them captured negro camp-followers of the enemy, and were by no means sparing in the epithets of abuse and contempt bestowed upon them. The following estimate of the negro's condition, by a Southern slaveholder, is worth attention, as a contrast to the pictures drawn by Mrs. Stowe and other Abolitionists, who knew no more of slavery than Mr. Beecher does of Christianity or General Butler of chivalry:—

"I know districts in Mississippi where there are not more than one or two old white men to a slave population of from 3,000 to 5,000. In fact, all our plantations are conducted by the negroes themselves, in the absence of overseers or masters. I have offered large salaries for overseers for my places, but they never stay long—they are all off to the wars. My wife informs me that all things are progressing quietly and favourably as ever—my mulatto boy Bob superintends the Upper, and Black Jim the Lower Place, and have raised excellent crops in my absence. Talk to me of our darkies rising to massacre the whites! Why, I wager my life that all the inducements in the world could not draw off my servants from me. Most have grown up from childhood with me, and lived as I have done; and when one of these rabid Abolitionists counts the cost of keeping servants, he would be loth to expend as much upon white labour. Just look at Nick out there, round the camp fire, kicking up his heels in a dance! That boy costs me much more—yes, double what I should have to pay for cook hire in Europe; and more than that, when he gets old, no matter how much money he may have by him, I am compelled by law to provide for all his wants. Think you that the major's boy would buy his freedom, although to my knowledge he has 2,000 dollars in gold, hid away in an old stocking? You know as well as I do, that all our boys are making money—some as much as twenty dollars per week—by washing, cooking, selling things, and the like; but reason with them about buying their freedom, at ever so low a figure, and they grin, jingle the dimes in their greasy pockets, and tell you, 'Massa likes better dan I kin, and when dis chile gits ole, Massa must take care ob him.' And sure enough we must. They argue, and to the point it seems to me, thus:—'I am master's boy, and must do what he tells me. No matter what the price of things may be, I must be well fed and clothed, and my health carefully attended to by his own physician, or some other, even should he have to pay ten dollars for a visit. He gives me from one to two dollars every week for spending-money. I live in the house with him, grow up with him, attend him in all his sports; my wife lives with me, and he takes care of both, in sickness or health, in youth or age. If I do not act properly, he sells me, but few negroes are sold who mind their business.'"

"Count up the cost in times of peace, and tell me whether this and my other boys do not cost me more than two and a half or three dollars per week, the average wages of two-thirds the labourers in Europe. And more than this: I can't tell one of my boys 'I don't need your services, when grown old; the law forbids it, even if I were so inclined. But who would be inclined to part with a boy, even like grumbling Nick yonder, who played with him when a child, whose mother rocked him in the cradle, and whose father taught him the first use of a gun, how to swim, how to catch and ride a horse, and a thousand other things? There may be, and no doubt are, many who feel differently; but, speaking for myself, I could not part with my negroes, even if assured that the capital invested in them would return me five times as much as in ordinary commerce. They receive three suits of clothes every year, and shoes as often as they need; their holidays are fixed by law; in wet weather they are kept within doors; they have

good, comfortable cabins, plenty of fuel, and little garden-patches to cultivate for themselves; as for their hen-roosts, they are better stocked than my own. If I want eggs or garden-stuff, I buy from them while Nick yonder, and several others of my boys, have full license to cut all the timber they desire into cord-wood, and sell it to steamboats for their own pocket-money. Three of these fellows have sold \$400 worth of cord-wood to the boats in one year; many other boys also; and none of the masters ever get a cent for the timber. In fact, I have frequently acted as clerk for them when in the field, and sold hundreds of cords to steamboats—the money being handed over to the black rascals, who trot off to the first store and spend it. I tell you, Tom, you cannot induce one of my boys to leave me, at any price. My motto is, 'If my servants are discontented with all I do for them, let them run off if they choose.' They always come back again, I notice, and behave better than before."

THE "CHURCH AND STATE REVIEW" for November. The present number of this periodical contains several able articles on political and ecclesiastical topics. We cannot agree with the opinions expressed on the Polish question. We think that there is no analogy between the positions of Ireland and Poland. The one has become an integral part of the Empire, and is fully and firmly represented in the national journals. Irishmen occupy the highest position in the State, not because they are Irishmen, but because Irishmen are British subjects. With Poland we need not say all this is different. Probably the conduct of Russia has been in some instances misrepresented, and her faults often grossly exaggerated, but enough is known to justify the condemnation that has been passed on her by the civilised world in respect to her treatment of the Poles. "Our American Policy" is a sensible contribution, and points out that our so-called neutral policy is in fact an alliance with the North against the South. The diary for the month will be found a useful compilation.

#### LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 27.

THE army news, since the sailing of the last Cunard steamer, is not very fruitful of events. Of rumours and speculations there have been plenty. General Lee, after advancing and driving the army of Meade before him, almost into the entrenchments about Washington, withdrew at his leisure, destroying roads and bridges behind him, so as to make it impossible for the Federal armies, however strongly recruited, to make any forward movement in force towards Richmond for at least five or six weeks. The Northern journals, which discovered masterly strategy only in Meade when he was forced back, and burned some of his stores in his hurry, amused their readers with stories about Lee's flight, and the "hot pursuit" which was made after him. He went back very slowly, and has since turned up on this side of the Rappahannock, routing the Yankee cavalry and infantry with heavy losses. It is now confessed in the Washington telegrams that the Army of the Potomac is in all probability to be laid up for the season in quarters about the capital, or in the mud between there and the Rappahannock. There is some talk of a change of bases, and mysterious hints are given out of some new movement, which is to be sudden, brilliant, and successful; but the signs confirm the opinion I have expressed, that the campaign on the Potomac is substantially over for the season.

Both parties are concentrating their forces for a great struggle in East Tennessee. The manoeuvring of Lee in Virginia is thought now to have had the design of covering the movements for sending large reinforcements from the armies in Virginia to the support of Bragg, and of placing such obstructions in the way of any advance upon Richmond as would release him from the necessity of keeping so large a number of his best troops there. This is the theory of the various movements going on in the great field of operations, extending from the Potomac to the mountains of Georgia, and west to the Mississippi. The reports from the South-western expedition—from New Orleans into Texas—are not encouraging to the Union arms. The first column was, as you know, repulsed at the Sabine Pass. The second, by the way of the Red River, after burning a town or two, by way of diversion, returned, *re-infecta*. The main body then made its advances from Berwick Bay directly for the Sabine River, in large force, and the New Orleans journalists gave the most cheering accounts of its progress: scattering a few bands of guerillas, and penetrating, with scarcely any obstruction, into the interior. Private correspondence, however, tells a very different tale. The natural difficulties of the country, aggravated by the care of the Confederates to remove or destroy everything which could be of service to an enemy, and assisted by the weather, which has converted the roads into bog-holes, are said to have wearied out the expedition before it had got half through its march to the Texas frontier. It is found almost impossible to carry food and drag artillery; and, besides, the feuds between the Eastern and the Western troops have grown up into such a height as to demoralise the whole army. The Western soldiers, who call themselves for distinction "Grant's men," have a hearty contempt they are not slow in expressing, for the Yankees, who have been shipping off the plunder of Louisiana to New England, and freeing and stealing negroes, while the men from Illinois and Wisconsin and Indiana were taking Vicksburg and Port Hudson. The Western soldiers have a great hatred of New England puritanism and fanatical abolitionism, and it is said, and believed, that these feelings have broken out on the march into bickerings and quarrels that have sadly damaged the expedition. A great deal of this is confirmed in detail, by letters from officers in the army, which have not been printed; and it goes to strengthen the reports which are now in circulation, that the entire expedition is a failure and will be recalled. It is certain, that at the latest accounts, General Banks and General Franklin were both in New Orleans, having returned from the army; and report goes, that the invasion of Texas is to be attempted at another point, by an expedition entirely re-organised. The point intimated is Matagorda Bay.

Among the strange military incidents of the week, is the removal of General Rosecrans from the command of the army of the Cumberland. General Thomas succeeds him. The strangeness of the incident is, that until within a few weeks, in fact, until after the battle of Chickamauga, General Rosecrans has been the most universally popular commander in the Federal armies, not excepting General Grant, who since the capture of Vicksburg has risen to be the popular idol. He

has been called of as the very bravest and best of the Union generals, who ought to be general-in-chief, or at least to command the army of the Potomac and be the captor of Richmond. Since the battle before Chattanooga he has been very unpopular with the Administration, and has now been removed. Immediately, the organs of the Administration at Washington assail him in the most abusive terms, for faults and delinquencies which, if true, would destroy his military and personal character; not only in respect to the battle in which he suffered his late defeat, but for a long period before. He is charged with military incapacity, even cowardice in the field; and with a long course of complicity in the most infamous transactions, for speculation and gain, within his military department. If half of what is written of him be true, as it is published in the Government journals at Washington City, under the very eyes of the Secretary of War, Rosecrans has been as rapacious, as mean, and as cruel as Butler himself. These charges, whether true or not, to the extent in which they are made, prove, at least, one thing, which is worth noting, as illustrating the morals which its own friends attribute to the administration of the Government. It is alleged that all these offences have been known to the administration for a twelvemonth, and that they have been authenticated and pressed upon its attention by the highest Union authorities in the department of Tennessee, where the incidents occurred; and that no action was taken, because the Administration was not prepared to deal with a successful and popular general. The excuse for them, is that they countenanced and supported a man guilty of infamous offences because he was useful; and that they have discarded him now, not for his crimes, but because he has ceased to be useful; not because they knew, as it is alleged, they knew all the time, that he has been incompetent as a commander and dishonest as a man; who had, neglected his public duties and abused his authority in order to enable unworthy favourites to enrich themselves by the basest practices—but that he was no longer valuable as an instrument. He has friends who insist that it was not the loss of the battle of Chickamauga which was the cause of his removal, but that the delinquencies charged against him are *ex post facto* inventions of his enemies to break the force of their persecution of him, because he has not been so zealous a supporter as they expected him to be of the Government policy of extermination in the South. However that may be, the fact remains, that the nearest organs of the War Department and of the President are justifying the removal of Rosecrans, on the ground that he had been long known at Washington to be immoral and imbecile, but nevertheless kept in office and publicly applauded.

The November elections will be held next week in the States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

These are merely State elections, with the exception of Maryland and West Virginia, in which members of Congress are to be elected: five from Maryland and three from West Virginia. There is also a representative to be chosen in Delaware in place of the member who was elected at the regular State election and has since died; and one in the Albany District, New York, in place of Mr. Corning, who was elected and has resigned. These elections will complete the Congress, which meets the first Wednesday of December next, unless the Administration should think it expedient to have elections ordered in the subjugated parts of the seceded States by its military authority. In that case, some new Administration members will be brought in to determine the political character of the House of Representatives and make sure of the Radical ascendancy there.

There is no reason to question the success of the Lincoln ticket for State affairs in all these States—except, perhaps, in New Jersey and New York, where the Opposition have hopes. In Maryland, there has been such a direct intervention of the military powers that no public meetings can be held for the nomination of candidates unless they are in the interest of the Administration. Instances have occurred where men have been arrested for merely having called together one of the customary nominating conventions, and were only released on taking an oath before the United States provost-marshal that they would not put up, nor vote for, nor assist in electing any person to office who is opposed to any part of the policy of the Administration of Mr. Lincoln. They have not reached to this degree of political proscription, by military means, within the States of New York or New Jersey. They carried Pennsylvania, week before last, by a military *coup de main*, in sending from the army and from the Departments at Washington, at the public expense, enough voters of their own stripe to make up quite the majority by which their favourite candidate was chosen governor. The same plan has been adopted in respect to New York. An order has been issued by the Secretary of War, granting a furlough to all disabled and sick soldiers to return home and remain until after the elections, and transportation is to be furnished them home and back. As in the case of the New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania elections, these furloughs are only given to Administration voters; and the indisposition which is certified as good cause for permission to go home, consists in the disposition and the promise to vote the Administration ticket. The majority for Governor Seymour last year was only 10,000 or 11,000 out of about 600,000 votes, and there is no reason to suppose that the party is stronger now than it was then. A few thousand voters from the army may throw the balance on the other side.

Besides, there is unquestionably a weakening of the party which supported Governor Seymour, from the disappointment of the hopes which were anticipated from his election. It was confidently believed that something would follow therefrom to arrest the progress of the war or change its character. There was a general rally to his side of all that number, be it large or small, who believed the war to be unjust in the beginning, and desired that it might be stopped, as wrong in principle and as having in its progress been altered entirely in the objects for which it was originally undertaken, and by which it was alone excused to the consciences of those who sustained it. These hopes have been bitterly deceived. There has been no progress made towards peace by the Democratic victory in this State last year. On the contrary, the leaders of the successful party have strengthened the war passion by proclaiming a rivalry with their adversaries in zeal for the prosecution of the war and in the furnishing of men and money for that object. They are fighting this political battle as the better war party than the Administration party is, and they seal that pledge by the public declaration that all the questions they have been raising of Constitutional rights, State sovereignty, personal liberty, and public credit, and of the wrongs and cruelties of which they accuse the Administration in its dealings with the South, are entirely secondary in their estimation to the great Yankee demand of undivided dominion over the continent. The Democratic platform here has resolved itself into a sentimental declaration in favour of



Constitutional government, if it can be had without sacrifice of territory, but for a consolidated despotism over the whole, rather than two Constitutional republics. There is no room here for a man of constitutional principles, who has no hope for their ascendancy in the further prosecution of this detestable war, to give a vote which will lead to peace; and hence there are thousands of voters in this State, who may give only a cold vote for the Democratic ticket against the Administration, and thousands more who feel a positive indifference between the parties, and do not care much which succeeds.

This sort of disinclination to both war parties prevails very much amongst the poorer classes, by whom the war pressure begins to be felt with increasing severity. While the immense expenditures of the Government in irredeemable paper have given a fictitious value to every species of property and set speculation wild, the depreciation of the currency has raised the prices of every article of daily consumption to a rate which makes the wages of the ordinary labourer almost famine rates. To show the steady increase of the cost of all leading articles of consumption with the price of gold, which is measured by the increase of the paper currency, the following table has been prepared by one of the commercial papers of this city, giving the value of fifty-five leading articles, in units, at the different dates mentioned, and the premium on gold, and the amount of irredeemable paper money afloat at each date:—

	Gold.	Prices. 55 Articles.	Paper outstanding.
January, 1862....	Par.	804	\$20,550,326
April, 1862.....	1½ pr'm.	844	105,880,000
January, 1863....	32 pr'm.	1,312	244,366,251
February, 1863...	72 pr'm.	1,400	298,378,201
March, 1863.....	54 pr'm.	1,524	345,553,500
July, 1863.....	25 pr'm.	1,323	408,854,456
October 10, 1863..	54 pr'm.	1,455	410,000,000

The general price of these commodities is eighty per cent. higher this October than it was in February last year. Fifty-five articles, of which the price was \$804 then, cost now \$1,453. These articles of daily consumption for fuel and food, may be taken as an illustration of the effects of this rise in prices on the poor. Take coal, per ton, and sugar and coffee per 100 lb.

	Coal.	Sugar, \$100 lb.	Coffee, \$100 lb.	Total.
January, 1862....	\$4 25	\$6 87	\$17 25	\$28 37
April, ".....	4 50	6 00	20 50	31 00
March 1863.....	7 00	9 25	28 50	44 75
July, ".....	8 00	10 25	28 50	46 75
October 10 "....	9 00	10 75	30 50	50 25

Wages have not risen in this proportion, and the consequence has been an immense amount of suffering. The rise extends to all articles of clothing and subsistence, while the daily earnings are so little more than their real amount, that the trades are everywhere struggling with their employers, demanding more wages to keep them from starvation during the winter, which threatens to be unusually long and severe. In all the principal cities mechanics are in strikes to extort higher wages from their employers. This puts into the hands of the bad men in power the means for recruiting their armies out of the necessities of the unwilling poor. The poor men must take the bounties and go to the wars, to escape starvation at home, with the alternative, that if his sense of right and wrong would keep him from shedding the blood of people at a distance whom he believes to be fighting for their rights and liberties, Government will come along with a strong hand and put him into the ranks, whether he would or not, and shoot him if he refuses to take the blood money.

This is the unhappy class upon whom the new conscription will fall. The armies of the Union are no longer filled with willing soldiers, who love their flag and fight for the Union because they believe it to be their duty, but the poor, whom the necessity which the Government has created compels to enlist that they may get food, or whom it takes by violence.

The new draft for 300,000 will call for about 60,000 men from the State of New York. The Government has very adroitly turned the tables on its opponents, who, professing the greatest zeal for furnishing troops, attacked the late draft as unjust, oppressive, and totally unnecessary, insisting that with proper inducements, men enough could be obtained by voluntary enlistments. The President, in his proclamation, gives the States until January to supply their quota of this 300,000 by volunteers.

The Conscription Act will be enforced only for the numbers then deficient. The onus is thus placed upon the President's adversaries to raise men for the Government, on their own system, and at their own cost, for all the unusual exertion and expenditure that may be needed. If they fail, he will demand of them unreserved acquiescence in his plan, as a demonstrated necessity. The Democratic governors of New York and New Jersey are out warmly in favour of volunteering, and proffering extraordinary State and individual contributions to offer additional bounties. The Republican Governors do not trouble themselves, and Republican journals are throwing obstacles in the way, in order to obtain the triumph of the Administrative policy, by a recurrence to drafting in January. The President has outwitted his adversaries, and will have his draft with their acquiescence, even if it does not bring him the men.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 10.

This week I can write about nothing but the Emperor's speech, because it, and it alone, is in every one's thoughts. It reigns paramount in the Paris papers, the provincial press, foreign journalism, and the "talk of the saloons"—as private conversation is here euphuistically termed. But to write of the speech, which is a week old, or of the Congress it announces, which is not yet born, are alike difficult tasks, for they have by this time served as themes to the best pens in Europe. And under the diversity of judgment, all of them laudatory, and very unlike each other in their interpretations, there is one point of resemblance: incredulity as regards the proposed Congress. Of the Paris papers, the *Presse* and the *Orleanist Débats* alone read the speech as decidedly pacific; the moderate papers find in it a threat, the violent a declaration (in petto) of war; but all agree, hardly even excepting M. de Girardin, that the Congress is a Utopian scheme, and pronounced only as the cover for some more practical one—a

means of gaining time for peace—or a mask, however transparent, to conceal the settled purpose of war in spring. During the delivery of the speech Prince Napoleon was seen to gesticulate approbation, and his organ, the *Opinion Nationale*, exclaims that it is no longer Poland which awaits its fate from the decision of Europe, but the fate of liberal Europe which is involved in the destinies of Poland. Such expressions may be thought more candid than prudent; they may make those who are less "Liberal" than the *Opinion*, reflect on their meaning, and if sufficiently insisted on, they may go far to change the current of popular ideas—for liberalism is still at a great discount here. Assuredly, they will not tend to convert a King of Prussia, nor even a liberal Emperor of Russia.

It seems a sad satire on human nature to assert that a Congress can only follow a war; that the European council can assemble only to give its sanction to the violations of public law which force has consecrated; and that our statesmen, like dogs, must be beaten to make them amenable to reason; but Experience points to the Treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna, and Reason cannot say her nay. The Emperor Napoleon has created a chimera, which, if he can get the better of, he will be the greatest of past or possible sovereigns. The moralist must wish him this, and all other success, for he aims at a moral victory which even England cannot grudge him, and which the better feelings of all will hail with joy. He will represent Civilisation triumphing over Force, and stand out in history by many columns' length taller than his uncle, who, since I last wrote, stands with a winged Victory in his hand, every inch a heathen Emperor, on the summit of the Place de Vendôme column. When a future generation erects a statue to him, he may claim to bear the Athenian wingless Victory, for the conquests of reason and conciliation are not fleeting. Though such a Victory would be wingless, we may believe that she would not be fettered, and that by some art or other she would make herself felt on the other side of the Atlantic as well as in Europe, and end at length the war which desolates the New World. All the arguments that are used to justify interference in Poland—except that worn-out one of the dead treaties of 1815, killed off after dinner at Blairgowrie, but long since worn out, because if they meant in this respect what is now pretended they should have been enforced thirty years ago—are alike applicable to America. The same arguments—the duration of the struggle, the atrocities perpetrated (in America, all on one side), the guarantee of rights, so far at least as France is concerned, by the treaty of 1772, which, recognising the sovereignty of each State, constituted a defensive alliance with each separately as well as collectively—all plead more strongly for interference in the American than in the Polish struggle.

Of America, the Emperor said nothing in his speech; his silence was of course significant, but of what it is significant there are two opinions: neither interpret it as sympathetic to the North.

The *Mémorial Diplomatique*, of Sunday, has an article explaining the grounds of the dismissal of the English consuls from the Confederate territory.

"The Confederate Government has just taken a resolution of extreme gravity. It has signified to the English consuls and consular agents resident in the South that it could no longer permit them to exercise their functions or even to continue in the country. The following are the facts which led President Davis to take this decision.

"To understand the displeasure, in fact, indignation, with which this last letter of Mr. Fullarton (consular agent at Savannah) was received in the South, we must put ourselves in the position of the Confederates, and remember that their entire political system reposes on the principle of the Sovereignty of the States: the principle which is the true cause of the American Revolution.

"When the English consul, in an official correspondence, called the American war a civil war, he was saying to the governor of a Sovereign State, whose Government is as regularly conducted as that of England herself, 'You are a rebel, the war you support is a rebellion.' He, the representative of a neutral nation, was thus violating neutrality.

"The Richmond Government did not think fit longer to tolerate on the territory of the Confederation the presence of consular agents so little circumspect, and who had already several times meddled in its affairs.

"In a despatch addressed to Mr. Slidell, Mr. Benjamin charges the representative of the South to assure the Imperial Government that no measure of this sort will be taken against the French consular agents, whose relations with the Confederate authorities continue, as they have been all along, perfectly satisfactory."

It seems that the objection taken to the term "civil war" is rather a strained one, but all impartial persons must agree in acknowledging that the Confederate Government only exercised an unquestionable right in dismissing men who advised soldiers to throw down their arms in sight of the enemy.

A curious question relating to greenbacks engages the attention of the Government of Italy. Two years ago a New York builder obtained a contract for the construction of two iron-sided frigates for that Government. The price was thirteen or fourteen millions of francs. Since then the war has introduced a new circulation, and, taking advantage of the laws of the country, the Turin Government proposes to pay in greenbacks. Mr. Webb's patriotism does not go the length of admitting that this is a sufficient payment. He insists upon gold, which the Italians, who understand economical questions of this sort admirably well, refuse. The affair is to be brought before the courts. In equity, the builder has evidently justice on his side; but a decision in his favour would upset, not only Mr. Chase's theories, but also a large part of the transactions of the last two years.

Although there is not much hope entertained here that the Emperor's proposed congress will come to anything, a general feeling is gaining ground that the chances of a war are diminished. The first impression on financiers on reading the speech was unquestionably that of alarm. The last warning paragraph seemed to them a declaration of war. But the more the speech is studied the more pacific it seems, and now the feeling of security is gaining the upper hand. The Bourse has not recovered, but this is to be ascribed to the high rates of discount and not to political motives. The symptoms of an understanding with Russia, every day more evident, tend to the conviction that if war there be it will not be for Poland.

## SLAVERY AND THE BIBLE.

(From the *Standard*, November 10.)

A certain class of theologians in this country have taken upon themselves to add a new dogma to the Christian faith. A bull issued from Exeter Hall, and recently republished in

Scotland, with the enthusiastic approval of several reverend and frantic divines of that country, informs us that a Mr. Newman Hall, by and with the counsel and consent of divers substantial grocers, dissenting preachers, and Deistical authors, decrees that from henceforth it shall be unlawful for any Christian man to hold slaves—or, as our translation of the Bible calls them, servants; and that any one offending in this respect is to be treated as a heretic and apostate, and rejected from the communion, whatever it may be, of which Mr. Newman Hall is a pastor, and, as it would seem, a Pope. We were not aware until now that the doctrine of "development" had found acceptance among Protestants. But we are bound to say that in our opinion the form in which that doctrine is affirmed by the Church of Rome appears to us preferable to that in which it is taught on the platform of Exeter Hall. If new articles of faith are to be forced upon our consciences we had rather receive them at the hands of a synod of lawfully ordained bishops, presided over by one who traces his episcopal authority back to the days of Clement, if not of Peter, than at the hands of men who have made themselves ministers, and who have picked up, they best know where, some sort of diploma in divinity. It is needless to inform any educated man that this new dogma is only of yesterday. A hundred years ago no one dreamed of declaring that slavery was wrong; fifty years ago, not even a Wilberforce would have dared to pronounce it un-Christian, except in the same sense in which we all hold every unlovely and disreputable thing to be inconsistent with Christian wisdom and purity. Buxton—a better Christian than either Mr. Newman or Mr. Newman Hall—would never have conceived himself entitled to refuse the hand of Christian fellowship to a West Indian planter. He held slavery to be an abomination, but he knew that others, as good men and as thorough Christians as himself, were of a contrary opinion, and he knew that they had as good a right to their belief as he to his. But we cannot expect these self-elected prophets to imitate the Christian charity and pious reserve of good and honest men. Creatures who are not ashamed to insult the sorrow of a widowed Queen, because she thought fit to inscribe on her husband's monument a sentence from the Apocalypse, are hardly to be restrained by any sense of duty or decency from any outburst of fanatical folly that may suit the taste of their congregations, and their curses affect sensible and pious men about as much as the Pope's bull affected the comet.

We expected better things from Churchmen, even in America; and it is with deep surprise and regret that we have learnt the existence of a very angry controversy on this subject in the Episcopal Church of the United States. The Bishop of Vermont, having thought proper, in January, 1861, to publish his views on the question of slavery, considered in regard to the teachings of the Bible, and his letter on the subject having been recently reprinted, the Bishop of Pennsylvania and several of his clergy have taken occasion to publish a vituperative denunciation thereof. It seems that the Bishop of Vermont confined himself to proving that slavery is distinctly sanctioned by the Old Testament, and in no way forbidden or interfered with by the New; and had rebuked, on this account, the fanatics who had raised a religious issue on a matter of purely secular concern. For this he is visited with "indignant reprobation" by his brother of Pennsylvania; and his doctrine is declared "unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ." Passing over certain other charges, obviously and simply false, which the Pennsylvanian letter of abuse contained, we would ask the Right Reverend Dr. Potter whether his copy of the Scriptures contains a certain emphatic prohibition to judge another man's servant? We would ask him whether he has entirely forgotten the peremptory refusal of his Master to become a temporal judge and lawgiver? We would ask him whether he would deny the salvation of the slaveholder Abraham, in the face of a very distinct statement as to the eternal condition of the patriarch pronounced by our Lord himself? And if it were lawful for Abraham to hold slaves, when and how has slaveholding become, in a religious point of view, unlawful? But argument is wasted on a man who has only discovered that slavery is un-Christian since the separation of the Southern and Northern Churches; and we may leave the bishop and clergy of Pennsylvania to the crushing condemnation which is contained in the simple fact that they were in hearty fellowship and communion with their Southern brethren up to the day on which Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States.

If Christianity were a complete system of social ethics, a code of political regulations, a civil and canon law for all nations, we might expect to find in it a prohibition not only of all things that are essentially wicked in the sight of God, but also of all things that are wrong and culpable because they lead to confusion and mischief among men. In that case we should be justified in affirming that, since the Old Testament legalises and regulates the system of slavery, and since the New Testament contains no censure upon it, and, indeed, in several places tacitly recognises and permits it, therefore slavery is right and abolitionism wrong. This is the view of a very few extreme advocates of slavery; it is also the view of a good many extreme abolitionists. So well aware are the latter that the Bible is against them that they cannot, in face of Scripture, pretend to denounce slavery as a crime against Heaven—that they reject Scripture altogether, and blasphemously clamour for "an anti-slavery Church, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God." But inasmuch as Christianity is a religious faith, and not a civil code, we find that Scripture is silent on almost every question of political and social law. Neither despotism nor democracy, neither slavery nor socialism, neither wine-drinking nor total abstinence, is enjoined by the Saviour or His Apostles. We are left free on all these subjects to do that which seems to us wise and just. We are free, as nations, to be ruled by kings or by presidents, by parliaments or bureaucracies, by oligarchical senates or by universal suffrage. We may abolish property altogether, or maintain it in any form and degree that seems convenient. No sane man ever pretended that the Maine Liquor Law was contrary to Christianity, or that a Christian may not lawfully drink beer and smoke tobacco. So, no man whom fanaticism has not made mad can pretend that slavery is forbidden to Christians. Clearly, if slavery be bad for the slave—if it be certain to deprave, demoralise, and debase the master, if it lead inevitably to worse evils than abolition, no man has a right to hold slaves. But these are questions on which Christians may and do differ; and we have no right whatever to excommunicate those who differ from us on these points. We hold slavery to be iniquitous, pernicious, and immoral; our cousins of South Carolina hold it to be wise, just, and wholesome; but neither of us conceive that our difference is one of religious faith or principle, and therefore we must agree to differ. Much wiser men than Mr. Francis Newman, much better Christians than Dr. Candlish, much soberer men than Mr. Newman Hall, have held slaves and do hold slaves. This being the case, though we are at liberty to say that slavery is sinful and detestable, we are not at liberty to deny



that slaveholders are good men and pious Christians, or to refuse to join with them in the common rites of Christianity and the ordinary good offices of social life. What right have any of us to add new laws to those of the Bible—to impose new dogmas on those who accept the faith that was taught by the Apostles? Or how, if we dare to do so, are we to escape the condemnation pronounced on such as "with lies make the heart of the righteous sad, whom God hath not made sad?" or how be acquitted of an impious presumption, if we deem that Revelation has been left so imperfect as to need correction and addition at our hands?

**MISSISSIPPI ELECTIONS.**—General Charles Clarke has been elected Governor by a large majority. In the First District, J. A. Orr has been elected to Congress, and in the Second, — Holden. These two districts were represented in the last Congress by J. W. Clapp and R. Davis. In the Third and Fourth Districts, Israel Welch and H. C. Chalmers have been elected. In the Fifth District, it is reported that Colonel A. P. Hill has defeated the Honourable O. R. Singleton. In the Sixth District, Barksdale is re-elected in the Sixth District. In the Seventh District, the returns indicate the election of J. T. Lumpkin over Governor McRae.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOV. 11.

### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

At their weekly meeting on Thursday last, the directors of the Bank of England further advanced the rate of discount 1 per cent, making the minimum 6 per cent., an advance of 1 per cent, having been announced only on the previous Monday. It was generally anticipated that this course would be adopted, as the first advance had not the effect of arresting the large withdrawals of specie from the Bank. It is still a question whether the directors will not find themselves under the necessity of adopting more stringent terms, as the withdrawals of gold continue to a large extent, whilst there is nothing whatever sent in. Following the course pursued by the directors of the Bank of England, the Bank of France on Saturday, also raised their rate of discount to 6 per cent. The applications for discount both out of doors and at the Bank have been tolerably active, but without any particular pressure. The brokers, however, refuse to do business under the Bank minimum, but the Joint Stock Banks are making advances at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

Again there has not been any bullion sent into the Bank of England, but there have been withdrawals for transmission abroad to the amount of £363,000. The arrivals of specie this week amount to £348,424, of which £220,460 was from New York, and £117,960 from Port Philip. There continues to be a strong inquiry for gold of all descriptions for exportation, but owing to the rise in the rate of discount the demand has now slackened. Bar silver is still in demand, but the price remains nominally unchanged. The steamer for the East to-morrow will take out a considerable amount. Mexican dollars have also been in good demand, but the supply in hand is very limited; the price remains at 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Telegrams from Australia announced that the shipments of gold since the last mail from Melbourne amount to £247,500. All the other gold-ships from Melbourne have now arrived, the last having been the True Briton from Port Philip, with £138,000, which came in yesterday.

### ENGLISH AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

All the markets have been more or less affected this week by the changes made in the rate of discount by the Bank Directors, and it could not but be expected that a rise of 2 per cent. within four days must have a very depressing effect. In fact, for a time the operators appeared paralysed, and refrained from dealing except under special circumstances. Prices in the meantime gradually gave way, but subsequently there has been a rather better feeling, and this evening consols closed at 92 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  for money, and 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  ex. div. for the account, which is an improvement of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. as compared with this day week. Exchequer Bills have further declined to 9s. to 4s. dis. There has not been a large business doing in Foreign Stocks, but with the exception of Mexican which have further declined 3 per cent. Spanish Passives, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and Turkish about 1 per cent., prices generally do not present any very great alteration. The latest quotations were:—Greek, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 31; Mexican, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; Spanish Passives, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Do. Certificated, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Turkish Six per Cents. (1854), 91 to 92; and Do., (1862), 70 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 70 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The dealings in American Government and Railway Securities have been unusually limited this week. In the present very unsatisfactory state of affairs as regards the Federal forces, dealers show not the slightest inclination to speculate, and capitalists invest in what they consider a safer description of securities. Where dealings have taken place the tendency in prices is weaker. The following are the only transactions recorded:—Maryland Five per Cents, 74. United States Six per Cents, 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Virginia State Six per Cents, 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Atlantic and Great Western Railway (Pennsylvania Section), 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 76 and 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Erie \$100 shares, all paid, 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Illinois Central \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 19 and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  dis. Panama Railway, 1st mortgage, 100.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Business in the English railway share market has been particularly influenced this week by the advance in the bank rate, and the dealers have consequently been acting with extreme caution. Still, on the whole, a fair share of dealings has been recorded, but in general at considerably reduced quotations. In Great Northern the decline is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; in Caledonian, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, London, Brighton, and South Coast, and North Eastern (Berwick), 1 per cent.; in Great Eastern, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, Chatham and Dover, Metropolitan and South Devon  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and in Great Western and Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On the other hand, there has been an improvement of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. each in North British and South Eastern. The dealings in foreign railway shares have only been to a limited extent, but prices, as compared with the other departments, have been fairly sustained. A fair average business has been done in British Possession shares, but prices are not quite so good.

### BANK MEETING.

At a special meeting of the proprietors of the Union Bank of Australia, held this afternoon, a proposition was submitted by the board of directors to increase the capital from £1,000,000

to £1,250,000, by the creation and issue of 10,000 new shares of £25 each, at a premium of £20. Part of this money, when raised, was to be appropriated to the reserve fund by adding £50,000 to it, and paying £75,000 off the account of bank premiums. After some discussion, the proposition was agreed to.

### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The political news of this week has been unimportant, as regards a movement in the value of this security; but the depression of the Stock Exchange has not been without influence, and the market has ruled dull at 63 to 65. To-day closes with a heavy tendency, at 62 to 64.

### DRAWINGS ON INDIA.

The Indian Council have announced that until further notice, they will increase the amount of their bills on India from their present rate £700,000 per month to £900,000.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The London and Caledonian Marine Insurance is the only new public company announced this week. The directors, who are influential, announce that the business will be conducted on a sound basis, with extensive connections, the directors being capable of ensuring a vast amount of legitimate marine insurance transactions. The capital is fixed at £500,000, with power to increase to £1,000,000, in 20,000 shares of £25 each. The deposit £1 per share on application, and £2 on allotment.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

THERE has been very little change in the general aspect of the American produce markets since our last, but the caution then observed, from the influence of monetary affairs, has somewhat increased. Prices continue for the most part to be well maintained. Cotton, however, is an exception, quotations in this instance having given way 1d. per lb. Our grain markets remain in the same state of inactivity as noticed for some time past, with prices nearly stationary. In provisions a moderate trade is passing. Fine American butters have sold freely at 98s. to 100s. Cheese also meets a fair inquiry at steady rates. Prime American bacon, being still relatively cheap, is purchased to a fair extent, whilst other imports are saleable only at a reduction in price. Lard moves off in limited quantity without quotable change in value. Petroleum sells very steadily at 21s. per gallon for American refined. The extensive and extending use of this article is telling perceptibly upon the consumption of tallow. In crude we have not heard of much doing. French turpentine is more saleable at the recent decline, and at the close to-day the tendency was in an upward direction. Rosin firmly supports its value. Tar, owing partly to an American demand and partly to speculation, has advanced to 23s. to 23s. 6d. for Stockholm, and 25s. 6d. for Archangel. Linseed and rape oil must be quoted at 1s. per cwt. lower. The former sells at 41s. 6d., and the latter at 39s. per cwt. for brown. Oilcake is without essential change. Tallow recovered a little at the close of last week, but is decidedly dull of sale to-day, bringing prices back to those quoted in our last report. Jute still holds on its upward course, fine qualities, which we last quoted at £33 15s., now bringing £34 10s. to £35 per ton. Manila hemp is firm, but can hardly be quoted dearer, and Russian continues at £40 to £42 for clean St. Petersburg. During the last day or two the activity in the sugar speculation has subsided, but there is no giving way in price. The periodical sales of cochineal have gone with less animation, and rates in some instances are a point weaker. In manufactured iron trade is still active, and quotations firm. Scotch pig has, however, receded 1s. 3d. per ton. Foreign tin is also easier to buy; but lead keeps up in price. The colonial wool sales have been in progress since Thursday last, and have established an average advance of 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on the rate of the last series for fleece wools generally. In drugs and chemicals the only change worth notice is a decline of 1d. per lb. in bichromate of potash.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.					
	1863.			1862.		
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, g.d. ord. to fr.	0 1 11	0 0 5	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 0 2	0 2 3
CHEMICALS—						
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 1 6
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 17 6	0 18 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 8	0 0 8
Potash, Bicarbonate, lb.	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 3	0 7 3	0 7 6	0 7 6
DRUGS—						
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 12 0	1 0 0	2 5 0		
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 0 0		
Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 3		
Barb. Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 10 6		
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 6		
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7		
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	5 0 0	5 5 0	5 12 0	5 15 0		
Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 5 0	5 10 0		
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 16 0	0 9 0	0 14 0		
Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 5	0 0 6		
Orange, lb.	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 6		
Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5		
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 0 0		
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3		
Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 0		
Snakeroot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 2 3	0 0 0		
Spermaceti, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2		
DYES, cwt.—						
Safflower	4 5 0	7 10 0	3 10 0	7 10 0		
Turmeric, Bengal	1 12 0	1 14 0	1 3 0	1 4 6		
Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0	0 14 0	0 15 6		
Yellow Berries.	1 19 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	6 10 0		
GUMS, cwt.—						
Animal, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0		
Liquid	1 13 0	1 15 0	1 6 0	1 7 0		
Kovrie	2 5 0	2 12 0	1 5 0	1 6 0		
METALS, per ton—						
Copper, American	78 0 0	79 0 0	81 0 0	81 0 0		
Iron, Scotch, Pig	2 19 9	..	2 16 6	..		
Tin, English	115 0 0	..	119 0 0	..		
OILS, per ton—						
Sperm, American	41 6 0	..	42 0 0	..		
Lard	18 10 0	..	..	14 0 0		
Rock Oil, Crude	18 10 0	..	..	..		
PROVISIONS, cwt.—						
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	5 0 0	3 14 0	4 4 0		
Cheese, do., fine	2 6 0	2 18 0	2 0 0	2 12 0		
Bacon Sides	1 9 0	2 8 0	1 18 0	2 4 0		
TALLOW, per cwt.—						
North American	2 1 0	2 3 6	..	..		
South do.	2 1 6	2 3 6	2 7 0	2 8 3		
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	..		
TOBACCO, lb.—						
Maryland	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 9		
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5	0 1 0		
Kentucky	0 0 6	0 1 7	0 0 4	0 1 1		

### OUTFLOW OF SPECIE FROM NEW YORK.

The recent large amounts of specie sent from New York to this country satisfactorily show that the Money Market there is sustaining a severe pressure, and it will be interesting, under the circumstances, to watch the progress of future events. Annexed is a return of the specie received from New York from the 1st September to the present date, the gross amount being £1,773,322; but it remains to be seen whether, during the next two months, the arrivals will continue to a similar extent. At present there certainly does not appear to be any falling off.

Date.	Name of Steamer.	Amount.
September 1	The Arabia .. ..	£ 2,846
" 3	The Saxonia .. ..	22,400
" 4	The Glasgow .. ..	5,160
" 6	The China .. ..	43,850
" 9	The City of Washington ..	159,560
" 11	The Kangaroo .. ..	16,960
" 11	The Bremen .. ..	31,740
" 15	The North American .. ..	1,000
" 16	The City of London .. ..	56,280
" 20	The Persia .. ..	60,877
" 21	The Teutonia .. ..	3,360
" 23	The City of Baltimore ..	59,698
" 25	The New York .. ..	35,119
" 27	The Africa .. ..	30,000
" 29	The City of New York ..	44,060
" 30	The Germania .. ..	26,463
October 2	The Scotia .. ..	79,000
" 8	The Hansa .. ..	52,400
" 11	The Arabia .. ..	10,400
" 12	The Hecla .. ..	35,146
" 14	The City of Washington ..	88,416
" 16	The Bavaria .. ..	10,988
" 18	The China .. ..	53,700
" 21	The Glasgow .. ..	11,000
" 22	The City of Manchester ..	251,554
" 26	The America .. ..	168,000
" 28	The Europa .. ..	4,300
" 30	The City of London .. ..	93,445
November 2	The Saxonia .. ..	35,840
" 6	The Persia .. ..	58,900
" 7	The City of Baltimore ..	138,000
" 10	The Bremen .. ..	24,400
" 10	The Olympus .. ..	3,860
" 10	The City of New York ..	54,600
	Total .. ..	£1,773,322

### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Nov. 11.

Since the late rise in the value of money, the cotton market has been in a very restless state; comparatively little business has been done, and for almost every description prices have receded from 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. Manufacturers and speculators evince at present very little disposition to operate, as the general belief entertained here is that there will be a further advance in the rate of discount to-morrow; if so, an additional decline in prices may be looked for. At all events, anything like a revival in business cannot be expected till the money market is again in a more settled state. The sales this week have been only 29,000 bales, of which 11,000 bales were on speculation and for export. The total sales this year down to the present period have been 2,303,380 bales; and to the same state in 1862, 2,402,300 bales. The total imports this year have reached 1,335,934 bales, and to the same period last year 1,044,934 bales. The exports this year have been 413,271 bales, and to the corresponding period in 1862, 378,249 bales. Taken for consumption this year, 1,163,000; to the same period last year 1,009,300 bales. Taken on speculation this year 639,050 bales; same in 1862, 962,090; computed stocks, at the present time 149,020; and at the same time in 1862, 296,310 bales. The decline in prices in American and Egyptian is from 1d. to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. Brazils are also nominally 1d. per lb. cheaper. Surats are irregular at about 1d. decline. The closing quotations are Middling Orleans, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 28d.; Mobile, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 28d.; Uplands, 27d. to 28d.; estimated fair Egyptian, 27d. to 28d.; and Surats, 16d. to 28d.

Manchester, November 10, 1863.

The further advance of 1 per cent in the Bank rate of discount on Thursday last produced an uneasy feeling amongst both buyers and sellers, although this action of the Bank Directors had been pretty generally anticipated.

On Friday the individual reports of the market were very conflicting. Sellers of home trade yarns were willing to concede 1d., 2d., and even 3d. per pound on the prices of the week before; whilst sellers of 40s. mule yarn for India were asking and getting higher rates than the week before. Manufacturers of cloths, being well under contract, are very little affected at present by these things. Saturday was an extremely quiet day, and very little business was transacted. Monday was rather more cheerful, owing to receipt of telegraphic advices from Calcutta, dated 14th October, reporting a hardening market both for yarn and cloth; but Liverpool showing signs of weakness counteracted the effect of these better India advices.

To-day, Tuesday, has been a dull day, and the only gleam of sunshine has been a demand for 44-inch jaconets and shirtings, also 40s. mule in bundle, for India; but as these were wanted out of stock, very few sales were made. Liverpool showing great depression, and a belief gaining ground that we shall see in a few days a further rise in the Bank rate, tend to produce a dull state of affairs here.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Nov. 5, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

PARIS TOPICS.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCAHIRE.

THE WAR.

THE DISMISSAL OF THE ENGLISH CONSULS.

REPLY OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

MAGAZINES FOR NOVEMBER.

A NORTHERN ESTIMATE OF ENGLISH LIFE.

THE WAR CHURISTIAN: A POEM.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSULS.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND, OCTOBER 10TH.

THE TEXT OF THE REPLY OF THE SCOTTISH CLERGY.

AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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**TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT**

**OLD ENGLAND.** Awake! awake!! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than the liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strife and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been pursued. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, and think on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an intricate blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has proached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this farthest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her Independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the members of this great and noble association to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the harbours so richly merited? We write all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.

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# THE INDEX

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## CONTENTS.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATE  
DEPARTMENT RELATIVE TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE  
BRITISH CONSULS.  
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND, OCT. 17TH.  
THE NEUTRALITY OF NON-INTERCOURSE.  
THE NEW CAMPAIGNS.  
THE LETTER OF INVITATION.  
THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRA.  
THE TRADE TO MATAMORAS.  
PRESIDENT-MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES.  
LITERARY NOTES.  
LETTER FROM MR. W. H. COWELL.  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE mechanical ingenuity of the Yankees is proverbial, and has been eminently displayed during the war. We do not mean to disparage the courage of the Federals in saying that, whilst to the Confederates belongs nearly all the glory of the sword, to them is due nearly all the honours that have been won by the spade. With admirable precision and wonderful rapidity they have again and again thrown up entrenchments that have cost the Southerners dearly, and frequently deprived them of the fruits of a hard-earned victory. But all this makes their utter poverty of invention, in every case where mechanism is not concerned, so much the more remarkable. Not one of their generals has devised a campaign or a movement that has the remotest claim to originality. But perhaps the greatest wonder is, that in the false reports that are put in circulation to rig the New York money market, or to prop up the Administration, or to deceive Europe, there is not the slightest variety. Their commanders, like youthful chess-players, never hit upon new openings or fresh combinations, and their purveyors of news can do no more than repeat their threadbare canards.

Take the last mail as an example. Any one reading the telegraphic summary might well pause to glance at the date of the paper, to be satisfied that he had not taken last week's or last month's *Times*. Charleston is being furiously bombarded, and so it has been often bombarded. As on former occasions, there are no casualties on the Federal side. The sea-wall, or outer wall of Sumter, has been battered down, just as it was battered down at the beginning of the siege. The capture of Sumter is announced as it was announced months ago; and before the announcement is twenty-four hours old we are told, just as we were on the former occasion, that the rumour was false, merely a Yankee fabrication. From Virginia the news is equally stale. Once more the "Army of the Potomac" has advanced and driven in the Confederate outposts; and New York is a little excited, for the Federals hold that to overcome the pickets of the enemy is to gain a substantial victory. As usual, the Federals claim to have captured a large number of prisoners (1,800), and in a moment of frankness admit a heavy loss (800 killed and wounded). The Federal capital is not taken, but the commander of the "Army of the Potomac" contemplates "a change of base," and for about the thirtieth time the credulous subjects of His Sublime Majesty of the White House are informed that the naughty rebels are evacuating Richmond. This sameness

is really marvellous, but it answers the purpose of the Federal Government in enabling them to keep "pegging away" at the pockets of their dupes. And if we turn to Tennessee we look in vain for novelty. The beaten army of the invader is still "safe"; the Confederates are still threatening the Federal communications; General Bragg's army is still being depleted for some "mysterious" object; reinforcements are still fast joining the beleaguered army, and in Washington there is still anxiety about the "safe" position at Chattanooga. All the minor operations of the war, or reported operations, are equally repetitions. We are informed, as we have been by every other mail since the fall of Vicksburg, that "both banks of the Mississippi are infested with guerillas." A Federal triumph is reported in Arkansas, with the ominous and familiar addition that it "needs confirmation." We are informed, as we have been any time these two years, that "Confederate guerillas" are bagging a considerable number of Federal troops and a large amount of Federal stores. It is officially notified that Burnside's advanced positions have been attacked and portions of two Federal regiments captured; and of course the Washington authorities do not give any details, which is the old-fashioned way of announcing an important Confederate triumph. To complete the picture, we have the Federal Zadkiel, Mr. Seward, prophesying the speedy end of the war, and indulging in his wonted profanity, adding that "then there would be peace, and the angels in Heaven might tune their harps to the symphony of such a peace." After this, Mr. Seward's audience were prepared to swallow the declaration that "there was no State that had not been made stronger, and no citizen that had not been made richer, by the war." Well, this is refreshing. As far as we know, it is the first time that a member of the Lincoln Cabinet has formally announced that the war is good for the country and enriches the citizens. To this brief summary of Federal repetitions we ought to add that famine in the South is again reported in the North.

Our Richmond correspondent, whose letter of a very recent date appears on another page, reflects, no doubt, with faithful accuracy, the hopes which arise among the people of the Confederacy, from the striking contrast between the diplomacy of France and that of England in relation to American affairs. The Government, however, takes a less sanguine view, and makes every effort to teach the nation to rely solely upon its own continued exertions, and in this the Government is wise. Nevertheless, there is a reasonable prospect of our correspondent's programme being carried out, at least in its main feature. To one part of that programme only we desire to offer an amendment. In the mutual recognition interchanged between Mexico and the Confederacy, the latter must take the initiative. The Mexican Empire is a younger and less settled government than that of the Confederate States; and nations, especially when in distress, cannot safely dispense with points of etiquette which affect their dignity.

Elsewhere we publish a letter from J. W. Cowell, Esq., whose practical acquaintance with American affairs, acquired in a position of great responsibility and under circumstances peculiarly favourable for observation, entitle his views to respectful consideration on both sides of the Atlantic. He recommends those States of the Confederacy, which were solemnly recognised by name "as sovereign and independent," in the treaty of 1781, to throw themselves upon the rights acquired by that treaty, and to accuse the British Government of the violation of its obligation. One advantage, certainly, such a step would have: even if it failed to influence

the action of the Ministry, it would awaken the British public more fully than it has yet been to the true character of the struggle. It might be added, supplementary to Mr. Cowell's argument, that Texas has similar treaty rights with those of the States the names; and perhaps her case is even stronger, since she was recognised before she had assumed any federal ties whatever. Alabama and Mississippi might also claim to be placed on an equal footing with Georgia, as integral portions of that commonwealth at the time of her recognition by England, and formed into independent communities with the consent and by the act of the parent State. The same relation also obtains between Tennessee and Kentucky and North Carolina and Virginia respectively. Mr. Cowell, without carrying his argument so far, makes his points forcibly and with incontrovertible logic, and we cordially commend his suggestion to the attention of Southern statesmen.

The war intelligence is not staler than the reports about the domestic concerns of the United States. Money continues to be tight, and gold obstinately refuses to go down. The conscription is being resisted in Pennsylvania, where the miners have armed themselves and committed several murders. The gallant General Schenck ordered all suspected disloyalists who should appear at the polls of the late elections to be arrested, and an appeal being made to Washington, Mr. Lincoln modified the order, "but said it was right in principle"—that is, that it was right in principle to take care that under any circumstance the Administration is not out-voted. In Ohio a fresh "conspiracy" has been discovered. The Republican majority in the late elections in New York State is estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000; and the New Jersey elections have been carried by the Democrats.

General Butler's services in New Orleans, though pretty well compensated by the fortune he amassed by means of plundering the inhabitants, have been further rewarded by the Federal Government. Butler has superseded General Foster. His command will, it is said, include Fort Monroe, Norfolk, and North Carolina. Foster, it is rumoured, will succeed Schenck—that illustrious warrior, who has gained so many triumphs over the defenceless men and women of Baltimore, desiring to be present in the ensuing session of the Federal Congress.

Governor Seymour has made a speech at Utica, which contains a great deal that is true. He deplored the loss of life, saying that there were half a million of new-made graves in the country, and that if the 600,000 recruits now called for were furnished, half of them would in a year be wasted away, and no longer be found in the ranks of the army. Governor Seymour said he doubted if at the present time there were 300,000 men in the Federal armies fit to take the field. He observed that in every quarter the North was on the defensive. He said, "We tremble for the fate of the Army of the Cumberland. The Army of the Potomac to-day advances and to-morrow retreats, and we look to its movements with the most painful solicitude. Look along the whole margin of the war, along the line that divides the North and South, along the whole course of the Mississippi, and we are merely holding our own ground or attempting to regain that which we have once held, except in the single instance of the siege of Charleston, where we are attempting by our navy to batter down a place particularly offensive to the public mind, but where there is no attempt made to take permanent military possession, and where the armies of our generals would not dare to land, be



cause of the fear of being overwhelmed by superior force." In this emergency, Mr. Lincoln has asked for 300,000 more men. Upon this Governor Seymour remarks, "No man can fail to see, however blinded by prejudice or infatuated by passion, that this cannot go on indefinitely without ruining us as a nation, and carrying misery and desolation and death to our homes. Every day brings us nearer to this result, and nearer to the condition when all men agree that we must be plunged in bankruptcy, if we reach it. All men agree that straight in our pathway are these two great calamities, to which we are moving steadily and swiftly." And what is the practical conclusion of Governor Seymour's speech? Just this: that the ruin of the country must be consummated, since ruin cannot be averted by words, and the Democrats fear to take action. Do the Democrats expect to make their record clear for the future by these declarations? If so, it is a mistake. They will be reproached with foreshadowing the disaster, and yet refusing to put forth their strength to avert it. Or do the Democrats hope to gain power by flattering the madness of the hour, and having gained power, to use it patriotically? Here again they will be disappointed. So long as they support the war policy they are playing into the hands of the Republicans and weakening themselves. Adding fresh fuel to fire is not the way to extinguish it.

The Russian Admiral Sisvoski has made a complimentary return for the flattering attentions he has received from the North. He told the New Jersey municipality that "he was sure that the Emperor of Russia sympathised with the North in the present unjust rebellion, and hoped and believed, as he himself did, that the North would be successful."

We elsewhere publish an interesting diplomatic correspondence respecting the dismissal of the British Consuls from the Confederate States. The documents consist of a despatch from Mr. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, to Mr. Slidell, and enclosures, amongst which is a letter from Earl Russell to Mr. Mason. We have commented on this correspondence in our leader columns.

The price of gold in New York on the 9th November, was 46 per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

His Excellency Baron Gros has relinquished his post as Ambassador of France at the Court of St. James's. The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the late French Ambassador at Rome, who has been appointed by the Emperor to succeed Baron Gros, is expected in London this week to enter on the duties of Ambassador.

There is a prospect of a memorial being erected to the late Field-Marshal Lord Clyde, of a character consistent with the virtues and achievements of that General. A meeting has been held at Willis's Rooms, St. James's, for that purpose; and if the names of promoters are a guarantee of success, it is possible that the undertaking may be brought to a fortunate issue. The chair was taken by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and the Dukes of Wellington and Argyll, Earls de Grey and Ripon, Ellenborough, Cardigan, and Malmesbury, with Sir Charles Wood, Lord Hartington, Lord Stanley, and many officers, companions in arms of the deceased warrior, were present. The Duke of Cambridge opened the proceedings in a speech setting forth the campaigns in which Lord Clyde had served, and traced the career of the Marshal through the battles and sieges of the Peninsular war, the Chinese expedition, the furious contests at Chillianwallah and Goojerat in the Sikh war, the battles of the Alma and Balaclava, and the final struggles and glories in the relief of Lucknow and the suppression of the Indian rebellion. Then Earl de Grey and Ripon, as the Secretary of State for War, proposed in an able speech the first resolution, which was seconded by the Duke of Wellington, and, which declared, "That in order to commemorate the signal services rendered to the country by Field-Marshal Lord Clyde, this meeting is of opinion that a statue be erected to his honour in the metropolis." This resolution was duly put from the chair and agreed to unanimously. Thereupon the Duke of Argyll moved, and the Earl of Lucan seconded, a resolution, "That a public subscription be opened, to which all classes of Her Majesty's subjects be invited to contribute, and that a committee of noblemen and gentlemen be formed for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing objects." After this resolution had been agreed to, Sir Charles Wood, as Secretary for India, proposed, and the Earl of Ellenborough supported, a motion, "That with reference to the more recent services of Lord Clyde in India, the communities of the three Presidencies be invited to contribute." The business of the meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the chairman, proposed by Lord Stanley.

A plan eminently practical, admirably conceived, and most complete and excellent in detail, is at once to be put in execution in behalf of a true and legitimate interpretation of the Scripture. The original idea is attributed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the organisation of the scheme is the work of the Archbishop of York. It is proposed to put forth a commentary on the whole Bible which shall place the reader in full possession of whatever information may be requisite to enable him to understand the Word of God, and supply him with satisfactory answers to objections resting upon a misrepresentation of its contents. The general supervision of the work will be entrusted to a superior committee consisting of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Llandaff, and Gloucester

and Bristol, with Lord Lyttelton, the Speaker, the Right Honourable S. H. Walpole, and Drs. Jacobson and Jeremie. The general editorship is given to the Reverend F. C. Cook, preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-inn. The work will be divided into eight sections—namely, the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, the Poetical Books, the Four Great Prophets, the Twelve Minor Prophets, the Four Gospels and Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the remainder of the sacred canon. Each section will be entrusted to an editor assisted by contributors, and the number of editors and contributors in all will be thirty. Among the more eminent names may be mentioned Professor Harold Brown, the Rev. S. Rawlinson, the Bishop of St. David's (Dr. Thirlwall), Professor Mansel, the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Alford), Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Eliott), Professor Lightfoot and the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench). The list comprises names calculated to ensure orthodoxy, while at the same time there is every guarantee that no exclusive school or section of the Church will find its peculiar views set forth.

The Galway Mail Company seems destined to go to ruin. Disasters small and great have befallen their vessels from the time at which the Government granted the subsidy of £70,000 to appease the jealous demands of Ireland, and to try the unsuccessful experiment of a more speedy conveyance of the American mails. The latest mishap has occurred to the *Anglia*, which struck on the Black Rock in Galway Bay, on her way from Liverpool to Boston, and though got off at high water was unable to proceed on her voyage. Inasmuch as the news brought by vessels on this line has been generally anticipated, and further, inasmuch as the principal value of the line seems to be the facilities offered by it for the emigration of the Connaught peasantry to the Federal States, to fill up the gaps in the army of the Potomac, it is possible that our readers will not regret the probable failure of the concern, and the withdrawal of the subsidy.

Four days of extraordinary sport and slaughter deserve to be recorded as an example of the extent to which the preservation of game is carried, even in the most highly cultivated parts of England. On the estates of the Duke of Rutland, lying near Newmarket, a party of five noblemen and gentlemen shot, on the first day 332 pheasants, 256 hares and rabbits, and 40 partridges; and on the second day, in the short space of three hours, 190 pheasants, 60 hares, and 23 rabbits. On the estates of General Hall, lying on the borders of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, seven sportsmen shot in two days 1,260 pheasants, 324 hares, 101 rabbits, and 10 partridges. The Dukes of Cambridge and Beaufort and Lords Salisbury and Stamford were of the party. It is calculated that the cost of rearing pheasants exceeds considerably £1 per head.

M. Nadar's balloon has arrived in England, and is in course of exhibition at the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham. Every one knows the excitement into which Paris was thrown by the ascent from the Champ de Mars of the bold adventurer and his party; by the fears and the anxious interest that clung round the fate of voyagers known to have crossed the Belgian frontier at the rate of sixty miles an hour; and by the final relief at learning that injuries, and not death, had been the result of a hazardous descent at Nieuburg. M. Nadar will not yet be able again to venture on the realisation of his projects; meanwhile, as he has delighted and astounded the Parisians, so he aspires to amaze the people of London by the display of the means and machinery employed in his ascent; and now in the wondrous centre transept of the most lofty and magnificent of modern edifices there floats the leviathan of the air, fully inflated with atmosphere, and seemingly eager for a fresh start. It is enormous, and it is graceful. Its height, with "compensator" and car, is 200 feet; it is capable of containing 215,363 cubic feet of gas; it has two skins of white silk of the finest quality, and in quantity exceeding 20,000 yards. On the gores, which are sewn by hand, 300 men and women worked for more than a month. The towers of Notre Dame would but overtop it by 45 feet. It lifts 4½ tons, and abundantly justifies the title of the *Géant*. The car is above all things curious. About 15 feet long by 12 feet wide, it has all the partitions and the luxuries of saloon-cabins or gipsies' caravans. In it are contained a captain's cabin, with sleeping berth, four small cabins with berths, washing room, rooms for printing and photography. The roof is fenced with a bulwark, and forms an airy terrace. It is a marvellous dwelling-house for nine persons. It is built of ash rattans and osiers, with stays of inflated india-rubber. In the balloon itself is seen the rent of the axe of Godard, who, after the terrible rush of twenty miles through trees, against hillocks and telegraph wires, checked by his bold effort the career of the monster. English people love above all things enterprise and courage; so the balloon of M. Nadar, and M. Nadar himself, will be much admired and much applauded. The engineer of the air M. Nadar aspires to be, and the balloon is to him a mere effort of the infancy of aerial science. He has faith in the solution of the mastery over the air for man, as his power exists over sea and land. It is not yet known how soon recovered health and fresh daring will display his valour to English eyes; meanwhile the appliances of the hero's enterprise are within our reach and demand our applause.

Some few years ago the regiment of the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons left this country for India, bearing with it the highest praise of the Commander-in-Chief, as far as related to *esprit de corps*, and good feeling among the officers and efficiency among the men. In 1861 Lieutenant-Colonel Crawley, who had been an officer for

thirty years, was appointed to the command of this regiment, which was then stationed at Ahmednuggur, in the Deccan. What his acts or his words were remains to be proved; the result of his command was visible in violent feuds, rendering the regiment into hostile cliques. One Paymaster Smales, who had not the gift of reticence, was brought successively before a court of inquiry and a general court-martial, the notoriety of which last has gained it the title of the Mhow Court-martial. The finding of that court, consequent on a trial remarkable for spite and hard swearing, was approved by the military authorities in India, and quashed by the advice of the law officers in England. It is stated, but the statement is a charge not proved, and is as stoutly denied as it is affirmed, that three persons, whose evidence before the Mhow Court-martial would have been of great moment, were arrested by order of Colonel Crawley, and illegally kept in close confinement for forty days, in the midst of an Indian summer. At the close of the forty days one of these persons, all of whom were non-commissioned officers, was dead, one was a lunatic, and the third was released. One of them, Sergeant-major Lilley, was, together with his wife, who was said to be in a deep decline, lodged in a room fifteen feet square, with a bomb-proof roof, and, therefore, resembling an oven rather than a human habitation. The sentry, on the discovery of communications between the prisoner and the outer world, was stationed in the inside of the room, that he might keep watch over the acts of his prisoners. The wife of Sergeant-major Lilley was suffering under chronic diarrhoea, and required powerful stimulants. On the death of the sergeant-major these stimulants were found in the room, and the report was spread, and endorsed by the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Hugh Rose, that Lilley had died from the effects of drunkenness. Such was the frightful, and, perhaps, incredible story that found its way to England, and roused the nation to fury and the House of Commons to indignation. A strict inquiry was loudly demanded, and it was insisted that the court-martial on Colonel Crawley should be held in England, and not in India. Accordingly, about 150 witnesses have been brought home from the East to give evidence for or against the colonel, and the enquiry threatens to be at once the most expensive and the most extraordinary on record. The Judge-Advocate has preferred only two charges, restricting the issues to the circumstances immediately connected with the death of Sergeant-major Lilley. The first charge alleges that the colonel caused the orders, under which Lilley was confined, to be carried into effect with unnecessary and undue severity; the second alleges that the colonel, at a court-martial, had publicly declared that the acts in question were the acts of the adjutant, whereas they were in fact the result of the express orders of the colonel. The court-martial was opened at Aldershot Camp on Tuesday, under the Presidency of Lieutenant-General, Sir George Augustus Wetherall, K.C.B. Among the other members of the court are four major-generals, four colonels, and six lieutenant-colonels. The officiating Judge-Advocate is Colonel James Kennard Piper, and the prosecutor is Colonel Sir Alfred Horsford, K.C.B. The prisoner is assisted in his defence by Mr. Vernon Harcourt. It will be quite impossible for us to give a complete or even a concise summary of the vast mass of evidence that will be offered. The true story, as proved by the witnesses, and the finding of the court, will, however, be matter of considerable interest, and will be duly recorded.

#### THE CONTINENT.

PUBLIC attention is everywhere preoccupied by the proposed Congress. Italy, Spain, and some of the smaller States have already, it is said, signified their unqualified acceptance of the Emperor's invitation. Austria, Prussia, and England seem disposed to make their acceptance conditional upon an agreement as to the programme which is to be submitted to the Congress.

Frederick VII., King of Denmark, died at Glucksburg, or Lyksborg, as it is called by the Danes, in Schleswig, on Sunday. Erysipelas, with fever supervening, was the cause of his death. He was born on the 6th of October, 1808, and was consequently in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was thrice married. First in 1828, to the Princess Wilhelmine, daughter of Frederick VI., then reigning King of Denmark. From this lady he was divorced in 1837, and in the following year she became the wife of Carl, Duke of Sleswig Holstein Sonderburg Glucksburg, the eldest brother of Prince Christian, now Christian IX. In 1841 King Frederick married Princess Caroline, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, from whom he was divorced in 1846. He married lastly and morganatically the Countess Dauner, a lady with whose reputation gossip has been very busy, and who, having been originally a milliner or a dancer, or both, succeeded in captivating the King, who had formed a very intimate connexion with her long before this morganatic marriage took place. The King's domestic life necessarily made him somewhat unpopular. He shocked somewhat too openly the conventional code of morals; his pleasures were somewhat too gross to be allowed to pass unnoticed and uncensured. But whatever his faults as a man, he displayed great virtues as a king. He was the first, the best patriot in Denmark. He always trusted his people; he never recoiled from any sacrifice which would serve the interests of Denmark. At the time of his death he was extremely popular with his people, and his memory will long be cherished by them as an honest king and a true friend of liberty.

By the recent death of the late King's uncle, Prince Frederick Ferdinand, Prince Christian, upon whom the succession was conferred by the Treaty of London, of May 8th, 1852, and by an Act passed by the Danish Parliament and ratified by the King, ascends the throne of Denmark.



This is a diversion from the legitimate order of succession. By the *Lex Regia*, promulgated by Frederick III., in 1665, after the extinction of all the male descendants of that King, the throne should pass to the female descendants in a prescribed order. The heiress by that law is the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel, the aunt of the late king. But in consequence of the pretensions raised by the Duke of Augustenburg, that Holstein did not follow the rule of the *Lex Regia*—pretensions for a further examination of which the space at our disposal does not suffice—it was agreed between the great Powers and the Danish Government to abolish the *Lex Regia*, and to designate a successor who should unite the aquatic and cognatic claims. This successor was found in Prince Christian, the only prince of the Houses of Augustenburg and Glücksburg who, in the Schleswig-Holstein insurrection, was faithful to the Danish king. The succession was conferred upon him and his male lineage; the Emperor of Russia, as a Prince of Holstein Gottorp, renouncing his claims in his favour, and the Landgravine of Hesse, her son and her eldest daughter renouncing their rights in favour of the Princess Luise, their daughter and sister, the wife of Prince Christian, who renounced her rights in favour of her husband and his children. The Holsteiners do not acknowledge the legitimacy of this arrangement, but they will have to submit to it. Prince Christian has been proclaimed king. The renunciation of his rights to the throne of Denmark by the King of the Hellenes, concentrates the hopes of Denmark upon two princes, Frederick and Waldemar, aged forty and five respectively.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha has indeed already recognised the hereditary Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, but no great importance is to be attributed to this proceeding on the part of a petty prince, whose court is the centre of the Schleswig Holstein agitation.

The *exposé* of the situation of the Empire has been laid before the French Chambers. The portion which relates to home affairs commences by announcing a sensible amelioration in the condition of the departments, which still suffer from the reaction of the intestine struggles of America. It proceeds to take stock, as it were, of the political, social and intellectual state of the country, giving many very interesting particulars relative to crime, literature, friendly societies, telegraphs and public works: to which it is impossible for us to refer, even in the most summary manner.

The *exposé* of foreign affairs has a more general interest. Dealing with the Polish question, it speaks of the recruitment as a "measure of proscription," and observes that the convention between Russia and Prussia first gave the struggle an international character, and induced remonstrances which obtained from Prussia satisfactory explanations. It proceeds to detail the history of the negotiations. It results from this account that the proposition of an armistice emanated from England, and that the French Government proposed to England and Austria to consolidate the understanding between them, by making, under the form of a convention or a protocol, the engagement to pursue in concert the regulation of the affairs of Poland by diplomatic means, or otherwise if it should be necessary. "We were persuaded," it says, "that the surest means of preventing complications is to show oneself disposed to face them with all the firmness which they require, and that conflicts between governments rise less frequently from bold resolutions than from expedients and hesitations, which allow difficulties to be aggravated." This proposition, which practically meant war, in case of a refusal by Russia to accept the six points—although M. Drouyn de Lhuys in the despatch which he addressed on the 20th of June to the French Ambassadors at London and Vienna, instructing them to urge upon the governments to which they were accredited the desirability of coming to such an understanding, and embodying it in a convention or protocol, declares that such an agreement would contain new guarantees of peace for Europe—was not accepted. The *exposé*, after announcing its non-acceptance, proceeds to state that the Government will maintain its understanding with England and Austria. It refuses to believe that this union can remain sterile. "We do not pretend, however, to impose our solutions upon the Powers which are as interested as, or even more directly, than ourselves, in the regulation of the pending difficulties. In a question essentially European it is not conformable either to our obligations or our rights to alone undertake a responsibility which it belongs to all to share." A despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the Duke de Cadore, in London, dated 22nd September, develops the same idea. It expresses the profound regret of the French Government at seeing all hopes at an end of bringing Russia to an understanding with the Powers whom she had herself invited to point out the best means of pacifying Poland and reassuring Europe. It regrets the refusal of the Cabinets of London and Vienna to enter upon a previous understanding as to the course to be pursued in the contingency of the Russian refusal, and concludes, "Henceforth we can only await the communications our allies may think it useful to address us. We deplore that three Powers, such as England, Austria, and France, should not have succeeded in giving the step they had undertaken all the desirable efficiency, and it has been no fault of ours that their opinions have not secured the irresistible authority of a collective resolution."

After dealing with other foreign questions the *exposé* comes to the American. It says: "The gloomy previsions with which the stubborn animosity of the struggle raging for three years in the United States inspired us have been but too well realised. Blood has continued to flow, but the respective positions of the belligerents does not allow us to foresee the end of this fearful crisis. In presence of so many ruins accumulated and so many existences sacrificed in a struggle hitherto barren, we have necessarily

regretted deeply that the proposition which was made to London and Petersburg to bring about in concert an armistice was not accepted. Constrained by a double refusal to abandon this design, we have, however, declared that our desire to contribute in some way or other to the reestablishment of peace was not less lively or sincere. We have proved it in suggesting the idea of substituting for the project of a friendly intervention of the maritime Powers the expedient of direct conferences between the Government of the United States and the Confederates of the South. This new attempt has not been more fortunate than the former. Since then we have only had to follow the line of conduct adopted from the commencement of this war by the Government of the Empire. We have remained neutral and friendly, although it has often been difficult for us to conciliate that rôle with our duties towards our countrymen. Independently of the sufferings which, in our departments, are the consequence of the American crisis, the hostilities have, even upon the territory of the Union, caused considerable losses and damages for French residents. They have often had occasion to prefer just complaints against the illegal proceedings of the civil and military authorities. Our countrymen should comprehend that their interests, like those of other foreigners, cannot pretend, in the midst of the tumult of arms, to an exceptional security; and that all ordinary guarantees lose forcibly in such a case something of their efficacy. The state of war imposes, moreover, inevitable shackles on the commerce of neutrals. If the progress of liberal ideas tends to relax them, it cannot suppress them entirely. Thus the Cabinet of Washington has been able to convince itself that in our reclamations we have held great account of its difficulties. But the Government of the Emperor cannot dissimulate how painful it is for it to see so many injured interests worthy of its solicitude appeal vainly to its protection."

With regard to Mexico the *exposé* says:—"The Imperial Government touches the object which it had proposed in carrying the flag of France to the shores of Mexico." The Imperial Government quite agrees with the Archduke Maximilian that the resolution of the Assembly of Notables should receive from the people a more explicit consecration. "An evident and imperious French interest could alone determine the Government of the Emperor to engage in an enterprise of which it had weighed before the sacrifices and difficulties. We expect from the new Government the guarantees for our interests which have been wanting under all the preceding régimes."

The Corps Legislatif has been engaged in discussing the validity of the elections. Some interest has been given to the debates by the participation of M. Thiers in them. In the course of his speech this eminent orator caused some amusement by speaking of the *procureur du roi*. He recovered himself, however, very soon. "I beg pardon," he said, "but I shall soon contract the habit of using fitting designations." It is noticeable in these debates, in which, strange to say, one of the Ministers charged the Opposition with gaining elections by intimidation, that the majority have shown themselves far more Napoleonic than the Emperor's most trusted friends. They have attempted to stifle discussion, and when the Duke de Morny, who has been acting with an impartiality and liberality worthy of all praise, has vindicated for the Opposition its rights, they have turned upon him and shouted that the Chamber is not at the orders of the Opposition. The election of M. Pelletan for Paris has been annulled with his own consent for an informality.

A letter, dated 13th October, old style, addressed by the Emperor of Russia to the Grand Duke Constantine, relieving him of the functions of Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of Poland, has been published. The Emperor says, that in summoning the Grand Duke to govern the kingdom of Poland as his lieutenant, he wished to testify his firm desire to give progressive development to the new institutions which he had granted that kingdom, that the choice of a beloved brother was a pledge of his desire to introduce a favourable state of things, in harmony with the wants and interests of the country. He observes, that the Prince completely appreciated and shared those friendly intentions towards the Polish people—intentions, which, the Czar says, he had a right to expect that his subjects of the kingdom of Poland would appreciate. These hopes have not been realised. The Grand Duke was received on the threshold by treason and an attempt upon his life. "Your arrival," says the Czar, "should have inaugurated a new era of internal prosperity and development, under the indispensable auspices of confidence in and respect for the law. . . . But a constantly growing rebellion, intrigues more and more traitorous and criminal, have convinced your Imperial Highness of the incompatibility existing between the actual state of the country, and the thought of benevolence and alleviation which induced me to charge you to put into execution the institutions so generously granted to my Polish kingdom." The Emperor, therefore, in accordance with the Grand Duke's wish, consents to relieve him of his functions, in the assurance that "when the revolt shall be subdued and circumstances shall render possible the application of institutions, the practical working of which is one of my strongest and sincerest desires, the Grand Duke will again consecrate himself to the welfare of the country." Surely the Emperor might be contented with maltreating the gallant and unhappy Poles, without insulting them by such a piece of cruel mockery as this letter.

There is, again, a list of insurgent victories. They seem, however, to have no foundation, save in the ingenuity of the Poles, whose hopes the proposal of a Con-

gress have revived, and who would fain have Europe believe that the insurrection yet holds its own.

There is a story, coming from Lemberg, to the effect that Prince Czartoryski and General Mieroslawski have both been dismissed by the National Government. It is not worthy of credence. The dismissal of one would be the triumph of the other. If Czartoryski is gone, Mieroslawski stays, and *vice versa*.

The Poles who have any property are in a sorry plight. The National Government has proclaimed a loan of forty millions of florins or sixpences—whether a renewed notification of an old loan, or a new one, is not quite clear; and the Russian Government has imposed a tax upon Poland to reimburse twenty-seven millions of florins abstracted from the treasury by the agents of the National Government.

The Prussian Houses have constituted themselves. The Herrenhaus has elected Count Eberhard zu Stolberg Wernigerode as the President, and has resolved to present an address to the King. The Lower House confided to President Grabow the honourable office which he had filled in the two previous Houses, and elected as Vice-President Herr Von Unruh, who was president of the Constituent Assembly of 1848, in the place of Herr Behrends, the failure of whose firm led him to retire from parliament, and Herr Von Bockum Doltis, under whose presidency the famous scene with Herr Von Roon took place. In acknowledging his election, Grabow observed that the solution of pending differences which the royal speech professed to desire, would be obtained if the Constitution were acted upon according to its obvious spirit. The Government has already laid before the House the statement of accounts for the last two years promised in the speech. It has also presented the press ordinance for approval, and a new law upon the press. The latter, practically, would give the Government the power legally to stop that free expression of opinion which it has been illegally limiting. Amongst other noteworthy dispositions, it repeals the clause in the existing press law which authorises the publication of correct reports of proceedings in the two Houses of the Landtag. In the Lower House the verification of the elections gave rise to a sharp debate. Count Schwerin, the former Minister, and Herr Von Vincke, brother of the Von Vincke, and a personal friend of the King, censured the conduct of the provincial authorities in very strong language; and Count Eulenberg, the Minister of the Interior, was constrained to admit that the Government could not defend, but must censure, some of the proceedings complained of. It is noteworthy, that Herr Von der Heydt, to whom public rumour attributes the design to play the part of a mediator, for which circumstances well qualify him, assumed that rôle in this first debate. The majority has resolved not to reply to the speech by an address. It has been felt that a repetition of the popular demands in fitting language would only aggravate the controversy, and might lead to an immediate prorogation of the House.

The King of the Greeks has formed a Ministry, of which Bulgaris, the leading member of the late Provisional Government, is President. We do not profess to be able to appreciate the qualifications of the new Ministry; but we can at least congratulate the Greeks upon the retirement or removal from office of Caligas, the Foreign Minister, whose audacious declaration that Greece intended to repudiate her debts, was employed to such an advantage by a number of his countrymen, who, whilst professing vehement patriotism, were glad enough to make a good speculation on the Stock Exchange, by representing their country as thoroughly dishonest.

The King has also reviewed the army and national guard; and whilst congratulating them upon their efficiency, intimated that discipline will be strictly maintained. This is a good beginning.

It is announced that a protocol ratifying the cession by Great Britain of the Ionian Islands was signed by the representatives of the Great Powers on Saturday. The fortifications of Corfu are to be demolished. The Islands, according to the *exposé* of the French Government, are placed under the same safe-guard of the Great Powers as the kingdom of Greece.

According to Mr. Reuter, the Porte has addressed a note to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, protesting against the armaments on the frontiers and the building of gunboats in the Black Sea, in violation of the Treaty of Paris. It is very likely that Russia is violating the Treaty of Paris by building vessels of war in her ports on the Black Sea, but unfortunately this is hardly the time for the Porte to protest.

Prince Couza, the Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia, or Roumania, as these provinces are sometimes called, has opened the National Assembly of those provinces by a speech in which he promises liberal measures. The Prince, who lately changed his Ministry, is at daggers drawn with the Assembly, and is strongly suspected of meditating something in the shape of a *coup d'état*.

The Italian Chambers met on Monday. No business of any importance was transacted. A telegraphic summary of the budget, showing, as usual, a large deficiency, has been published. We wait for the full accounts before noticing it.

We are very glad to learn that an amnesty has been issued to political criminals, including Count Christler and Mr. Bishop. An act of mercy, and indeed of justice, like this, will do more to restore peace to the Two Sicilies than all the fusillades and arrests of General La Marmora.



## LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, October 17.

Mr letter of the 10th instant had not left the shore of the American continent before the measure it foreshadowed of the dismissal of the British consuls from the limits of the Confederacy was announced officially, in the columns of the *Sentinel*, as having been taken by the President; and I make no doubt that the long despatch of Mr. Benjamin to Mr. Shidell, which bears date the 8th October, acquainting him fully with the reasons that led to the dismissal, went across the water to you in the same steamer with my letter. At the time of writing, I know nothing whatever of the purpose of the Government in this regard, nor was it known to anyone here not in the immediate confidence of the Administration, but I hazarded nothing in declaring that no more popular step could be resolved on, as is abundantly shown in the universal commendation it has called forth from the press. Some journals have declared that the grounds upon which Mr. Benjamin rests the justice and propriety of the Government's action were unimportant, and that it had been better to make the unfriendliness of the English Ministry *pur et simple* the basis of the dismissal; but all approve it, and the voice of the press finds an echo in the sentiments of the people. Feeling that this action is right in itself, they care but little for the nice distinctions of diplomacy, perhaps less still for what may be the consequence in respect of the future conduct of England towards the Confederate States.

From the very inception of the Secession movement, the Southern people have sought only to pursue the right course without regard to after results. With a serene confidence in the justice of their cause, and a perfect knowledge of the "rectitude of their intentions," they have followed the plain line of duty, leaving the rest to Him who rules in the councils of nations and over the habitations of the earth. Whatever may be the course of England hereafter, they are conscious of having acted towards her as became their own self-respect and consistently with their rights as an independent nation, and they know and feel that history will amply vindicate their motives, for their

— faith is large, in Time  
And that which shapes it to a perfect end.

While all relations have thus been terminated with Great Britain, the talk of speedy recognition by the Emperor of the French begins to assume a more definite shape, and to gain a wider degree of attention. If the arrangements have been perfected for the acknowledgment of our independence by Louis Napoleon, you are doubtless fully acquainted with them, and will be amused at our speculations thereon. If, on the other hand, there be no foundation for the magnificent *chateau d'Espagne* which we have constructed here, in great part out of Spanish building materials, you will smile at the airy nothings of our architecture, and the ease with which we are deluded into regarding them as substantial things. This is the form of the latest accepted scheme of foreign intervention. Maximilian, as soon as he has settled himself in the "Halls of the Montezumas," is to recognise; the Man of Destiny will immediately do the same; Spain, ditto, ditto. Then a Tripartite Convention will be held between these three Powers in *re* the Monroe doctrine; the Mexican, Spanish, and French ports, Vera Cruz, Havanna, Cadiz, Bordeaux, &c., will be opened to our cruisers with their prizes taken on the high seas; our "infant navy"—as well those steamers which are strong enough to walk the waters as those we have at the Brest—will be coddled and helped along by our new friends. England, for the time, maintaining her "rigorous neutrality," will ere long be compelled to unite with the other Western Powers; and thus the war will be brought to an end by the 22nd of February, 1864—the second anniversary of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President of the new republic.

Such is the *programme*, and a certain amount of belief in it has been inspired by the statements of the press with regard to the course of France in other particulars. The Vicomte de Saint Romain has been brought up again in connection with the purposes of his Government a few days ago. The *Richmond Examiner*, a paper uniformly careful in its positive assertions, set forth the fact on its own authority that a part of the Vicomte's business in Richmond was to arrange with the Confederate authorities for the immediate exportation of the tobacco belonging to France, now stored in the Richmond warehouses; that our Government had consented to the exportation, provided the Emperor would send his own vessels for the tobacco; that the Vicomte had given an assurance that the vessels would be sent, accompanied by armed convoys; and that to all this Seward and Co. objected very strongly. This statement has neither been affirmed nor denied by the organ of the Administration, but it is generally credited upon the character of the *Examiner*, as a trustworthy journal, unaccustomed to tamper with the public credulity. The *Examiner* added that the Vicomte was on his way to New York to make known the result of his mission to the Emperor, through the French consul at that port, and that the French frigates in New York harbour were there on this tobacco errand. Which Mr. Seward may put in his pipe and smoke it, he may.

As the only conversation I had the honour to hold with the French count had reference to the social disadvantages of the Confederate capital *pendant la guerre*, and the absolute unendurability of life without music or mushrooms, I cannot speak upon this matter of the tobacco negotiations, but you will

perhaps allow me to relieve the dullness of my letter by giving you, in brackets, a little anecdote which is related of him while here, and which has caused us some amusement. The count, having borne with the wretched *cuisine* of the Ballard House until menaced by starvation, went out, like a pelican of the wilderness, into the town in search of a dinner. Happily he found one, at the *Restaurant au Rendezvous* (formerly Zetelle's), so much to his liking and so touchingly suggestive of Paris, that he begged the cook might be sent up into the *salle-à-manger*, as he desired to make his grateful acknowledgments to an artist and a compatriot—not doubting for an instant that the dishes before him were the work of a Frenchman. The count's amazement may be imagined when the door opened some minutes afterwards, and there entered a very stout, greasy old negro woman, as black as the ace of spades, who announced herself as the presiding divinity of the kitchen. "I se de cook, marsa," said the old "auntie," curtseying; which being translated to the count, he expressed his surprise at the boundless resources of the Confederacy, and declared that if such cooking were possible under slavery, the "peculiar institution" had been much belied and was worth fighting for, indeed.

Our advices from the Army of Northern Virginia have been somewhat vague and indefinite. General Lee has exercised a very proper caution in refusing to allow information of his movements to be communicated to the daily papers. We only know that Meade has been steadily retreating in the direction of Alexandria, and that our generals have been pursuing him. Cavalry fights have taken place at various points to our advantage—at Robertson's River on the 10th instant, at Warrenton on the 12th, at Catlett's Station on the 14th; in all of which we carried the day, capturing 2,500 prisoners and several thousand horses and mules. On the evening of Wednesday, the 14th, a fight took place near Bristow Station, in which the brigade of (the Confederate) General Cooke suffered a considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners—perhaps 350—the general himself having been wounded very early in the action, whereby the brigade was thrown into some confusion. In this combat we also lost five pieces of artillery. There has been a rumour industriously circulated to-day of a third battle of Manassas, in which the Yankees were thoroughly overcome, losing 9,000 prisoners and 600 wagons. This general engagement is said to have occurred yesterday, and it is added that the enemy had retreated behind the fortifications of Alexandria, disencumbering themselves in their flight of everything—guns, haversacks, overcoats, &c., &c., with which the roads were strewn. Such an event is likely enough to have happened, and all the signs of the campaign seem to have pointed to another great shock of arms on the blood-stained fields of Manassas, where an annual Olympic Game of death and carnage has, so far, since the commencement of the war, been celebrated; but the victory is not credited here, and we wait for the War Department to announce the fact before we think of *Te Deums*. It may be that the report of the battle, like the mysterious *φνην* of the Greeks, has been borne to us on the air in advance of the official despatch. If it be true, you will know it through the bulletins of the New York press, and the extent of the disaster will be truthfully indicated in the rise of gold on Wall Street. The barometer of the Stock Exchange rarely fails to mark the fluctuations of the military atmosphere.

In the fight at Robertson's River fell Captain William B. Newton of the Hanover Dragoons: a young man of such rare qualities of mental endowment and personal character that his death is everywhere lamented in Virginia, by the army and the people, as a grave public loss. Captain Newton had served in the House of Delegates of the State, before the breaking out of the war, and given there high promise of future distinction; and his contributions to the periodical literature, though always anonymous, had evinced a maturity of intellect far beyond his years. So exalted a sense had Governor Letcher of the worth of this lamented officer, that he communicated the fact of his death in a special message to the Virginia Legislature.

The doom of Charleston has not yet fallen. The preparations of the Yankees are going forward on the most gigantic scale. Parrott, the inventor of the formidable piece of ordnance which bears his name, has been on the spot, directing the position of the guns. Meanwhile our batteries maintain a constant fire upon their works on Morris Island, and on the fleet, whenever a monitor comes within range. The attack by the torpedo steamer *David* on the *Ironsides* was one of the most gallant adventures in the whole history of naval warfare, and has elicited the admiration even of the Yankees. Lieut. Glassell, who commanded the expedition, and fireman Sullivan, are prisoners on board the flag-ship. The *Ironsides* sustained serious injury, which will probably place her *hors du combat* for the residue of the siege, which has now reached its ninety-ninth day, with little better prospect of success than before Sumter was battered down or Wagner occupied by the free negroes of Massachusetts.

The President has not yet returned from his visit to the army before Chattanooga, and it is expected that he will come back by way of Mobile and Charleston. On the 11th instant, he reviewed the entire body of troops under General Bragg. The day was fine, the wooded heights on either hand flamed with the rich autumnal glories of the American forest, and as the commander-in-chief rode along the extended lines, stretched in a crescent from Missionary Ridge to Lookout Mountain, the spectacle is said to have been magnificent. It was in full view of the enemy, and as the cheering rolled

along the front, the Yankees, catching the sound and divining the cause, rushed to the nearest points of approach to get a distant glimpse of the "Leader of the Rebellion."

A voluminous correspondence is published between Commissioners Ould and Meredith, with reference to the cartel for exchange of prisoners, from which it appears that a little difference of seventeen thousand exists in their respective computations of the account kept *inter* the United and Confederate States. The number of Yankee prisoners now in Richmond is nearly eleven thousand, and the maintenance of so large a body of men in our present straitened commissariat, during the coming winter, is a serious consideration; but the conviction is so strong on the part of the Government that the exchange is indefinitely interrupted, that they are preparing to construct large winter prisons on Belle Isle, where the prisoners are now encamped under guard.

The Legislature of Virginia has passed a very stringent law for the suppression of gambling. The faro-dealer, when convicted, is to be whipped at the public whipping-post. All buildings rented to keepers of gaming-tables will be subject to confiscation. The police may enter by force any house where reasonable suspicion exists as to its character. The effect of this legislation must be highly salutary to the morals of the capital. Already there is a Hegira of the fraternity, from the elegant, easy, quiet, decorous *flaneur*, who lounges at noon about the Spotswood House, to the swaggering, bejeweled, over-dressed blackguard, with a revolver concealed in his ruffles, or a bowie-knife in the back of his coat, who infests the corners of the more crowded thoroughfares. Let us hope that the law will be inexorably enforced.

John M. Botts, the "illustrious Union martyr," as he is styled by the Yankee press, has been once more arrested; this time by Jeb. Stuart, at his home in the county of Culpepper, and paroled to appear in Richmond. Mr. Botts was under arrest more than a year ago, and was discharged, as was generally understood at the time, upon giving his word that he would hold no communication with the enemy. Recently, he has given dinner parties to the Yankee General Meade and staff, and was a guest, week before last, at the festivities incident to the presentation of a sword to General D. K. Warren, of one of the New England States. If such conduct on the part of Mr. Botts does not amount to the *Punica fides*, it is difficult to say what would constitute a breach of parole.

The Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge safely arrived at his home a few days ago, having run the blockade in the steamer *Vance* from Bermuda into Wilmington, N.C. The steamer was pursued and fired into, but escaped without injury. Dr. Hoge has been cordially greeted by his numerous friends and admirers.

The gallant Prussian, Major Von Barcke, chief of General Stuart's staff, of whose daring exploits the English press has frequently heard through the *Times*' Southern correspondent and others, is now in Richmond, and I regret to say, still very little better of his fearful wound in the neck, from which at times he suffers agonies. His gigantic frame has wasted away to that of a thin, weak man. You would not recognise the dashing rider, who with his own hand killed or captured five Yankee cavaliers in a single charge.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 17.

THE political interest of the present moment is divided between the Congress and the Legislative Assembly, which has occupied its sittings with the election reports. The contested returns have not yet been called up, but the debates have displayed some animation, and have laid bare a series of violent acts of petty despotism emanating from subordinate functionaries, for whose abuses of power no Government can be held responsible. It is proposed to invalidate the election of M. Pelletau, the witty and very anti-dynastical writer, not for any act or omission on his part, but because the Prefect of the Seine considered certain votes as null, and not to be counted in the sum of votes given, of which more than one half is necessary for a valid election; while the committee of the Assembly by counting these votes makes M. Pelletau's majority insufficient. By law all votes are null which are given for persons who have not performed certain prescribed ceremonies to legalise their candidature; the doubt raised is, whether the candidates who present themselves in one electoral district, are qualified to receive votes in all those of the department. The committee says yes, and the prefect no.—M. Thiers has reappeared in public life to call attention to one of the abuses of authority I have referred to, nothing less than a refusal of justice by the *procureur impérial* who forbade the serving of a writ till after the election. The committee had approved and the Chamber had confirmed the election, on the ground that it was only a mayor of a small locality to whom the writ was addressed, and that the election being decided by a large majority it could not have been affected one way or other by this. M. Thiers was not listened to with the attention which as an old Minister he perhaps expected. He made one happy hit. Speaking of the official whose conduct he was blaming, he called him the *procureur du roi*, at which there was a burst of laughter, jeering rather than cheering. The orator stopped and then went on—"In time, gentlemen, I shall learn the proper nomenclature." Every one will agree that the unceremonious reception given to such a man as M. Thiers is not of favourable augury for the Assembly. The majority here, as in America, seem to think that when they open their mouths no dog may bark, and they are said to whisper complaints at M. de Morny, as president, is too favourable to the



very small minority, and gives it more than fair play. He shows great tact not only in his dealings with the members but in all his acts, and is deservedly the most popular public man in France. Apropos of some of the strictures which the press has indulged in on the proceedings of the Chamber, he announced on Saturday that he had saved the *Débats* from an official warning, but reminded the press that the Assembly still has, and if necessary will exercise, the right to call offending editors and writers to its bar.

It is announced that M. de Girardin is invited to Compiègne this week; and as such invitations are thought here to have some political significance, it is remarked that in commenting on a story in the *Czas* about the flogging of a lady, M. de G. says that if Russia do not contradict it, or punish the agent who was guilty of such cruelty, all Europe will rise against her, and the cry will no longer be, Free Poland in a free Russia, but, Free Poland in free Europe! Your readers are aware that he has up to the present time been a systematic defender of Russia.

The French Yellow Book containing the diplomatic correspondence for the last year, prefaced by the Emperor's letter to the Sovereigns, proposing a Congress, has been distributed. Three-fifths of the whole are devoted to Poland, a part of which has already been published, and the daily papers will, no doubt, reproduce the rest.

There are twelve despatches relating to the United States. The first, of the 9th of January, recommending negotiations between the North and South, without the intervention of a foreign mediator, is followed on the 26th of the next month by a comment on the refusal given by the Cabinet of Washington to this proposal. It is a rapid analysis of Mr. Seward's well-known despatch, with the remark that although it is a refusal, it is drawn up in the politest terms. M. Mercier writes on the 3rd of April, to convey Mr. Seward's assurances that his policy in regard to Mexico has always been frank and straightforward, and that he has given no encouragement to projects which would impede the progress of the French arms in that country. On the 23rd of the same month M. Drouyn writes to complain of Mr. Adams's giving licenses to carry contraband of war to Mexico, "a singular document," to which his attention has been the more drawn, as it contrasts with Mr. Seward's recent declarations. This despatch is accompanied by a "verbal note." After stating the facts and alluding to Mr. Adams's diplomatic position, the note says: "The Cabinet of Washington will not be surprised that the Government of the Emperor should see in Mr. Adams's proceedings an act of gratuitous malevolence towards France, and by which it may well feel itself wounded. It would be vain to seek an excuse for the conduct of the American Minister. He was in no way obliged to furnish the Mexican agents with a document which is equivalent to a safe conduct, which, even if contraband of war had not been in question, would have been a contrast to the suspicious and excessive surveillance exercised over all expeditions leaving England for the same destination, but which, in the form and under the conditions in which it was given, became a mark of sympathy and a voluntary encouragement given to unlawful manoeuvres which were hurtful to a friendly Power. The Government of the Emperor cannot therefore be silent on the unpleasant feeling this has produced. It has a right to suppose that the Federal Government has already perceived this, and, confiding in the assurances of a totally opposite nature which it has frequently received, it believes itself entitled to expect an explicit disavowal of the attitude and language of the American Minister in London." Whilst M. Drouyn de Lhuys was penning this very sharp remonstrance, M. Mercier was writing a despatch to announce that Mr. Seward had informed Lord Lyons of the intention of the Washington Cabinet to violate their engagement in regard to the exportation of cotton and the respect for neutral property by the Federal troops. He writes again on the 5th of May to say that Mr. Seward seems inclined to give in on this point, and has, at all events, promised every sort of protection to French commerce, "which has always observed the laws of neutrality with such perfect good faith." Answer by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in which he politely shows that Mr. Seward has been very liberal of promises, and fallen very short in their fulfilment, and if he, M. D., gave little credit to their sincerity the event has proved him to be right. "The truth, it must be acknowledged, is, that the Federal Government still seeks to prevent transactions of which it would have neither the control nor the benefit, and which, while they would be profitable to neutrals, would be so also to the Southern States. I know not, and I need not inquire, whether the loan contracted on account of the Secessionist States, without any intervention on our part, will realise what seems to be expected from it; but as the Secretary of State took this text to express himself as he has done, I make a point of informing you of the judgment to which we have at last come as to the dispositions with which the Federal Government shows itself animated in this circumstance." On the 8th of May, M. Mercier writes that Mr. Seward entirely disavows the proceedings of Mr. Adams, and in a subsequent letter M. Drouyn states the form in which Mr. Dayton apologised for Mr. Adams's "thoughtlessness."

Mr. Adams addressed a communication to Lord Russell on the Confederate loan, but Mr. Dayton had not taken such a step in Paris. In announcing this to M. Mercier, M. Drouyn returns to the question of neutral commerce with both belligerents. Lord Cowley has assured him that the British Minister at Washington has orders to support any proposals

that may be made to re-open the cotton market to Foreign commerce. The last despatch published, is dated the 13th September. Mr. Dayton had come to expostulate on certain rumours regarding a treaty concluded between France and the Confederate States, stipulating the cession of Texas and a part of Louisiana. He answered, by saying that he also had heard rumours. They were of a Federal protest against the expedition to Mexico and its consequences, an offensive and defensive alliance between the United States and Russia, and the appearance of a Federal fleet off Vera Cruz. All these things Mr. Dayton denied, to which the French Minister replied, that he had never attached any importance to such rumours, and that the other would do well to follow his example.

It must be gall and wormwood to Mr. Seward to see that his unquestioned ability has only resulted in bringing upon his Government a series of such remonstrances, conveyed in such language, by the Minister of a country which in former times was its undeviating friend. Diplomatic language could not more strongly express the scathing contempt of which he is the object.

But if the first eleven despatches just published are remarkable for the severe treatment of the Federal Government by the French Foreign Minister, the twelfth and concluding one, that of the 13th of September, though still with a strong point of irony in its expression, seems to show a very different state of things. To the cursory reader it may appear only to convey a well-turned compliment to Mr. Dayton's person, of which no man speaks evil; but he who thinks to read between lines, as the French say, will find the it contains more serious matter. Whilst the success of the Mexican expedition could be doubted we see the two Governments jealously watching each other, but at the date of the last despatch the possession of Mexico was secured, the arrangements for filling the throne had been made, and it became, therefore, of great importance to France to prevent the Federal Government, rich in uncounted greenbacks, from giving any material assistance to the malcontents who have followed Juarez in his retreat. Despatch No. 12 (No. 57 in the Yellow Book), may be regarded as the official jotting of the Convention concluded in this view. The Northern States will not interfere with France or French protégés in Mexico, reserving themselves, no doubt, for better times; and France will allow the questions of mediation and freedom of neutral trade to drop. On this theory it is a Roland for an Oliver, each party sacrificing a friend for his own convenience.

The Emperor's silence on the subject of America in his speech to the Chambers, lends some colour to this reading of the final despatch. Such, at all events, is the opinion of a few friends of the South as to this apparent fluctuation in the Imperial policy.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, November 18.

THE Poor Law Board has recently appointed a new inspector (Mr. U. Corbett) for this district. It will probably not be this gentleman's fault if the Right Hon. C. P. Villiers does not soon find himself in a position to communicate to the Cabinet the impression produced on the mind of an intelligent and zealous official, after a month's observation, of the condition to which our unemployed operatives are in danger of being reduced. "In Manchester," said Mr. Corbett, at the last meeting of one of our local Boards of Guardians, "imposition is so organised that when the relieving-officer is seen in certain streets the fact is 'telegraphed' from house to house, looms are covered up, men jump into bed to simulate illness, and are found under the bed-clothes with their clogs on: in fact, to such an extent has this been practised that it has been found necessary to employ policemen in plain clothes for the detection of such cases." Such a piece of trenchant truth-telling upon a most painful subject carries its best commentary in its own incisiveness. But it may be added that Mr. Corbett can hardly expect to be very popular with the Union and Emancipation Society if he seriously intends to present to the head of his department such reports as these, in testimony of the kind of patience with which Lancashire is waiting for the end of the war.

Happily, however, the Union and Emancipation people are beginning to pay the penalty of their disregard of every principle of patriotism, and perhaps the only comfortable reflection they will have to console themselves with in their hour of discomfiture will be this: that, for the time being, they were not quite powerless for mischief. They certainly did their best and worst to strengthen the hands of a foreign and unfriendly Government, at the cost—for all they cared to the contrary—of plunging a large portion of the people of our own country into material and moral ruin. They succeeded, we cannot believe in cheating Earl Russell (for his Lordship most certainly knew his men too well for that) but in flourishing in the Foreign Minister's face a series of misrepresentations, and the mere refutation of which would needs involve the attainment of the very object they had in view, viz., delay, or, in other words, time and leave for more slaughter. It was for this end, then, as some of the leaders in their "unofficial" utterances no longer scruple to confess, that our single-minded philanthropists of last year could scarcely contain themselves for sympathy with the negro. But now it is no longer to restore the Union—which they honestly own to be an impossibility—nor yet to emancipate the slave, for whom in their hearts they care not a straw; but it is to eke out the period of European inaction, that Lancashire is said to be

"patient;" to ensure a horrible leisure for exterminating a martial and heroic race, that our own industrial population has been reduced to pawn its manhood. When these points are thrust home to them, the Manchester Unionists—at least those of them who confess that the anti-slavery cry was a politic sham—have nothing of counter with except that, technically and morally the South are "rebels," and as such deserve the sharpest kind of justice. As well as to the technical right or wrong of the "rebellion," and the moral right or wrong of it too, it is more than an answer to the Northern partisan to refer him upon those matters to the commander-in-chief of the naval and land forces of the Confederate States. And as to the "justice" which ought to be meted out, if the sword only of justice had been used, it had broken long ago, and Lancashire had not now been starving. But is it "justice" to the South that we ourselves should in effect be waging war against her with our own men and our own matériel—any more than it is justice to ourselves that we should permit one portion of the United Kingdom to be drained of its fighting population for a foreign service, at the expense of keeping another portion of our fellow-countrymen surrounded with the debasing influences of pauperism? It is hardly fair, however, to argue with a Northerner off the platform. Unless upon the "stump" he has not a leg to stand on; and even from that familiar foothold he has ceased to command an audience in Lancashire now that President Davis's mythical ex-coachman (who was really worth seeing and listening to) is no longer available for diversifying the humdrum of an anti-slavery speech with a racy natural joke worth all the money. By-the-by, it is said our fugitive friend has gone to New York. He has certainly left behind him many whom he has amused, who would learn with regret that he had ended his days on a lamp-post.

The position of affairs at Chattanooga is eagerly discussed on all sides. It is felt that the issue of the engagement there can hardly fail to influence considerably the course of events, preparatory, possibly, to the termination of the war. Livy, let us remember, in describing one of the most critical days that shaped the world's empire—the day of battle between Scipio and Hannibal—throws his wonted dignity upon the following trifle (and *admit omen!*) "It is small to speak of," he says, "yet of much moment in the matter itself, that when the armies joined, the shouting of the Romans was far more great and terrible, as being all of one voice from the same nation; whilst the voices of Hannibal's soldiers were different and disagreeing, as consisting of several languages."

The members of the Right Honourable T. Milner Gibson's constituency of Ashton, in public meeting assembled, have followed the example set them by other towns in the cotton districts, by declaring in favour of joint action by European Powers to bring about peace. The meeting was held on Friday evening in the Town Hall, and was presided over by the Mayor of the Manor (S. D. Lees, Esq., M.D.) in compliance with a public requisition, signed by nearly all the local magistrates and members of the corporation, by all the considerable employers of labour, and by about 700 of the trading and operative classes in the town. About 3,000 people were crowded in the body of the hall, and many hundreds who could not find room besieged the doors during the whole of the evening. The Southern element predominated in the meeting, as in the town, by a majority of, perhaps, five to one.

The Mayor of the Manor, in opening the business of the meeting, said he had no hesitation in acceding to the request of his fellow-townsmen in calling a public meeting of the inhabitants of Ashton to express their opinions on the present crisis. He need not say that the distress prevailing, now for two years, throughout the cotton districts was entirely to be attributed to the American war, and that the duration of their miseries would co-extend with that of the war. It might be remarked that there was a supply of cotton reaching England from other sources than the Southern States of America, but cotton of that inferior quality was useless to the manufacturers in the districts about Ashton, who were almost exclusively engaged in that particular branch of manufacture for which the finest staple was required. But he also looked upon the question as affecting the great body of tax-payers. The rate was heavy enough last year, but he regretted to state that next month an additional one of 2s. 6d. in the pound would have to be levied. It therefore became the employers and employed to inquire why it was that so calamitous a state of affairs should continue. If anything had ever been demonstrated at any time it was this—that the Northern States were unable to subjugate the South. (Cheers.) They had tried to do so, but to try was to fail, and the means whereby they had since aimed at the conquest were such as reflected little credit upon humanity or civilisation. They had incurred an enormous debt, had debased their currency, were without patriotism, and fought their battles by the aid of Irish soldiers and other mercenaries. By their agents, or whatever was the machinery employed, they induced the fighting population of the sister country to emigrate to New York, and the unfortunate fellows found themselves on the battle-field before they well knew where they were. Was that the way to subjugate a brave people? He hoped the British Government would be induced to use its influence conjointly with other Powers to produce a cessation of hostilities, with a view to obtain a peaceful separation of the States. (Applause.)

Mr. William Aitken, honorary secretary of the Ashton branch of the Southern Independence Association, moved the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the war waged by the Northern against the Southern States of the old American Union is at once unjustifiable in its nature and injurious to the world, and that the present aspects of the conflict afford no hope of its early termination, unless by means of the moral influence of Europe being brought to bear upon it. We therefore deem it the duty of the Government of this country to enter into communication with France and other European Powers to concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace."

In advocating that motion, the speaker entered at some length and with much care into the arguments in favour of the right of secession. Referring to the subject of slavery, he contended that if the South to-day would agree to throw down their arms and return to the hated Union, President Lincoln would be only too glad to guarantee them their peculiar institution for ever. (Cheers and "No, no.") He said "yes, yes." If an escaped slave sought refuge from Kentucky by fleeing to Ohio, the laws of that State compelled him to be returned



back to bondage. Slavery would never have existed so long as it had done but for the protecting and fostering influences of the Union which perpetuated it. To support the Union was another phrase for supporting slavery. The dissolution of the Union would ultimately ensure the liberty of the bondman. He had been taunted with a desire to break up the freest and most perfect form of government the world had yet seen. If the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act constituted the best form of government, he was glad he was no citizen of the Republic; and if General Butler was an ornament to the land, he thanked God he had not got such a man for his fellow-countryman.

Mr. Thomas Heginbottom, in seconding the motion, hoped that when the war was over they would not find the capital of Lancashire had so dwindled as not to be sufficient to command the labour of the operatives. He believed in the principle of non-intervention as a matter of general policy, but cases might arise like the present, wherein, if pushed too far, non-intervention ceased to be a principle, and became a mere crochot.

The Mayor of the Manor was proceeding to put the motion to the meeting, when a scene of tumultuous uproar arose, in consequence of some person rising to move an amendment.

Mr. John Johnston, amid continued interruptions and general expressions of disapprobation, moved the following amendment, which was seconded by Mr. James Broadbent:—

"That this meeting strongly condemns the unjust and un-called-for war in America. Nevertheless they declare that any system of government which deprives labour of its just reward, and the labouring classes of their political, social, and moral rights, is unworthy of the acceptance of Englishmen. And, although this war has unjustly inflicted great sufferings and privations on various classes of the community, this meeting believes that it would be impolitic to depart from that system of neutrality which has been wisely adopted by the British Government."

The Mayor of the Manor, upon putting the amendment and motion the vote, declared the motion carried by a large majority.

Dr. Vernon (of the Town Council) proposed the second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That this meeting deeply sympathises with the gallant and self-denying struggle of the Confederates in their efforts to resist invasion and plunder, and to maintain their independence against the immense armies sent forth by the Washington Cabinet, with the now avowed object of their subjugation and extermination."

After paying a high tribute to the gallant bearing of the soldiers and statesmen of the South; the speaker, warning with his subject, scouted the idea that the war was waged against slavery. They had been told that the basis of the Confederate Government was slavery, while that of the Federals was liberty, equality, and fraternity. Liberty, he supposed, meant Fort Lafayette; equality, that the free negro should not be allowed to vote; and fraternity, that he should pollute only certain railway cars with his presence. For his part, and he said it with pride, he sympathised with the South. He considered them a nation of heroes. He was no advocate of slavery, but at the same time no abhorrence of slavery could induce him to withhold his sympathy from such a noble people. This was a war in which white men were gallantly struggling to free themselves from the oppression of other white men. If slavery must needs be dragged into the question, all he could say was, never could he sympathise with a nation that sacrificed the lives of a million of whites to set free any number of blacks.

The Rev. T. Radley, in seconding the motion, said it was useless talking about secession. The seceding had been accomplished, but the bringing back had not. (Cheers.) If President Lincoln was sincere in the abolition of slavery, why not abolish it in the Northern States, and pay the slaveowners in greenbacks? There was at least one means—if the English Government could resort to it—of stopping the war, namely, by stopping the emigration from Ireland. When there were no more Irish emigrants there would be no more fighting between North and South.

The uproar was again renewed upon an attempt to move the following amendment:—

"That this meeting abhors the rebellion now carried on by the Southern States of America, and hopes the Government of the United States of America will prosecute the war with vigour and restore the Union."

The motion was carried even by a larger majority than in the former instance.

The only remaining business was to adopt a memorial to Lord Palmerston, embodying the opinions of the meeting, and urging upon his lordship, as the head of the Government, to use his best influence to bring about the restoration of peace.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Mayor of the Manor, and cheering for the "South."

#### A SUGGESTION.

LETTER FROM J. W. COWELL, ESQ.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—THE British Government was under no obligation to recognise that Confederacy of States of which the four sovereignties of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina had, in 1861, constituted themselves members. It was, nevertheless, under the absolute obligation to those States to refuse admitting as valid, and to deny the legality of any public act whatever, which the Political Agency seated at Washington might claim, or might assume, to perform in the capacity of their agent or representative. For those States had notified to the world that they had cancelled and withdrawn from that Agency the authority which they had, each for itself and separately, delegated to it on the 2nd of January, the 23rd of May, the 26th of June, and the 1st of August, in the year 1788, respectively; and Great Britain had previously bound herself always to treat with them as "free, sovereign, and independent States." This binding engagement clearly prohibits her from treating in what concerns them, with any Agent whom they may chose to repudiate. This absolute obligation Great Britain has shamefully disregarded, and it consequently now falls on those States, as a duty they owe to mankind, interested in the observance of treaties and in the maintenance of political good faith, to assert their own rights by some public

act, and to brand the perfidy and bad faith of the British Government with the stigma it deserves. It is the object of this letter to appeal to them to perform this sacred duty.

The case on which they can, and I hope will, in legal phrase, go to the tribunal of the world, lies in a very narrow compass, and they can need no assistance from any one on this side of the Atlantic in setting it forth. It is not therefore my intention to discuss the case itself; I desire merely to point out that the present is the proper time for their taking the needful action, and to suggest it.

These four States have constituted themselves members of a new political Confederacy, in alliance with certain other States, with whom they have concurred in instituting a joint political Agency. The Executive Chief of this despatched a Commissioner to the British Government, empowered to make treaties with it, and this functionary the British Government not only refused to recognise—as it was entitled to do—but it treated him with such singular incivility that the President, under a proper sense of dignity, withdrew him. Up to the period of Mr. Mason's retirement, the four States to which I have referred may have judged it expedient to refrain from putting forward their own treaty rights on the British Government. But the President's simultaneous withdrawal of Mr. Mason and his proper expulsion of the English Consuls from the Southern Territory, place these four States in a peculiar relation towards the British Government, of which they are not only entitled to avail themselves for their own advantage, and that of their allies, but they are peremptorily called upon so to do in the interests of mankind at large. But in discharging this important duty they must be on their guard not to afford any opening to their antagonist for equivocation and evasion; they must be careful not to confound their own peculiar right of complaint against the British Government with that which they share with their present political colleagues. These last, being without those particular treaty rights which they possess, have not the same rights of complaint with them. Hence they, on this occasion, must stand apart from their allies, and act separately, and by themselves. The course which the British Government has pursued towards the South has been of a character which can leave no doubt on the mind of any Southern statesman that the British Government will resort to any sophistry, subterfuge, or artifice, which may seem calculated to divert the attention of the world from its perfidy in this peculiar case. The four States must therefore confine themselves strictly to the ground on which they have an undeniable right to stand. "Here," they must say in effect, "Here is the treaty of 1783; here are our several Acts of 1788, granting certain powers to a certain political Agency, by which—and by which alone—you became authorised to deal with that Agency in our affairs. Here, again, are our Acts of 1861, annulling the powers so granted in 1788, by which you became absolutely interdicted from dealing with that Agency in our affairs; and here is your Act admitting the legality of the blockade of our shores, which that Agency claimed to institute in the character of continuing to be our agent. How is such a proceeding consistent with your obligation by the treaty of 1783, to treat with us always as free, sovereign, and independent States?" If the four sovereign States, in performing the grand duty which they owe to humanity, will confine themselves strictly within the limits which I have just defined, and will hold the British Government to the point of the treaty of 1783, as it regards them, and them only, they will gain a verdict from the honest sentiment of mankind which will cover them with honour, and the British Government with shame.

It seems to me that they should take some such course as the following:—

Suppose that Georgia (whose style in her public Acts is "The State of Georgia, by the grace of God, free, sovereign and independent," were) to set forth the treaty of 1783—to denounce the infraction of it by the British Government towards herself in 1861—to protest against that infraction—to declare that all acts performed by the British Government involving that infraction, and derogating from that independence and sovereignty which it had covenanted always to respect in her, are null and of no legitimate effect—and to conclude by an appeal to the world and to posterity against the bad faith of the British Government. And suppose the three other States, whose independence and sovereignty have been similarly outraged by the British Government, were to protest, by formal Acts of their respective Legislatures in a similar manner.

For brevity's sake I will now refer to Georgia only. Supposing that Georgia should make a protest of this solemn character, the point next to be considered is the action she should take thereupon. The natural and obvious one would be to despatch a commissioner to call the attention of the British Government to the fact that it is violating the treaty of 1783. But such a course with an antagonist of such a character as now unfortunately attaches to the British Government would be unadvisable. The State of Georgia is weak—at the greatest disadvantage in every way—her territory ravaged by a brutal enemy, seeking to exterminate her entire population,—and to this enemy the British Government is lending indirect, but very positive, assistance. It is sad to feel assured that the British Government would meet any application from Georgia, in her defenceless condition, with every device for delay and evasion which the circumstances might permit; and Georgia should therefore abstain from any course, however advisable otherwise, which would expose her to this danger. She should, therefore, carefully avoid any application to the British

Government whatever. This State is a sovereignty as completely as is the State of Great Britain. There is no assumption of superiority of sovereign rank or rights on the part of Great Britain in the Treaty of 1783—and Georgia is as fully entitled and empowered to judge of, and to interpret the treaty as is Great Britain herself—the other party to it. The object of Georgia is now to bring to the cognisance of mankind, in an authentic form and manner, the fact that Great Britain has grievously violated that treaty.

Her first step should be to pass the Act of Protest—her second to give the British Government formal notice of the fact of her having so done—her third to notify these facts to every civilised nation in the world.

Now, there exists an established organ by means of which she may take the second of these steps in a thoroughly effectual manner. There is a public functionary occupying immemorially, a well-defined and highly important position in all legal matters (though his employment is less general in England than on the Continent), whose special vocation it is to establish protests—the Notary Public.

The Act of Protest of the State of Georgia will be effectively registered among the general Acts of Nations by her directing a Notary Public to deliver a copy of it, with all that formality and ceremony which appertains to his ministration, at the British Foreign office. Georgia should then forward an authenticated copy of her Protest to every civilised Government, and by this process Great Britain will be effectively cited before the tribunal of the world and of posterity.

Such a course of proceeding would place the British Government, and, through it, the British nation, in a position of moral disadvantage before mankind, such as no respectable people could long endure to hold.

And—what I confess is a strong motive with me in urging this course—such a proceeding would tend to restore to our starving operatives and pillaged merchants some hope that their welfare and prosperity might begin to revive. The Nation is very slowly awakening to a glimmering perception of what is the right and the wrong in this American contest. Thus far, owing to a general ignorance of its real character, and the attendant misconception of the nature of our consequent duty, we have nobly consented to suffer impatience. The Nation has been told that non-interference and neutrality were its duties. And so they were, undoubtedly. But in lieu of performing these sacred duties our Government has violated them in the most extraordinary manner. What interference can possibly be stronger, or what violation of neutrality greater, than the act of the British Government which, implies on its part an admission of a claim of the Washington Government to establish—as Agent, *inter alias*, for the States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina, a blockade of those very States? The Northern savages might possibly have instituted a blockade of those States by a title such as would have warranted them in calling upon Great Britain to observe it; but when their political organ at Washington elected to institute it in the usurped character of continuing to hold political authority from those sovereignties which we knew had cancelled and entirely withdrawn the very limited authority they had ever conveyed to it, we were forbidden by the treaty of 1783 to admit the legality of the blockade, and we are not only now entitled, but are bound, to cease our shameful interference against the South by revoking our wrongful admission of it.

Such a protest, moreover, would call the attention of the British public to a right view of its duties in this important matter. It requires some stimulus of this sort to awaken its perceptions of what justice prescribes in this case. Ordinarily, the British public pays little attention to foreign politics, hence it can be easily misled regarding them, and its sentiments, which are always true to the cause of honour and justice, are exposed to the risk of being engaged on the wrong side whenever the joint interest of fanatics, demagogues, and trading politicians prompts them to deceive it. Such has been the case in this instance. But the same simple, straightforward love of right and of fair play which has rendered it the dupe of hypocrites who bewilder it with specious effusions about "neutrality" and "non-intervention," while they are perpetrating the grossest breaches of neutrality, and straining the law beyond all precedent in favour of the most sanguinary and brutal savages that the civilised world has yet seen, will impel it to insist that right shall be done and wrong be righted the instant it shall clearly see on which side right lies. Already all the sympathies of the nation are on the side of its noble and heroic relatives in the South. It is proud of the goodness and the glory of Stonewall Jackson, and places him in its heart by the side of the lamented Havelock. If the four States should but once give it a knowledge of the truth by some such authoritative and solemn act as I suggest, the painful conflict which now exists between its real sentiments and its supposed duty will cease, and it will insist upon such political redress being afforded to the States with whom its Government has broken faith, as its own honour requires.

JOHN W. COWELL.

41, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park,  
November 11th, 1863.

A SLIGHT DIFFERENCE.—According to the census of 1850, the agricultural productions of all the States amounted in value to \$1,164,457,783. Of this sum the North produced, in round numbers, six hundred and four millions, and the South five hundred and sixty millions. Now, the debt of the North alone is equal to two thousand millions. This is the way a country gets rich by war.—*United States Paper.*



ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

On Tuesday there was a full gathering of the members of this society for the purpose of hearing a paper read by the President, Dr. James Hunt, "On the Negro; his Place in Nature." As we intend next week to commence the publication of Dr. Hunt's valuable essay, we shall now give only a brief notice of it, and we may add that the paper was so composed, and all extraneous questions were so carefully avoided, that it is impossible to give a full and fair abstract of it.

After some introductory remarks, and the observation that it was the first time the subject had been brought before a scientific audience in London, Dr. Hunt said he hoped to bring forward facts which would dispel some of the delusions which now existed respecting the character of the negro race. A comparison was drawn between the anatomical differences existing between the typical negro and the ape on the one hand, and the European and the negro on the other. It was stated that the negro was generally of shorter stature than the European, but that the difference was greater in proportion than in form; that the bones were thicker and heavier; the trunk short, and the arm long in proportion, reaching below the middle of the femur, thus enabling the negro to scratch himself on the region of the knee without stooping. The hips were represented as narrow, the thigh laterally compressed, the fingers of the hand long and flat, and the thumb long and very weak; the foot flat, the heel both flat and long; the pelvis narrow, especially in the male, and in the female exactly resembling the shape of the cranium; the teeth hard and very large, five tubercles in the last molar of the lower jaw. On all these points there appeared a nearer approach to the ape than was seen in the European. The brain of the negro had been proved to be smaller than in the European, Finn, Syro-Egyptian, Mongol, Malay, Sematic, American-Indian, and Esquimaux. The facial angle was generally between 70 and 75 degrees, and sometimes as low as 65 degrees; the frontal sutures closed much earlier with the negro than with the European. The brain, both of the negro and ape, more resembled that of the European when in an infant state than when older; at puberty all development in the brain of the negro ceased, and the form of the skull became more ape-like as he increased in years, while the ape became more brutish as he got old—a circumstance which entirely accorded with the psychological fact, that all increase of intelligence was impossible after the age of puberty. The hair of the negro was represented as distinct in structure from that of some other races of man. The structure of the larynx and palate was also different to that of the European. It had yet to be established whether the offspring of the European and negro were indefinitely prolific; many facts, together with the researches of Broca and Nott, leading to the conclusion that these mixtures were only temporarily prolific, and died out after the lapse of a few generations. The negro race had had the benefit of all the ancient civilisation; but there was not a single instance of any pure negro being eminent in science, literature, or art; nearly all those who had become reputed for their talents could be proved to have European blood in their veins. The negroes in Africa were subjected to the cruellest forms of superstition, and were the victims of the most frightful cruelty and torture. Domestic slaves were not generally sold except for some crime, and a large portion of the exported slaves were criminals. Numerous opinions were quoted to show the low mental character of the negro, and the following general deductions were made:—1. That there is as good reason for classifying the negro as a distinct species from the European as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; and if we take intelligence into consideration in classification, there is a far greater difference between the negro and Anglo-Saxon than between the gorilla and chimpanzee. 2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the negro and apes than between the European and apes. 3. That the negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4. That the negro is more humanised when in his natural subordination to Europeans than under any other circumstances. 5. That the negro can only be humanised and civilised by the European. 6. That European civilisation is not suitable to the requirements of the negro.

A discussion ensued, in which Drs. Seeman and Morice, and Messrs. Bouvier, Pusey, Winwood Reade, Reddie, and Fraser joined; all the remarks tending to confirm Dr. Hunt's statements.

The debate was ultimately adjourned until the next meeting.

**THE INDIAN NATION.**—Henceforth, we learn by the last mail, the native press of Bengal is to be placed under, not exactly a censorship, but what we may call a reportership. That is to say, there is no officer appointed to watch it, catch it tripping, and punish its transgressions, but one simply—the Government translator, to whom the additional duty is assigned—who is directed to subscribe to all the native journals published in the province, and draw up a periodical report of the nature of their contents for the perusal of the local government. The measure is a very judicious one, for it is impossible for the authorities themselves to read all that may be written against them, and the work could only be accomplished by a person appointed for the purpose.—*Morning Herald.*

**MR. MASON.**—This esteemed gentleman is probably on his way to his Virginian home. In a situation of very peculiar delicacy and difficulty at the English capital, where he had long felt himself in a false position, he has borne himself with the unvarying dignity of a gentleman and the ability of an accomplished statesman. That he has been subjected to the cutting insolence of Earl Russell (his inferior in every respect) and that he is now lain in wait for by Yankee ships of war, with malignant animosity, in order that our enemies may wreak a dastardly vengeance on one whom they term the "arch-traitor," all this will but heighten the regard and esteem with which his countrymen regard him. His claims upon the Confederate Government and people are now very high. To his experience of affairs, acquired in a long and spotless public life is now added a thorough acquaintance with the springs and movement of European politics. There is no man at present in the Confederacy to whom the honour and interests of the country could be so fitly and safely confided in the negotiations which must soon take place on the acknowledgment of our independent sovereignty, and when treaties must be concluded with other nations of the earth. There is no office in the gift of the President or of the people too high for his merits; and although he is a Virginian, that circumstance can scarcely operate against his claims in the mind of citizens of other States, seeing that his services (we may almost say his martyrdom) and his exalted character are so generally acknowledged throughout the land.—*Richmond Inquirer.*

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

On the 29th October, Senor Romero was presented to President Lincoln by Mr. Seward, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Juarez. On delivering his credentials, he made the remarks of which the following is a translation:—

"I have the honour to place in your Excellency's hands the letters of the constitutional President of the United Mexican States, which accredit me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Mexico near your Excellency's Government. Two neighbouring and friendly governments, which divide between them the richest portion of this continent and which are ruled by identical institutions, can no less have identical interests, which will be augmented and strengthened in a great degree by drawing more closely together the friendly relations which happily exist between them, and by developing their commercial interests, through which both, in the result, will be mutually benefited. The Government and people of Mexico profess the greatest friendship and consideration for the Government and people of the United States of America, and fervently desire the prosperity, aggrandisement and welfare of this country. On me has fallen the honour to come here to express these sentiments of good will, and in the discharge of my official duties my greatest efforts will be devoted to the accomplishment of the desires of my Government, which are also mine, to maintain and strengthen the bonds of friendship which connect Mexico with the United States, and to promote the development of the commercial interests which will more closely draw together the ties by which the two nations are already united.

"I do not doubt, in the discharge of the mission which has been confided to me, I shall meet with the co-operation of the Government of your Excellency, and it will be to my extreme pleasure if I succeed in deserving your approbation."

To which the President replied:—

"Mr. Romero,—You have hitherto resided with us, and for a considerable period have been the chief diplomatic representative of your country at this capital, and know how sincerely and how profoundly, during that residence, the United States desired that Mexico might always enjoy the blessings of domestic and foreign peace, with perfect security, prosperity, independence and freedom. You know, also, that during the previous residence to which I have referred, you enjoyed the respect and esteem of this Government and the good will of the people of the United States. I have the pleasure of assuring you that in all things, as well affecting your country as yourself personally, these feelings remain unchanged.

"Thanking you for the liberal sentiments you have expressed for the United States, and congratulating you upon the renewed confidence which your Government has reposed in you, it is with unaffected pleasure that I bid you welcome to Washington."

**HINDOO KNIGHTS.**—We have not as yet heard that the banners in St. George's Chapel have been seen to flutter, or that the marble Crusaders who lie cross-legged in our cathedrals stirred uneasily, last Friday. Had they done so, we could have understood the portent, for two new Pagan knights were on that day added to the rolls of English chivalry. Two Hindoo princes, who believe in Mahound and Vishnu as devotedly as their brother-knights in Christianity, were declared of the Order of the Star of India in the *London Gazette* of that day. It is true that this new badge of knighthood does not carry with it the obligations of the ancient orders. The swarth "caballeros" are not bound to keep an oath of chastity and religion, to defend the fatherless, widows, and wronged maidens, nor to assert their lady-love's beauty and paramount virtue in the lists at point of lance. The "Star of India" is a modern decoration, with thoroughly modern ideas attaching to it; and nothing can be more proper than that faithful native princes should be honoured with its glittering jewel. Nor is there anything to object to, in the present instance, as to title or descent. But, for all their Oriental splendour of birth and purity of blood, and in spite of the easy and cosmopolitan obligations of this modern order of chivalry, there is something *bizarre* in the idea of a "belted knight" who turns his face towards the "Black Stone" at Mecca when he prays, or paints his forehead with the white lines of Siva's worshippers. They are the last nominations to a motley group, for if all the chapter of the "Star of India" could be assembled we should see a decidedly curious brotherhood. Her Majesty, the Grand Mistress of the Order, would find herself with gallant subjects and soldiers of her own country on one side, and swart Hindoos or sallow Moslems on the other. Nay, some of the knights wear, if not petticoats, at least the Oriental equivalent or those garments—for there are "Begums" and "Ranees" among the chivalrous number, with the ribbon and the star upon their silken "saris." It is curious to contrast the old formal ritual of installation to the noble Order of the Bath with the accoladed prince who shot his enemy in full court, who played at fast and loose with us in the Rebellion, and is more than suspected of giving shelter to Nana Sahib. The knights of whom Jung Bahadur is now one "were sworn upon the Gospels, after bathing;" and while they stood in the chapel, "offering their swords upon the altar," this was the form of admonition administered:—"By the oath which you have taken this day, I exhort and admonish you to use these swords to the glory of God and defence of the Gospel, to the maintenance of your sovereign's right and honour, and to the upholding of justice and equity, to your power. So help you God." How would His Highness Jung Bahadur have stomach such a pledge, or that necessary ceremony which followed, when the King's principal cook, with a chopping-knife in hand, addressed the new-made knights?—"Gentlemen, you know what a great oath you have taken, which is, to defend the Gospel, succour the widows and fatherless, right the wronged, &c., which, if you perform and keep it, will be to your great honour; but if you break it, I must hack off your spurs from your heels, as unworthy of this dignity, which will be a great dishonour to you—which God forbid."—*Daily Telegraph.*

AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

(Concluded from page 478.)

HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

There has been but slight animation exhibited in the English Stock Market during the week, the brokers operating with extreme caution during the unsettled position of the Money Market. But, notwithstanding this adverse state of affairs prices do not show any falling off. Consols closed this evening at 92½ to 3 for money, and 91½ to 1 ex. div. for the account, which is precisely the same as on this day week. Exchequer Bills show a slight improvement, being at present 8s. to 3s. discount. There has not been so much doing in Foreign Securities, and very little indeed of a speculative character.

The chief bargains have been in those of the favourite Securities, including Greek, Mexican, and Turkish, but prices do not contrast favourably with last week's quotations. Greek leave off at 29½ to 30½; Mexican 37½ to 37½; Spanish Passives 34 to 34½; Ditto Certificates 13 to 13½; Turkish (1854) 90 to 91; Ditto (1862) 69½ to 70½.

RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Although the dealings in English Railway Shares have been to a fair average extent, the market has shown anything but briskness, and the operations appear undecided as to their course of dealings, whilst the Money Market remains in such a very ticklish position, it being uncertain from day to day whether the rate may not be further advanced. Under these circumstances prices have further declined nearly all round. In Glasgow and South-Western there has been a fall of one per cent., and the same in Great Western, North British, and North Staffordshire. Of ½ per cent. in Great Eastern, Great Northern, Lancashire and Yorkshire, Chatham and Dover, and London and North-Western, and of ¼ per cent. in Midland, North-Eastern (Berwick) and South-Eastern. In Foreign Railway Shares, the general character of business has been that of steadiness, but with comparatively little doing and no material alteration in prices. In shares connected with the British Possessions, there has been far less doing than for a long time past, and quotations generally are lower.

BANK MEETING.

At an extraordinary meeting of the proprietors of the National Bank of Liverpool, it was resolved to increase the capital of the bank from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000 by the issues of 10,000 new shares of £100 each at £5 premium, thus forming a reserve fund of £50,000.

THE TRUST AND LOAN COMPANY OF UPPER CANADA.

This Company has just issued the following report and statement of accounts for the six months ending the 30th September:—

"The net profits during this period amount to £14,804 2s. 5d., which, added to the sum brought forward from March, gives a balance at credit of revenue of £14,874 9s. 8d. The Directors recommend that out of this balance a dividend at the rate of 8½ per cent. per annum, less income tax, be declared on the paid-up capital stock of the company; that one-half of the surplus profits over 6 per cent. per annum, and the usual charge for interest, amounting together to £4,034 8s. 8d., be carried to the reserve fund, in accordance with the provisions of the Royal Charter of Incorporation; and that £250 be applied to the redemption of preliminary expenses. There will then remain the sum of £227 11s. to the credit of the next half-year's accounts. During the period embraced by these accounts the reserve fund has been charged with the sum of £613 12s. 6d. for losses on realisation of securities in default, and the amount standing to the credit of this fund, after adding the £4,034 8s. 8d. above referred to, will be £51,743 15s. 1d. The commissioners in Canada report that the agricultural classes are gradually recovering from the depression caused amongst them by the scanty yield of last year's crops; the present harvest is a good one, and the demand for loans on excellent securities continues active."

PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The advance in the value of money has for a time almost entirely put a stop to the introduction of new joint-stock undertakings, several of which it is understood, were ready to be launched, but were kept back, when the advance was made in the rate of discount. The only introduction this week is one of minor importance; it is called the Ilfracombe Hotel Company, the capital sought to be raised, being the moderate sum of £20,000 divided into 2000 shares of £10 each. The object of the undertaking is to build a commodious hotel, at this healthy and beautifully situated watering place, and for which a central site has been fixed upon. Already a railway runs within a few miles of the town, and the South-Western Company intended presenting a bill during the ensuing session, for an extension direct to the town.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, do. ord. to fr.	0 1 10 to 0 2 4	0 1 8 to 0 2 3		
OPERA HOUSE.				
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5½	0 1 5½	0 1 7½	0 1 7½
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, do. . . . .	0 0 4½	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 5
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 7	0 0 7½	0 0 7½	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 5	0 0 5½	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, do.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 3	0 7 3
DRUGS.				
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 10 0	1 0 0	2 5 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 1 3
Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 3
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 8 0	0 10 6
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 9	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	2 15 0	5 0 0	5 12 0	5 13 0
Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 5 0	5 19 0½
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 15 0	0 9 0	0 14 0
Leimon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 5½	0 0 6½
Orange, lb.	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 6
Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5½	0 0 6	0 0 5½	0 0 6½
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 19 0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3½	0 0 2½	0 0 3½
Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3½	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6½
Snakeroot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 2 3	0 3 0
Spermaceti, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 2
DYES, cwt.				
Safflower . . . . .	4 5 0	7 10 0	3 10 0	7 10 0
Turmeric, Bengul . . .	1 12 0	1 14 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
Madras . . . . .	1 14 0	1 16 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries . . . .	1 19 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	6 10 0
GUMS, cwt.				
Animi, medium . . . .	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gedda . . . . .	1 13 0	1 14 0	1 6 0	1 7 0
Kowie . . . . .	2 5 0	2 12 0	1 5 0	1 6 0
MEALS, per ton.				
Copper, American . . .	3 2 9	3 2 9	2 16 6	3 2 9
Iron, Scotch, Pig . . .	115 0 0	115 0 0	119 0 0	119 0 0
Tin, English . . . . .	78 0 0	79 0 0	84 0 0	84 0 0
SPERM, per ton.				
Sperm, American . . .	40 0 0	40 0 0	42 0 0	42 0 0
Linseed . . . . .	18 0 0	18 0 0	18 0 0	18 0 0
Rock Oil, Crudo . . .	14 0 0	14 0 0	14 0 0	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.				
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	5 0 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine . . .	2 6 0	2 18 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides . . . . .	1 9 0	2 8 0	1 18 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.				
North American . . .	2 0 0	2 2 6	2 0 0	2 2 6
South do. . . . .	2 1 0	2 3 0	2 7 0	2 8 3
Wax do. . . . .	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
TOBACCO, lb.				
Maryland . . . . .	0 0 5½	0 0 9	0 0 4½	0 0 9
Virginia do. . . . .	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5½	0 1 0
Kentucky . . . . .	0 0 6½	0 1 7	0 0 4½	0 1 1



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to WM. KNOX, Southern Club, 55, Brown's-buildings,  
At Manchester, F. A. HASLEHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club  
Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.  
At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

Through H. Hotze, Esq., London:—  
"A Friend to the South" .. .. 5 0 0

## The Neutrality of Non-Intercourse.

"PUNCH," in one of its latest and cleverest cartoons, represents John Bull in dressing-gown and slippers, placidly sitting in his easy-chair, reading his newspaper and smoking his pipe, while two infuriated hags—one in "striped" and the other in "barred" petticoats—are scolding as him with clenched fists, from either side. "How about the Alabama, you wicked old man?" shrieks Mrs. North; while Mrs. South, in a voice almost choked with rage, gasps, "Where's my rams? Take back your precious consuls—there!!!" The thing is well "found,"—pity it is not true. To be in accordance with facts, it might probably not have been so much in accordance with wit and mirth, for it would then have represented the gallant old gentleman wooing with lover-like submissiveness a bespangled and bedraggled termagant, while a noble young damsel, in blood-stained bridal garments, turned aside in mingled disappointment and disdain.

Better would it have been for the dignity of this nation, more consistent with its love of fair play, and better for the interests of humanity and civilisation, had it listened to *both* sides with that equanimity of temper which our humorous contemporary depicts in its amusing sketch. But the time-honoured maxim, *audi et alteram partem*, was too hackneyed a truism to be admitted into that new system of diplomacy of which Earl Russell is the infallible high-priest and "Historicus" the apostle. A mind untutored in the subtleties of this latter-day revelation of international morals, might have innocently supposed that in a struggle of such vast proportions as that raging on the American continent, it was the first duty of a nation so nearly interested as Great Britain to keep itself accurately informed, by all honourable and legitimate means, of the character, the objects, and the relative prospects, of the antagonistic parties. Such was the practice of old-fashioned statesmanship; and only a few years ago the Foreign Secretary had not yet so utterly discarded that obsolete practice, as not to think it worth his while to send a confidential agent to report on the comparatively unimportant local questions of Schleswig-Holstein. There were, moreover, in this American war, where the combatants marshal their hosts by hundreds of thousands, peculiar circumstances which, to the ignorance of the same untutored mind, might have appeared to demand peculiar care in the collation of information. One of the parties to the war was blockaded by land and sea, and to a great extent excluded from intercourse with the neutral world. Furthermore, it suffered, from the first, by a moral blockade—far more effective and formidable than the other—which excluded it from the sympathies of civilised mankind.

Institutions growing out of the accident of an abnormal position, had reared a Chinese wall, of which enemies were not slow to avail themselves, between the people of western Europe and a correct understanding of the nature of the struggle. On the other hand, the party enjoying all the advantages of superiority in numbers, wealth, and resources, had not only forestalled public opinion, but possessed in unimpaired completeness the machinery as well for formal diplomatic intercourse as for controlling the various channels by which the ear of a universal public is reached. This same party was under more than usual temptations both to suppress the truth and to suggest falsehood. The unblushing mendacity of its organs, official and unofficial, soon acquired a proverbial notoriety. All these familiar facts would have entered into the consideration of a statesman of the old school, and inclined him to be suspicious of the glut of intelligence pouring in from one quarter, and mindful of the scanty dribbles that could be elicited from the other. While one of his ears was deafened by the clamorous din of Federal harangues and despatches, the other would have been sharpened to more than ordinary acuteness for the less obtrusive Confederate voice. How, otherwise, was it possible to hold an even balance between the two, and to preserve impartial neutrality amid the ever-changing exigencies of the vicissitudes of the conflict? Any foreign Minister, therefore, depending less on intuition and more on facts than Earl Russell appears to do, would have utilised every opportunity for restoring the equilibrium of contradictory opinions and statements. It might have been deemed inexpedient to hold the same formal relations with the Confederates as with their adversaries; but, short of this, there were many courses open which could in no sense compromise the policy of the country. A Confederate envoy might have no ambassadorial dignity except in the eyes of his own countrymen; but the simple fact that his Government had, so far as it could, invested him with that dignity, would make whatever he had to say interesting to a foreign Minister who did not already feel himself in possession of all possible information on so complex a subject. A single word from the Confederate might assist him to detect a plausible fallacy or a dexterous perversion of facts in the plea of the rival diplomatist; or, if he saw no cause for wholly trusting either, he might at least strike a safe average. Meanwhile, his own agents within the blockaded and diplomatically-silenced country would be instructed to report accurately and minutely upon everything under their observation. To do this the more effectually, advantage would be taken of the conciliatory disposition of the unrecognised Government, and that disposition would be fostered and encouraged by a policy of studied courtesy and forbearance, which could do no harm and might in the future produce much good.

The reverse of all this is what Earl Russell has seen proper to do. Fearful, apparently, that Mr. Mason might exercise an undue influence upon his impressible mind, or that he might be unable to resist what Lord Palmerston facetiously terms "the blandishments" of the haughty Virginia senator, he not merely declined any personal intercourse, but broadly intimated that no other form of communication was either welcome or desirable. At that time the Foreign-office had consular officers in Richmond, Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah, the chief points in the Confederacy. These officers were accredited, it is true, to a Government with which the Confederacy was at war, but as President Davis was willing to waive this point, it was necessary only to use common tact and discretion in avoiding collisions, to make them available both for the protection of British subjects and property, and for the purposes of informal intercourse. That the Foreign-office was not above employing them for this last purpose is shown by the negotiations entrusted to Mr. Bunch, and which ended in engaging the Confederate Government to the observance of the Paris Convention, immediately afterwards repudiated in its most essential feature by Earl Russell himself. One after another, on frivolous pre-

texts, these consular officers were withdrawn—one summarily dismissed for the most extraordinary reason ever assigned: that of sending, with the consent of the Federal officer in command of the blockading squadron, British property to its lawful owners out of a blockaded port—and their places filled with subordinates and substitutes. The Confederate Government was surprised, but patient. To force it into the measure which should consummate Earl Russell's object, it was necessary to make these functionaries the channels for transmitting insults and threats. This last device succeeded, and to-day our columns contain the correspondence which announces the interruption of all relations, however indirect and unofficial, between Great Britain and the Confederate States. No impartial judge can fail to lay the blame where it belongs. Curiously enough, Earl Russell condemns himself. In a despatches which forms a part of this correspondence, and which we believe is the last Mr. Mason received as Confederate Representative, the Foreign Secretary intimates the desirability of some arrangement by which unofficial relations might be maintained between the agents of the British Government in the Confederacy and the local authorities; but to Mr. Mason's cordial reception of the intimation he makes no further response.

What the motives for the strange conduct of the British Foreign-office may be, we cannot pretend to divine. There may be in all this some reason of state-craft too deep and secret for profane eyes. It may be, also, that Earl Russell, judging the Confederates by the principles of his own policy, believed they would tamely submit to whatever indignities he might heap upon them with a view of keeping on comfortable terms with the irascible Federals. It would be quite consistent with what we know of his character, to mistake the calm self-restraint of the Confederate leaders under mortifying disappointment for a lack of spirit to resent insults actually offered. He may have thought that misfortune should be humble, and he may not know that a high-minded nation is more jealous of its honour in the hour of adversity than amid prosperous fortunes. He has been in such close communion with the Yankees, and has so scrupulously avoided contact with the Southerners; he has himself been recently so much in the habit of bullying small Powers like Brazil and Denmark, and truckling to great ones like Russia and the United States, that we have, perhaps, not much right to be surprised at his error. But from whatever cause it may have arisen, the fact remains that England's neutrality consists henceforward in absolute non-intercourse with one of the belligerents. It is not non-recognition: it is the most complete and unqualified admission of the fiction that the States confederated together since three years, and waging during that period the most gigantic war on record, are still members of the American Union, are as such represented by Mr. Adams in London, and in diplomatic intercourse with this country through Lord Lyons at Washington. It is the admission of this fiction at the very time when it appears as too absurd even to Mr. Seward, who has just confessed in a public speech what everybody except Earl Russell knew, that Mr. Lincoln has never been *de facto* President of the "whole" Union. It is practically the withdrawal of the last remaining privilege of recognised belligerents, for it is a declaration that even as belligerents Great Britain has no business, and desires to have no business, with the Confederate States. So far as Earl Russell is concerned, those States are a mere myth, and he believes no more in their existence than the author of "Historical Doubts." The "civil war" he cannot thus conveniently ignore, for that cripples the world's commerce and is ruining Lancashire; but in that he remains neutral; that is to say, he will see it only through the spectacles of Mr. Adams and Mr. Seward; he will hear of the events of it only through their ears; and if his neutrality, thanks to a constant pressure applied by one side only, assumes gradually more and more the inevitable direction, and daily waxes more and more "warm" towards the Federals, *tant pis* for the Confederates. His is the neutrality of non-intercourse.



## The New Campaigns.

THE fighting on either side has recommenced in Virginia and Tennessee, and there is every prospect of a short and sharp campaign in both States before the winter sets in. It is now very evident that Lee's object in his latest advance was to push the Federals as far back upon Washington as they would go, and destroy their line of railroad in order to gain time for the despatch of troops to Tennessee. The movement was well planned and executed, but had only partially the desired effect. The Orange and Alexandria railroad has been repaired with remarkable rapidity, and General Meade, after carefully feeling the enemy's strength along the line of the Rappahannock, has pushed forward his whole army southwards. A collision between his advance and the Confederate outposts has occurred at Rappahannock Station, on the north bank of the river, which terminated disadvantageously to the latter, though not without very serious loss to the assailants. Still, if they have really captured 1,800 prisoners and seven guns, the affair is a disastrous one for the South, and betrays some extraordinary carelessness somewhere. To fight, where there is no chance of success, against overwhelming numbers, is plainly bad generalship; and although a day's delay may be of importance to the Confederates, it must be dearly purchased by a defeat and the loss of nearly 2,000 prisoners. We suspect, however, that the success has been greatly exaggerated, and that it will turn out to be much less important than it has been represented. Whatever was the actual result, the Federals continued their advance across the river, the Confederates retiring upon Culpeper. It was reported, also, that Kilpatrick's cavalry division had occupied the heights at Fredericksburg, so that the advance was taking place along the whole Federal line. The question is, what has become of Lee's army? Has he weakened it to such an extent, by the despatch of troops southward, as to be compelled to avoid for the present an engagement in the open field? Is he falling back slowly upon Richmond with a view of enticing Meade forward to the very lines of the Southern capital, where, like Massena before the heights of Torres Vedras, he may see his great army reduced to hopeless inaction and inglorious retreat? Or is he merely drawing the enemy away from his base of operations, and prepared at the right moment to give him battle, when his unwieldy masses of troops will be an encumbrance, and when retreat will expose his shattered battalions to be terribly cut up by the Confederate cavalry? General Lee is too circumspect a soldier to have run any great risk. The probability is that his forces are within call, and that if Meade seriously presses his advance, he will find he has underrated his adversary's means of resistance. But, considering the season, the transport required by so large an army as Meade's, the barrenness of the country which has to be traversed, the strong positions an army acting on the defensive can successively take up, we are not inclined to believe the Federal General will hazard a movement upon Richmond. If he can hold the heights of Fredericksburg through the winter, he will, at any rate, have gone by his predecessors, Burnside and Hooker, and he will be ready to start for Richmond in the spring.

Simultaneously with Meade's advance is reported the march of the Confederates upon Burnside's army in East Tennessee. General Grant telegraphs that Burnside's outposts have been attacked and driven in, and that portions of two of his regiments have been captured. By a previous mail we learnt that 750 of his troops had been captured at Philadelphia, Tennessee, and that he was concentrating his army in expectation of an attack. This attack will not be long delayed. Troops were on their way from Virginia and from Bragg's army. They would compel Burnside to fight or retreat, and a retreat from Knoxville, East Tennessee, upon Danville, Kentucky, before a superior force, would be little less disastrous than a defeat. We can readily understand the anxiety that prevails at Washington. Since the war began the North has never had two armies exposed to such grave perils as now threaten the forces under Generals Burnside and Thomas. The movement upon East Tennessee was undoubtedly planned and carried out in the belief that the Confederates could offer no effectual opposition in that quarter, and that there was good foundation for the reports of the demoralisation of Bragg's army. It was never feared that Rosecrans and Burnside would be isolated, and exposed to attack separately. It was never imagined that the Confederate Commander-in-Chief could avail himself of his interior lines of communication to strengthen a weak front without imperilling his own position. But, as it has happened, Rosecrans has been attacked and beaten; and now the two armies of invasion, cut off from intercommunication, can neither help one another nor retreat

without risking each other's destruction. Every day they stay where they are their difficulties increase; but there they must remain until the North can send into Tennessee another 100,000 men to keep open their communications and enable them to break through the meshes of the net in which the Confederates are practically enfolded them. As we have said before, the difficulty of the Federals is, not the fighting they have to do, but the mouths they have to feed. The dispositions of the Confederates are plainly made with a view to cut off their communications, and prevent either the arrival of large reinforcements in Tennessee or the transport of supplies. Thus their cavalry is at work in the Squatchir valley, and all along the frontier line of Mississippi and Alabama Confederate troops are posted to resist the progress of Grant's army from the Mississippi and cut off his trains: whilst, Burnside once disposed of, the victorious army will be enabled to get on the left flank of the enemy at Chattanooga and make a dash upon McMinnville and Nashville, leaving Chattanooga watched by the force holding Lookout Mountain. The Federals boast that they can hold Chattanooga and make it the base of a new invasion in the spring. We shall see. At present it looks much more as if, in President Davis's words, Rosecrans' unwieldy legions would be destroyed or driven across the Ohio.

It is, perhaps, only a man of Mr. Seward's moral calibre, who at this grave crisis, and with his perfect knowledge of the utter break-down of his schemes of conquest, could talk about seraphic hosts and their hymns of peace when Mr. Lincoln is President of North and South. Mr. Seward knows only too well that, whilst at this hour East Tennessee threatens to swallow up the finest army of the Federals, in six months time the North will hardly have an army to march into the field. Governor Seymour lately announced that the losses of the Federal army are one-half of its effective strength annually. Supposing it to consist of 500,000 men, it requires recruits at the rate of 250,000 per annum at the ordinary rate of consumption. But next spring the term of service of the three years men expires. How is their loss to be supplied? The draft is a failure, volunteering is a failure; an Act of Congress may give Mr. Lincoln fresh powers, but they too will fail before the settled resistance of the citizens to the conscription. The miners of Pennsylvania are already giving the North a lesson. They are not so easily dealt with as the well-to-do burghers of New York; they are arming and drilling to resist the draft by force. With armed rebels in Pennsylvania, with disaffection only half kept down in New York and Baltimore, with treason leavening the North-western States, with failing recruits and weakened armies, Mr. Seward reminds us, in his blaspheming jocularly, of the Emperor who fiddled whilst the City of the Seven Hills was burning. But Nero, at least in his later days, was not a hypocrite.

## The Letter of Invitation.

AMONG the most remarkable documents of modern history is certainly to be ranked the letter of invitation addressed by the Emperor of the French to the Sovereign Princes and Free Towns composing the German Confederation. It is not a common thing for one of the great potentates of the world to speak so frankly. The First Napoleon, indeed, talked with affected modesty before the assembled sovereigns of Germany about his adventures—"when I was a lieutenant of artillery;" but he was incapable of the quiet good sense with which his nephew refers to the time when as yet he was one of the most unlucky and most ridiculed of political pretenders, and equally incapable of profiting, as his nephew has done, by the lessons of adversity. It is still more worthy of note that the Emperor meets, with a frankness which is the highest and soundest policy, the charges against him which, though seldom spoken, are still more rarely absent from the mind of any of the princes or peoples invited to the new Congress of Paris. "I am the sovereign to whom ambitious projects are most attributed." This is certainly a striking innovation in diplomatic forms, worthy of the wholly unprecedented measure which the letter recommends to the acceptance of Europe. There is no doubt that both France and her present sovereign are regarded with rooted, and perhaps exaggerated, suspicion by nearly all the other Powers of Europe. There is no doubt that the first effect of the mention of a Congress was not to allay but to inflame that suspicion, and there could be no step better calculated to reassure the Governments invited than this frank avowal that the Emperor understands and regrets the general distrust which he has inspired, and is anxious to put an end to it by removing, through the agency of an European conference, those causes of agitation and alarm which render mutual confidence impossible.

Since the days of Henri IV., no European statesman has ever dreamt of the possibility of effecting, by purely pacific means, a secure settlement of international relations, which should remove at once all the existing grounds of mutual dislike and jealousy, should heal the sores which threaten, from time to time, to break out with fatal virulence, and establish a concord which shall not contain itself the fertile seeds of future quarrels. The dream is a magnificent one, no doubt; but statesmen are not given to dreaming. The ablest of them are satisfied to secure their own country against the dangers which they distinctly discern, to deal with foreign complications only when they arise, and to be satisfied with the easiest solution of perplexing problems, if only it promise to last their time. Nay, more, experience has taught them a profound distrust of all far-sighted speculation, and a dread of all who, having the power to disturb the existing order of things, do not look upon disturbance as the one evil to be avoided at any price and at any sacrifice. Napoleon III. is a man of a different stamp. Since he came to the throne, he has given ample proofs of the highest practical sagacity; he has done more for France than any other ruler she ever had, and the influence which he has exercised on other nations has been, on the whole, fruitful of good to the world at large. He has proved himself a thorough master of economical and financial science, and an administrator of rare ability. But for many years, he had been of necessity and by temperament what statesmen call a dreamer; he had believed in and laid plans for a far distant future; he had acquired a habit of looking forward forty years when others are content if they can form an idea of what will happen within as many months; and he had imbibed a firm faith in that idea of "nationality" which by slow degrees is becoming a part of the political creed of the rising generation. His elevation has not changed him in this respect. He still believes in powers and influences unrecognised by the ordinary philosophy of European diplomatists; he still believes it better to prevent disasters, even by timely sacrifices, than tamely to await their arrival, in a blind hope that, after all, "something may turn up" to avert them; and it would seem that he relies either on his own knowledge, or on the experience of late years, to compel others to take the same view—to anticipate imminent dangers by actual sacrifices, and provide for a probable future at the expense of the certain present. It is on this last point that we conceive him to be mistaken. We do not believe that the immemorial practice of sovereigns and statesmen is likely to be reversed by the experiences of 1848, and the alarms which have been more or less frequent ever since. "Time, whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," governments have been more prone to discount the resources of the future for present needs, than to provide in time for events which always seem to them more distant than they are; and it has never been the wont of princes to give up a province in order to avert a war, or to abdicate a disputed prerogative, lest ten years hence it should be the cause of a rebellion.

We see no reason to question the loyalty of the intentions of the Emperor in a measure which accords altogether with his known predilections, and with the obvious interests of his dynasty. He wishes well to "the nationalities," and he desires to convince the Powers of Europe that so long as reluctant nations are held in subjection by mere military force, peace can never be more than a hollow and precarious truce. He does not wish for war. He has witnessed it; and its horrors have made a deep impression on his mind. The unprecedented carnage of his brief Italian campaign has shown him that a general European conflict would, if it lasted but two years, leave behind it an amount of misery and desolation for which he does not care to make himself responsible. At the same time, he does not pretend that he can guarantee the peace of Europe, even from year to year, under the settlement effected at Vienna. Already a portion of that settlement has been annulled, and it is becoming daily more evident that the rest is untenable. Both he and his enemies are equally aware that there are several contingencies, which may happen any day, and must, if not forestalled by pacific arrangements, happen before very long, in which it will be impossible for him to keep the peace. If the Polish insurrection last another year—if war break out between Denmark and Prussia—if there should arise a favourable opportunity, encouraging the Venetians to shake off the yoke of Austria—if the long chronic sufferings of "the sick man" should suddenly assume a mortal character—if internal conflicts should arise in the German Confederation—it will be difficult for a prince who reigns by the grace of the French people, to remain neutral. At the same time, he has nothing to gain and much to lose by war, in any of these instances. He is probably much less



greedy of territorial aggrandisement than his subjects; and he is much better aware than they are that no territorial aggrandisement is possible. Defeat would endanger his throne: victory would not do so much to strengthen it as would the spectacle of a Congress called by him sitting in Paris, to revise at his suggestion the treaties of 1815. It is easy to believe, therefore, that "his sole object is to arrive without a shock at the pacification of Europe;" and if such an object were within the reach of any human power, there is no doubt that he who achieved it would deserve a high rank in history among the benefactors of mankind.

It is the interest, probably, of all the Powers invited to accept the proposals of France. England, in the first place, has nothing to fear. She has already set the example of sacrifice, with wonderfully little reason, by releasing the Ionian Islands from her ill-requited protection; and, though Spain would like to acquire Gibraltar, and France would willingly see Malta abandoned, there is no sort of pretext for either demand, and the majority of European Powers would be very sorry to see us comply with either. Prussia has everything to fear if the Congress should fail, and war should follow the failure. She would inevitably be crushed between France and Russia; she would run great risk of losing Posen, and if she preserved her Rhenish provinces she would owe them only to the determination of England that France shall not extend her frontiers in that direction. On the other hand, it is not likely that the Congress would ask her to give up anything which she could keep in the event of war. Austria would inevitably be asked to surrender Venetia, in return for which she would be entitled to require the abandonment of Rome by the French; and thus, to her great advantage, Italy would become a sixth great Power, and, as such, a check on any future disturbers of the public peace. By abandoning Venetia and conciliating Hungary, Austria would secure herself for the future against all dangers from within and from without; while she holds the one by military force, and remains in a state of feud with the other, her position must always be one of peril at home and powerlessness abroad. Russia has a far better chance of obtaining a satisfactory settlement of the Polish question in Congress than she will have if it become the subject of an European war, and it is for her to judge what likelihood there is that she can continue her present course in Poland without compelling France to interfere. All these difficulties have to be solved; it is for the Powers concerned in each case to declare whether they shall now be solved by the arbitration of Europe, or hereafter determined by the sword.

Unhappily, there can be little doubt what the decision will be. National pride and international jealousy are far too strong to allow us any hope that the benevolent schemes of the Emperor can be carried into effect. The age is not ripe for the realisation of the poetical idea of an Universal Parliament, deciding on the affairs of the world according to the dictates of pure wisdom and simple equity. In the first place, nations are not yet ready to submit to the decrees of such a tribunal; in the second, those who would compose it are far from commanding, by the justice and moderation of their own conduct, the confidence which alone could give moral authority to their judgments. We must admit that, whatever weight we should attach to the counsels of a Cavour or the impartial arbitrament of a Leopold, we should ourselves demur to the jurisdiction of Alexander II. or William III., and demand the right of challenge against a panel containing the names of Gortschakoff and Bismarck-Schonhausen. It is precisely this sort of distrust that is exhibited in the reply which the English Government is said to have returned to the Imperial invitation—a request to know what subjects the Congress is to be asked to discuss. It is not so much that every one feels some suspicion of France, as that all are jealous of one another; each willing to arbitrate in his neighbours' quarrel, but none willing to accept their arbitration in his own. The prevalence of this feeling is so obvious that, as we suspect, the Emperor must by this time entertain a misgiving that his proposal is premature—by a couple of centuries at least.

#### THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRA.

It will be remembered that the Attorney-General had obtained a rule of the Court, calling upon the defendants in the case, the claimants of the ship, to show cause why the verdict given by the jury at the trial should not be set aside and entered for the Crown, or a new trial granted. The rule was based on several grounds, the principal of which were "that the verdict was against the evidence, and that the learned Judge had misdirected the jury." On Tuesday, then, before the Court of Exchequer, the four Judges present being the Lord Chief Baron Pollock and Barons Bramwell, Channell, and Pigott, Sir Hugh Cairns, assisted by Mr. Karslake, Q.C., Mr. Mellish, Q.C., and Mr. Kemplay, appeared to show cause against the rule; while the Attorney-General (Sir Roundell Palmer), the Solicitor-General (Sir W. Collier), the Queen's Advocate (Sir H. Phillimore), Mr. Locke, Q.C., and Mr. T. Jones, appeared

in support of the rule. Sir Hugh Cairns occupied the whole day in a speech of remarkable eloquence and power, and addressed to the Court a series of arguments worthy of the closest attention, as coming not merely from a lawyer of unrivalled ability, but from one who, in the event of the accession to power of a Conservative Administration, will be the adviser of the Crown on all points of law touching upon international questions. The learned counsel divided his address into three parts. He proposed to dwell, first, on the Act and the construction of it; next, upon the evidence adduced at the trial; and lastly, upon the mode in which the Judge directed the jury. Taking, then, the first head, he showed the careless manner in which the Act was worded; next, the purposes for which the Act was framed: these being, the maintenance of neutrality and the avoidance of affording to a belligerent a *casus belli* against the neutral power through the acts of the subjects of the neutral power. Next, the duties and privileges of such subjects, as defined by international law, were stated. Subjects of a neutral Power might supply contraband of war to a belligerent. The territory, however, of a neutral Power must be kept free from any act of war done either by a belligerent or by the subjects of a neutral State, acting at the instigation of a belligerent. Supposing a ship coming from any port other than a port of the neutral State, to be anchored without the line of protection of the neutral state, guns and any other munitions of war might be brought from a port in the neutral State and placed on board such ship. An unarmed ship might go out, in order to be armed, beyond the line of protection. Such being the rules of international law, attention was directed to the historical circumstances which preceded and caused the enactment by Congress of the American Enlistment Act. With this object, Sir H. Cairns read a part of the correspondence on the subject between Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and M. Genet, the French Envoy; and also a part of the correspondence between Washington and Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. Next, a circular letter drawn up by Washington, and containing rules for the guidance of the customs' officers in the United States, was read and commented on by the learned counsel. These rules were drawn up in A.D. 1793, before the Act of Congress was passed; and in point of fact the Act was passed to justify the rules. The object was to prevent the arming of vessels to assist the French against other belligerents. What, then, did these rules declare? The officers were ordered to seize where vessels were armed for war, but where the equipment was ambiguous, so that the vessels could be used either for commerce or for war, there the equipment was lawful. With these rules the Act of Congress agreed, and was intended to forbid the arming of a ship of war to commit hostilities; that is, to forbid an equipment with the distinctive character of a warlike equipment; whereas any equipment not solely applicable for the purposes of war was lawful. Now, these very rules and the Act of Congress were declared by Kent to be in strict accordance with the rules of international law. The learned counsel then referred to two American cases, proving, first, that the equipment must be solely applicable to war; second, that the ship must be equipped within the jurisdiction. As to the case of the United States *v.* Quincy, there the equipment was undeniably warlike, and therefore the meaning of the word "equip" was not raised. Sir H. Cairns then came to the consideration of the English Act, and dwelt on the enlistments of men and arming of ships on behalf of the revolted Spanish Colonies being carried on so openly and to such an extent as to loudly call for interference. The speech of Mr. Canning was referred to, and also that of the Attorney-General of the day, who, on introducing the Bill in the House of Commons, declared the object to be to prevent the fitting out of armed vessels or fitting out vessels of war with stores strictly warlike. Now, setting aside the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th sections of the Act, which only raised a question of allegiance and had no relation to the principles of international law, the learned counsel contended that the 7th and subsequent sections were to be interpreted according to the rules of the law of nations; in fact, they were framed to enable the Government to restrain its subjects from acts which, if committed, justified a belligerent in remonstrances against the neutral power in accordance with the maxims of international law, but these sections of the Act were not intended to go further. There was no prohibition against building a hull. In fact, the existence of the hull was presupposed. If building a hull was the act struck at, the law would have said so. So then, suppose France was at war with Russia, a hull might be built at Portsmouth and sent to Brest, and also munitions of war might be sent by another ship to Brest, without infringement of the Act. Now the words, "equipping," "fitting out," "furnishing," were not words *ejusdem generis* with "building;" they must be carefully distinguished. Next, the offence contemplated by the Act must be committed within the dominions of the neutral Power; the equipment, also, must be of a distinctively warlike character, and the intent must be that the ship shall cruise and commit hostilities. Thus, then, our Act tallied with the Act of Congress, with the rules laid down by Washington, and with the rules of international law. Next, as to the 8th section, which presupposed a ship of a warlike character, and forbade the adding to such a ship of an equipment of a distinctively warlike character, but did not forbid the adding of any other equipment. This interpretation made the 7th and 8th sections harmonious; otherwise they would be contradictory. Then, as to the words in the Act which prohibited the "attempting," or "endeavouring," or "being concerned in" the "equipping, fitting out, and arming;" that was a prohibition of an attempt to do that which, if consummated, would be an infringement of the Act; there was no new offence raised. So with the words "procuring," &c.; that was a mere enunciation of the principle of *qui facit per alium*. The words are aimed at participation in an act which,

when complete, would constitute the act defined in the 7th section, and which was, the equipment of a ship of a distinctively warlike character within the jurisdiction, with the intent of cruising and committing hostilities against a belligerent.

In the famous Terceira case, not reported, but the only instance in which cognisance has been taken of an infringement of the English Act, there Mr. Huskisson, speaking of the attack on the ship in question in the waters of Terceira, by an English man-of-war, quoted the words of Mr. Canning, where the latter said that "he saw no ground for interference in any of the cases arising in the Cochrane expeditions, except where the ship and armament were put together in this country; if that combination were not consummated till after the ship had left this country, there was no breach of the law." Now as to the *Oreto*, the only reason given for bringing the case to trial was, that the vessel was armed at Nassau; it never was supposed that her equipment at Liverpool, which was not of a warlike character, formed any ground for proceedings. So the Attorney-General in Parliament had said in reference to the *Alabama*, that the Federals had no ground of remonstrance against our Government, because the *Alabama* left Liverpool unarmed. Similarly, Lord Palmerston declared that the condition of the *Alabama* at the time she left England was not such as to justify a seizure. The learned counsel then proceeded to consider the condition of the *Alexandra* at the time of seizure, as disclosed by the evidence of Morgan and Captain Inglefield. He need not argue whether the structure was warlike or not; that was wholly irrelevant. He contended that the equipment was not of a warlike character. There was no pretence for such a theory, except as to the stanchions for the hammocks, which were equally adapted for yachts. The Crown had abandoned that part of the case which connected certain guns in Messrs. Fawcett's foundry with the ship; for indeed, it was only proved that sixteen guns had been sent to the railway station, directed to Captain Blakeley, Camden, London. Next came the question of "intent." It was not enough for the ship to be "equipped," it must have been so "with intent to cruise and commit hostilities on behalf of one belligerent against another." That intent must be a practical one, that is, it must be conceived by some one who has sufficient control over the ship to put the intent into effect; it must be unconditional and immediate—it must be conceived within the jurisdiction. Now what was to be said of the witnesses as to the "intent?" Five were discharged workmen from Messrs. Fawcett, two were spies and informers, and one was utterly unworthy of belief. The first five proved no connection between Messrs. Miller or Messrs. Fawcett and the Confederate authorities. Even Chapman, who wormed himself into the confidence of Messrs. Fraser, on the plea of being a "Secessionist," could not prove any connection whatever between either Fraser, Bullock, or Hamilton, and the "*Alexandra*." No man would believe the "deserter," Clarence Randolph Yonge, who, though he had access to documents passing between Captain Bullock and the Confederate Government, disclosed no connection whatever between the latter and the ship. Yonge was a deserter from his allegiance and from his wife. His public and private character were detestable. Then as to De Costa, who appeared as a shipowner and a ship-agent, and who turned out to be a "crimp" and the owner of a small share in a small steam-tug. What was to be said of his evidence? Messrs. Miller had built that steam-tug and had gone to law with De Costa about it. Was it credible that such a man as this Miller would have said several times, "We, conjointly with Fawcett, are building a gunboat for Fraser; Fraser is agent for the Confederates, and the name of the gunboat is the *Alexandra*." This De Costa was a too willing witness for the Crown, a recusant witness in all other respects. Lastly, the learned counsel came to the charge of the Lord Chief Baron to the jury at the trial. That charge, if examined, disclosed four questions or propositions to the jury. First, the Chief Baron laid it down that to build a ship, apart from all question as to "equipment," was lawful, even although such ship was easily convertible into a man-of-war. Second, that being so, was the *Alexandra* "equipped," "fitted out," or "furnished" within Her Majesty's dominions? Thirdly, "the equipment" must be of a warlike character. Then, was it so? Fourthly, was there any "intent" to employ the ship to cruise or commit hostilities? The learned counsel, in conclusion, contended that the evidence altogether failed to support the information; that the verdict was warranted and justified by the evidence. The address of Sir Hugh Cairns occupied nine hours and thirty minutes in delivery, and was a model of reasoning and eloquence. More counsel will be heard on the same side, and on the Crown side there will, no doubt, be three or four speeches. The trial is likely to last for many days.

#### THE TRADE TO MATAMORAS.—IMPORTANT TO SHIPPERS.

—We are able to deny authoritatively the recent reports of the alleged blockade of Matamoras by the French. The blockade of the Mexican coast commences twelve leagues from the southern bank of the mouth of the Rio Grande; and no cargoes of any kind, unless there should exist reasonable suspicions of their being destined for armed adherents of the Juarez faction, will be interfered with by the French cruisers on their way to Matamoras. This is important information to many shippers who have suspended shipments of specie and merchandise, under the apprehension excited by an unfounded rumour. Common prudence, however, will suggest to them the precaution of avoiding, in their trade with that port, any cause for being suspected of intentions hostile to the French occupation of the country.



## PRESIDENT-MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES.\*

THE American Union, inaugurated by Washington and dissolved by the election of Mr. Lincoln, was but a phase in the national life of the peoples that formed it. An intelligible history of the "Model Republic" must date from an era long anterior to the Declaration of Independence. To comprehend the institutions and the progress of the nations, now or lately represented abroad by the United States' Government, we must get rid of the popular idea that the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies was a revolution, in the ordinary acceptance of the term. Except in one particular, the action of the colonists was eminently conservative. They took up arms to defend, not to trample on their laws. They threw off their allegiance to England, not because they were dissatisfied with their forms of Government, but because they esteemed them so highly that they determined to preserve them at any sacrifice. They did not fight for rights and liberty previously withheld from them, but they did battle for that liberty and for those rights that were theirs by inheritance, and that they had always enjoyed. The severance of the political tie with the mother country involved no anarchy or change. The same laws and the same Administrations, existed before and after the Declaration of Independence; and the ordinary functions of Government were not suspended for a moment. In all essential particulars the same order of things prevailed in the Colonies that unto this day prevails in the States. The colonists had no *isms* to gratify. They had to choose between their allegiance to their king or to their constitution. They did as their English forefathers had done on like occasions. They broke with the Crown, and for their mutual protection established a Federal Government. When we consider what incongruous elements were thus banded together, we may well be surprised that the Union so long survived its use—that it continued to exist for half a century after all fear, of foreign aggression was at an end. Mr. Williams thinks, however, the Union would have lasted for generations to come but for one circumstance. The elaborate machinery, in his opinion was perfect, but there was from the first a single wheel out of gear. He contends that the break-up of the Union was brought about mainly by the Presidential elections. Alas, then, for the frailty of human wisdom, for all that could be done was done to protect the Presidential elections from corrupt influences.

Three principle suggestions were made to the convention as to the election of the President. First, that he should be chosen by the Executives of the States; second, that the choice should be left to the Legislatures of the States, and thirdly, that he should be elected by the suffrages of the united peoples. All these were rejected, and in lieu of them a plan was adopted which in theory combined many advantages and was altogether one of the most ingenious political inventions ever contrived. Each State was to appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof directed, a number of electors equal to the number of senators and representatives to which the State was entitled in Congress. The electors, not convened in a united electoral college, but each State voting severally, were to transmit to the President of the Senate the result of their votes. Thus the Legislature, the representative of the people, had to take the first step in the election, but only the first step. If the people desired it, as they did in every instance except that of South Carolina, the Legislature was bound to refer the choice of the electors to the popular vote. Still the people were not to decide the election, but could only appoint electors. Surely a more elaborate system of checks was never devised. And it is worthy of remark how carefully the sovereign rights of the States were protected. There was no fusion of the States attempted, and if a majority of the electors did not vote for one person, then the choice was left to the House of Representatives, who had to ballot for President from the persons, not exceeding three, having the highest number of electors' votes; but then the votes were taken by States, the representatives of each State having one vote.

Mr. Williams lucidly explains how the intentions of the framers of the Constitution were frustrated. The people practically set aside the electors. They did what some large constituencies in England have done—they chose delegates instead of representatives. The electors were not permitted to discuss the merits of the various candidates, but they were pledged to vote for the candidate already accepted by their constituents. All they had to do was to register the votes of the people; and, therefore, so soon as the electors were chosen, the presidential election was virtually decided. The people did not long enjoy the fruits of their victory over the Constitution; but they in turn were cheated out of their rights, by the agency of "conventions." These conventions are not recognised by the Constitution, and are the means by which the leaders of parties or of factions monopolised the election of President. The convention business is thus conducted: about six months before the stated period of election a self-constituted body, called the Central Committee, announces that upon a certain day there will be a meeting of a State Convention for the purpose of nominating candidates to a National Convention. It should be understood that for at least a year before this movement a secret agitation is carried on, and in every electoral district persons are selected by the Central Committee, who appoint meetings, which are but

thinly attended, and at which delegates to the State Convention are chosen. Mr. Williams thus described the proceedings.

"A few of the interested leaders, together with a smaller number of really earnest patriots, interspersed with stragglers, attracted by curiosity, assemble in the public hall. The number present is quite small. The people are not sufficiently excited at this early period to quit their avocations in order to join in this seemingly unimportant service. Those who are present, however, organise the meeting by the appointment of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary. After a short pause, some gentleman rises, and having addressed a few eloquent and appropriate remarks," proposes that Messrs. A. B. C. D., and others be appointed to represent the people of that district in the State Convention. This proposition is seconded, and carried *nem. con.*, and the meeting is adjourned *sine die*. This ends the 'primary convention,' and here closes the agency of the people in the selection of a candidate for the presidency."

Anyone familiar with the way in which public meetings are got up in this country, will be able to thoroughly appreciate the above passage, and will fully comprehend how little the people have to do with the election. In the State convention, and in the National Convention hard battles are fought, for the people, having been put aside, the wire pullers and the professional politicians quarrel among themselves about the booty. At length, by a series of compromises, the affair is arranged, and each National Convention, for of course there is a National Convention of each party, announces its candidate. The "sovereign people" is called upon to register the act of the self-appointed convention, by voting for one or the other of the candidates, just in the way the electors have to register the popular vote. How entirely the elections had passed out of the hands of the people, we may see from the fact of Mr. Lincoln being President, although he was in a minority of 1,000,050.

Mr. Williams having explained the system, gives a graphic resumé of Presidential contests from Washington to Mr. Lincoln. For thirty-six years there has been no chance for an eminent statesman to become President. The office-seekers, who are the *de facto* electors, have for two reasons, selected as candidates those whose chief recommendations were their obscurity and inferiority. Men like Calhoun, Clay, and Webster were objectionable because they would not have been pliant tools in the hands of their partisans; and also because it was an advantage for a party to have a candidate who had no antecedents, for then slander was, to a great extent disarmed. But whilst the Presidents were merely puppets, the North was unceasingly seeking to gain the mastery over the South. The cry of "bargain, intrigue, and corruption," in reference to Mr. Clay; the cry of "a good log cabin and a barrel of hard cider," in reference to General Harrison; General Taylor and his war horse, "Old Whitey," and a number of other cries, were got up to amuse the populace, and all the uncouth party names that were circulated, were only to conceal the real issue—which was, whether the South should become a mere appendage to the North.

The question of tariffs has always occupied a prominent position. It was the interest of the Northerners to impose protective duties, because by that means Southern wealth would find its way into their pockets. How much the South sacrificed for the sake of the Union, and how much the North gained by protection, may be seen from the following table:—

1760—Imports into South Carolina and Virginia	£14,05,000
1760—Imports into New York, Pennsylvania, and all New England	£735,100
1832—Imports into South Carolina and Virginia	\$1,750,000
1832—Imports into New York alone	\$57,000,000
1852—Imports into Northern States	\$306,000,000
1852—Imports into Southern States	\$34,000,000

When the West grew into importance, the North found itself confronted with a new difficulty, for the West, like the South, was naturally for free trade. It was in this emergency that the Abolition agitation was started, but the emancipation of the negro was only an excuse for riveting the fetters of protection on the South. When Mr. Lincoln was elected, and when the Southern representatives were no longer present in Congress, what was the first use made by the Republicans of their power? Was it to free the negro? No; but to pass the Morrill Tariff Bill. As long as New England could make money out of the slave trade, she was opposed to its abolition. As long as slaves were profitable to her, she kept slaves, and when they ceased to be profitable, did not emancipate them, but sold them into the South. So long as the profits of Southern slavery enriched her, the emancipation of the negro was not thought of, but when there was a chance of the South and the West unitedly claiming the right to unfettered trade, then Abolitionism became a political instrument. Europe has wondered at the inconsistency of the North, hating the negro yet making him an idol; but the wonder ceases when we reflect that negro-worship is only a blind for the fanatic and heartfelt worship of the dollar.

We have an apt illustration of the insincerity of the North in the "Missouri Compromise." It has been said over and over again that the South had broken her engagement entered into in 1820; viz., "that no State with a slavery constitution should enter the Union north of the parallel of 36 30." In consenting to this, the South gave up a large portion of valuable territory, for the sake of peace; but the North did not want peace, and steadily refused to act upon the Missouri Compromise. Even Missouri was not received under the so-called compromise. In 1836, on the admission of Arkansas the North repudiated it. In 1847, when fresh territory had been acquired by purchase from Mexico, the Northern representatives "voted almost unanimously that citizens of the Southern States should not be per-

mitted to enter with their property upon any part of the territory upon either side of the Missouri Compromise Line." "The same policy was pursued in 1846 upon the Bill for the establishment of a Territorial government for Oregon. In 1850, on the application of California for admission, the North again refused to abide by the Missouri Compromise. It was not the South but the North which refused to observe the compact of 1820, though it was a compact which, under the constitution, the North had no right to seek. With rare hypocrisy the Republicans denounced the repeal of the compromise as a violation of good faith on the part of the South. Yet the Northern States, says Mr. Williams, "always strenuously denied that they had been in any way whatever committed to this compromise. On the contrary, they derided and repudiated it in every manner possible, whenever an occasion offered itself. They wept over the repeal as a parent might weep over the demise of his lost child, and yet during its entire life it was spurned and disowned."

Another alleged grievance against the South was the Fugitive Slave Law. It is curious that such a charge should have been preferred, for, assuming the facts as stated by the North to be true, and that the Fugitive Slave Law was a late Southern device introduced to the Senate by Mr. Mason, it was manifestly a just and necessary measure. So long as the Union recognised slaves as property, and they were regarded and taxed as property, it was indispensable to protect that property in all the States of the Union; for the business of the general Government was to enforce amongst the States equal dealing and respect for treaties. But it happens that the Fugitive Slave Law is as old as the Union, and that its authors were "George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and their associates in the Constitutional Convention, all of whom either voted for its enactment, or suffered it to be passed without one word of opposition." The following is an extract from the debates in the Convention (1787) as reported by Mr. Madison:—

August 29.—Mr. Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, moved to insert after Article 15: 'If any person bound to service or labour in any of the United States shall escape into another State, he or she shall not be discharged from such service or labour in consequence of any regulations subsisting in the State to which they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justly claiming their service or labour.'—which was agreed to *nem. con.*

Mr. Williams thinks that the North would have failed in its aggression on the South, had it not been for the Presidential elections, which demoralised the people and opened the door for every species of corruption. He suggests a plan by which he conceives the evil may be avoided. He proposes that there shall be Presidents, but no elections; that the term of office shall be extended from six years, as it is now in the Confederate States, to eight to ten years, and that the oldest senator—that is, the member who has been longest in the senate—shall become President upon the expiration of each presidential term. Probably few persons will agree with Mr. Williams's conclusion, that the dissolution of the Union is almost entirely the evil work of presidential elections, for they may point to the South and bid us remember that the system prevailed there, and yet the South is now manifesting precisely the same qualities that distinguished the fathers of Independence and the Union. It is also undoubtedly true that if a people be virtuous—we mean virtuous in a political and patriotic sense—no imperfection in the constitution will corrupt them; and on the other hand, if they are prone to be vicious no constitutional checks will keep them in the right path. But it must be conceded by any unprejudiced reader of Mr. Williams's book that the constantly recurring elections to an office which involves a larger amount of patronage than any other Government on earth is entrusted with, is a gigantic evil; and further, that the presidency ought not to be at the disposal of a clique of office seekers, and that the election, if there is to be an election, should be *bona fide*, whether entrusted to the people or the Legislatures.

We have glanced at the constitutional questions discussed in "The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic;" but the work is by no means the dry constitutional essay that might be inferred from our notice. Although Mr. Williams quotes freely from the debates in the Constitutional Convention, and in Congress, his book is not a mere compilation; and, although he treats important matters with becoming gravity; he is never dull or heavy. Mr. Williams gives us not so much the deductions of a student as the life-like sketches of an intelligent and interested observer. He draws, for instance, a picture of a Northern Convention. The New England Puritan, who clamours for an anti-slavery Bible; the German atheist, who will have no Bible at all; the Socialist who dreams of perfect equality; the advocate of "Free-loveism;" and the delegate of the "strong-minded women," are banded together to form the Republican party; and each of these Mr. Williams portrays with admirable fidelity. Here and there our author introduces an anecdote that throws a flood of light on the manners and customs of Northern politicians. He tells us, for example, that when General Taylor was elected President, his war-horse, called "Old Whitey," was the object of much attention, because it was thought that through the horse the favour of the General might be gained. Mr. Seward, now Federal Secretary of State, was the head of a committee that waited on General Taylor to present him with a silver carry-comb for the special use of "Old Whitey." This incident, though trifling in itself, is significant of Mr. Seward's character; just as it is significant of Caligula's character that he raised his horse to the dignity of consul. The differ-

\* The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic. By James Williams, late American Minister to Turkey, and author of "The South Vindicated." London; Richard Bentley.



between a corrupt sovereign and a corrupt demagogue is only a difference of circumstance, not of disposition. Another spirited sketch is the story of the Harrison campaign, when "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia," were forgotten, and the burden of the popular song was—

"Hurrah, hurrah! for Harri-on and Tyler;  
A good log-cabin and a barrel of hard cider."

In short, those who take up Mr. Williams's book for instruction, will find it also amusing; and those who read it for amusement cannot fail to be instructed.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

UNDER pretence of "tracing the footsteps of error through a period of twenty-five years," the Very Rev. Francis Close\* publishes a series of venomous and vindictive libels on every one who stands outside the pale of his narrow and intolerant school, and on every form of religious thought and feeling which is beyond his own very limited comprehension. Many of Lord Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments have been extremely objectionable, both to sincere Churchmen and to practical men of the world; but most of them are explicable. His nominees have been of distinguished Whig families, or notorious for Liberal politics, or favourites with fashionable society; but the Dean of Carlisle had no title of any kind to promotion. Deaneries are usually reserved for quiet, well-bred, scholarly, thoughtful divines, likely to do good service to the Church by literary labours or personal influence. Dr. Close is a noisy, pushing, ignorant orator of the Beecher and Spurgeon type; a favourite preacher at a second-rate watering-place; a lecturer against wine, spirits, beer, and tobacco; not more honest in his churchmanship than Bishop Colenso, or more temperate in his language than the worst school of Irish parish priests. We remember to have heard him denounce from the pulpit all who disapproved of the Crimean war as "traitors to their God, their sovereign, and their country;" and we also remember to have heard him declare that he would never use the form of absolution prescribed in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick—a declaration which ought, of course, to have been followed by his instant resignation of his benefice. Those who know anything of the man need not be told that this book is full of vulgar and virulent abuse of Roman Catholics—whom the author, after the ungentlemanly fashion of his party, always styles "Papists"—of the High Church, the so-called Broad Church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and everybody who drinks wine or otherwise differs from Dr. Close. We give one sentence, which sufficiently stamps the character of the book and the writer: "Fraud is sanctioned, consecrated, canonised in the Church of Rome." A man who could deliberately pen such a slander ought never to have received favour, honour, or promotion in any Christian Church. It is by clergymen of this character that young men are tempted into Romanism or driven into infidelity. The revolt and reaction produced by their frantic rihaldry does more harm than Dr. Newman or Bishop Colenso could accomplish by fifty years of argument or oratory.

"Letters from the Crimea"† were, no doubt, acceptable enough to the parents and friends of the well-meaning young soldier who wrote them; but they have no sort of value or interest for the public; they tell us nothing new, and give us no clearer idea of the things we knew already.

"The History of Newfoundland"‡ can never be made readable. It is, first, the history of a valuable cod-fishery, and then that of a valueless and most unfortunate colony, in which nothing but disaster ever happens, and which is never likely to enjoy even a moderate share of prosperity. Its normal condition is one of religious feud and political faction, diversified only by frequent famines and not unfrequent fires. The chief city has been burnt down several times, and the people live always on the verge of starvation. In short, one-half the population consists of Irish Roman Catholics, and one-third of the revenue is annually expended on the relief of the poor.

"Annie Warleigh's Fortunes,"§ is good—all Holme Lee's novels are; but we are not inclined to rank it among her best. In the first place, we do not care to read a prologue, stretching over half a volume, concerning the history of the heroine's father and grandfather before her birth; and it is unsatisfactory to find, when we have reached the middle of the second volume, that the young lady whose "fortunes" are the subject of the story has only completed her fifteenth year. The plot, moreover, is less natural and probable than is usually the case with this author's productions. Nevertheless, the book is very pleasant reading; the principal personages being very human, and most of them very lovable, and all the various shades of their different characters being drawn with great nicety and without any exaggeration. We don't think it quite fair to the readers of such a book to tell the story beforehand; and those who will not read it are too few to be entitled to consideration.

Goslingford || was a very insignificant country town; so insignificant, that its principal families were those of two respectable attorneys, Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith. Between the parties of these two families the townfolk were divided; the more Conservative and old-fashioned adhering to Mr. Brown; the Churchman; and those with whom modern ways were in favour extolling the hospitality of the dissenting Mrs. Smith and the accomplishments of her daughters. Mr. Smith's only son fell in love with Mr. Brown's daughter, an only child; and, after running, by no means smoothly, for a year or two, the course of true love conducted them safely to a happy marriage, and the death of Mr. Brown terminated the schism of Goslingford. Out of these materials the author of "Anne Dysart" ¶ has constructed a most readable, sensible, and commendable novel in two volumes—making Goslingford life considerably more interesting to her readers than it can have been to those who actually bore a part in it.

"Opposite Neighbours," is a story which will not bear reading twice, and one perusal is not sufficient to enable us to understand it. There is in it a tolerably good sketch of an honest tradesman's home, made miserable by a wife with whom he was fool enough to elope, and who despises the shop, her husband, his friends and her own, and who is finally converted only by being well-nigh burnt to death—a victim of cinoline. For the rest, we find ourselves entangled in a labyrinth of unconnected mysteries: and the story, after

puzzling us therewith for some 600 pages, leaves us utterly uncertain what happens to whom, who turns out to be whose brother, son, or nephew, who marries whom, why anything happens, and what has become of everybody; and, as aforesaid, it is not worth while to read the story through again in order to find out. We hope to repair the omission when the author shall write another novel, with fewer characters and a simpler scheme.

Nothing can be pleasanter to read than the exquisite novels of German life which have made the reputation of the Baroness Fautphucos. "The Initials" has just been published in a cheap form, and we have read it through for the third or fourth time. "At Odds" is a tale of the Napoleonic wars, of which the scene is laid in Bavaria and the Tyrol; and, though dealing with an entirely new kind of life, of which the authoress can have no personal knowledge, it is as natural, life-like, and interesting as any of its predecessors.

#### OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATE DEPARTMENT RELATIVE TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSULS.

MR. BENJAMIN TO MR. SLIDELL.

Confederate States of America, Department of State, Richmond, 8th October, 1863.

SIR—The conduct of the British consular agents in the Confederacy has compelled the President to take the decisive step of expelling them from our country, and it is deemed proper to put you in possession of the causes which have produced this result, that you may have it in your power to correct any misrepresentations on the subject. To this end, it is necessary to review the whole course of the British Government, and that of the Confederacy, in relation to these officials.

When the Confederacy was first formed, there were in our ports a number of British consuls and consular agents, who had been recognised as such, not only by the Government of the United States, which was then the authorised agent of the several States for that purpose, but by the State authorities themselves. Under the law of nations, these officials are not entitled to exercise political or diplomatic functions, nor are they ever accredited to the sovereigns within whose dominions they reside. Their only warrant of authority is the commission of their own Government; but usage requires that those who have the full grade of consul should not exercise their functions within the territory of any sovereign before receiving his permission in the form of an *exequatur*; while consular agents of inferior grade simply notify the local authorities of their intention to act in that capacity. It has not been customary, upon any change of Government, to interfere with these commercial officials, already established in the discharge of their duties, and it is their recognised obligation to treat all Governments which may be established, *de facto*, over the ports where they reside, as governments *de jure*. The British consular officials gave no cause of complaint on this score, and the President interposed no objection to the continued exercise of their functions. On other grounds, however, various causes of complaint subsequently arose, and in the case of Consul Moore it was found necessary to revoke his *exequatur*, for his disregard of the legitimate request of this Department that he should abstain from further action as consul until he had submitted his commission for inspection, and because of his offensive remarks touching the conduct of the Confederate authorities in relation to two enlisted soldiers, as fully explained in a published despatch of this Government. Attention was also called in that despatch (which was communicated to the British Cabinet), to the objectionable conduct of British functionaries in the enemy's country, who assumed authority within the limits of the Confederacy, thereby implying that these States were still members of the Union to which those functionaries were accredited, and ignoring the existence of this Government within the territory over which it was exercising unquestioned sway. Notwithstanding the grave character of this complaint, the President confined himself to reprehending this conduct, and to informing the British Government that he had forbidden, for the future, any direct communication between British consuls here and British officials in the United States. And here it may not be improper to observe, that although this despatch was published at the time of its date, and was communicated to the Foreign-office in London, Her Majesty's Ministers made the strange mistake of asserting in the House of Commons that Mr. Moore's dismissal was connected, in some way, with alleged cruelties committed on one Belshaw, of whose existence the Department was ignorant till the publication of the debate, and concerning whom no representation exists on its files.

Soon after that despatch was forwarded, the President was apprised by the Governor of Alabama that Her Majesty's Government had visited with severe displeasure, and had removed from office, the British consular agent at Mobile, because he had received and forwarded from Mobile, on an English man-of-war, money due by the State of Alabama to British subjects for interest on the public debt of the State; and that the British minister at Washington, after failing in active efforts to prevent the remittance of this money, had assumed the power of appointing a consular agent within the Confederacy to replace the officer at Mobile, who had incurred censure and punishment for the discharge of a plain duty to British subjects, which happened to be distasteful to the United States. A copy of the despatch on this subject communicated to the British Government is enclosed, and you will perceive that the action of the President was marked by extreme forbearance, and that he confined himself to refusing permission that Mr. Cridland should act under Lord Lyons's instructions, and to expressing the confident hope that Her

Majesty's Government would in the future choose some other mode of transmitting its orders and exercising its authority over its agents within the Confederacy, than by delegating to functionaries who reside among our enemies the power to give orders or instructions to those who reside among us.

In his answer to this despatch, (of which a copy is also enclosed), Earl Russell, while acknowledging the justice of our remonstrance against the assumption of authority by Lord Lyons, defends the action of the British Government in the matter of the Mobile consulate by maintaining that the transmission of the specie by Consul Magee, under the circumstances above explained, "had the character, in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government, of aiding one of the belligerents against the other." This statement clearly assumes that the transmission of specie from one of these States to Great Britain in payment of a public debt to British subjects is an act of hostility against the United States, which British officials cannot promote with due regard to neutral obligations, because it "aids one of the belligerents against the other." No reason is given for this conclusion, which appears to us at variance with all received notions of international law. The States of the Confederacy have, under the most adverse circumstances, made great efforts and sacrifices to effect punctual payment of their debt to neutrals, and these efforts do not seem to us to be properly characterised as being belligerent acts against our enemies. We can but regret that Her Majesty's Government have determined so to regard them, and to discourage the discharge of a duty in which British subjects are so deeply interested.

Within the last few days the President has been informed by communications addressed to the State and Confederate authorities by two out of the three British Consular agents remaining here, that they had received instructions from their Government to pursue a course of conduct in regard to persons of British origin now resident within the Confederacy, which it has been impossible to tolerate. It seems scarcely probable that the instructions of Earl Russell have been properly understood by his agents, but we have no means of communicating with the British Government for the correction of misunderstandings. You are aware that Great Britain has no diplomatic agents accredited to us, and that Earl Russell having declined a personal interview with Mr. Mason, the latter, after some time spent in an unsatisfactory interchange of written communications, has been relieved of a mission which had been rendered painful to himself, and was productive of no benefit to his country. The President was, therefore, compelled to take the remedy into his own hands.

A brief statement will suffice for your full comprehension of the matter. In April, 1862, Congress passed a law directing a draft for the army of "all white men who are residents of the Confederate States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and not legally exempted from military service."—The draft was made, as stated in the law, in view of the absolute necessity "of placing in the field a large additional force to meet the advancing columns of the enemy now invading our soil," in other words, all residents capable of bearing arms were called on to protect their own homes from invasion, their own property from plunder, their own families from cruel outrage. You will observe, that the call was not made until after a year of war, during which it had been entirely within the power of all foreigners to depart from a country threatened with invasion, if they preferred not to share the common lot of its inhabitants.

Upon the promulgation of this law objection was made by several foreign consuls to its application to the subjects of their sovereigns, and the President directed that its provisions should not be so construed as to impose forced military service on mere sojourners or temporary residents, but only on such as had become citizens of the Confederacy *de jure*, or had rendered themselves liable, under the law of nations, to be considered as citizens *de facto* by having established themselves as permanent residents within the Confederacy, without the intention of returning to their native country.

To this very liberal interpretation of the law in favour of foreign residents, it was not supposed that objection could be taken, but on the 12th November, 1862, Consul Bunch, at Charleston, wrote to the Department as follows:—

"I have now received instructions of Earl Russell to signify to you the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject.

"I am desired to lose no time in remonstrating against the forcible enlistment of British subjects, and to say that such subjects domiciled only by residence in the so-called Confederate States cannot be forcibly enlisted in the military service of those States by virtue of an *ex post facto* law, when no municipal law existed at the time of their domicile rendering them liable to such service.

"It may be competent for a State in which a domiciled foreigner may reside to pass such an *ex post facto* law, if at the same time an option is offered to foreigners affected by it to quit, after a reasonable period, the territory, if they object to serve in the armies of the States; but without this option such a law would violate the principles of international law, and even with such an option, the comity heretofore observed between independent States would not be very scrupulously observed.

"The plainest notions of reason and justice forbid that a foreigner admitted to reside for peaceful and commercial purposes in a State forming a part of the Federal Union should be suddenly and without warning compelled by the State to take an active part in hostilities against other States, which when he became domiciled, were members of one and the same

\* Footsteps of Error. By Francis Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle. London: Hatchard, 1863.

† Letters from the Crimea, during the Years 1854 and 1855. London: Emily Faithfull, Princes-street, Hanover-square, 1863.

‡ The History of Newfoundland, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1860. By the Rev. C. Pedley, of St. John's, Newfoundland. London: Longman, 1863.

§ Annie Warleigh's Fortunes. By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1863.  
|| The Browns and the Smiths. By the Author of "Anne Dysart." London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863.



Confederacy; which States, moreover, have threatened to treat as rebels, and not as prisoners of war, all who may fall into their hands.

"To these considerations may be added the fact that the persons who have been the victims of this forced enlistment are forbidden under severe penalties, by the Queen's proclamation, to take any part in the civil war now raging in America, and that thus they are made not only to enter a military service contrary to their own wishes and in violation of the tacit compact under which they took up their original domicile, but also to disobey the order of their legitimate sovereign.

"I am directed by Earl Russell to urge these several considerations upon you, and to add that Her Majesty's Government confidently hope and expect that no further occasion for remonstrance will arise on this point."

No reply was deemed necessary to this despatch (nor to a similar one from Consul Moore, dated on the 14th November,) notwithstanding the very questionable assumptions, both of law and fact, contained in it, because there seemed to be no substantial point at issue between the two Governments, and discussion could, therefore, serve no useful purpose. Earl Russell was not understood to insist on anything more than that British subjects resident within the Confederacy should be allowed a reasonable time to exercise the option of departing from the country, if unwilling to be enrolled in its service; and, in point of fact, this option had never been refused them, and many had availed themselves of it. Nor was it believed that Her Majesty's Government expected a very favourable response to their appeal to this Government for the exercise of the comity between "independent" States supposed to be involved in this subject, whilst Great Britain was persistently refusing to recognise the independence which alone could justify the appeal.

Since the date of these two letters numerous requests have been made by British consular officials for the interposition of this Government in behalf of persons, alleged to be British subjects, wrongfully subjected to draft. Relief has always been afforded when warranted by the facts, but it soon became known that these gentlemen regarded their own certificates as conclusive evidence that the persons named in them were exempt from military service, and that these certificates were freely issued on the simple affidavit of the interested parties. Thus Consul Moore was deceived into claiming exemption for two men who were proven to be citizens of the Confederacy, and to have been landowners and voters for a series of years prior to the war.

Much inconvenience was occasioned before these abuses could be corrected, but they afterwards assumed a shape which forbade further tolerance. The correspondence of the acting British consuls at Savannah and Charleston, already referred to, asserts the existence of instructions from their Government, under which, instead of advising British subjects to resort to the courts of justice, always open for the redress of grievances, or to apply to this Government for protection against any harsh or unjust treatment by its subordinates, they deem it a duty to counsel our enlisted soldiers to judge for themselves of their right to exemption, to refuse obedience to Confederate laws and authority, and even exhort them to open mutiny in face of the enemy.

This unwarrantable assumption by foreign officials of jurisdiction within our territory, this offensive encroachment on the sovereignty of the Confederate States, has been repressed by the President's order for the immediate departure of all British consular agents from our country, as you will perceive by a perusal of the enclosed copy of the notice addressed to one of them, Acting-Consul Fullarton.

But a few months have elapsed since the utmost indignation was expressed by the British Government against the United States Minister at London, for issuing a safe conduct to be used on the high seas by a merchant vessel; and the ground of this denunciation was his exercise of direct authority over subject matter within the exclusive territorial jurisdiction of the Queen. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive on what basis Her Majesty's Government have deemed themselves justified in the much graver encroachment on the sovereignty of these States, which has been attempted under instructions alleged to have emanated from them.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the nature and extent of the claims of the Confederacy on the allegiance of persons of foreign origin residing permanently within its limits (easy as would be the task of demonstrating the obligation of such residents, under the law of nations, to aid in the defence of their own homes and property against invasion), because, as already observed, the liberal construction of the law in their favour which has been sanctioned by the President, and the indulgence of the Government in permitting them, for many months, to exercise the option of avoiding service by departing from the country, deprive the discussion of any practical interest. I have been induced to place the whole subject fully in your possession, by reason of a statement made by Consul Fullarton to the Governor of Georgia, that in the event of the failure of his remonstrances to procure the exemption of all British subjects from service, he is instructed to state "that the Governments in Europe interested in this question will unite in making such representations as will secure to aliens this desired exemption."

The menace here implied would require no answer if it were not made professedly under instructions. It is scarcely necessary to say to you that the action of the President in repelling with decision any attempt by foreign officials to arrogate sovereign rights within our limits, or to interfere of their own authority with the execution of our laws, would not be affected in the slightest degree by representations from any source, however exalted. This is the only point on which the President has had occasion to act, and on this point there is no room for discussion.

The exercise of the *droit de renvoi* is too harsh, however, to be resorted to without justifiable cause, and it is proper that you should have it in your power to explain the grounds on which the President has been compelled to enforce it. Lest, also, the Government of His Imperial Majesty should be misled into the error of supposing that the rights of French citizens are in any manner involved in the action of the President which has been rendered necessary by the reprehensible conduct of the British consular agents, you are requested to take an early decision for giving such explanation to M. Drouyn de L'Hays as will obviate all risk of misapprehension.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN,

Secretary of State.

Hon. JOHN SLIDELL, Commissioner, &c.,  
Paris, France.

(Enclosures.)

MR. BENJAMIN TO MR. FULLARTON.

Department of State, Richmond, Oct. 8th.

Sir,—Your letters of the 1st and 3rd inst. have been received. You inform this Government that, "under your in-

structions you have felt it to be your duty to advise British subjects, that whilst they ought to acquiesce in the service required, so long as it is restricted to the maintenance of internal peace and order, whenever they shall be brought into actual conflict with the forces of the United States, whether under the State or Confederate Government, the service so required is such as they cannot be expected to perform."

Your correspondence with the Governor of Georgia leaves no doubt of the meaning intended to be conveyed by this language. In that correspondence you state that "under instructions, you have felt yourself compelled to advise those drafted to acquiesce until called from their homes or to meet the United States forces in actual conflict; but in that event to throw down their arms and refuse to render a service directly in the teeth of Her Majesty's proclamation, and which would incur the severe penalties denounced in the Neutrality Act."

In a communication from the acting British consul in Charleston to the military authorities, he also has informed them that "he has advised the British subjects generally to acquiesce in the State militia organizations, but at the same time he informed them that in the event the militia should be brought into conflict with the forces of the United States, either before or after being turned over to the Confederate Government, the services required of them would be such as British subjects could not be expected to perform."

It thus appears that the consular agents of the British Government have been instructed not to confine themselves to an appeal for redress, either to courts of justice or to this Government, whenever they may conceive that grounds exist for complaint against the Confederate authorities in their treatment of British subjects (an appeal which has in no case been made without receiving just consideration) but that they assume the power of determining for themselves whether enlisted soldiers of the Confederacy are properly bound to its service; that they even arrogate the right to interfere directly with the execution of the Confederate laws, and to advise soldiers of the Confederate armies to throw down their arms in the face of the enemy.

This assumption of jurisdiction by foreign officials within the territory of the Confederacy, and this encroachment on its sovereignty cannot be tolerated for a moment, and the President has had no hesitation in directing that all consuls and consular agents of the British Government be notified that they can no longer be permitted to exercise their functions or even to reside within the limits of the Confederacy.

I am directed, therefore, by the President to communicate to you this order; that you promptly depart from the Confederacy, and that in the meantime you cease to exercise any consular functions within its limits.

I am, sir, respectfully,

J. P. BENJAMIN, Secretary of State.

A. FULLARTON, Esq., &c., Savannah, Ga.

MR. BENJAMIN TO MR. MASON.

Confederate States of America, Department of State.

Richmond, 11th June, 1863.

Sir—Since my No. 24, of 6th inst., further information has reached the Department, illustrating most forcibly the necessity for the action taken by the President on the subject of Her Britannic Majesty's consuls resident within the Confederacy, as explained in that despatch.

On the 18th May, Mr. Cridland, who had occasionally acted as consul in Richmond during temporary absences of Consul Moore, sought an interview at the Department, and on being admitted, called my attention to an article in the *Richmond Whig* of that date, which announced that Mr. Cridland was about to depart for Mobile with the commission of consul, and that he was accredited to Mr. Lincoln, not to this Government. Mr. Cridland assured me that the statement was erroneous, that he was going to Mobile as a private individual, unofficially, to look after certain interests of the British Government that had been left unprotected by the withdrawal of Consul Magee. He further stated that as he was going there unofficially he had not conceived that there was any impropriety in doing so without communicating his intention to the Department, and hoped that such was my own view of the matter. I informed him that all neutral residents were at liberty to travel within the Confederacy and to transact their business without other restrictions than such as the military authorities found it necessary to impose for the public safety, and that this Department saw no reason to interpose any objection to his going to Mobile to transact business unofficially. He then said that he had called at the office of the *Whig* to make a similar explanation to the editor of that paper, with a view to the correction of the erroneous impression created by its article, and accordingly on the next day an article appeared in that journal announcing that he had received the assurance from Mr. Cridland that he was going to Mobile "to look after British interests in that quarter in an unofficial way," and that he was "without commission from the Queen or exequatur from Washington."

I was, therefore, quite surprised at receiving from the Secretary of the Navy official communication of a telegram received by him from Admiral Buchanan, informing the Secretary that Mr. Cridland had been officially introduced to him by the French consul as acting English consul at Mobile, and had shown the admiral "an official document signed by Lord Lyons, appointing him acting English consul at Mobile." I append copies of this telegram, and of the two articles above referred to, extracted from the *Richmond Whig*.

These, however, are not the only exceptionable features which mark this affair. Other circumstances, to which your attention is invited, have been brought to the notice of the Department by official communications from the governor of Alabama.

On the 11th November last, the Bank of Mobile, as agent for the State of Alabama, addressed a communication to Consul Magee, at Mobile, informing him that that State would owe, during the ensuing year, to British subjects, interest coupons on the State bonds to the amount of some £40,000 sterling; that this interest was payable in London at the Union Bank and at the counting-house of the Messrs. Rothschilds, and requesting to know whether the bank would be allowed to place in the hands of the consul, in coin, the sum necessary for transmission to England, at the expense of the State, for the purpose mentioned.

On the 14th November, Consul Magee replied that he had sent to Her Britannic Majesty's consul at New Orleans to ask if Her Majesty's steamship *Rinaldo* could not be sent to Mobile, to receive the specie and take it to Havana, to be forwarded thence by the consul-general of Great Britain to London.

The specie was not conveyed by the *Rinaldo*, but by Her Majesty's ship *Vesuvius*, and was accompanied by a certificate of the president of the Bank, stating that the remittance of the "thirty-one kegs of specie, containing each \$5,000, together \$155,000 . . . is for the purpose of paying dues

to British subjects from the State of Alabama, and is the property, and belongs to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty."

The shipment was accompanied by a letter addressed by the bank as agent of the State of Alabama, to W. W. Scrimgeour, Esq., Manager of the Union Bank of London, directing its appropriation to the payment of the interest due to British and other foreign holders of the State bonds, with a statement of the dates at which the several instalments of the interest would become due and of the places in London where they were to be paid.

So little doubt seems to be entertained of the propriety of this transaction by all that were engaged in it, that the commander of the *Vesuvius* informed the commander of the United States blockading squadron that the British consul had money to send by him, and no objection nor protest was made. Among the papers annexed you will find the account given by Commander Hitecock himself of his conversation with the Commander of the *Vesuvius*, written after the dismissal of Consul Magee, and therefore at a period when the commodore could certainly have no motive for giving a colouring to his narrative adverse to what was then known to be the view of his Government on the subject.

Under these circumstances, the *Vesuvius* received and conveyed the specie which has since been received in England, and, as stated in the public journals, paid in whole or in part to British subjects, thus establishing the *bona fides* of the conduct of all the parties to the transaction.

It now appears, that no sooner was the intention of making this remittance communicated to Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Washington than he took active measures to prevent it, by sending despatches to Mobile forbidding the shipment. They, however, failed to arrive before the departure of the *Vesuvius* with the specie, whereupon Consul Magee was dismissed from office for receiving and forwarding it; and the vacancy thus created in the office of British consul, at Mobile, was filled by Lord Lyons by the issue of a commission to Mr. Cridland, and his departure for Mobile under the circumstances already explained.

These facts are of a character so grave as to have attracted the earnest attention of the President, and it is my duty to apprise you of the conclusions at which he has arrived, in order that you may lose no time in laying them before Her Majesty's Government, in the hope that a renewed examination of the subject, and a knowledge of the serious complications which the present anomalous relations between the two Governments may involve, will induce the British Cabinet to review its whole policy connected with those relations, and to place them on the sole footing consistent with accomplished facts, that are too notorious and too firmly established to be much longer ignored.

By the principles of the modern public code debts due by a State are not subject to the operation of the laws of war, and are considered so sacred as to be beyond the reach of confiscation. An attempt at such confiscation would be reprobated by mankind. The United States alone in modern times have courted such reprobation, and just detestation has been universally expressed of their confiscation laws passed during the pending war. The Government of Great Britain, on the contrary, has at all times manifested its abhorrence of such breaches of public faith, and in the Crimean war gave to the world a memorable example of its own high regard for public honour by paying over to its enemy money which it well knew would be immediately employed in waging hostilities against itself. The States of this Confederacy are cautious of examples of honour, and they accordingly refrained, on the breaking out of hostilities, from even the temporary sequestration of the dividends of their public debt due to their enemies. It was not until they had received notice of the confiscation law passed by the United States on the 6th of August, 1861, that they consented to the temporary sequestration of the property of their enemies; and even then the sequestration was declared to be for the sole purpose of securing a fund to indemnify the sufferers under the confiscation law of the United States.

The following clause of our law, exempting public debts from its operation, is extracted as a proof of the sacred regard for public faith manifested by these States under strong temptation to retaliate and under all the exasperation of the savage warfare then actually waged against them: "Provided further, that the provisions of this Act shall not extend to the stocks or public securities of the Confederate Government, or any of the States of this Confederacy, held or owned by any alien enemy, or to any debt, obligation, or sum due from the Confederate Government or any of the States to such alien enemy." (*Sequestration Law of Confederate States*, passed 30th August, 1861.)

Such being the obligations imposed on States in regard to the payment of public debts towards even their enemies, no deeper reproach can stain their name than the refusal to do justice to neutral creditors. The observance of plighted public faith concerns mankind at large; in it all nations have a common interest; and the belligerent who perverts the weapons of legitimate warfare into an instrumentality for forcing his enemy to dishonour his obligations and incur the reproach of being faithless to his engagements, wages a piratical, and not an honourable, warfare, and becomes *hostis generis humani*. Public honour is held sacred by international law against the attack of the most malevolent foe, and as susceptible of loss only by the renegeancy of its possessor.

What possible lawful interest could the United States have in preventing the remittance of the specie due to the creditors of the State of Alabama? Blockades are allowed by the laws of nations as a means of enforcing the submission of an enemy by the destruction of his commerce and the exhaustion of his resources, and consequent forced abandonment of the struggle. The remittance of the specie in the present case, far from retarding these legitimate objects, tended on the contrary to promote them by the diversion of the money from application to military purposes. The United States could not have desired that the specie should remain within the Confederacy, save with one of two motives: first, to dishonour the State of Alabama by giving colour to the reproach that it was regardless of public faith, and on this comment has already been made; or, secondly, in the hope that by the fortunes of war the money would come within the reach of spoliation under its confiscation law. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the desire to enrich itself by plunder, at the expense of neutral creditors, is as little consonant with respect for public law and the rights of neutrals, as the purpose forcibly to prevent the State of Alabama from redeeming its plighted faith.

Whatever may be the value to which these views may be justly entitled, it is certain that there are but two aspects in which the State of Alabama can be regarded by Her Majesty's Government. Alabama is either one of the States of the former Union engaged in armed rebellion against the legitimate authority of the United States, or is an independent State, and a member of this Confederacy, engaged in lawful



warfare against the United States. An examination of the effect of either of these relations upon the facts connected with the dismissal of Consul Magee and the appointment of Mr. Cridland, will now be presented in vindication of the action which the President deems it his duty to take on this subject.

1. If the British Government think proper to assume (although the contrary is deemed by this Government to be fully established by convincing reason and victorious arms) that the State of Alabama is still one of the United States, then the Government of the United States is bound towards Great Britain, as well as to all other neutral nations, to render all legitimate aid in the collection of their just claims against that State. Although by the Constitution of the United States its Government may be without power to enforce the payment of a debt due to foreign subjects or Powers by an unwilling State, none can doubt its duty to interpose no obstruction to the payment of such debt; and no more legitimate ground of complaint could be afforded to Great Britain against the Government of the United States than an opposition made by that Government to the payment of a just debt due by Alabama to the subjects of Great Britain. In this aspect of the case, therefore, the British officials at Mobile were doing a duty which ought to have been equally acceptable both to the United States and Great Britain, when they facilitated the transmission of funds by that State for that purpose to England, where the debt was made payable, and merited applause rather than a manifestation of displeasure.

2. If, on the contrary, the State of Alabama be regarded, (as in right and fact she really is) an independent State engaged in war against the United States, as a foreign enemy, then the President cannot refrain from observing that the action of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Washington savoured on this occasion rather of unfriendly co-operation with an enemy than of just observance of neutral obligations. For, in this view of the case, a Minister accredited to the Government of our enemies has not only assumed the exercise of authority within this Confederacy, without the knowledge or consent of its Government, but has done so under circumstances that rather aggravate than palliate the offence of disregarding its sovereign rights. His action further conveys the implication that this Confederacy is subordinate to the United States, and that his credentials, addressed to the Government at Washington, justify his ignoring the existence of this Government and his regarding these States as an appendage of the country to which he is accredited. Nor will Her Majesty's Government fail to perceive that in no sense can it be considered consonant with the rights of this Government or with neutral obligations, that a public minister should be maintained near the cabinet of our enemies, charged both with the duty of entertaining amicable relations with them, and with the power of controlling the conduct of British officials resident with us.

Nor will the application of the foregoing remarks be at all impaired if Her Majesty's Government, declining to determine the true relation of the State of Alabama to the United States, choose to consider that question as still in abeyance and to regard that State as simply a belligerent, whose ulterior status must await the event of the war. In this hypothesis the objection to delegating authority over British officials residing with us to a minister charged with the duty of rendering himself acceptable to our enemies is still graver than would exist in the case of hostile nations equally recognised as independent by a neutral Power. For in the latter case the parties would have equal ability to vindicate their rights through the usual channels of official intercourse; whereas in the former the belligerent which enjoys exclusively this advantage is armed by the neutral with additional power to inflict injury on his enemy.

The President has, in the facts already recited, seen renewed reasons for adhering to his determination, mentioned in my preceding despatch, of prohibiting any direct communication between consuls or consular agents, residing within the Confederacy, and the functionaries of their Governments residing amongst our enemies. He further indulges the hope (which Her Majesty's Government cannot but regard as reasonable, and which he is, therefore, confident will be justified by its action), that Her Majesty's Government will choose some other mode of transmitting its orders and exercising its authority over its agents within the Confederacy, than by delegating to functionaries who reside among our enemies the power to give orders or instructions to those who reside among us.

Finally, and in order to prevent any further misunderstanding in Mr. Cridland's case, that gentleman has been informed that he cannot be permitted to exercise consular functions at Mobile, and it has been intimated to him that his choice of some other State than Alabama for his residence would be agreeable to this Government. This intimation has been given in order to avoid any difficulty which might result from the doubtful position of Mr. Cridland, who is looked on here as a private individual, and who in Alabama represents himself as "Acting English Consul."

The President is confident that Her Majesty's Government will render full justice to the motives by which these measures are prompted, and will perceive in them a manifestation of the earnest desire entertained by him to prevent the possibility of any unfortunate complications, having a tendency to impair the unity which is equally the interest and the desire of this Government to cherish with that of Great Britain.

The President wishes a copy of this despatch to be placed by you in the hands of Earl Russell.

I am, &c.,

J. P. BENJAMIN,

Secretary of State.

HON. JAMES M. MASON, &c., London.

EARL RUSSELL TO MR. MASON.

Foreign-office, August 19th, 1863.

SIR—In reply to your letters of the 24th and 29th ultimo, I have to state to you that Mr. Acting-Consul Magee failed in his duty to Her Majesty, by taking advantage of the presence of a ship of war of Her Majesty at Mobile to transmit specie to England. This transaction had the character in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government of aiding one of the belligerents against the other.

Laying aside, however, this question of the conduct of Mr. Acting-Consul Magee, of which Her Majesty is the sole judge, I am willing to acknowledge that the so-styled Confederate States are not bound to recognise an authority derived from Lord Lyons, Her Majesty's Minister at Washington.

But it is very desirable that persons authorised by Her Majesty should have the means of representing at Richmond, and elsewhere in the Confederate States, the interests of British subjects, who may be in the course of the war grievously wronged by the acts of subordinate officers. This has been done in other similar cases of States not recognised by Her Majesty, and it would be in conformity with the amity professed by the so-styled Confederate States towards Her Majesty and the

British nation, if arrangements could be made for correspondence between agents appointed by Her Majesty's Government, to reside in the Confederate States, and the authorities of such States.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

J. M. MASON, Esq., &c., &c. (Signed) RUSSELL.

MR. MASON TO EARL RUSSELL.

24, Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square, September 4, 1863.

MY LORD,—I have had the honour to receive your lordship's letter of the 19th August ultimo, in reply to mine of the 24th and 29th July ultimo. I shall transmit a copy of your lordship's letter to the Secretary of State at Richmond.

These despatches of Mr. Benjamin, full copies of which I have by his direction furnished to your lordship, certainly evince no disinclination to permit any persons accredited by Her Majesty's Government, as its consular or other agents, to reside within the Confederate States, and as such to be in communication with the Government there. They explain only (and certainly in terms of amity) how it has resulted that the Government of the Confederate States has felt itself constrained to prohibit, in future, any direct communication between such agents and Her Majesty's minister resident at Washington; a prohibition, which, I understand from these despatches, is equally extended to all like agents of foreign Powers and their Ministers at Washington. All communications to or from such agents are, in future, to be made through vessels arriving from or despatched to neutral ports.

That it should have become necessary to impose this restriction is, I am sure, a matter of regret to the President of the Confederate States; but the circumstances which have called it forth are under the control of foreign Governments, and not under the control of the President.

In regard to the suggestion in your lordship's letter, that it would be very desirable that persons authorised by Her Majesty should have the means of representing at Richmond and elsewhere in the Confederate States, the interests of British subjects, which, as your lordship states, "has been done in other similar cases of States not recognised by Her Majesty," under arrangements for correspondence between agents appointed by Her Majesty's Government to reside in the Confederate States and the authorities in such States, I can only say that, if it be your lordship's pleasure to make this proposition in such form as may be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government, and not at variance with the views expressed in the despatch of Mr. Benjamin, I do not doubt it would receive the favourable consideration of the Government at Richmond; and I should be happy in being the medium to communicate it.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's very obedient servant,

(Signed) J. M. MASON,

Special Commissioner, &c.

The Right Hon. EARL RUSSELL, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOV. 18.

### MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

The straitened position of the Bank of France, with the rapid and extensive exports of specie to India and Egypt to pay for cotton, are producing their natural results. The demand for capital, and the absorption of bank-notes, is gradually but surely entailing an enhancement in the rates, which, although not engendering panic, shows that great vigilance must be exercised, or the present perturbation will terminate in a break down. Trade is sound, and the only damage to be feared will come through Liverpool or Manchester; but it is hoped that this may be averted, since, while a reaction is now apparent, profits have previously been made through operations in the great staple. Still, the money markets throughout the Continent are evidently disturbed, and as the French demands for Mexico, with the internal requirements of Italy, are increasing, there is likely to be an average high rate for some time to come. The question of the moment is, will the Bank of England follow the example of the Bank of France, and go to 7 per cent.? It is generally believed that the discount will, but it is also expected that even that quotation will not arrest the drain. There are curious rumours of the Bank of France suspending specie payments, and of the Bank of England getting relief through Government interference; but there is nothing in the present aspect of financial affairs to warrant such extreme measures. That great stringency will be experienced, and that, meanwhile, everything is negotiated on the basis of the Bank-rate, are facts which cannot be gainsayed; yet, with all these gloomy forebodings, no veritable crisis is apprehended.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

Another week has passed without any gold having been sent into the Bank, but there have been withdrawals for transmission abroad to the extent of £215,000; this is a considerable decline upon the two previous weeks, last week the amount being £363,000, and the week before £391,000. The arrivals of specie have been £359,186, of which £79,587 is from New York, and the remainder from the West Indies. The silver market for the last two or three days has assumed a quieter appearance, after having been slightly excited through the receipt of a telegram from Bombay announcing a further rise in the exchange of 1 per cent. The *Laban* from Matamoros, has arrived with some dollars, and as the demand has not been very good, a slight decline had to be submitted to, and sales have been effected at 6s. 3d. per oz.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The market for American Government and Railway Securities appears to be getting less active from week to week, and the dealers seem to operate with the greatest caution. In some few instances prices show a slight improvement, but in the majority of cases there is a decided decline. The dealings during the week have been as follows:—Virginia State, Six per cent., 37 and 38½. Atlantic and Great Western, Pennsylvania Section, 7½. Erie, \$100 shares, all paid, 66, 65½, 66 and 66½. Erie Central, Seven per cent., 74 and 73. Ditto, \$100 shares, 90 paid, 19, 20½, and 20 dis. Ditto, ditto, all paid, 72, 70, and 70½. Panama Railway, first mortgage, 100. Ditto, ditto, second mortgage, 104½ and 105. Pennsylvania, Second Mortgage convertible, 87, 86½ and 89.

### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The general depression in the stock Exchange, coupled with the increasing tightness of the money market, has depressed this stock rather severely. A gradual decline has brought the quotation down to 57 to 59, at which the market closes to-day.

## THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In American produce only very moderate transactions have taken place, the uncertain condition of the Money Market keeping demand in check. Nevertheless, prices do not appear to be affected to any appreciable extent except for cotton, which is again 3d. per lb. lower, with a very flat market. Our imports generally have been light, and this has helped to maintain the general firmness noticed for some time past. At late moderate rates all kinds of grain are well held, and the supplies at Mark-lane are, as regards both English and foreign, rather limited. The American provision trade progresses quietly but steadily. Prime qualities of bacon make quite late rates, and in some cases a trifle more. Best of imports American butter continue at 98s. to 100s., and cheese sells at 44s. to 58s., according to quality. Petroleum has fluctuated rather perceptibly; soon after our last report extensive speculative sales for delivery sent the price of refined down to 1s. 10d. per gallon, but a gradual recovery followed, and to-day it is again 2s. to 2s. 1d., the same as last noticed. Deliveries for immediate consumption go on largely. Several sales of American turpentine have been made at 85s. per cwt. French has improved to 69s. 6d. Resin continues very firm, but the dealings are confined to French importations. Tar maintains the recent advance, but is less active. Linseed oil, with increased supply and diminished inquiry, has further given way 1s. 6d. per cwt., closing to-day at 40s. Rape oil is firmer, at 40s. for brown, and 42s. 6d. for pale. Tallow, with large arrivals from St. Petersburg, has been depressed. Lard is still in active request, and the advance noticed in our last is well maintained, with large transactions from day to day. Manilla hemp keeps firm, but Russian, when not of first-rate quality, is perhaps a shade easier to buy. The sugar speculation has been renewed with increased vigour, and quotations are again 1s. to 1s. 6d. per cwt. higher; 39s. has been paid for good clayed Manilla. For dyestuffs generally, we may quote firm but not active markets. We hear of a fair demand in the tobacco trade, with quotations of all desirable qualities very strong. A good deal has been done in Scotch pig iron at prices fluctuating between 63s. and 61s. 6d. cash, the last quotation to-day being 62s.

### BIDDINGS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 50,00,000 rupees in bills on India, took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were, to Calcutta, 26,00,000 rupees; to Bombay, 22,00,000 rupees, and to Madras, 2,00,000 rupees. The minimum price declared, was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits, amounted to 170 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta, at 1s. 11½d., will receive about twenty per cent., on Bombay, at 2s. 3½d., about 50 per cent., on Madras, at 1s. 11½d., about 75 per cent., and above these rates in full.

### OUTFLOW OF SPECIE FROM NEW YORK.

Amount from September 1 to November 10, as per last INDEX .. .. . £1,773,332  
November 12, per The Harmonia .. .. . 19,220  
" 13, per The Scotia .. .. . 32,067  
" 18, per The Enfi .. .. . 28,200  
£1,852,909

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Nov. 18.

Business in the Cotton Market during the last few days has been greatly restricted in consequence of the unsettled state of the money market, and the idea that money will yet be much dearer. Dealers, therefore, are holding back, and purchasers are only on a retail scale. Nevertheless, prices have been fairly maintained, but to-day there has been a decline of 3d. to 5d. per pound, on almost all descriptions. American cotton has been rather more in demand, but without producing any decided movement. The sales this week have been only 20,000 bales, of which 8,200 bales were on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 2,336,450 bales, and to the same period in 1862, 2,417,390 bales. The imports this year have been 1,398,433 bales, and to the corresponding period last year, 1,051,487 bales. The exports this year, to the present time, have been 424,029 bales, and to the same period in 1862, 394,163 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,182,100 bales, and to the same period last year, 1,020,100 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 646,870 bales, same in 1862, 964,000 bales. Present computed stocks, 181,630 bales, and at the same period last year, 285,210 bales. The chief operations this week have been in American, East Indian, Egyptian and Bahia. The latest quotations are—Middling Orleans, 28½d. to 28½d. Mobile, 28d. to 28½d. Upland, 27½d. to 28d. Estimated fair Egyptian, 28½d. to 28½d.; and Surats, 18d. to 27½d.

MANCHESTER, November 17.

The uncertainty prevailing from Tuesday to Thursday last as to whether the Bank Directors would again advance their rate of discount another 1 per cent., produced a general depression of feeling in our market, and this feeling was not much lessened even when it was known on Thursday that no alteration had taken place in the Bank-rate, it being believed that the change was only deferred for a few days.

On Friday, the market was very seriously affected by a circular on "Cotton Supply," issued by Messrs. Benjamin, Whitworth, and Brothers, of this city, these gentlemen being of opinion that we shall have a supply of cotton in 1864, sufficient to give 43,000 bales per week to the trade and 12,000 bales per week for export, leaving a stock in Liverpool and London, on the 31st December, 1864, of 305,000 bales. Whether these gentlemen are correct or not in their estimates time will show, but it is a fact that no circular on the all-absorbing question of cotton supply has appeared since the commencement of the American struggle which produced such a deep impression on the cotton trade generally.

Since the appearance of this circular our market has gradually declined in price, buyers being very reluctant to place orders if they can avoid doing so. Home-trade yarns can be obtained readily at a decline of fully 3d. per lb. on the prices of a fortnight ago, but no business is reported.

(Continued from page 471.)

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Nov. 12, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK.

PARIS LETTERS.

THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

THE PREMIER ON THE EFFECTS OF THE DAY.

THE COTTON MARKET.

THE COTTON MARKET.

A SUGGESTION.

GENERAL SAM HOUSTON, OF TEXAS.

PRETENT VANDERBILT ADDRESS TO THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

THE N. Y. WORLD ON THE DEFEAT OF THE WAR.

AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and sanctified with the spirit of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it,—and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice, her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President Johnson Davis has stretched out his right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President Lincoln has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordialship, of which he has stretched out his friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence; nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, whether the South ought to lose her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of our position among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire. Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Mildred's-court, Poultry, E.C. Meetings every Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place. JAMES YEOHANS, Hon. Sec.

September 14th, 1863.

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotting blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathise with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

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1859 .. 605 ..	449,913 ..	14,070 1 6
1860 .. 741 ..	475,549 ..	14,971 17 7
1861 .. 785 ..	527,626 ..	16,553 2 0
1862 .. 1,037 ..	768,324 ..	23,641 0 0

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# THE INDEX

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[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE ADVOCACY OF THE SOUTHERN CAUSE.  
WAR CRITICS AND THE WAR.  
THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL V. SILLEM.  
THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRA: SPECIAL SUMMARISED REPORT.  
THE HON. R. J. WALKER.  
LITERARY NOTES.  
DR. HUNT'S LECTURE ON THE NEGRO: HIS PLACE IN NATURE.  
AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

GENERAL LEE, finding that General Meade would not fight, retired southwards. After waiting to be assured of this fact, General Meade advanced. The Federals say the Confederates were surprised, and if so it is remarkable that such an oft-repeated movement should be unexpected. The accounts that were transmitted to Europe were of the usual glowing description. The Army of the Potomac had captured 1,800 prisoners, after a severe contest, but until we get a Southern version of the affair we cannot credit the story of 4,000 Confederates being left totally without support, and, after fighting for many hours, losing nearly half their number by capture. However, the report fired the Northern imagination, and the cry of "On to Richmond" was sounded, and, on the faith of a "reliable" scout, it was announced that the Confederates had decided to abandon Virginia as soon as Meade advanced. There were the usual speculations about General Lee. Some said he was in Tennessee, and others that he was conducting the retreat of his army to Richmond. The latest advices (New York, 14th) give a different complexion to the state of affairs. Instead of pressing "on to Richmond," it appears that General Meade was waiting at Brandy Station for supplies, and, instead of retreating hastily, General Lee had some of his forces north of the Rapidan.

The disaster to Burnside, which we noticed last week, has been confirmed; and the only assurance that the Federal authorities can give an anxious public is that "his position is favourable," which means that it is critical. Meanwhile he has been superseded by General Foster. At Chattanooga, the situation is reported unchanged. At Charleston, the bombardment had become "slow." The Confederates were, according to the report of General Kelly, defeated at Lewisburg, Western Virginia. The Federal Texas expedition has returned to Brashear City. It is reported that the Confederate forces were actively operating in Arkansas. The Confederates have captured and burnt a steamer on the Mississippi below Helena. Altogether, the course of events appears favourable to the Confederates. The advance of Meade is checked, the army of the Cumberland is at bay, the army of Burnside is in a position to inspire anxiety, the bombardment of Fort Sumter is "slow," the Texas expedition has retraced its steps, and the Confederates have once more shown that the Mississippi is only open to iron-clads, and can never be open to trade whilst the war lasts and they hold either bank.

The official report of General Lee of the late advance of the Confederate Army in Virginia frankly avows the object of the movement, and that the object was not attained. On the 9th October the Federal army was encamped around Culpepper Court-house, and General Lee determined, if possible, to bring on an engagement.

General Meade declined the contest, and fell back as the Confederates advanced, and as the latter had to take circuitous routes and the former moved in direct lines, the retreating army could not be intercepted. At length the Federals took up a position beyond Bull Run and fortified it. At this point General Lee could only attack at a disadvantage, and owing to the proximity of the entrenchments around Washington and Alexandria, could not have inflicted much damage on the enemy. He, therefore, retired, after destroying the railroad from Cub Run to the Rappahannock. In the course of the operations the Confederates captured 2,436 prisoners, including 41 commissioned officers. We dare say General Meade had good reasons for refusing to fight, but it is certainly curious and significant, when the invader, so far from attacking, will not stand the issue of a battle, but flees for protection to the entrenchments that surround his capital. Never in any age or country has an invader succeeded by Fabian tactics; and, indeed, the very adoption of such a policy is tantamount to a confession that the work of conquest is impossible.

President Davis has visited Charleston, and inspected the fortifications. He made a speech, in which he said that if the city was beleaguered on every side, reinforcements would be sent in proportion to the strength of the enemy. He expressed his conviction that Charleston would not be taken.

The speech delivered by Mr. Seward, at Auburn, on the eve of the late elections, is a remarkable and important document. The telegraphic summary did not do it justice, only giving us the threadbare prophecy and the sensational profanity. The criticisms of the Northern press are mainly devoted to Mr. Seward's modest imitation of Earl Russell at Blairgowrie, in telling the good people of Auburn that he was "there by accident and not by design," to his geographical blunder when he speaks of "Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and other Gulf States," and to his attempt at poetry, of which the following is a specimen:—

"Steal not the Presidency, my honest friend,  
For fear the gallows will be your end."

But the speech has a serious purpose that is well worthy of attention. From first to last Mr. Seward spoke as if he were the prime minister of a despotic ruler, and unequivocally declared the intention of his master to retain power whatever may be the result of the next presidential election. Mr. Seward began by putting forth a doctrine that is not only antagonistic to republicanism, but which would not be tolerated in any country having a constitution. He asserted that the Administration (that is, the Lincoln Cabinet) and the Government of the country are inseparable. He said, "You will succeed, because you voted for the Government in voting to sustain the Administration. Your opponents commit the fatal error of supposing that they can divide the Administration from the Government, and support the one and discard the other. . . . If you discard this administration of the Government by your votes, you bring no new or better one to its place. You then have practically an interregnum from this time to the 4th of March, 1865." This was in effect saying that the people had the option of supporting the Lincoln Cabinet, or of having no Government at all. Boldly and explicitly, Mr. Seward then proceeded, step by step, to inform them that they in fact had no option in the matter; and that the United States was, and would continue under the domination of Mr. Abraham Lincoln. Mark how artfully Mr. Seward approaches the final announcement. He strives to give the impression that the enemies of the Union and the enemies of

Abraham Lincoln are in all cases identical. He says, "If you could pass the ballot-box through the camps" (of the Confederates) "every man of them would vote for the Administration of this Government by Horatio Seymour, or Vallandigham, and against the Administration of Abraham Lincoln. . . . If the ballot-boxes could be opened at Laird's ship-yard at Liverpool, or in John Slidell's house in Paris, there would be an unanimous vote for Seymour and Vallandigham, and new iron-clads would escape from under the broad arrow, in armour impregnable, in array innumerable." Then he skilfully reminds his audience that his sovereign is the master of legions. Defending the right of the soldiers to vote, he says, "Not allow the soldier to vote for the Government! You saw what came of it by refusing to allow him to vote last year. You voted the Government down in his absence, and then were obliged to call the soldiers from the front in face of the enemy, back to the State, to restore peace, order, and safety at home." Hence the riots in New York are ascribed to the *crime* of voting for the Democratic party, and the alliance between the Government or Administration (it will be observed that Mr. Seward uses the words as if they were synonymous,) is distinctly notified. It is assumed as a matter of course that the soldiers will vote for Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. Then, with singular boldness, Mr. Seward proclaimed that the military which supports Mr. Lincoln is supreme. He said: "I tell you that the soldiers of this war will vote, some thousands of them to-morrow—many more thousands every year hereafter—and they will sit in judgment upon parties in this country throughout two generations, and determine the verdict of posterity in regard to them." Could Mr. Seward have chosen any form of words that would more plainly have intimated that the Government of the United States was virtually a military despotism? In such a manner might the minister of a Roman Emperor have spoken of the Prætorian Guards. Not contented with this, Mr. Seward proceeded to deliberately and elaborately unfold the programme of Mr. Lincoln and his Administration. He states upon what pretext Mr. Lincoln will refuse to quit the office of President in 1865. Mr. Seward's words need no comment. He says: "Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860 to be President, not of a part, but of the whole, of the United States; but he has been forcibly kept out of a part of the United States. . . . It is injustice and downright robbery of Abraham Lincoln, and the majority of the citizens who elected him, to refuse him the full enjoyment of the authority conferred upon him in that election. There can be no peace and quiet until Abraham Lincoln is President, under that election, of the whole United States. . . . What, if through battle and *suffrage*, the President who was elected in 1860 should, by his opponents, be kept out of the Presidency of the United States until another election? What if they should then succeed in electing a President in 1864 against the majority who elected Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Can that majority be expected to acquiesce, without voting and without bloodshed, in the election of Jefferson Davis, or John C. Breckinridge, or Horatio Seymour? Certainly not; and then you have perpetual civil war, which is nothing else than perpetual anarchy. Let us not be deceived. Abraham Lincoln must be President of South Carolina and Georgia by virtue of his election of 1860, or not only the peace of the Union, but the Union itself, is forever lost." Surely nothing can be plainer than this. Any one, whether it be a Southern Confederate, or a Northern Democrat, who should be elected to succeed Mr. Lincoln in 1865, will be treated as a traitor, and the Republicans and their army will fight for their sovereign. But we have given Mr. Seward's own words, and our



readers can therefore judge for themselves whether we put an unfair construction on them. After the above announcement it is but natural that Mr. Seward should talk of the debts and taxes of the United States as "the debts and taxes of Abraham Lincoln and his Administration." Unless Mr. Seward has been rash enough to defy and threaten the people before being assured of the support of the army, a folly of which it is not likely he would be guilty, we must regard the Auburn speech as the formal proclamation of a military despotism in the United States. Yet, we doubt not that liberty will be avenged. The Lincolnites have evoked a mighty and destructive spirit; let them look to it they are not among its earliest victims. We agree with Mr. Seward that the military is supreme in the United States, but we do not believe that "Abraham Lincoln and his Administration" will very long control its destinies. No position is so insecure as that which depends upon the favour of a mercenary army. But intoxicated with present power the Lincolnites cannot see the breakers ahead.

The workmen's strike in the North is assuming threatening proportions. The masses claim to share in the prosperity so eloquently descanted on by Messrs. Chase and Seward, and to participate in the wealth of the shoddy aristocracy.

It is also stated that the condition of the "liberated" slaves along the Mississippi is deplorable, and that subscriptions are to be raised for their relief. A fortnight ago we gave some account of the way in which the Yankees treat the negroes who are unfortunate enough to pass under their power.

The New York *Tribune* publishes a sketch of the Peace Congress that was held in February, 1861. It is worth a passing notice, from the way in which it refutes the assertions made by Northern partisans in Europe, that the South seceded to defend slavery, and that the North went to war for the sake of emancipation. Very ample guarantees were offered by the Northern representatives at the Congress that the institution of slavery should not be touched; and as the *Tribune* says, so far from the Republicans refusing "all concessions, proffers, and instituting an unqualified submission to the Constitution and laws," they "proffered new assurances and proposed new guarantees to the slaveholding interest." This, be it remembered, is the testimony of the avowed organ of the Black Republicans.

We are indebted to the correspondent of the *New York Herald* for some account of the doings of the Abolitionists in St. Domingo. He writes, "Some amiable foreign Abolitionists of the Congo-Summer school tried to get up a war of races by furnishing arms to a mob of savage negroes on the frontier of Hayti, and teaching them how to attack an undefended hospital, and cut the throats of two or three score of Spanish soldiers. They were also told that the murder of white women and children would be very agreeable to the 'King of the United States,' whoever that potentate may be. This abominable story, coming to them in company with the fact of several hundred fine guns and pistols—all gratis, free-love offerings—wherewith to slaughter the 'white devils' so detested by the 'King of the United States,' had the effect of stimulating the border negroes to frenzy, and some revolting atrocities were committed among the straggling, half-savage towns along the frontiers of Hayti." Although the Abolitionists in America have not induced the negroes to murder white women and children in the South, their efforts have been somewhat successful in St. Domingo. This must deeply gratify the Reverends Beecher and Brownlow, as well as their reverend sympathisers in this country.

The New York *Times* is amused at the notion of Englishmen being gulled by Mr. Beecher. Referring to that part of Mr. Beecher's Exeter Hall speech, in which he smoothed over the unfriendly tone of the Federal press and public men, the correspondent of the New York *Times* says:—"There was a dose for Exeter Hall! They swallowed it, however. Gruff John Bull does not get flattered often; when he does it comes to him with all the charm of novelty." Fortunately, the old ladies and roughs that met, at the bidding of Messrs. Bright and Hall and demagogues of that stamp, do not represent public opinion in this country; and, moreover, English audiences can applaud a trickster without being deceived by his tricks.

It is announced by the last mail that Mr. Stanton "had telegraphed to the Mayor of Buffalo that Lord Lyons acquainted him he had received information of the probable existence of a Confederate plot in Canada to seize the steamers on Lake Erie, liberate the prisoners in Fort Johnson, and burn the Lake cities;" and that a Federal agent had left for Canada to investigate the affair. Until we get the details of this curious report it will be useless to speculate on it.

The price of gold in New York on the 14th inst., was 46½ premium.

#### ENGLAND

ABOUT 2000 persons assembled at Rochdale, on Tuesday evening, to hear an address from Mr. Cobden, M.P. for Rochdale. The chair was taken by the Mayor of the borough. Mr. Bright was present, and also addressed the meeting. Mr. Cobden said that the present Parliament was drawing to its close, and that the next Parliament would be required to be endowed with new principles by the country. The attention of the country seemed to him to be rather given to the affairs of other nations than its own. He had non-intervention on our lips, but every man wished to intervene in the affairs of some country or other. The idea that pervaded the

public mind was, that affairs in America were to be settled in a peculiar way, according to the dictates of particular parties. One of the great fundamental errors in the conduct of statesmen, in the conduct of governments, and in the conduct of a large portion of the influential classes in this country had been, that they had made up their minds that there could be but one issue to this civil war in America, and that was separation between North and South. He told them, when he was there last, that he did not believe the war would issue in that way. He declared to them that, looking at what was called in cant phrase "London Society," and society was that upper ten thousand with whom members of Parliament were liable to come in contact at the clubs and elsewhere—looking at the ruling classes, if he might use the phrase, that were met with in these parlours in London, nineteen-twentieths of them had been firmly convinced, from the first, that the civil war in America could only end in separation. How far the wish was father to the thought he would not pretend to say. From his acquaintance with the statistics and geography of America, a subject of which the ruling class knew nothing whatever, he did not believe that he or any one in that vast assembly would ever live to see two separate nations within the confines of the present United States of America. If it were not for one cause, he himself should regard as hopeless and useless that attempt to subjugate the Southern States. It was the object and purpose with which the war was begun that, in his opinion, rendered success to the Secessionists impossible. It was idle to talk about a conflict between free-trade and protection. In the report of the Committee of the Thirty-Three, who sat in December, 1860, and January, 1861, to consider the grievances alleged by the South, there was not a word about tariff or taxation. It was slavery, slavery, slavery, from the first page to the last. This was a war to perpetuate and extend human slavery. It was a war, not to defend slavery as it was left by their ancestors—a thing to be retained and to be apologised for—it was a war to establish a slave empire, in which slavery should be made the corner-stone of the social system, and should be defended and justified on scriptural and ethnological grounds. God pardon the man who, in the year of grace 1863, should think that such a project as that could be crowned with success. He had, from the first, believed it impossible that the South should succeed, and he had founded that faith on moral instincts, which taught him to repudiate the idea that anything so infernal could succeed. No, it was because in this world the virtues and forces went together, and the vices and the weaknesses were inseparable. It was therefore he felt certain that this project never could succeed. For how was it? There was a community, with nearly half of its population slaves, and they were attempting to fight another community where every man was a working man. In the one case honour was given to industry, labour was held to be honourable. It had been used as a reproach by some people that Mr. Lincoln was a "rail-splitter." Why was a "rail-splitter" raised to be President of the United States? Because labour was held in honour in that country. With such a conflict going on, and with such a result as he felt no doubt would follow, he feared to speak of such a contest as that, as a struggle for empire on one side and for independence on the other. He said it was an aristocratic rebellion against a democratic government. In all history, where the aristocracy had been pitted against the people in a physical contest, the aristocracy had always gone down under the heavy blows of the democracy. The North, however, was mistaken if it thought it could carry on a civil war like this, drawing a million of men from productive industry, to be engaged merely in a process of destruction, and spending £200,000,000 or £300,000,000 sterling, without a terrible collapse sooner or later, and a great prostration in every part of the community.

Mr. Cobden then proceeded to speak of the proposed Congress at Paris. He said that the result of the Congress of 1856 was, that there were a million more men armed and drilled in Europe than before that Congress. The diminution of armaments ought to be the primary and fundamental object of the proposed Congress, otherwise that evil would only be increased. Mr. Cobden condemned the interference with Poland, which had only increased the miseries of the Poles. He next alluded to what he termed, the horrible massacre in Japan, and the destruction of Kagosima. We had practised a mere manoeuvre to induce the Japanese to fire on our fleet. It was deplorable that east of the Cape of Good Hope the English lost all sense of honour, morality, or Christianity. Our proceedings in China were as dishonourable to us as a nation, as were the proceedings of Spain in the times of Cortes and Pizarro. Now we were sympathising with the Tartar Government; our Government, indeed, was found in alliance with the most odious governments in the world; Turkey, China, Morocco, and Austria. Mr. Cobden then turned to home affairs. He dwelt on the ignorance of the masses; on the condition of the English peasantry, entirely divorced from the land. He called for a reform bill, an extension of the franchise, now, when such a measure could be passed in tranquillity. But the movement must originate out-of-doors before it could succeed in the House of Commons. In conclusion, Mr. Cobden spoke of the cotton that was to come from all parts of the world, as well as from the valley of the Mississippi, from African free labour; for he sincerely hoped that there never would be another cotton-seed planted in the ground by a slave in America.

Mr. Bright then made a long oration, upon which we have no space to dwell. He spoke of all the real and imaginary evils under which the lower classes in England suffered: overwhelming poverty and excessive taxation. He spoke of the voice of the people being the voice of God, and demanded an extension of the franchise. He said that the old corn-laws had no

parallel for cruelty and wickedness, except that institution in America which was now crumbling into ruin beneath the wrathful judgments of heaven. He next abused the Tories, and then more vehemently he abused the Whigs. Then he abused the House of Lords, and said that it could be demonstrated that at least half of the present families of the House of Lords owed their political existence to the slime and corruption of the period between 1688 and 1830. He called the session of Parliament "the farce of representation annually enacted in the new Palace at Westminster." He said that he had been told that the bastard chivalry of the South was unconscious of the sufferings of the negro, though it astonished the world and cried to heaven for remedy. He desired for the English people a system of education equal to that offered to the people of the New England States. He thought events in America had proved the value of a democracy, because the Government at Washington was now the strongest in the world. The number of their men and of their ships, and the resources brought out by them, were unrivalled. Perfect order had prevailed at their elections. Their President was not chosen from some worn-out royal or noble blood, but from the people, and was one whose truthfulness and spotless honour had claimed him universal praise. Mr. Bright's concluding words were these:—"When the mortal strife is over—when peace is restored—when slavery is destroyed—when the Union is cemented afresh,—for I would say in the language of one of our own poets, addressing his country,

The grave's not dug, where traitor hands shall lay  
In fearful haste thy murdered corse away,—

then Europe and England may learn that an instructed democracy is the surest foundation of government, and that education and freedom are the only sources of true greatness and true happiness among any people." Who, on reading these sentiments of John Bright, can feel surprised at the admiration with which he is so universally regarded by all classes of society in England?

Rumour has been busy with changes in the English Cabinet during the past week. Many journals, both English and French, have adopted and speculated on the report that Earl Russell was about to resign the seals of the Foreign Office, and that the Earl of Clarendon was to be his successor. The *Morning Post* has, however, authoritatively contradicted the rumour. It probably arose from the fact that Lord Clarendon has had several interviews with the Prime Minister, and has been received by the Queen within the last fortnight; but it must be remembered that Lord Clarendon was the English representative at the Congress of Paris, and that he should have been consulted with reference to the Congress now proposed by the Emperor of the French, was, of course, to be expected.

On Tuesday last the Earl of Powis was formally installed in the office of High Steward of the University of Cambridge. After a Latin speech from the Public Orator of the University, and an address from the Vice-Chancellor, the letters patent were handed to the High Steward, who thereupon took the oath of allegiance, and made the declaration of fidelity to the interests of the University. The Earl of Powis then addressed the members present, and in speaking of his predecessor in office, the late Lord Lyndhurst, he said that "Lord Lyndhurst was the son of an humble American colonist, driven from his home at Boston by civil strife; that the colonist speedily attained a distinguished position among English artists, and that to his pencil we owe the embodiment and commemoration of one of the most striking scenes in the history of that House of Parliament, in which the son three times held the great seal and three times presided over the deliberations of the ancient Barons of England. If we looked to the land which gave birth to Lord Lyndhurst, we should wonder how, in the space of one man's life, thirteen disjointed colonies could become one of the great powers of the world. We could scarcely believe that Lord Lyndhurst could have witnessed the rise, the progress, and, humanly speaking, the disruption of the American Union. Would that Boston could produce another Copley, whose commanding intellect and calm sagacity could still the furious passions and heal the wounds of that distracted country!"

The Crown Princess of Prussia, who, with her husband, the Crown Prince, is on a visit to the Queen at Windsor, celebrated her birthday, on Saturday last, by laying the foundation-stone of a new church at Windsor. The Queen had taken great interest in the erection of the building, and had subscribed largely towards it. The church is intended chiefly for the use of the poor, and, according to the special approbation of Her Majesty, all the sittings are free. The Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Windsor, and the Archdeacon of the diocese were present at the ceremony, as were also the members of Parliament for the borough, and the mayor and corporation. The Freemasons assembled in large numbers, having at their head the Crown Prince, a mason of high degree, and had a special platform allotted to them. The choir of the church sang the 84th Psalm, the Bishop of Oxford offered up prayer, and the Dean of Windsor handed to the Princess the silver trowel. Her Royal Highness having duly performed the ceremony of laying the stone, said:—"In the faith of Jesus Christ, we place the foundation-stone of this church, to be consecrated for ever to the service of Almighty God, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." The ceremony concluded with an address from the Bishop of Oxford. It is not wonderful that the English people are so much attached to the person of the Sovereign, when acts like these are found to be in the eyes of the Sovereign the most proper method of celebrating the birthday of the Queen's eldest daughter.



London is threatened with numberless new railroads, both above and below the soil. First there is to be a line north of the river, commencing in Brompton at the south-west corner of the metropolis, running thence to Cannon-row, contiguous to Westminster-bridge, and thence to Cannon-street in the City. Next there is to be an outer line, commencing at Wandsworth, south of the Thames, running thence to Clapham and Battersea, and there crossing the river to Kensington. From that point the railway will run in a north-easterly direction to Paddington and Kilburn, then eastward to Hampstead, Hackney, and Stratford, and thence south to Old Kent-road and New-cross. It will effect a junction with fifteen distinct existing railways, cutting some of them at more than one point. The principal railways which will be united by this scheme are the London, Chatham, and Dover, the Great Western, the North Western, the Midland, the Great Northern, the Great Eastern, the London and Blackwall, the London, Brighton, and South Coast, and the South Eastern. It is also proposed to construct an underground railway from Park-lane, along Oxford-street, New Oxford-street, High Holborn, Greville-street, and Charles-street, to Farringdon-road, near to the station of the present Metropolitan (Underground) Railway.

We noticed, a fortnight since, that a correspondence had taken place between Earl Russell and the Glasgow Emancipation Society, with reference to the screw-steamer *Pampero*, recently launched from the building-yard of Messrs. Thompson. That vessel now lies at Lancefield Quay, Broomielaw; and as a large staff of men are at work on her, she will be ready for sea within ten days. Instructions have, however, been received from the Government for her detention, and Her Majesty's gunboat *Bulfinch* now lies moored opposite Lancefield Quay, having been moved up the river on Friday last. It seems that the *Pampero* differs but little, if at all, from the class of merchant ships which are built every year in such large numbers in the Clyde, and it is denied that there are any war fittings about her.

As we warned our readers last week, the court-martial at Aldershot upon Lieutenant-Colonel Crawley has lasted throughout the week, and holds out every indication of continuing for some weeks more. It would be as impossible as unprofitable to attempt to give any abstract of the evidence. At the proper time the true story, as proved by this trial and the finding of the Court, will be duly recorded. When we state that there are about 150 witnesses, that the cross-examination of one witness has lasted three entire days, and that some members of the Court, who desire to return to London every night, have purchased season tickets on the railway, we have said enough to convey some idea of the probable duration of the inquiry.

The sentence on Captain Stone, of a suspension of his certificate for six months, for running the Cunard ship *Africa* on a rock near Cape Race, seems to have created considerable excitement and indignation among the merchant-captains at Liverpool. On Wednesday, November 18th, a public meeting, attended by merchants, shipowners, merchant-captains, and other persons interested, was held in the Cotton Sales Room, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool, for the purpose of considering the present system of Board of Trade inquiry as affecting the interests of British mariners and engineers, and also to express sympathy with the case of Captain Stone. Captain Judkins, the senior captain in the Cunard Service, after declaring that the decision in Captain Stone's case was utterly unfair, moved "That this meeting views with indignation the principles and practice of the constitution of the courts of inquiry into wrecks and casualties to British merchant ships. It believes these tribunals, which have the power, and exercise the power, of inflicting the most severe and penal sentences, depriving men of their certificates and thus of the means of living, are opposed to the fundamental principles of the legislation of this country and to the rights of Britons." After a resolution to use every means to obtain from Parliament the abolition of the present courts of inquiry, it was moved "That every effort be now made to obtain the return of Captain Stone's certificate." Captain Judkins, in conclusion, addressed the meeting, and declared that "If the engines were to be stopped to take soundings as constantly as the assessors of the Court required, such a practice would render the commander quite unable to find out where he was. He complained that the British Government had not joined with the merchants of New York in subscribing to place at Cape Race a whistle which would be heard at a distance of twelve miles. Had such a whistle existed the *Africa* would not have been stranded." The real point at issue seems to be this: that either the Cunard steamers must run the risks of such an accident as befell the *Africa*, and by so doing maintain their reputation for unrivalled speed, or by a more cautious method escape the occasional occurrence of such accidents, and descend to the level of other vessels in point of despatch.

Three Clyde steamers were, as rumour assert, sold as blockade-runners last week. The *Oledonia*, which has been fitted with new boilers and feathering floats, and which formerly was known on the Stranraer station and afterwards ran between Glasgow and Rothesay; the saloon steamer *Iona*, the best-finished and swiftest vessel on the Clyde; and the sidon steamer *Fairy*. The price of the *Iona* was £20,000. The *Fairy* was used by Prince Alfred on his visit to Oban, during the tour round Scotland in the *Racoon*. Two new steamers are also fitted for the blockade trade, namely, the *Nola*, 780 tons, sister to the *City of Petersburg* and *Lord Clyde* which left the Clyde lately; and the *Arvon*, sister to the *Presto*, *Darc*, and *Will'o the Wisp*, which have sailed within the last four weeks.

At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held on Monday last, a letter was read from Madame Timé the Dutch lady, who is exploring the interior of Africa to the west of the White Nile. Madame Timé had purchased an old paddle-steamer at Khartum, and had been joined by Dr. Heughlin, a German naturalist. The country in the neighbourhood of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the western affluent of the Nile, was described as particularly beautiful and luxuriant. The party had fallen in with Consul Petherick and his wife. Sir E. Murchison read a letter from M. de Chaillu, stating that he had arrived at Accra on the West Coast of Africa, after a passage of forty-six days, and that he was provided with the requisite instruments for determining the latitude and longitude of the localities which he intended to visit. Colonel Pelly, the political resident at Beshire, read a paper "On the Geography and productions of the countries around the Persian Gulf."

A creditable piece of pedestrianism was performed a few days since by a Mr. George Thompson, of Belfast, who, though an amateur, had previously to the race in question proved himself to be one of the best runners and walkers in Ireland. The match on the present occasion was, to walk eighteen English miles under three hours. The weather was extremely wet and the road miry. Nevertheless, Mr. Thompson accomplished the feat, walking the first six miles in 58 minutes, the first nine miles in 1 hour 28 minutes, and the whole distance in 2 hours, 59 minutes, 47 seconds.

About eighteen months ago a dispute arose on various subjects between the Jockey Club and "the sporting correspondent" of the *Morning Post*. The result was that the "correspondent" was warned off the race-course at Newmarket, of which the Jockey Club claim to be owners. However, in spite of the warning, the person in question persisted in being present at the races. An action of trespass was thereupon brought against him, the plaintiffs being the stewards for the year of the Jockey Club—namely, the Earl of Coventry, Admiral Rous, and Mr. C. Dupré Alexander. The defendant pleaded a considerable number of pleas, to some of which the plaintiffs demurred, and the demurrer was argued on Friday last, before the Court of Queen's Bench. It was averred by the defendant's plea that "the close on which the trespass was alleged to have been committed was part or parcel of certain unenclosed lands, known by the name of Newmarket Heath, and that from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary horse races have been, and of right ought to have been, and still of right ought to be holden on the said lands at certain reasonable times, to wit, on certain days in the months of April, July, and October in each and every year; and that from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary there hath been and still of right ought to be an ancient and laudable custom, that all the subjects of the realm have been used to enter, and still of right ought to enter and stay and remain for a reasonable time, for the purpose of witnessing the said horse races." The argument and the remarks on it were of an amusing character. The Chief Justice observed that it seemed as if the right to hold the races were laid in the horses, and that he could scarcely believe that racing was as ancient as the time whereof "the memory of man was not to the contrary," which, in the legal sense, would mean as ancient as the time of Richard I.; while another Judge, who must be presumed not to be a sporting character, protested strongly against being supposed to know that races were held at certain times. The counsel, however, told the Court that he had found mention of Newmarket races in the reign of Henry VIII., and that James I. kept a horse there in training. Eventually it was decided that as, on the authority of a case in the time of Blackstone, there could be no customary right in all the subjects of the realm, therefore there could be no customary right to hold the races, and no such right to be present at them. Judgment, therefore, was given for the plaintiffs.

#### THE CONTINENT.

Most of the Powers to which invitations to the Congress were addressed have already responded, but of the character of the answers we have no authoritative account. It would seem, however, that most of the smaller sovereigns have accepted unconditionally, whilst the larger ones have made reserves and asked for a programme. If newspapers which sometimes speak the views of the English Government are well informed, England has definitively refused to take any part in the Congress.

The Sleswig Holstein question is creating great excitement in Germany. The eldest son of the Duke of Augustenburg, a major in the Prussian army, has announced to the inhabitants of the Duchies of Sleswig Holstein and Lauenburg his assumption of their government, by a proclamation published in a Frankfort newspaper. The Dukes of Saxe-Weimar Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, and other petty princes, have formally recognised his title to Sleswig and Holstein. The representative of Baden in the Diet has, with the consent of his Government, undertaken to act as the pretender's representative for Holstein, and the Diet has referred his claim to its Holstein committee. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg has protested against the accession of Prince Christian, even to the throne of Denmark. In all parts of Germany the newspapers are proclaiming that the time has come to assert German rights; and the Liberal majority of the Prussian House of Deputies have presented a motion to the effect that the honour and interests of Germany demand that all the German States should effectually support the rights of the Hereditary Prince Frederick to the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein. On the other hand, in Holstein the

members of the Estates tried to get up an irregular meeting at Kiel, to consider the situation, which was suppressed, however, by the police; and many of the officials, encouraged by the excitement in Germany, have resolved, it is said, to refuse the oath of allegiance to Christian IX. We do not believe, however, that any serious attempt will be made to dispute the rights of Christian IX. By the Treaty of London, of the 8th of May, 1852, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Sweden, and Russia engaged to acknowledge "in His Highness the Prince Christian, of Sleswig Holstein Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and his issue male, in the direct line, by his marriage with the Princess Luise, the right of succeeding to the whole of the dominions now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark. To this treaty nearly all the other considerable States of Europe subsequently acceded, amongst others the following members of the German Confederation:—Holland, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Hanover. The recognition was made unreservedly, unconditionally; and it cannot be supposed that, even if the German Powers should be base enough to support the Prince of Augustenburg by arms against the King, whose title they have solemnly recognised, the other signatories of the treaty will allow them to have their own way. No doubt the public feeling of Germany calls upon them to act in this dishonourable manner, but Austria and Prussia will hardly venture upon a measure which not only would release all other States from their treaty engagements to them, and thus destroy their sole title to the larger part of their possessions, but would in all probability commit them to a war, in which they would have to deal, not with Denmark and Sweden only, but with all Western Europe.

Apart, however, from the treaty, the claims of the *soi-disant* Prince of Augustenburg will not bear examination. His father had some pretension to Holstein—to Sleswig, and Lauenburg he had no claims which could be supported for a moment—but all his claims, whatever they were, he renounced for himself and his whole family in 1852. Had, however, his rights been ever so good, ever so universally recognised, they would not avail his son. The Duke of Augustenburg married a Countess Daneskind—a lady of very good family, but not of the princely birth requisite for the contraction of a legitimate marriage. The pretender to the throne of the Duchies is illegitimate. His father's marriage was legally only amorganatic one. It is said that Austria and Prussia have both resolved to repudiate the pretender's claims on this ground.

There are other claimants to Lauenburg. Anhalt and the two Schwartzburgs have protested in the Diet against the accession of Prince Christian to the throne of the Duchy. Anhalt has some pretensions to the succession, with the nature of which we are not acquainted. In any case the Augustenburgs, even if the treaty were set aside, have not the slightest claim to this little Duchy which has only belonged to Denmark since the resettlement of Europe in 1815.

Meanwhile the new King of Denmark has been strengthening his position with his Danish subjects by sanctioning the new common Constitution for Denmark and Sleswig. His Majesty took a few days to consider what he should do, and thereby, although the subject was one which needed great consideration, somewhat disappointed his new subjects. There can be no doubt that the enactment of this Constitution, which will be treated in Germany as an incorporation of Sleswig, will do much to destroy all chances of an amicable solution of the question which the pending Execution is designed to determine by force, and the King might well pause before adding at such a moment to the difficulties which environ him, but to have refused his assent to the law would have been to have sown the seeds of dissension between himself and the only portion of his subjects upon whom he can rely, and would not, certainly, in the present temper of Germany, have bought off the agitation against his title. He has decided wisely, although the Germans already pretend that he was intimidated into the signature by the people of Copenhagen.

Precautions have been taken to prevent any outbreak in Holstein. The garrisons have been largely reinforced. It is not probable, however, that even the most hot-headed Holsteiners will go beyond passive resistance at the present. They await a Federal army. Indeed, they would scarcely know what standard to raise. Although a majority of the inhabitants of the Duchy might like to be separated from Denmark, only a minority would be willing to accept the so-called Prince of Augustenburg as their ruler.

The Corps Legislatif has continued its verification of the elections. Some of the debates have been extremely animated, but nearly all the elections have been confirmed. Apropos of these discussions, we may mention a curious mistake in one of Mr. Reuter's telegrams from Paris, which passed undetected in every newspaper office. The telegram ran, "The election of a curate at Bordeaux was also stated, after a long debate, to be according to law, conformably with the conclusions of the committee." Here was an interesting legal question—the eligibility of priests to sit in the Chamber decided, and no doubt many a reader noted it down as a fact worth record. What really was decided was, that the election of M. Curé, the Government candidate for Bordeaux, which had been vehemently denounced by the Opposition, was a valid one. The clerks of Mr. Reuter, by a very easy mistake, translated the honorable member into a curate.

A bill has been submitted to the Council of State, asking supplementary credits for ninety-one millions of francs for the Mexican expedition. M. Fould's financial statement is looked for with some anxiety.

The Emperor has written to the Bishop of Arras, congratulating him upon his defence of the Faith against the attacks upon it in M. Renan's book.



The Upper House of the Prussian Landtag has not only approved the press ordinance of June, but declared it valid until the new bill upon the press shall have passed into a law. Only eight members were found to oppose these monstrous resolutions. In the discussion the press was denounced in very violent language; thanks to its influence, said one of the speakers, the brutality of the lower classes increased every day. On the other hand, the House of Deputies has voted by very large majorities—278 to 39 and 269 to 46—that the assent of the House should not be given to the ordinance; that it was not necessary for the maintenance of order; that limitation of the freedom of the press by way of ordinance is not lawful; and lastly, that the ordinance was contrary to the Constitution. The vote of the House has had its effect. The King and his ministers have not made up their minds to break entirely with the Constitution or the people. A royal decree, adopted as usual upon the proposition of the Ministry, withdraws the ordinance. The Prussian press, therefore, enjoys again its former somewhat limited yet sufficient freedom, and will, let us hope, make a judicious use of it.

The Upper House has adopted an address to the King by a majority of 72 to 8 votes, after a debate, noticeable for some expressions of Herr Von Bismarck with reference to the Polish question. Count Beninski, a Polish nobleman, had protested against the paragraphs referring to the Polish insurrection, and had affirmed that its only object was to overthrow the Russian rule. Von Bismarck said: "Herr Beninski may really believe that; the Government must, however, hold to the facts. If the insurrection has not yet planted itself in our land, that is attributable much less to the good-will of the Poles, as the previous speaker suggested, than to the military power of the Government. If, however, the speaker were right—if our provinces are not to be drawn into the insurrection—still the Government would be compelled, from political, social, and moral interests, to interpose to prevent the insurrection in Poland from triumphing. An independent Poland on the frontier of Prussia would always be a danger for the monarchy, which would engage a large part of the army. The Government could not, moreover, suffer that a movement should succeed which soils itself with unheard-of crimes, and delights in the apotheosis of assassination."

There has also been a debate upon Poland in the Austrian Reichsrath, from which a similar conclusion as to the intentions of Austria may be drawn. In the debate upon the budget of the Police Ministry some of the Polish deputies made bitter complaints of the conduct of the authorities, and asserting the loyalty of Galicia, declared that such measures were quite unnecessary. The Minister, Van Schmerling, replied that he had proofs of the existence of a party which sought to separate Galicia from Austria, and this party the Government had taken measures to resist. The Minister of Police, in the course of the discussion, asserted that he had proofs of the existence of a secret committee, pretending to be a National Government, and of a military command at Cracow, which acted as a formal administrative body, divided the town into quarters, raised taxes, designated inhabitants of Cracow as suspicious persons. Cracow was crowded with foreigners, and experience had shown that out of every ten travellers eight had false papers.

The enormous preparations Russia has been making for war have seriously affected her financial position. There seems to be no doubt, however, that any sacrifices will be borne by the nation to avoid concessions to the demands of Europe.

Lisbon has been visited by a tremendous fire, originating in the Bank of Portugal.

The news from Japan is very unsatisfactory. A French officer had been murdered; and it was supposed that the English and French fleets would at once take summary vengeance—à la Kagosima, we suppose. Lord Clarence Paget has made a very lame apology for that barbarous act. He says that the town was destroyed because the bad weather would not allow accurate firing. The excuse might be accepted if there had not been two bombardments, and the admiral had not set himself deliberately to work to destroy on the morrow what had escaped on the previous day.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 10.

We have a Federal account of a Union success on the Rappahannock, the crossing of that river in force, and the retreat of Lee's forces to the Rapidan, with the impending prospect of a general battle. But the impression of Lee's invincibility is so strong even here, that the result, magnified as it is by the glorification despatches in the newspapers, does not beget much confidence in the success of Meade in getting "on to Richmond."

The interest of the war is centred in the contest going on in Tennessee for the possession of Chattanooga. There is a great game of strategy going on, which must end in the evacuation of Chattanooga by General Grant's forces from sheer inability to keep it and supply it; or their escape by another great battle, fought under disadvantageous circumstances, with the probability of another defeat, with more disastrous results than that of Chickamauga. The report which went out by the late steamer that the Federals had got possession of Lookout Mountain, and thus turned the Confederate position, is a *canard*.

There was a great jubilation in Philadelphia and in this city on Saturday evening, over the capture of Fort Sumter

—"this time sure." It came by a steamer to Philadelphia, with the mention of the particular Pennsylvania regiment (the 147th, I believe) which had had the distinction of running up the "old flag" over the stronghold of rebellion, on the 2nd of November. That regiment would have had a hard time of it, for arrivals since bring accounts to the 5th, up to which day the Union monitors and batteries were pouring broadsides into the old ruin. A few brave men are still holding it against the heaviest and most continued bombardment—as the Yankees say—which the annals of warfare record. I do not know whether this is literally true or not; but there are certainly but few examples on record of more enduring and heroic resistance. President Davis has been to Charleston, and, if we may judge from the tone of his addresses, the enemy are but little advanced towards the capture of the city; and the proofs thicken upon us from within the Confederacy that it will not only be resolutely and hopefully defended, but that it will be totally destroyed rather than that it should fall into the hands of the Yankees.

The grand expedition into Texas, across Louisiana, halts, waiting for the results of a coast attack by a fleet of gun-boats and transports which has left New Orleans with a large land force evidently destined for Sabine Pass, with the joint purpose of passing the fort, and of assailing the small garrison on the land side—a miniature renewal of the affair of Vicksburg.

The removal of Rosecrans continues to be a mystery. The personal charges upon him for cowardice, drunkenness, and mal-administration, which were sent forth by the President's organs as the causes for superseding him, have ceased to be relied upon, although they are by no means withdrawn. He is now arraigned for persistent disobedience of orders from the War Department, continuing through months, and manifested in correspondence; but if not absolutely insubordinate towards the general-in-chief columns of specifications have appeared in the Administration journals, which must have been supplied from official sources. Some of them could only have been obtained from the files of the War Office. But instead of arresting him, or submitting his conduct to a court of inquiry, the same Government which thus assails him now gives out that it means to employ him again. The explanation of this pixture of bravado and pusillanimity is, that while the Government must defend itself from the gross mismanagement which he charges upon them, and would do so, if they could, by remorselessly destroying his reputation, they have discovered that he has a powerful support among the Roman Catholic population, who have begun to consider him a martyr to prejudice. The Government would gladly compromise now, if Rosecrans is willing, by condoning his past offences and giving him an important command somewhere. He has won some favour with them since his removal, by making war speeches of the most violent cast, endorsing every measure of emancipation, confiscation, and extermination, for the retaining of the Southern territory to the Union, at the cost of the destruction or expulsion of the inhabitants, and the overthrow of constitutional Government, if necessary to effect it.

Burnside has been superseded in East Tennessee by General Foster, formerly in command in North Carolina, more lately at Fortress Monroe. It is believed that Burnside's last days in Tennessee were signalled by the loss of a great battle. The particulars have not reached us; but there are some leakings out by telegraph at Washington, that two of his "advance posts" have been taken, and "parts of two regiments captured." In the usual way of interpreting Yankee bulletins, this should mean that he has suffered a heavy reverse, and the reasonable deduction is, that as much as possible is to be made out of the affairs in Virginia, to counterbalance in the public mind the effect of the East Tennessee defeat, when it comes to be known at large. The effects of such a victory for the Confederates in East Tennessee upon the operations against Grant would be necessarily very great, and news from that quarter is looked for with intense interest.

We have got through the fall elections—Maryland was the last and is the most significant. Like all the rest—New Jersey alone excepted—it has gone for the Radicals; but under circumstances which merit more particular mention, as illustrating the theory of the ballot, as practised in this Model Republic, Maryland is a "loyal State." There has been no secession there, no insurrection, no resistance to the greatest excesses of Federal authority, except by a local riot in the City of Baltimore, in April, 1861, which was immediately put down. The present legislature, the governor, and all the State officers and functionaries were elected as Unionists, and the courts are all open for the execution of State laws. But in Maryland, it was thought that there is a strong feeling of opposition to the favourite measures of the Administration; and there was a choice to be made of five members of Congress, whose votes might be important, in deciding the majority of the next House of Representatives, in favour of the whole Administration scheme of policy. Hence the elections were to be carried at all events, and the steps taken were effectual. General Schenck, the military commander of the district, from his headquarters at Baltimore, took the control of the election out of the hands of the civil authorities, and by proclamations and military orders drove the opponents of the Administration away from the polls, after having terrified candidates of that way of thinking from presenting themselves for election and arresting, by way of intimidation, several of those who were so contumacious as to persist against warning. Before the election, citizens who called public meetings to make the usual nominations for elections were seized by order of General Schenck, and only released on a pledge that they would cease to make any political opposition to the candidates of the Administration. The regulation of the voting, and new qualification for voters, on election day were prescribed by military orders; a test oath, unknown to the State laws, was directed to be imposed by the military; soldiers were stationed at the various precincts, with directions to arrest such voters as they might decide to be "disloyal"—disloyalty being defined by the previous military orders to consist in political opposition to the Administration. And the judges of elections were warned to give effect to these orders under penalty of imprisonment for being "disloyal" themselves. All this was in direct violation of the laws of the State, and was so flagrant in its tyrannical injustice, that it brought out strong remonstrances from Governor Bradford—himself one

of the strongest and most unconditionally loyal men in the State, elected last year by the aid of the very military authorities which he now protests against as the invaders of State sovereignty. A long correspondence ensued between Governor Bradford and General Schenck, and Governor Bradford and President Lincoln, the result of which was an order from the President modifying a part of General Schenck's military regulations for the elections—a modification which Governor Bradford pronounced to be insufficient to retrieve the proceedings of their unconstitutional character, and which came too late, and was by General Schenck's management suppressed throughout the greater part of the State, so that the original policy was carried out in its full extent, and where it was not known had kept the Opposition from attempting to vote. The replication by the "loyal" Governor Bradford to the President describes the amended and approved ruling of General Schenck for the elections in the following terms, which, coming from a Union governor of a Union State, is a forcible description of the military means by which the freedom of elections in Maryland has been subverted by the Administration:—

"If the sending out of one or more regiments of soldiers; distributing them among several of the counties to attend their places of election, in defiance of the known laws of the State prohibiting their presence; ordering military officers and provost-marshal to arrest voters guilty, in the opinion of such officers, of certain offences; and menacing judges of election with the power of the military arm in case this military order was not respected, is not an 'undue interference' with the freedom of elections, I confess myself unable to imagine what is."

The Administration succeeds, therefore, by a large comparative majority in everything, although the number of voters is, of course, very small. In Baltimore the successful ticket did not get one-third of the ordinary vote, and so throughout the State. The members of Congress appointed in this way, not elected, constitute, with those appointed in the same way in Kentucky, the whole of the majority which the Administration expects in the next House of Representatives. The legislative power of Congress pending in the branch intended to represent the popular element, and which has exclusive control over the money bills, is thus secured to the party of the Administration by the direct application of its military power, in setting aside State laws and State authority, and appointing its own partisans as representatives of intimidated States. The audacity with which this is done and the subservience with which it is accepted by the public as a merely exceptional but necessary act for the self-preservation of the men in power, are sad proofs of the rapid degeneracy into a pure and naked despotism which this republic, as it calls itself, is undergoing.

A provost-marshal in Maryland appointed to carry out this military programme for making members of Congress, was himself a candidate for Congress in one of the districts, and General Schenck, the military commandant, by whom it was executed, is, besides being a major-general, a member of Congress from the Ohio district in which Mr. Vallandigham resides.

The same reckless audacity of reliance upon mere power breaks out in the threat contained in the following paragraph, which comes over the wires this morning, in one of the authorised despatches of the newspaper press, which usually bear the *imprimatur* of the Department at Washington. There have been some extensive riotings in the Pennsylvania coal regions, and their effect upon the price of coal is a topic of uneasy discussion at the commencement of winter. The manner in which the Government proposes to deal with this grave question of supply, or in which it is supposed by its partisans that it will interfere, is set forth in the following terms:—

"It is suspected that certain coal-dealers unfavourable to the Administration will avail themselves of the outbreak in the coal regions of Pennsylvania as a pretence to advance the price of coal. In such an event prompt action will be taken by the Government, who will justify their seizure of these speculators by the consideration that the Government itself, as a large purchaser of coal, will not hesitate to imprison a few coal-dealers to prevent a panic in prices."

In plain terms, the Government will fix a price for coal, and imprison a "few coal-dealers" in order to enforce the observance of the *maximum*. It is hinted that as Government wants coal it will take what it wants at its own price, and put the owners into prison who may refuse to give up their property on these terms. There is an old saying, that one man may lead a horse to water but twenty can't make him drink. A regiment of soldiers may take what coal there is in a coal-yard, but how even an army is going to get cheaper coal and a sufficient supply by drafting away most of the labourers who dig it out, inflating the currency, so that capitalists cannot pay enhanced wages to fewer men, and must dig with a prospect of certain loss, or by expelling capital from production by these measures of personal persecution, are feats harder to be performed than that in the proverb. But these loose ideas are about, and there is no doubt that members high in the Government entertain them. They are not a whit more absurd than the favourite plea of Secretary Chase for the issue of irredeemable Government paper—that it saved the Government the interest on a loan; when it is capable of demonstration that enhanced prices, which Government has been compelled to pay on all its purchases of army supplies, by paying in depreciated paper, have added 200,000,000 a year for two years to the capital of the debt, to be hereafter paid in gold.

The "strike" movement for higher wages is extending to all classes of mechanics. The last is the strike of the machinists of this city and vicinity, which includes the labourers in the iron-works, where so much Government work is done and contracted for. The proprietors say their contracts are made with Government at prices corresponding to the sounder condition of the currency, and they cannot give higher wages without ruin—Government must raise the consideration of the contract to the paper standard, or the works must be abandoned. Thus the inflation of the currency comes back again upon its authors.

The Russian ball being over, the excitement has suddenly subsided, and some of the presses are busy in labouring to explain that all this really meant nothing which should be taken as apologising for the Russian Government as a despotism or defending its treatment of the Poles. The distinction is drawn very ingeniously, thus: "As Republicans and Philanthropists, it is the duty of Americans to hate the Russians; but as Patriots and Americans it is their duty to love those who approve of the doing by the Government of this country of the same things towards the Southern States which are detestable in the conduct of our good ally towards



the Poles." With the like subtle discrimination, Mr. Seward is approved for having sent a toast to the Russian dinner, in which he complimented Prince Gortschakoff for his successful management of the Russian administration. It was not that it had succeeded in baffling the efforts of England and France to mitigate in some way the horrible injustice and cruel persecutions to which unhappy Poland is a victim, but simply that by so succeeding Prince Gortschakoff achieved a triumph over the two Powers against whom the United States have a feeling of resentment. These are fine distinctions, and will doubtless be appreciated abroad, as well as the other subtleties with which Mr. Seward has so copiously garnished his diplomatic communications with Europe.

## LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW ORLEANS, October 31.

We are wondering now as to the destination of a new expedition which left this city last week and went down the Mississippi. Not less than eight or ten Federal transports crowded with troops and negroes make up the expedition—giving a force of 7,000 or 8,000 men. It is presumed that they are going to Sabine Pass, the scene of a disastrous Federal repulse September 8th. If this is so, as there are no gunboats with the transports, no doubt the troops are to be landed outside the Pass to march by land for an assault upon the battery at that point. According to the Confederate official report of the Sabine Pass affair, there were actually but forty-two men (of the Davis Guards) behind the battery when the gunboat attack was made. Their success in destroying one gunboat, capturing another, killing and wounding forty-eight of the enemy, and taking fourteen five rifled pieces from the gunboats, makes this brief engagement altogether the most remarkable of the war. The captured guns have been mounted in the battery, and there has been abundant time to concentrate a large force from Houston to meet the new anticipated attack; and they are now, no doubt, ready for the expedition which is believed to have departed for that point.

The New York papers of the 21st inst. copy from the *Port Royal South* a statement that a Federal force has landed at Point Isabel, Texas. We are without this information here, and we do not believe it.

Meanwhile, the Federal army, which was to march so speedily through Western Louisiana to Texas, is still idle at Opelousas. Some of the regiments are reported to have returned to Berwick Bay, for the purpose of joining the new movement along the coast. You have already been advised that Banks must secure Sabine Pass or Galveston as a base, before he can successfully invade Texas from the East.

There is little news to send by this steamer. We have Mobile dates to October 25th, and the Southern papers publish the official correspondence relative to the dismissal of the British Consuls. Affairs at Mobile are unchanged.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, November 24.

THERE is a good deal of talk in this city, which is seldom silent; but there are no facts, or even talk, of any importance to register this week. The Congress, of course, furnishes no small part of conversation, and the generally accredited rumour, that Lord Cowley has been charged to make serious objections to its assembling, has afforded some of the papers the welcome opportunity of venting a little abuse upon England. As this is the favourite way of letting off the steam whenever French policy is threatened with a little check, such symptoms of ill-temper simply prove that things go less smoothly than might be desired. The consensus of the English press is the proof of that universal conspiracy against French interest—into which it is well known that all Englishmen, of all parties, have entered. But though it is acknowledged that the conspiracy is a tacit one, it cannot be pretended that it is taciturn, and the outspoken avowal that such a Congress could be of no advantage to England, and is not, therefore, to be encouraged by her, is received here as an aggravating circumstance, the shameless confession of a cynical selfishness. It is very shocking to French feelings to learn that the English Government, even a Whig one, thinks itself bound to consider in the first place the interests of England; but the slight knowledge I have been able to acquire of the French character after a twenty years' acquaintance, and under various régimes, makes me doubt whether they would long support a Government which, in the name of philanthropy or any other unprofitable "idea," spent their blood and augmented their taxation. I do not see that the laudable and too necessary duty of paying taxes is more willingly performed here than elsewhere. But they are well aware that this is the Englishman's pride and delight; that he points with exultation to the enormous sums so easily collected in his country; and they think that these might well be increased in favour of the principle of nationalities and to correct the map of Europe. Not contented with refusing the small sacrifices thus demanded for the tranquillity of the Continent, I regret to add that England has just been detected in a still more disgraceful act, one bearing the character of the deepest duplicity. She it was who urged upon the Government and people of France the propriety of taking certain diplomatic steps in favour of Poland, with the sole intention of destroying the secret alliance which she was well aware existed between France and Russia, and which the Emperor's speech acknowledges.

The Danish complication, which threatens to turn the Federal Execution into a war, being the last question of European politics, of course fills a large space in all the papers. The questions between Germany and Denmark, which were in the late King's time so singularly complicated that it was hopeless to attempt making them intelligible, are much simplified by his death—so far, at least, as the matter of right goes. The original union of those countries resulted from the election of the then King of Denmark and his heirs male as Dukes of Holstein and Sleswig. Females have since then been declared apt to succeed to the Danish Crown, but this extension of the original limitation has never been sanctioned by the Duchies. The claim of the present King of Denmark to take Sleswig and Holstein as concomitant parts of the Danish succession is exactly the same which the present Queen of England might have made upon Hanover, with the difference that England was glad to be rid of Hanover, and Denmark is quite determined to keep the Duchies. It is true that the great Powers, in a little Congress about eleven years ago, arranged among themselves to sanction the change of succession, not to revert in Denmark to the old law, but to annex the Duchies as an integral part of the Danish dominions, to the exclusion of the rightful heir to them, the Duke of Augustenburg. It is said,

in justification of this, that he took a part against the then reigning sovereign in the troubles instigated by the German Governments in 1849, and this may probably be sufficiently proved. But he was not tried for his treason, and the exclusion from the rights of succession was not pronounced by any court of justice, or by the king himself, as high justiciary. Now, it is an old maxim of law, that till judgment has been pronounced by the competent authority its effects are not in force. The Duke of Augustenburg is undoubtedly the next heir to Holstein, but he has abdicated in favour of his son. His son, however, is as little apt to succeed in German royal law as the Elector of Hesse's children, his mother not having been of royal blood. The only thing, therefore, which seems evident is, that Christian IX. has no other claim to these Duchies than the diplomatic convention of 1852; and it is difficult to see how this could create a right in the absence of the consent of all the agnates. The act being so evidently questionable, it is not at all impossible that a European war may follow to legitimatise it.

The communication made by the French Minister at Washington, as stated in the last telegrams, is thought here to bring strong confirmation of the interpretation I gave of M. Drouyn's concluding despatch to M. Mercier, published in the *Yellow Book*. Monday's *Moniteur* had a letter from New York, pointing in strong terms to the useless waste of human life in battles which lead to nothing but its sacrifice, and reflecting on the want of generalship on both sides which renders them thus indecisive. Its tone is so similar to that of a leader in the *Times* of the same day, that the one would have seemed to have been suggested by the other, if their simultaneous publication had not rendered this impossible. I have before this called your attention to the excellence of the military correspondence from America contained in the *Moniteur*. The writer agrees with others in regarding the movement now made upon Chattanooga as likely to be the most decisive of the war, but he points out what he considers a fault in the execution of the plan—the numerous detachments sent into East and West Tennessee, from a wish to clear that country of the enemy, instead of waiting to do so after his principal force had been crushed.

The verification of the elections still occupies the Chamber of Deputies, remarkable only for the appearance of a new oratorical talent, M. Thullier, whose brilliant display as commissary of the Government has obtained him the honour of an autograph letter from the Emperor, to be followed no doubt, by the highest dignities in his gift. From Compiegne there is only news of hunting parties and theatricals.

The Prince de Latour d'Auvergne had his audience of leave yesterday, and will probably be in London as soon as this letter. His task will be more easy than it seemed likely to be, as the adhesion of England to the project of a Congress has just been received. Russia and Austria alone now hang back, but the latter will probably quickly follow the example of England. Its hesitations and evident resolve to do nothing in this matter, unless with English concurrence, are said to have given great offence here. A very clever pamphlet by M. Felix Anceigne, *L'Alliance Russo-Américaine*, has just been published. To those of your readers who are curious in noting the political inconsistency of the United States, it will prove interesting. I need not say that its author, well-known by his advocacy of the Confederation in the *Patrie*, treats the Northern leaders with great severity. He has chosen a point of view from which French politicians are more likely to understand the American quarrel than any other.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, November, 25.

"PROUD PRESTON" is hastening to the front to do battle in the Confederate cause. A public requisition, influentially and numerously signed by representatives of all classes, has just been presented to the Mayor, and in compliance with the terms thereof, his worship has consented to call an open meeting of the inhabitants of the town, to express their opinion in favour of peace, upon the basis of the recognition of the South. The meeting will be convened at an early date, and there is no doubt whatever that the resolutions arrived at will be tantamount to another practical refutation of Earl Russell's recent mis-statement, if, indeed, they do not go further by giving the signal for a general and indignant condemnation, in the manufacturing districts, of his lordship's policy in regard to the American war.

In its admiration of pluck on the part of the Confederacy, and in demanding fair play on the part of our own country, Preston is another Oldham. But there is a third point upon which, if I am rightly informed, even greater stress will be laid at the forthcoming demonstration, viz., the duty of stopping the recruitment of the Federal armies by the fighting population drained from a portion of the United Kingdom. If Earl Russell, they say, must needs busy himself with his active non-intervention (!), why not expend some of his zeal for "neutrality" in laying an embargo not only upon the steam rams in the Mersey, but upon the exodus from Ireland? It is chiefly upon this latter point that his Lordship will shortly be favoured with the opinion of the people of Preston. Beyond a question, the Irish emigrant is the real arm of Federal strength; and it is equally removed from doubt that it is the duty of our Foreign Minister, if not as a matter of fair play to the Confederacy, at least as a matter of statesmanship and justice to ourselves, that the Federals should cease to derive "aid and comfort" by a gross and, to us, most expensive evasion of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The only requisite (as is ably argued in a pamphlet largely circulated in Preston) for the Washington Cabinet to carry on its project of bloody war *ad libitum* is the supply of men sufficiently poor to be induced to go forth to fight. The comfortable but hardy farmers have long since ceased to feel such an interest in the war as to go forth themselves to fight. The shoddy traders of New York will most certainly not go. The well-paid mechanics and artisans have something better to do. The Federal Government must therefore seek for its fighting men in foreign lands. But just as it is for their advantage—argues the author of the pamphlet—to drain other countries of the raw material of armies, so it is for the disadvantage of those other countries to be so drained. These last are made by this process militarily, and consequently politically, weak. The first duty, therefore, of Earl Russell should be to watch that no foreign state thus sucks our national life-blood. But what do we find? That it is Great Britain which is virtually giving the gold-thirsty men of New York—callous as they are to the horrors of a monthly and weekly slaughter with the continual drain of life-blood, so long as they can suck gold out of the blood of perishing myriads—it is she who is virtually giving to these men the very means of carrying on this cruel slaughter for their ignoble purpose. With Earl Russell's

sanction, we are supplying both the powder and the "food for powder." It is our fellow-countrymen who are first impoverished for the convenience of America, and made fit for emigration—fit for the American recruiting-sergeant's purpose; it is our fellow-countrymen who then perish, that New York merchants may make fortunes in greenbacks; and, to sum up all, it is the raw material of our own military strength which is thus being drained from us, to aid an aggressive Power in its attempt to exterminate a people from whom no Englishman can withhold his sympathy, and whom it may yet be our primest interest to have earlier conciliated as an ally.

While such are the opinions of the people of Preston as to the Irish emigration, which our Foreign Minister makes no effort to stop, let us see what the same people think as to the iron-clads in the Mersey, which his lordship has stopped with a vengeance. The following memorial will best show the state of public feeling upon that subject:—

"To the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"The Memorial of the undersigned humbly sheweth,—

"That your memorialists are the representatives of a society composed of persons of various political opinions and religious beliefs, who have united themselves together for the purpose of showing sympathy for, and giving moral support to, the people of the Southern States of America, now engaged, as you yourself have acknowledged—in fighting for Independence.

"That your memorialists have learnt with considerable regret that the Government of which your Lordship is a member persist in detaining two vessels recently built in the Mersey, and to which your Lordship's attention has been directed by the Union and Emancipation Society. Your memorialists are of opinion that inasmuch as there is no proof, but only a suspicion, of the destination of those vessels, and as the law declares there must be at all times a thorough sober persuasion and satisfaction with respect of the guilt of the party accused, it would be a departure from the principles of the English Constitution if the vessels in question were to be detained. Your memorialists believe that, by detaining those vessels, the wicked wishes of those who are fighting to subjugate and exterminate the brave people of the South would be as much complied with as if the vessels were to be delivered up to them. And your memorialists would press upon your Lordship's attention that, in the case of the *Alexandra*, the Lord Chief Baron said:—'I have no hesitation in saying that, according to all the decisions, a shipbuilder has as much right to build a ship and sell it to either of the belligerent parties, as the maker of gunpowder, or of muskets, or any other warlike implements, has to sell any of those articles to the same parties; it is, in fact, laid down in Kent's Commentaries on American Law that it is the right of neutral subjects to supply both belligerents with arms and all munitions of war.' Again, he said:—'When two belligerents are carrying on war, a neutral Power may supply, without any breach of international law, and without a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, munitions of war—gunpowder, every description of arms, everything, in fact, that can be used for the destruction of human beings. Why should ships be an exception? I am of opinion, in point of law, they are not.' And again, he said to the jury:—'If you think the object really was to build a ship in obedience to an order in compliance with a contract, leaving to those who bought it to make what use they thought fit of it, then it appears to me the Foreign Enlistment Act has not been broken.'

"Your memorialists would further remark that the detention of the vessels is a dangerous interference with English trade. Our country is one of the great markets of the world, where every customer may be fully and fairly supplied. The pre-eminence of our shipbuilders is acknowledged by the foreign countries that purchases our ships. But if, to gratify public or private spite, a body of persons can succeed in inducing the Government of this country to detain any vessels on the ground that certain parties choose to suspect them, an important branch of our trade will be injured. Already have our merchants suffered great losses by reason of the interference of Mr. Lincoln's Government with ships trading between neutral ports, and it therefore seems to your memorialists particularly important that no steps should be taken by her Majesty's Government, which, by preventing English shipbuilders from supplying their customers, would increase the evils whereof so many persons complain.

"Your memorialists beg your Lordship to understand that though their sympathies are with the people of the Southern States, they are anxious for a strict neutrality on the part of the English Government. That strict neutrality, they believe, would be violated by the detention of vessels supposed to be intended for the Confederate Government. Your memorialists understand by a 'neutrality' the treating both the belligerents exactly alike; and inasmuch as the Federals buy in this country whatever is necessary to them for the prosecution of their war of EMPIRE, your memorialists plead that the Confederates may, on principles of equity, purchase in this country whatever is necessary to them for the prosecution of their war of INDEPENDENCE. Your memorialists entertain no doubt of the ultimate success of the patriotic Confederates, provided that they are allowed fair play, and that this country does not, by withholding supplies from them, and furnishing supplies to the Federals, help the arms of their enemies. Your memorialists ask your Lordship, therefore, to use your influence that both the belligerents may be treated with equal fairness in the purchases they seek to make in England.

"And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

"Signed on behalf of the people of Preston by  
THOMAS GOODAIR, Chairman,  
JOHN WORTHINGTON, Treasurer,  
JOSEPH DAWSON, Secretary."

The difficulties of the Union and Emancipation Society are thickening apace. It will now be the duty of that body, in its next communication to the Foreign Minister, to explain away the significance of the following incident:—on Monday morning a procession of distressed operatives was marshalled on the way to the Town-hall, to ask an interview with his worship the Mayor on the subject of certain grievances they complain of at the hands of the Manchester Board of Guardians. The procession, which consisted of 200 or 300 people, was preceded by a carriage-van, the occupants of which bore aloft a large placard inscribed as follows:—

"MOTTO OF FREEDOM: A fair day's work and a fair day's wage—and no Bastille to keep our wives and children from starvation."

The processionists crowded the front of the hall, while the van, with its attractive banner, moved up and down King-street, apparently much to the surprise of the Earl of Derby, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, Lord Edward Howard, Colonel Wilson Patten, and other gentlemen, who happened to drive



up to the building at the time to attend the usual weekly meeting of the Central Executive Committee. His lordship granted the desired interview, and one of the spokesmen at once entered into a list of grievances, the chief being in regard to the hours of labour. The Mayor said he could not interfere with the guardians, or any of their arrangements. The deputation said they had been informed that the corporation had applied to the Poor-law Board for money to be expended in public works; that the money had been offered to the corporation, but that the corporation had refused it. The Mayor said this was not true. The money had been granted, but, owing to certain forms not being filled up, it was not yet to hand. When it was received it would have to be carefully expended, and in such works as the Act of Parliament provided, namely, the paving of streets, the sewerage of districts, and other works of sanitary improvement. Most likely the operatives who were employed under the Public Works Act would be paid by piece-work, and it was not improbable that the money would be expended through the boards of guardians, who would make the work a species of labour test. The money would not be indiscriminately distributed, but would be given in return for work done.

A meeting of operatives was subsequently held in Stevenson-square, when the leader of the deputation reported the result of the interview. Some violent speeches followed, and a threat was thrown out that as the operatives had been met by the guardians "with brutal severity and base cruelty," they were now resolved to "demand what they wanted, and to take the case, to a certain extent, into their own hands." Another speaker said that the Mayor was linked in with tyrants and that the link must be broken asunder; and if the grievances were not redressed between that day and next Monday, they would again march with their banners through the streets of Manchester.

The meeting terminated with groans for the Board of Guardians and the detective police.

Mr. Cobden addressed his constituents at Rochdale yesterday evening, Mr. Bright being also present. A large portion of the speeches of both honourable gentlemen was devoted to American affairs. Mr. Cobden said he never believed—and now he believed less than ever—that he should ever live, or that anyone present would live, to see two separate nations within the confines of "the present United States of America." Referring, however, to the drain upon Northern resources in fighting men and money, Mr. Cobden added: "The North are mistaken if they think they can carry on a civil war like this, drawing a million of men from productive industry to be engaged in the processes of destruction,—to spend two or three hundred millions sterling—they are deluded if they think they can carry on a war like that without a terrible collapse sooner or later and a dreadful prostration in every part of the community." Such a confession from Mr. Cobden, which it must be owned was not reassuring, appeared to jar upon the more intensely American susceptibilities of Mr. Bright. The last-named orator lost no time in suggesting, by way of correction, that—thanks to Ireland—the North would have an inexhaustible supply of men. "Don't send us one more man," exclaimed Mr. Beecher, in jocular irony, the other day. "Send every Irishman that will go," exclaims Mr. Bright; not indeed, to recruit the Northern armies, for that would be an infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, but simply to leave off bog-trotting, and to take to land-holding in the fertile West. Mr. Bright did not exactly advocate this mode of fighting the battle of the North, but he suggested that it might be found successful if it were tried; and to do him justice he certainly did not deplore the prospect of thus weakening the military strength of his own country. These were his words upon this curious subject: "I am not certain that if the United States of America were to send transport ships to Ireland and offer to carry every Irishman, free of cost, to the United States, and to send them to the lands of the West (!) I am not certain there would be men enough left in Ireland at the end of one year to cultivate one-half of its land."

**THE LINCOLN POLICY.**—A private letter, dated Washington, November 7, from a thoroughly well-informed source, contains the following:—"There will be no 'vigorous prosecution of the war' this winter. The Administration means to let the war drag, and to use the soldiers for political purposes—that is, by controlling local elections, and by keeping the army comparatively idle, so as to postpone anything that might be decisive on one side or the other till Lincoln secures a re-nomination. The Abolitionists will force the conviction upon the Northern mind that the war is in their hands, and that they alone can bring it to a successful close. The only hope is, that there will be a conflict between Lincoln and Chase for the nomination—Lincoln holding the sword and Chase the (paper) purse. Nor will Congress talk much this winter about the war or the negro. The first thing is, to decide whether the Southern States are States or Territories; and the next thing is, to decide (as will be attempted) that there are no 'State Rights,' North or South. We look for a spiny session. If Sumner should carry through his Bill that the Southern States are *not* States in the Union, you see at once that the North and South are in unison on that point, for the South says the same thing. If he fails to carry his Bill (as he will) and the Southern States are declared to be still States in the Union—only in rebellion—they are entitled to all their rights; that is, the Emancipation and Confiscation Acts are, and must be, acknowledged to be illegal, and are of course void. Either horn of the dilemma is an unpleasant one for the North to admit, and the discussion of these matters paves the way for peace and for the recognition, sooner or later, of the South by the North. The Lincoln party considers the restoration of the Union a matter of small consequence in comparison with the continuance of its reign, even if its rule extends only over the North. To hold the North, they are willing to 'let the Union slide' and to let the South go. See if it is not so before Lincoln's term ends. This steamer will not carry anything abroad that is startling. The situation in Virginia, Tennessee, and before Charleston is simply unchanged, and winter will prevent active operations. Political matters will be all in all."

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.**—The Society will meet on Tuesday, 1st December, at eight o'clock precisely, when the following paper, having been read at the previous meeting, on "The Negro; his Place in Nature," by Dr. James Hunt, F.S.A., Pres. A.S.L., the discussion, which was then adjourned, will be continued.

#### LETTER OF HON. ROBERT J. WALKER TO THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

NEW YORK, September 30, 1856.

"You ask me, if I cannot attend your meeting in person, to communicate for publication my views on the pending presidential election."

"We are approaching the close of a momentous struggle. On the one side is arrayed the Democratic party. It exists in every State, and over its united columns floats the flag of the Constitution and of the Union. On the other side is found a sectional and geographical party, composed exclusively of the States of the North. The Father of his Country clearly foresaw the danger of such a party, and warned us against its fatal tendency, in his affectionate Farewell Address. . . .

"For the first time in our history, such a geographical party is now formed. It is composed exclusively of the States of the North, and is arrayed in violent hostility against the Southern section of the Confederacy. It draws a line, clear and distinct, between the North and the South, and wars upon the people and institutions of the latter. It declares the institutions of the South so degraded and infamous that Congress must exclude them from all that vast territory acquired by common blood and treasure, and which is the joint inheritance of all the States of the Union. Louisiana (including Kansas and Nebraska) was acquired by Jefferson and saved by Jackson. But the South are no longer held worthy to inherit any portion of that territory, acquired by the illustrious patriot of Virginia, and saved by the immortal hero of Tennessee."

"So, too, with all the vast region acquired in the war with Mexico. Two gallant sons of Virginia, Scott and Taylor, were the leaders of those brilliant campaigns. The blood of the South was poured out in copious libations, and mingled freely with the blood of the North, upon the many and well-fought fields of Mexico. Beside the gallant sons of the North, a heroic regiment of South Carolina was swept by the deadly fire of the Mexican forces. Leader after leader, column after column of that regiment, fell mortally wounded; yet the survivors never wavered, and their arms were crowned with victory. Yet no son of Carolina, or of all the South, is held worthy to possess any, the smallest portion, of all that territory acquired from Mexico."

"It is conceded that under the Constitution of the United States slaves are property, and whether they may or may not be held as such in the Territories is the great disputed question of constitutional law. It involves rights of property, and as such is peculiarly a judicial question. But the Supreme Court of the Union is to be superseded by the popular suffrage of the North, and these rights of property are thus to be decided. Such a doctrine is not only sectional, aggressive, and belligerent, but agrarian and revolutionary. It is an overthrow of the Constitution, of all its guarantees, and of every Conservative principle on which it is founded. Such a government would not be a constitutional republic, but an *elective despotism*. But it is said the North are the majority, and such is their will. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratio voluntas*. But the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon the Great first their Consul and then their Emperor, and the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon III. first their President and then clothed him with the imperial purple; such was the will of the people; but with us the Constitution is the supreme law, and so declared in that instrument, as framed and ratified by the people of each State."

"The truth is, the Black Republican platform is revolutionary and agrarian; it involves principles which must strike down the tenure of all property in every State as well as in every Territory of the Union. It discards the peaceful arbitration of the Supreme Court of the United States—the great conservative feature of our institutions. It overthrows the Constitution and all its guarantees, and substitutes in their place an elective despotism, by which a majority of the people may abolish, divide, or confiscate all property at each successive election."

"Will this controversy be more wisely decided by the people of the North, a single geographical section, inflamed by sectional passion and prejudice, impelled by newspaper editors, and husting orators, and political priests, with or without knowledge, with or without patriotism, with or without sincere religion, with or without fanaticism, with or without mature investigation, with or without selfish aspirations? Day by day, from the press, the hustings, the bookstore, the pulpit, the lecture-room, the school-house, the theatre, the library, the author's closet, the painter's brush, and the power of song, the North now is, and long has been, trained and educated to hate the South, to despise their institutions, to trample upon their rights, to lacerate their feelings, to calumniate their character, to forget all their noble deeds in war and in peace, and all their generous qualities and high intellectual endowments, and to dwell only upon their faults, which are the lot of our common humanity."

"But this so-called Republican platform is not only revolutionary and agrarian, but by forming a sectional and geographical party, arraying the North against the South and assailing the bulwarks of the Constitution, it exposes the Union to imminent peril. It is the Constitution that makes the Union, and the subversion of the Constitution is the overthrow of the Union. It is revolution, because it changes, in fact, our form of Government. The parchment upon which the Constitution is written may still remain, the empty forms may still be administered, but even these will soon follow, until not a fragment remains of the Government formed by the patriots and sages of the Revolution. If there are those who believe that the Union can long be preserved when the Constitution shall have been subverted, and the supreme judicial tribunal of the Union expunged or obliterated, their delusive hopes, their dreams of domination and power, will soon vanish. We have now not only a sectional and geographical party, based upon a sectional issue and realising all the fears of the illustrious Washington, but we have a party advocating doctrines agrarian and revolutionary, subjecting all property to division or confiscation, and expunging the supreme judicial tribunal. I indulge in no menaces against the Union; I make no predictions on a subject of such fearful import. But this I can say, that the South will not and ought not to submit to degradation; they will not be despoiled by the North of all rights in the common Territory; they will not surrender their constitutional guarantees; they love the Union, but it is the Union of the Constitution, the Union of equals with equals, and not of sovereign States of the North with subject States—say rather, conquered provinces—of the

South. Rather than submit to this, they will adopt the last alternative, *separation*, and will then exclaim—

'Thy spirit, INDEPENDENCE, let me share,  
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye!  
Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,  
Though rolling clouds should lower along the sky.'

"If my voice could reach even the Black 'Republican' party, I would say, Re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, but tear down your disunion African platform, ere you endorse it at the polls, and give the country some other platform which will not imperil the Union."

"No, my countrymen! If, in the madness of sectional passions and geographical prejudice, you overthrow the Constitution framed by Washington and the sages of the Revolution, you can never provide adequate substitutes. Those who have achieved our country's ruin can never regather the scattered fragments of the Constitution and rebuild the sacred edifice. No! it will be war, civil war; of all others the most sanguine and ferocious. The line which separates the North from the South will be known in all history as the line of blood. It will be marked on either side by frowning fortresses, by opposing batteries, by gleaming sabres, by bristling bayonets, by the tramp of contending armies, by towns and cities sacked and pillaged, by dwellings given to the flames, and fields laid waste and desolate. No mortal hand can lift the veil which conceals the unspeakable disasters of such a conflict. No prophet vision can penetrate the dark abyss of such a catastrophe. It will be a second Fall of mankind, and while we shall be performing here the bloody drama of a nation's suicide, from the thrones of Europe will arise the exulting shouts of despots, and upon their gloomy banners shall be inscribed, as they believed never to be effaced, their motto—

'Man is incapable of self-government.'

"Nor let it be supposed by the North that superior numbers will give them the victory over the South, or exempt them from the calamities of such a conflict. The financial and industrial ruin of the North would be great and overwhelming."

"But crimes, tumults, taxes, misery, deaths, government, State, city and county debts, at enormous rates of interest, would all increase, while liberty itself would expire in the conflict; and the bayonet, as in Europe, take the place of the ballot-box. The goals and poorhouses would be multiplied; sieges and battles prevail, and thousands perish in fraternal strife."

"The taxes to support those who could not support themselves and to maintain large and costly armies in the field, would be incalculable."

"Look at Europe. Her armies, now numbering nearly 4,000,000 men (greater than our whole voting population), trample down the rights and interests of the people and consume their substance, while European government debts have nearly reached ten thousand millions of dollars. But, at least, they have suppressed the guillotine, and possess what they call 'law and order.' But would we have even these, until military usurpation had closed the drama of blood and violence, and written the last sad epitaph of human liberty and self-government?"

"But now the Union between the North and the South, so far as the votes for the sectional candidates of the so-called 'Republican' party are concerned, is *already dissolved*. For no man anticipates a solitary electoral vote for those candidates in any State of the South; but this controversy is to be settled exclusively in favour of the North, and by the exclusive vote of the North, and the rights, interests and wishes of the South are to be wholly disregarded."

"The flag of the North 'American' party, as they call themselves, is trailing in the dust, and is replaced by the black 'Republican' standard. Your leaders have surrendered the American flag, and taken in exchange the African banner."

"In my inmost soul I believe that James Buchanan is the only man on whom, in sufficient force, the friends of the Union can unite to save the country."

"Come Democrats, come Whigs, come friends of the Union of every party; come to the rescue of that Union which James Buchanan loves so well, and to preserve which the patriot statesman of Pennsylvania has given a long life of devoted service."

"Respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

(Signed) R. J. WALKER."

[Note.—The italics in the foregoing are those of Mr. Walker himself.]

#### DR. HUNT ON THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.

At a crowded meeting of the Anthropological Society, held on the 17th inst., the following paper was read by Dr. James Hunt, the President:—

I propose in this communication to discuss the physical and mental characters of the Negro, with a view of determining not only his position in animated nature, but also the station he should occupy in the genus Homo. I shall necessarily have to go over a wide field, and cannot hope to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. I shall be amply satisfied if I succeed in directing the attention of my scientific friends to a study of this most important and hitherto nearly neglected branch of study in the great science of Anthropology.

It is not a little remarkable that the subject I propose to bring before you this evening is one which has never been discussed before a scientific audience in this Metropolis. In France, in America, and in Germany, the physical and mental characters of the Negro have been frequently discussed, and England alone has neglected to pay that attention to the question which its importance demands. I shall, therefore, not apologise to you for bringing this subject in its entirety under your consideration, although I should have preferred discussing each point in detail. I hope, however, this evening to lay before you facts and opinions that will make a good foundation for future inquiry and discussion. Although I shall dwell chiefly on the physical, mental, and moral characters of the Negro, I shall, at the same time, not hesitate to make such practical deductions which appear to be warranted from the facts we now have at hand, and trust that a fair and open discussion of this subject may eventually be the means of removing much of the misconception which appears to prevail on this subject both in the minds of the public, and too frequently in the minds of scientific men. While, however, I shall honestly and without reservation state the conclusions to which I have arrived, I shall at the same time listen with deep attention and respect to those who differ from me, and who support their opinions by facts, by the observation of some



travellers, and by their own observation. Heretofore, however, it has happened that much human passion has been introduced, not only into public discussions, but especially into the literature of this subject. Even such a generally fair and philosophic writer as Professor Waitz has accused men of science of promulgating scientific views which are practically in favour of the so-called "slavery" of the Confederate States of America. Many other scientific men could be named who have equally been guilty of imputing such unfair and uncharitable motives. While, on the other hand, scientific men who are thus accused retort by calling their opponents all sorts of epithets. One writer, for instance, exclaims: "How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral, and physical equality for the Negro which the whites possess!"\* No good can come of discussion conducted in such a spirit. If we wish to discover what is the truth, we must give each other credit for scientific honesty, and not impute base or interested motives.

In the first place, I would explain that I understand by the Negro, the dark, woolly-headed African found in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, Senegal, and Kongo rivers. Africa contains, like every other continent, a large number of different races; and these, having become very much mixed, may be estimated as a whole at about 150 millions, occupying a territory of between 13 and 14 millions of square miles. I shall not enter into any disquisition as to the great diversity of physical conformation that is found in different races, but shall simply say that my remarks will be confined to the typical woolly-headed Negro. Not only is there a large amount of mixed blood in Africa, but there are also apparently races of very different physical characters, and in as far as they approach the typical Negro so far will my remarks apply to them. But I shall exclude entirely from consideration all those who have European, Asiatic, Moorish or Berber blood in their veins.

# THE NEGRO.

My object is to attempt to determine the position which one well-defined race occupies in the genus Homo, and the relation or analogy which the Negro race bears to animated nature generally. We have heard discussions recently respecting Man's place in nature: but it seems to me that we err in grouping all the different races of Man under one generic name, and then comparing them with the Anthropoid Apes. If we wish to make any advance in discussing such a subject, we must not speak of man generally, but must select one race or species, and draw our comparison in this manner. I shall adopt this plan in comparing the Negro with the European, as represented by the German, Frenchman, or Englishman. Our object is, not to support some foregone conclusion, but to endeavour to ascertain what is the truth by a careful and conscientious examination and discussion of the facts before us. In any conclusion I may draw respecting the Negro's character, no decided opinion will be implied as to the vexed question of man's origin. If the Negro could be proved to be a distinct species to the European, it would not be proved that they had not the same origin—it would only render their identity of origin less likely. I shall, also, have to dwell much on the analogies existing between the Negro and the Anthropoid Apes; but these analogies do not necessarily involve relationship. The Negro race, in some of its characters, is the lowest of existing races, while in others it approaches the highest type of European: and this is the case with other savage races. We find the same thing in the Anthropoid Apes, where some species resemble man in one character and some in another. The father of English ethnology, Dr. Prichard, taught that the original pair must have been Negroes, and that mankind descended from them. His words are:—"It must be concluded that the process of nature in the human species is the transmutation of the characters of the Negro into those of the European, or the evolution of white varieties in black races of men. We have seen that there are causes existing which are capable of producing such an alteration, but we have no facts which induce us to suppose that the reverse of this change could in any circumstance be effected. This leads us to the inference that the primitive stock of men were Negroes, which has every appearance of truth." It is not a little remarkable that although Blumenbach and Prichard were both advocates for the unity of man, they materially differed in their arguments. Blumenbach saw, in his five varieties of man, nothing but degeneracy from some ideal perfect type. Prichard, on the contrary, asserted he could imagine no arguments, or knew of no facts, to support such a conclusion. Prichard, however, was not alone in this supposition; for Pallas, Lacépède, Hunter, Schelver, Doornik, and Link, were also inclined to the same view. We must not dwell on such idle speculations, for on the present occasion we shall not touch on the origin of man: it will be enough if we assist in removing some of the misconception in which the Negro race has been enveloped in the minds of some of my scientific brethren. It is too generally taught that the negro only differs from the European in the colour of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair; but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are by no means the only things which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally, than the demonstrated physical difference. In the first place, what are the physical distinctions between the Negro and the other races of man?

The average height of the Negro is less than the European, and although there are occasionally exceptions, the skeleton of the Negro is generally heavier, and the bones larger and thicker in proportion to the muscles, than those of the European. The bones are also whiter, from the greater abundance of calcareous salts. The thorax is generally laterally compressed, and, in thin individuals, presents a cylindrical form, and is smaller in proportion to the extremities. The extremities of the Negro differ from other races more by proportion than by form: the arm usually reaches below the middle of the femur. The leg is on the whole longer, but is made to look short on account of the ankle being only between 1½ in. to 1½ in. above the ground. This character is often seen in mulattoes. The foot is flat, and the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the Negro to those of the ape. The toes are small, the first separated from the second by a free space. Many observers have noticed the fact that the Negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The knees are rather bent, the calves weak, and the upper part of the thigh rather thin. The upper thigh-bone of the Negro has not so decided a resemblance to the ape as that of the bushman. He rarely stands quite upright, his short neck and large development of the cervical muscles give great strength to the neck; enabling him to fight like a ram, or carry large weights on his head. The shoulders, arms, and legs are all weak in comparison. The hand is always relatively

larger than in the European. The palm is flat, the thumb narrow, long, and very weak.

It appears from a table prepared by Dr. Pruner Bey, that the humerus and the femur in the Negro and European, of equal height, are shorter in the Negro than in the European: while the tibia, the foot, the radius, and the hand are more elongated than in the Negro race. That the fingers and arms are longer has long been affirmed, but we have to thank Dr. Pruner Bey for the absolute proof.

The great distinguishing characters of the Negro are the flattened forehead, which is low and compressed. The nose and whole face is flattened, and the Negro thus has a facial angle generally between 70 and 75 degrees, occasionally only 65 degrees. The nasal cavities and the orbits are spacious. The skull is very hard and unusually thick; enabling the Negroes to fight or carry heavy weights on their heads with pleasure. The coronal region is arched, but not so much developed as in the European woman. The posterior portion of the skull is increased, however, in proportion to that of the anterior being diminished. But M. Gratiolet has shown that the unequal development of the anterior lobes is not the sole cause of the psychological inequalities of human races. The same scientific observer has also stated that in the superior or frontal races, the cranial sutures close much later than in the inferior or occipital races. The frontal races he considers superior, not simply from the form of the skull, but because they have an absolutely more voluminous brain. The frontal cavity being much larger than the occipital, a great loss of space is caused by the depressing of the anterior region, which is not compensated for by the increase of the occipital region. M. Gratiolet has also observed that in the anterior races the sutures of the cranium do not close so early as in the occipital or inferior race. From these researches it appears that in the Negro the growth of the brain is sooner arrested than in the European. This premature union of the bones of the skull may give a clue to much of the mental inferiority which is seen in the Negro race. There can be no doubt that in puberty a great change takes place in relation to psychical development; but in the Negro there appears to be an arrested development of the brain exactly harmonising with the physical formation. Young Negro children are nearly as intelligent as European children; but the older they grow the less intelligent they become. They exhibit, when young, an animal liveliness for play and tricks far surpassing the European child. The infant ape's skull resembles more the Negro's head than the aged ape, and thus shows a striking analogy in their craniological development.

Weber pointed out that there were four forms of the human pelvis, and that they might be classified under the following heads:—The oval (European), round (American), square (Mongol), and oblong (African). The latest researches of Dr. Pruner Bey enables him to affirm that this law is perfectly applicable to the Negro. The head of the Negro is the test type of the long skull, with small development of the frontal region. The form of the pelvis is narrow, conical, or cuneiform, and small in all its diameters. Vollik has asserted that the pelvis of the Negro male bears a great resemblance to that of the lower mammalia. With respect to the capacity of the cranium of the Negro, great difference of opinion has prevailed.\* Tiedemann's researches, although very limited, have until recently been accepted as satisfactory. He stated it as his opinion that "the brain of the Negro is, upon the whole, quite as large as that of the European and other human races; the weight of the brain, its dimensions, and the capacity of the *cavum cranii* prove this fact." All recent researches have, however, done much to show that Tiedemann's investigations are not only unsatisfactory, but that his conclusion is not warranted by the facts which we now have at hand. Blumenbach's, Knox's, and Lawrence's conclusions did not accord with Tiedemann's. But the most satisfactory researches on this point are those made by the late Dr. Morton, of America, and his successor, Dr. J. A. Meigs, of Philadelphia. Dr. Meigs, in following out the researches of his predecessor, has found that in size of the brain, the Negro comes after the European, Finn, Syro-Egyptian, Mongol, Malay, the Semitic, American Indian, and the Esquimaux; but that the brain of the Negro race takes precedence of the ancient civilised races of America, the Egyptian of all periods, the Hindoo, the Hottentot, the Australian, and the Negroes of Polynesia. Thus we see that the negro has at least six well-defined races above him and six below him, taking the internal cavity of the brain as a test. Pruner Bey says that his own experience with the external measurements did not yield essentially different results. But we now know that it is necessary to be most cautious in accepting the capacity of the cranium simply as any absolute test of the intellectual power of any race.

The recent researches of Huschke on this point are most significant and valuable. He gives the following mean measurements of the surface of the cranium, viz:—

	Male Negro: 53,206 square millimetres.	Male European: 59,305 square millimetres.
Female:	49,898 "	Women: 53,375 "
Relative size of three cranial vertebrae expressed in hundredths (1).		
1st vertebra	Negro. 77	Negress. 81
2nd and 3rd together	923	919
	1000	1000
2nd vertebra alone	757	764
3rd vertebra	243	236
	1000	1000

"It is surprising," says Pruner Bey, who quotes these tables, "to observe to what a degree the mean capacity of the Negro cranium approaches in its ensemble that of the European female, and particularly how much in both the middle vertebra predominates above the two others; whilst on the contrary, in the European male, the posterior vertebra, and particularly the anterior, are more developed in relation to the middle vertebra than they are in the negro and in the European female. It should be remarked that the occipital vertebra of the Negress is more spacious than that of the Negro."

Tiedemann affirmed that the hair of the Negro did not resemble that of the orang-utan more than the European, except in the more symmetrical distribution of the gyri and sulci. Tiedemann also denied Soemmering's assertion that the nerves of the negro are larger, in proportion to the brain, than in the European; but Pruner Bey has confirmed Soemmering's assertion.

There seems to be, generally, less difference between the Negro and Negress, than between the European male and female: but on the other hand, the Negress, with the shortened humerus, presents a disadvantage "which one might be

tempted to look at as a return to the animal form." Lawrence says, "the Negro structure approaches unequivocally to that of the ape;" while Bory St. Vincent, and Fischer do not greatly differ in their description of the anatomy of the Negro from the facts I have adduced.

It cannot be doubted that the brain of the Negro bears a great resemblance to a European woman or child's brain, and thus approaches the ape far more than the European, while the Negress approaches still nearer to the ape.

With regard to the chemical constituents of the brain of the Negro, little positive is yet known. It has been found, however, that the grey substance of the brain of a Negro is of a darker colour than that of the European, that the whole brain has a smoky tint, and that the *pia mater* contains brown spots, which are never found in the brain of an European. M. Broca has recently had an opportunity of confirming the truth of this statement. With regard to the convulsions there is unanimous testimony that the convulsions of the brain of the Negro are less numerous and more massive than in the European. Waitz thinks that the only resemblance of the Negro's brain to that of the ape is limited to this point. Some observers have thought they have detected a great resemblance between the development of the temporal lobe in the Negro and ape; but much further observation is required on this important subject.

The eyes are more separated than in the European, but not so much so as in the Mongol. The aperture of the eye is narrow, horizontal, and both eyes are wide apart. All the teeth, especially the last molars, are generally large, long, hard, and very white, and usually show little signs of being worn. In some Negro skulls there have been found an extra molar in the upper jaw. There is sometimes a space between the incisors and canine teeth of the upper jaw. The interior molars sometimes present in the Negro race five tubercles, and this anomaly is sporadically found in other races. It has been noticed in the European and the Esquimaux, but is affirmed by my friend Mr. Carter Blake to be more frequent in the Negro and Australian than in any other race. Sometimes Negroes have thirty-four instead of thirty-two teeth. The skin between the fingers, according to Van der Hoeven, reaches higher up than in the European. The skin is also much thicker, especially on the skull, the palm of the hand, and the sole of the foot. The *rete mucosum*, which is the chief seat of coloration, presents nothing particular as regards structure. The hair of the Negro is essentially different from that of the European, and consists of a coarse, crisp, frizzly sort of wool, and grows in tufts, like the wool of sheep. It is rarely more than three inches long, and generally not nearly so much.\* The larynx in the Negro is not much developed, and the voice resembles sometimes the alto of an eunuch. In the male the voice is low and hoarse, and in the female it is acute and shrieking; at least, this is the opinion that has generally been given by Hamilton Smith and others; but there appear to be exceptions, for Dr. R. Clarke says that "a pleasing manner, soft and winning ways, with a low and musical laugh, may in strict truth be declared to be the heritage of most of the Negro women." There is a peculiarity in the Negro voice by which he can always be distinguished. This peculiarity is so great that we can frequently discover traces of Negro blood when the eye is unable to detect it. No amount of education or time is likely ever to enable the Negro to speak the English language without this twang. Even his great faculty of imitation will not enable him to do this.

Having thus briefly recapitulated the anatomical peculiarities of the Negro, we now come to the physiological difference between the Negro and European.

The assumption of the unity of the species of man has been based chiefly on the asserted fact that the offspring of all the mixtures of the so-called races of man are prolific. Now this is assuming what yet has to be established. At present it is only proved that the descendants of some of the different races of man are temporarily prolific; but there is the best evidence to believe that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. This question is one which must be dealt with separately and proved by facts. At present we find that all *prima facie* evidence is against the assumption that permanently mixed races can be permanently produced, especially if the races are not very closely allied. This subject, however, merits a special discussion, and comes into that large and important question—human hybridity. We must, therefore not agree with the asserted statement, especially when we find that the two scientific men who have in recent times paid the most attention to this subject—I allude to Messrs. Broca and Nott—have come to the conclusion that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. With the permission of the Society, I will enter into that question at some future day.

M. Florens asserted that the Negro children were born white; but recent observation has shown that this is not the case. Benet, ex-physician of Runjeet Singh, and Dumoutier, affirm that the children are born chestnut colour. M. Pruner Bey confirms this fact from personal observation.

In the Negro race there is a great uniformity of temperament. In every people of Europe all temperaments exist; but in the Negro race we can only discover analogies for the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The senses of the Negro are very acute, especially the smell and taste; but Pruner Bey says that there has been much exaggeration as to the perfection of the senses of the Negro, and that their eyesight, in particular, is very much inferior to the European. The most detestable odours delight him; and he eats everything.

While the anatomical and physiological questions must be decided by actual facts, we have still remaining the psychological peculiarity of the Negro to investigate. It is here, perhaps, that the greatest amount of misconception exists in the minds of the public generally, and not unfrequently in the minds of some men of science. Wedded to the theory of a single pair for the origin of man, they attempt to show that there is in mankind no variety, nothing but uniformity.

That it may be seen I do not exaggerate on this point, I will quote the words of an esteemed friend, which he read last year at Cambridge. He says:—"For as God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and endowed them all with the same animal, intellectual, moral, and religious nature: so has he bound them all together—in accordance with the high behest that they should increase and multiply and replenish the earth—in one common bond of universal brotherhood."

[We shall continue the publication of Dr. Hunt's Lecture in our next publication.]

CHIEF JUSTICES Lowrie, Woodward, and Thompson—the first two Democrats and the last a Republican, together constituting a majority of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania—have declared the Federal Conscription Act to be unconstitutional.



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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund acknowledges the receipt of the following additional subscriptions—

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## The Advocacy of the Southern Cause.

THE lurid light of a three years' war has photographed with wonderfully vivid minuteness the moral natures of the two peoples now warring on the American Continent. Scarce forty-eight hours since, a popular orator assured an English audience that there never could be two separate nations within the confines of what he chose still to call "the United States" of America; and yet his own words bore the strongest testimony that there already live within those confines two nations radically, irreconcilably, and—thanks to a brief but eventful past which can neither be recalled nor forgotten—historically distinct. So well does the nation which has undertaken the war to make good Mr. Cobden's assertion know and feel this distinction, that the task it has set itself is avowedly nothing short of the absolute extermination of its opponent. It may be doubted whether since the days of antiquity two nations have stood arrayed in deadly strife, between whom there were so many points of antagonism and so few of resemblance. In their representative men, in their political ethics, in their modes of thought, in their motive springs of action, they occupy positions so wide apart that one is almost tempted to describe them as opposite poles of the moral world. Such a conflict cannot long be restrained within territorial limits or the local issues for which it is ostensibly waged; for sooner or later it becomes symbolical of great principles, upon which all mankind must take sides. Into this phase the American war has now entered. If we strip Mr. Cobden's words of the odious modern meaning in which he purposely used them, and take them in their genuine sense, as expressive of the contrast between the rule of the wisest and best and the rule of the many, he spoke a solemn truth when he said that the war was "an aristocratic rebellion against a democratic government." It is a solemn truth in the sense that the South is fighting for constitutional liberty and national self-government, the North for the vindication of the brute force of numbers and the right of conquest. Behold the antagonistic principles exposed to the fiery furnace of a great trial: the one, like good ore, issues purified of dross; the other, at the first touch of the flame, shrivelling the tinsel and false gilt of prosperity, is reduced to hideous cinders. The South—amid the shock of repeated invasions, amid untold sufferings and gigantic perils—has kept wide open the temples of justice, has held sacred the rights of the citizen, and has found time to reconstruct its political fabric upon broader and more solid foundations. The North—engaged in a war to all intents and purposes foreign, and suffering from none but

self-inflicted evils—seemed to possess safeguards of constitutional and individual freedom, only for the purpose of serving as the temporary scaffolding to a massive structure of naked military despotism.

Look among the respective sympathisers of the combatants, and wherever you see a man, a faction, or a class bitterly and rootedly hostile to the South, you see worshippers of that New World apotheosis of vulgarity and democracy, which was preached to the nations of the earth as the approach of a political and social millennium. Inconsistent in everything else, these worshippers are consistent only in their blind devotion, after their idol has lost all the meretricious charms for which they once extolled it. Few are bold enough to avow the articles of their creed, many are scarcely themselves conscious of its tenets, all seek to place their sympathies and antipathies on other grounds than the true ones. But test them on their own professions, surrender on the part of the South everything they pretend to hate, and their hatred will flare only the fiercer for the means you take to extinguish it. Thus, when the South threatened to emancipate her slaves by a wholesale arming, her enemies, half in triumph over her supposed prostration, and half in fear, dropped the mask, and the least discreet of their organs said: "It requires no shrewdness to discover that nine-tenths of English Abolitionists are strongly attached to the American Union. They are Liberals as well as philanthropists. They believe that human progress has much to hope and nothing to fear from the re-establishment of the Republic in unimpaired vastness and power."

It is a grave error to suppose that the Yankee is the special product of a certain portion of the American continent. He is the bastard child of our nineteenth century civilisation, claiming to be its legitimate offspring, and he is born under every clime and speaking many tongues besides the English. That peculiar combination of mental and moral deformities which we abhor in the fully developed type, is an insidious social disease which in various stages has made alarming progress in all countries, and in its mildest form infects even classes which would seem the best protected against it. It sits in every council chamber, and has a representative in every Cabinet of Europe; even royal thresholds have no charm to exclude it. Nor is the South wholly free from its presence, though the disease, like many physical diseases, is at present neutralised by a strong excitement. It is because circumstances have accelerated and perfected in America a species of geographical polarisation of ideas, that the South now fights the world's battles against Yankeeism, and bears the brunt of its collective material and moral power. But though the world has a deep interest and a momentous stake in the issues of these battles, since they must necessarily colour to a great extent the currents of thought of many generations, yet it were too much to say that the issues will be absolutely decisive and final. Whether with the pen or the sword, the same battles must be fought in other countries, and first of all, and most fiercely, in England.

It is well, in the advocacy of the Southern cause, to keep this truth prominently in mind. The more it is understood, and the more intimately it is felt, the more closely serried will be the ranks of the friends of the South. A common danger is the strongest of all bonds, a great principle the most sacred of banners, and it should be the object of all who take a leading part in the championship of the Confederacy to bring it home to the heart of every true Englishman that every blow struck in her defence is a blow also against a domestic enemy, and every defeat she sustains threatens what there is best, and wisest, and most honoured in British traditions. Though the logic of reason and of facts is overwhelmingly against the North, yet men's sympathies are directed less by arguments than by instinct. It is by an intuitive, almost unconscious, perception of what we have endeavoured to express, however inadequately, in words, that the intelligence, the social and political respectability—all that orators of the John Bright school hold up to the execration of half-educated

apprentices as the "ruling classes"—have from the beginning of the American struggle given their well-wishes to the South. But there is below, or rather beside, these "ruling classes" a fund of sound sense and of sturdy conservatism in the mass of the British people, which needs only to be left to the guidance of its own instincts to go certainly right. The symptoms are multiplying of a deep and general upheaving of the popular mind. Spreading from many centres, a movement, which cannot be correctly described as an agitation, is slowly but steadily reaching every class and interest in the kingdom. The friends of the South have only to be true to themselves and wait the event patiently, though not listlessly, to see it acquire the irresistible momentum of a national impulse.

Two dangers, however, there are, against which we would briefly caution our English and Southern friends alike. From one of these the Confederate cause has heretofore steered clear with surprising success, but as its volunteer champions become more numerous and more various it can scarcely hope always to do so. This danger is contained in the vulgar adage of "fighting the devil with fire," the most foolish of all foolish proverbs, for if there is one weapon which the evil one has least cause to fear, it must be that which he has himself chosen as his own. By nothing has the South gained so much in the estimation of Europe as by the truthfulness, the moderation of statement, the unobtrusiveness, the quiet dignity, which, as a rule, have characterised her official and private representatives. These are weapons which the Yankee, whether American-born or European-born, cannot use and cannot contend against. With their opposites it would be absurd to attempt to match him.

The other danger is the treatment of the slavery question. It is not true that slavery was the cause of the dissolution; neither is it true that slavery had nothing to do with the catastrophe. The truth is perhaps best told in a metaphor; and this is, that a rope, stretched beyond what it can bear, will break where there is a flaw or there has been fretting; but it is the tension, and not the flaw or the fretting, which breaks the rope. There is, besides, a two-fold and contradictory error, into which partisans of the South are prone to fall on this subject. One is, to concede too little to reasonable prejudices; and the other, to concede too much to unreasonable ones. The Southerner should remember that aversion to slavery is an article of the Englishman's political creed, and a part of the national conscience, and that, therefore, he has no right to obtrude views which belong to his peculiar position or to seek to make converts. On the other hand, the Englishman is bound not to accept fictions in the place of attested facts; he should make allowances for the unsolved problems arising from circumstances wholly abnormal and unprecedented, as also for the natural sensitiveness and irritability of men grossly and habitually slandered; and above all he is bound in honour to give the Southerner credit for honest motives and good intentions. If a man is tried for murder, his counsel will not either justify murder in the abstract, or apologise for his client, and promise, if let off this time, he will never commit the crime again; but, if the counsel really desires a verdict of acquittal, he will seek to establish by evidence, either that his client did not kill the man, or that the killing was, from the attendant circumstances, justifiable, and not malicious. These general principles, rapidly and of necessity imperfectly sketched, contain, to our thinking, the philosophy and the true grounds of the advocacy of the Southern cause.

## Many Critics and the War.

THERE are always plenty of critics who will tell you why a battle was lost or thrown away. Why Napoleon I. was defeated at Waterloo, and how he must have supped in Brussels on the night of the battle, if he had been gifted with the genius of one out of half-a-dozen historians of the war, has been



explained fifty times over. But the military historian, even though he possess the omnipresence of a Kinglake, does not come up to "our special correspondent." He is the man, lynx-eyed, keen-witted, and hard-nerved, to detect through all the smoke and din of battle the most trivial error, to decide, off-hand, the merits of every move in the terrible game, to stamp with his approval or condemnation, almost before the echoes of the artillery have died away, the army and its commander, and to anticipate the judgment of posterity by a few strokes of the pen, dashed off in eager hurry to catch an outgoing mail. It is impossible to read the comments of the *Times* correspondent on the battle of Chickamauga Creek without a sense of the ludicrous. Here is a raw civilian who never set a squadron in the field, acting as judge and jury upon a sort of commission of inquiry into the conduct of General Bragg, and deliberately passing one of the most unjust and sweeping censures we ever knew cast upon a military commander. Nothing that Bragg did satisfied this exigent correspondent. He was wrong in the time he made the attack, in the point where he began the attack, in his method of executing the attack. He could neither lead his forces into battle nor gain their confidence in camp. It was only his reputation for excessive caution which led Rosecrans into difficulties; only his tardiness and irresolution in action which saved Rosecrans' army from destruction. First-rate leaders of divisions and brigades, gallant soldiers, excellent opportunities, were all thrown away, because General Bragg knew not how to avail himself of them, because chances which presented themselves to hundreds of his subordinates could not be appreciated by their chief. According to the *Times* correspondent General Bragg is absolutely one of the most incapable leaders that the war has produced. The series of charges against him is overwhelming. But for Longstreet he would have discontinued the battle upon the repulse of his attack upon the enemy's right wing; but for Longstreet General Thomas would have held Missionary Ridge unmolested, and the Federals would have claimed the day; and it was rather against Bragg's wishes than by his orders that the Confederate success on the left was converted into a substantial victory, and the Federals driven a disorganised mass from the crests of Missionary Ridge. But Bragg's blunders did not close here; the Federals never stopped in their flight until they reached Chattanooga—a remarkably long flight considering they were not pursued. Fresh Confederate troops came up on the 20th and 21st. If Longstreet had been in command he would at once have thrown them into the Federal lines at Chattanooga, and pursued the army to Nashville. Now, Chattanooga is naturally strong and easily fortified, the Federal troops work admirably with the spade; twelve hours, or twenty-four, would have sufficed to render the town impregnable to assault, and yet Bragg is censured for not having marched his army straight against the fortifications. It is easy to be bold where there is no responsibility. General Bragg is a soldier of experience, and knows the danger of fighting without a reserve. To have dashed his army against the entrenchments of Chattanooga would have been to imperil the Confederacy. With twice his number of troops it would have been a terribly hazardous enterprise; with the actual force under his command it would have been madness. So far from attaching blame to the Confederate general for not attacking Chattanooga, we believe it to have been "a crowning mercy" to the South that the attempt was not made. As to the charge of indecision and inactivity after the battle, it is too grave to be implicitly relied upon on the *ipse dixit* of a newspaper correspondent. The notion of despatching the whole of the Confederate army, by the most tortuous of roads, through a barren, hilly district some 150 miles in the direction of Knoxville, leaving Chattanooga open to reinforcements and supplies, and the Federal army free to aid Burnside, make new roads, and seize upon a strong position in the rear of Bragg's army, thus cutting in two the forces of the Confederacy, can hardly have been entertained by a council of war, and is probably a piece of mere camp gossip. After all, the best answer to this sort of criticism is Bragg's retention of the command. President Davis has not fallen into the mistake, made so frequently by his opponents, of yielding to the first clamour of disappointment. He has seen and judged for himself. He is competent to form a sound opinion, and he has left Bragg at the head of the army. If the faults of this general had been so obvious, his incompetency so glaring, as the *Times* correspondent would have us believe, the President would not entrust to him the army on which the fortunes of the Confederacy so materially depend.

The last accounts from Tennessee are all in favour of the South. General Bragg's force is said to number 60,000, and Longstreet is stated to be

on his way to Knoxville with 16,000 men. The first blow had been struck at Rogersville, thirty miles from his head-quarters, where, according to Federal reports, 600 men, four cannons and thirty-six waggons had been captured; but by any mail we may hear that a great battle has been fought in the neighbourhood of Knoxville decisive of the fate of East Tennessee, and threatening serious consequences to the Federal hold upon Kentucky. Up to the latest date there is no appearance of any attempt on Burnside's part to retreat. If not, where Longstreet marches with his dashing *corps d'élite* there will be sharp fighting, and neither General Burnside nor General Foster is the man to cope with him. The situation at Chattanooga is unchanged. The Confederates hold Lookout Mountain. Between them and Hooker's force runs the Creek, and on Raccoon Mountain opposite to them are entrenched the Federals. All is reported quiet, and Bragg is said to have granted the farmers of Georgia in his army thirty days furlough to sow grain. This betokens no immediate activity at Chattanooga, nor is the Confederate general likely to assume the offensive in this quarter. Chattanooga may be turned but it cannot be stormed. The movements which will drive the Federals thence or force them to capitulate range over a vast extent of ground, and will require some time for development. At Knoxville, along the frontier line of Alabama and Mississippi, on the enemy's communications, must be fought the battles which will decide the hold of the Federals upon Chattanooga.

In Virginia General Meade's advance has come to a sudden halt somewhere about Cedar Mountain, the scene of one of Stonewall Jackson's early triumphs and of Banks's reverse. Lee's force is reported to be strongly entrenched on the south bank of the Rapidan, and Stuart's cavalry in somewhat awkward proximity to the Federal camp, General Kilpatrick's force having been shelled out of its quarters at Stevensburg some miles north of the Rapidan river. It is not probable that Meade will push much further South. He is checked for want of supplies now; and his army would be seriously impeded if he continued his advance with the chance of having to fight Lee's army thirty or forty miles from his railway communications, and the Confederate cavalry ready at any moment to play havoc with his teamsters. All doubt, then, about Lee's ability to hold his own may be dismissed. It is, indeed, doubtful if he has despatched any considerable force into East Tennessee. But if he should have his troops well in hand and within easy call, he may yet surprise General Meade by another forward movement, from the results of which the Federals will hardly be able to extricate themselves as easily as on the occasion of their last race to Washington.

Strangest of all the news, is the reported Confederate plot in Canada, for the seizure of the steamers on Lake Erie, the liberation of the prisoners in Fort Johnson, and the burning of the lake cities. Lord Lyons is the obliging informer. Mr. Seward warned him of the awful doings of the Finian brotherhood; he returns the courtesy by divulging a dark Confederate plot. What with providing against Confederates in Canada, keeping the peace in New York and Pennsylvania, suppressing conspiracies in Ohio and Kentucky, checking guerillas on the Mississippi, extricating Burnside, saving Chattanooga, beating General Lee, and raising 300,000 men, the War Administration of the North is likely to have its hands full this winter.

### The Attorney-General v. Sillem.

WHILE the case of the *Alexandra* is still *sub judice* we shall not attempt to enter into a discussion of the legal arguments on either side, or into the technical questions at issue in regard to the charge of the Chief Baron. But a few words on the principles involved in the case, and on the consequences which may follow its decision may not even now be deemed inopportune.

In the first place, notwithstanding the remarks of Mr. Attorney-General, we cannot but attach some importance to the rule that a penal statute is to be construed strictly. *Legis ignorantia neminem excusat*; and if the defendant were to plead that he did not gather from the words of the Act the sense attached to them by the Court, that plea would avail him nothing. It seems, therefore, that the sense attached to the words of the Act ought always to be such that a defendant cannot be supposed to have good reason for attaching to them a less extended sense; for if misconception of the law be not an excuse, then the law ought not to be so interpreted that misconception would appear to have been excusable. Therefore, as a matter of simple justice, in the case of a penal statute, the construction should be in favour of liberty; should be such that no man who has honestly

tried to understand and obey it should suddenly find himself entrapped thereby.

Secondly, in ordinary cases, a statute must be interpreted by itself, and in no case can its significance be extended by any interpretation from without. For, although every man is bound to know the law, no man is bound to understand the reasons or know the history of the law. But when, as in the present case, the meaning of the statute is rendered extremely uncertain by the clumsy language used by its non-legal constructors, it does not seem unreasonable that a clue to its meaning should be sought in the explanations given by its authors, for the guidance of the Court and for the interpretation, but not the extension, of its terms. Of course no argument could be drawn in this way against the plain words or natural construction of the Act, but only for the elucidation of a meaning altogether ambiguous.

Thirdly, where the subject matter of the statute has reference to international relations, it does not seem unreasonable—we speak as laymen—to seek a key to its obscurities from the law of nations applicable to such subject matter. And when the statute is to be put in force, really though not nominally, for the benefit of a foreign Power, it does not seem inequitable—in default of domestic cases in point—to inquire how the Courts of that foreign Power have interpreted a similar statute forming part of their own municipal code.

Fourthly, in spite of sundry assertions to the contrary, it is certain that the American law, and all but certain that our own, was framed with the purpose of enforcing the observance of a view of international obligations substantially accordant with that of Sir Hugh Cairns: viz., that neutrals may lawfully sell and convey any article whatsoever to a foreign Power or to its ships on the high seas; but may not lawfully reinforce its armies or its ships of war within their own territory, or make their coasts, ports, or waters, the base of belligerent operations by land or sea. It is quite clear, in reading the history of the negotiations between the Federal Government, M. Genet, and Mr. Hammond, which led to the passage of the first American Foreign Enlistment Act, that the President and his advisers took and acted on this view of international rights and duties; and that their object, in bringing in the Foreign Enlistment Bill, was to obtain power to enforce, by their municipal authority, what they believed to be the rule of public law. Nor can it well be disputed, that the reason of the distinction drawn is closely connected with the law of contraband and the belligerent right of capture. If a vessel be sent for sale to the belligerent, outside of neutral jurisdiction, that right of capture is not interfered with. The neutral has merely exercised his right of trade, without infringing what has been well called "the contradictory or conflicting right" of capture, in which lies the belligerent's remedy, and in consideration of which the trade in contraband of war is held not to be unneutral. But if an armed vessel be supplied to a belligerent within neutral waters, that compromise is violated; the belligerent is ousted of his remedy, and is remitted to his natural right of treating the supply of contraband to his enemy as an unneutral act.

We conclude, then, that so far as international law tends to throw light upon the interpretation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, it tends to show that the purpose of that Act was simply to prevent the departure of belligerent expeditions from within neutral territory, and not to interfere with the trade of neutrals in ships of war or other contraband. And in support of this conclusion, we must cite the American case of the *Santissima Trinidad*, in which Mr. Justice Story held that the despatch of an armed vessel from a neutral port for sale to a belligerent was no violation of the American statute, which is strictly analogous to our own. We have already given our reasons for holding that, in the present case, international law and American precedents may be called in to assist, *sub modo*, in the interpretation of the ambiguities of our own statute.

Coming next to the history of the Foreign Enlistment Act, we find that it was passed with the view of restraining certain English sympathisers with the revolted colonies of Spain from—not supplying ships suitable for war to those colonies, but—actually mustering large bodies of troops within the realm, and fitting out privateers in our ports, to take an active part in the war. We find that thereupon it was objected by certain of the Opposition, that this Act was directed only against the kind of assistance useful to the colonists, and that Spain might still receive the aid of British ships to transport her troops; whereupon the clause with reference to transports was inserted, and that section of the Act became a grammatical muddle, such as is seldom seen, even on our Statute Book.

It is plain, however, that the original purpose with which the section was framed had no reference



to such a case as that of the *Alabama*, or that which is assumed to be the case of the *Alexandra*. The danger in the minds of the framers was, not the building of ships which should be sent unarmed from our ports and pass into the hands of the colonists by regular sale, either in foreign ports or on the high seas; it was the participation in the war by British ships, making British ports their point of departure, and by British subjects, armed, enlisted, and mustered on British shores. The object was to suppress private war, not to impose restrictions on industry or commerce. We are told, indeed, that trade in contraband is *contra bonos mores*, and entitled to no regard or consideration at the hands of the legislature. But this is an absurd and antiquated doctrine, belonging to the days when war was considered the normal condition of nations, and when neutrals tamely acquiesced in the total prohibition by one belligerent of all trade with the other. Now it is understood that all neutral trade is perfectly lawful; that the right of belligerents to intercept it is one of the most exceptional and limited character; that that right in no way extinguishes or overrides the right of the neutral trader, but is simply an exercise of force sanctioned by international usage in special cases for special reasons; and that the *status* of the neutral carrier of contraband is not that of a smuggler, or a culprit, but, as regards the world at large, that of an honest merchant engaged in a trade involving peculiar hazards, and, as regards the belligerent, that of an enemy who is an enemy only if caught in the fact, and only in a limited sense, and for the single purpose of confiscation. An adventure in arms, ships, or horses is just as lawful and honourable as one in silks or china, differing only in that to the perils of the sea is added the risk of capture. And the proof of this is that the carrier of contraband is not punishable save by seizure of his goods, and that only by the belligerent enemy, and only on the high seas, and directly on their way to an enemy's port; and that, if he can rescue his goods and vessel, and get safe into a neutral port, he cannot afterwards be called in question on account of that voyage.

It seems, then, so far as the history of the Act throws light on its interpretation, that its purpose was simply to prohibit the departure of belligerent expeditions from within British territory, and in no wise to interfere with the most perfect freedom of the merchant's trade and the shipwright's industry.

The preamble of the Act states its purpose to be the preservation of the peace of the realm: its preservation, that is, either from disturbances arising within the Queen's jurisdiction (as if two vessels, built and armed for different belligerents, should engage in hostilities in our very territorial waters,) or from acts provoking the just resentment of foreign Powers—(for it can never be supposed that it was intended to deprecate the unjust hostility of foreigners by a sacrifice of British liberties,)—that is, from dangers arising out of violations of international law. The former peril clearly cannot arise from the building of unarmed ships for sale; the second, involving an infraction of international law, cannot arise where no rule of international law has been infringed. It seems, then, from the preamble, that the statute was not directed to the prevention of such acts as that now called in question.

At last we come to the construction of the section which refers to the equipment or armament of ships to be used for hostile purposes against a Power with which Great Britain is at peace. Amidst a mass of tangled and ungrammatical verbiage, we find three things distinct and clear:—

It is not forbidden to build a ship with any intent whatever.

It is forbidden to arm a ship with the intent aforesaid.

It is forbidden to equip, furnish, or fit out a ship with the intent aforesaid.

It is forbidden to attempt or endeavour, or be concerned in any attempt to furnish, equip, or fit out a ship with the intent aforesaid.

Now it seems certain, to begin with, from the phraseology of the section, clumsy as it is, that the acts prohibited must be done or intended to be done within the realm. Also, that "equip, furnish, and fit out," all mean one and the same thing, whatever that may be; and that their repetition is merely the foolish affectation of redundancy peculiar to amateur lawyers and legislators.

Secondly, as building is not forbidden, it is clear that the equipment must be something wholly apart from building; for if the legislature had intended, as Mr. F. W. Gibbs extravagantly supposes, to make the construction of a ship for the service of a belligerent unlawful, it certainly would have prohibited building.

Thirdly, we are ready to grant that the equipment in question is probably to be taken as something different from arming.

But fourthly, it seems clear that it must be an equipment not mercantile or ambiguous, but clearly warlike, and useful only for warlike purposes. On this point there are two American decisions well worth citing. The first is the official interpretation put upon the American Foreign Enlistment Act by Washington's Government, according to which all equipment of a distinctly warlike character is unlawful, and all equipment of a mercantile kind, or *ancipitis usus*, is lawful, in the case of a vessel confessedly intended for a belligerent Power. The second is the judicial decision that the addition of two ports to a privateer, in a neutral harbour, was not an "additional warlike equipment" within the sense of another clause of the statute.

It appears, then, from the words of the Act itself, that it was not intended to prevent the construction for a belligerent Power of a ship capable of being used for war when suitably equipped, but having no equipment of a distinctly warlike character, whether armament or otherwise, which should be wholly incompatible with a peaceful character. It was left free to British builders to build and sell what ships they like, to whom they like, and for whatever purpose. It was forbidden only to arm such vessels, or to equip them in any manner distinctly warlike.

Is it contended that the *Alexandra* was armed, or that she had any "equipment" of a character inconsistent with the needs or convenience of a vessel intended for other purposes than those of war? If not, she ought never to have been tried. Is it contended that her possession of a warlike equipment, apart from her build, was established beyond a doubt, or that the decision on that subject could be reversed on a new trial? If not, what is the present object of the Crown?

We hope, at all events, that a new trial will not be granted on the ground that the verdict was against the evidence. There were two points to be established: the equipment of the ship, and her destination. Failing on either point, a verdict against the Crown was inevitable. Now what was the nature of the evidence as to the destination of the vessel? The principal witnesses were Chapman and Clarence Randolph Young. Of the one it is enough to say that he was a crimp; the latter stood self-accused, in open court, of a life of infamy, to which no one could suppose that he would scruple to add the trifling guilt of perjury. If these witnesses were not to be believed, then the verdict cannot be pronounced to have been against the evidence; and we can hardly suppose that the Court will take it upon them to declare that the jury were bound to believe these witnesses.

Divers alarming consequences have been threatened as likely to result from a decision against the Crown; notably, that in our next war the seas will swarm with cruisers fitted out in American ports, and merely sent to take their armament on board elsewhere. This is to result, of course, from the assumed certainty that the American Courts will follow the precedent set in this case. But what is their present position? The *Bolivar* left an American port, was armed at St. Thomas, and started thence to cruise under the flag of Buenos Ayres against Spain; and it was held that American law had not been violated. Will the case of the *Alexandra*, if a decision be given against the Crown, give American citizens any rights which they do not already enjoy under the decision in the case of the *Bolivar*? We know that the case of the *Mauvy* is cited to show that the American law does not allow ships to be equipped in the ports of the Union to cruise against Powers with which the Union is at peace. But it is not so. The *Mauvy* had a regular armament on board; she carried fourteen guns; she would, had she sailed to make war under the Russian flag, have left New York in full fighting trim, and a decision in favour of the *Alexandra* could in no way affect our right to protest against such a proceeding as that.

On the other hand, a decision in favour of the Crown would cripple a branch of commerce which is of the highest national value. It is not only the shipbuilding trade that is interested in this matter. As a thoughtful contemporary not long ago observed, it is of the greatest moment to us, as a maritime nation, to retain in our hands an unquestioned supremacy in the art of building men-of-war. That art has now become a regular branch of the trade of private shipbuilders. English shipbuilders have it now in their own hands, and, if not driven out of it by hostile interference on the part of Government, they will keep it. But if it be decided that they may not sell ships of war to belligerents—and this would be the practical effect of the condemnation of the *Alexandra*—they will lose the whole of this trade. Foreign Powers will not give orders for ships of war the execution of which orders will be stopped if they should go to war—that is, if their fulfilment should become of urgent importance. The domestic demand is too rare and uncertain to sustain the art as a regular branch of trade; it will die out,

and we shall feel its decay among us as soon as we find ourselves hard pressed by maritime rivals. The harsh measures pursued by the Government towards the shipbuilders of Liverpool have done much to bring about this alarming consummation. It is for our courts of justice to apply the remedy, and at once to save the rights of British trade from administrative encroachments, and to preserve to the country one of the most vital elements of her maritime preponderance.

#### THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRA.

Special Summarized Report.

Last week we gave an abstract of the argument of Sir Hugh Cairns in this case on behalf of the defendants, the claimants of the ship *Alexandra*, as against the Crown. Mr. Karslake, Q.C., at the conclusion of the speech of Sir H. Cairns, addressed the Court. He called attention to an authority contained in "Fortescue's Reports," bearing date the year 1721, where the Judges attended the House of Lords to decide whether His Majesty had power to prohibit the building of ships of war for foreigners in any of His Majesty's dominions; and it was decided that the King had no such power. The same opinion had been given in 1713. That was the only English authority before the passing of the Act. He wished to impress upon the Court that on the part of the person who is the owner or controller for the time being of the vessel there must be that fixed intention which was mentioned in the case of the *United States v. Quincy*, and that you must ascertain who was the person who had that fixed intention before you could claim the vessel. It was the bounden duty of the Crown to show that at the time when the forfeiture was incurred there were some particular persons who were acting in some way or other against the section of the statute. The "intent," too, of those persons must have been a practical intent. Now, the Attorney-General, in moving for the rule, had contended that the existence of a hull being presupposed, then any equipment, however innocent, *per se*, superadded to the hull, caused the forfeiture of the vessel, provided the "intent" pointed at in the Act could be proved, thus absolutely denying that the equipment need have a warlike character at all. The contention on the part of the defendants was, that the equipment must be of a warlike character. Let them look at the 8th section. By it you were not forbidden to equip a ship of war belonging to a belligerent, and coming to the neutral port, with any innocent equipment; the section prohibited expressly a warlike equipment. Consequently, if the Attorney-General were right, this contradiction would ensue, that it would be lawful to superadd any equipment, other than warlike, to a man-of-war, but unlawful to superadd precisely the same equipment to a hull. The Act made a new crime; it constituted that a crime, which, before the Act, was perfectly lawful. Therefore the Act must be taken strictly. He denied, that their interpretation made the Act a dead letter. Why, what said Earl Russell himself about these evasions, as they had been called, of the Act? The noble lord, in a letter to Mr. Adams, dated the 16th October, 1862, had used words to this effect, that "this Act and any other Act might be evaded by many subtle contrivances, but Her Majesty's Government could not on that account go beyond the words of the Act." That letter had been inserted in the last edition of "Wheaton." The Crown complained that in charging the jury the Chief Baron did not in every case repeat all those words in the 7th section about "attempting and endeavouring and procuring to fit out," &c. Why, the Attorney-General himself at the trial asked the jury to concentrate their attention on the first eight counts, in which the principal offence was charged. In point of fact, the jury was asked whether the ship was "equipped" or not, and the jury said "No." The "equipment," it was contended, must be of a warlike character, whatever the "intent" might be. The ruling of the Chief Baron was right, and the verdict of the jury on that ruling fully warranted. Mr. Mellish, Q.C., next addressed the court on the same side. He said that it was lawful for any shipbuilder to build in this country a ship adapted for war, and to equip that ship in a manner enabling her to take the seas, and to do this under a contract with a belligerent, provided only that the "equipment" was not warlike. He assumed that the words "equip," "fit out," "furnish," were identical. It was absurd to talk of building a ship, if the ship could not sail away when built. Why it was not a ship at all. If that was what the Act meant, why did it not say, "you shall not build a ship"? The words about the "intent" prove the point. Every kind of ship, be it a whaler, a transport, or a man-of-war, had a distinctive character; and when you spoke of "equipping" any one of these, you meant equipping it with those things which gave it the distinctive character of a whaler, a transport, or a ship of war. The real object of the Act was, to prevent the Crown being insulted by the sailing of armed expeditions from its ports. Suppose a ship of war, fully armed, to come into a port disabled, by the 8th section it was lawful to furnish her with every necessary to enable her to take the seas again; it was only unlawful to furnish her with things of a warlike character. The Lord Chief Baron here put the extreme case of a vessel, "a mere wreck," coming in; to which the counsel replied that no doubt she could be lawfully restored to a perfect condition. Much had been said about evading the Act, about sending out a vessel equipped with an innocent equipment, and another vessel carrying out the warlike equipments in order to transfer these to the former vessel on the high seas. Surely this was not a very practicable thing. Why the *Alabama* had run all the way to the Azores unarmed, rather than attempt such an act as that supposed on the high seas. The Crown would strain the case, so that the Act would say, "you



shall not build and sell a ship to a belligerent at all." But to sell a ship to a belligerent is lawful on every principle—nay, it was a peaceful trade, an act of commerce at all times possible, while the fitting out an armed ship is possible only in time of war. There was no evidence whatever to show that there was any intention to put any warlike equipment on board the *Alexandra*. The agents of the United States were on the watch. As far as they could judge from what happened in the case of the *Alabama*, the builders of the *Alexandra* rightly supposed that an innocent equipment would be lawful, and a warlike equipment unlawful. But there was a new point to be taken. Would the Court grant a new trial on the ground that the "verdict was against the evidence"? In civil causes a new trial might be granted on that ground or on the ground of "misdirection." In criminal cases a new trial could not be granted at all. In penal cases which were of a mixed nature, "misdirection" was ground for a new trial, but that "the verdict was against evidence" was no ground at all. This was a penal case, and therefore on that ground the Court would not grant a new trial. After a short argument from Mr. Kemplay, the Attorney-General rose to support the rule for a new trial on behalf of the Crown. He commenced by an able criticism of the speech of Sir H. Cairns. He protested against the coincidence set up between international and municipal law. The boundaries of the latter could not be prescribed by the former. His speeches "elsewhere" had been quoted as consistent with his position now; but what he said elsewhere and what he declared now was this: that municipal legislation was exceptional, and that foreign nations had a right to call upon us to exercise our municipal powers, even beyond the prescriptions of international law. The *Alabama* had incurred the penalties of the Act, but had got off. As to international law, with which Sir H. Cairns had made our municipal law to square, why so far as that was concerned, an armed expedition might leave our ports and the belligerent would have no right to make reprisal; there was no antecedent obligation on a neutral to prevent such acts; yet that was the very reverse of the doctrine of Sir H. Cairns and his theory that the municipal law was bounded by the law of nations. The Lord Chief Baron had said, "If Birmingham may supply guns, why may not ships be supplied?" But that was the very point. Doubtless a ship might lawfully be made, armed, and sold, but not so with "intent to commit hostilities against one of the belligerents." The Act, in truth, threw its net as widely as possible. It was not framed to aid us in doing that which, before it passed, we might fairly enough have been asked to do. It gave new powers. Why, without such an Act, the sovereign might be neutral, while the subjects did deeds which entitled the world to say that the sovereign was not neutral. A weight was thrown into the scale against one of the belligerents, and that belligerent must, in spite of Grotius and Vattel, declare war to rid itself of the evil. If England were at war with France, and if the subjects of a weak maritime Power did such acts, why this country would at once declare war. In truth, a ship differed from an ordinary instrument of war. She was in herself complete. "She walked the waters like a thing of life." Suppose two Powers at war without ships; why, you inaugurated a field of war which had no previous existence. Ordinary contraband of war was of no use till the elements of armaments were combined. The ship was that combination already realised. The result in our case of these acts must be that the Confederates would be building in our ports, while the Federals would be blockading those ports at the line of protection. Then would ensue endless difficulties about the legality of captures, about the exact place of capture, and the neutral State would inevitably be embroiled. Supposing a ship "equipped innocently," to leave a port with a vessel by her side full of all the necessary guns and munitions, to be transferred as soon as possible, and the belligerent to remonstrate; would that belligerent be satisfied if for answer he got the pettifogging interpretation of Sir H. Cairns? Such elusions and evasions had been condemned in our own and the American Courts as mere disguises of a real offence. The trade in contraband of war could not be considered absolutely lawful; it was *contra bonos mores*. Why, the loan of money by a neutral to a belligerent formed a bad consideration for a contract. If the trade in contraband tended to entangle the neutral, why should it not be put down? Let the Court look at the Queen's proclamation, which, by virtue of the Act 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 107, prohibited the exportation of certain articles contraband of war. That Act, and the Acts on which it was founded, gave no such power over ships. Therefore it was necessary that concerning ships there should be special legislation. The true principle of interpretation was to construe the Act so as to "cure the mischief, advance the remedy, and give life and spirit to the law." To be guided by state papers and speeches in Parliament was a false principle. They only looked at the broadest and most glaring evil, not to the particular clauses of the Act. The rules of Washington were framed under peculiar circumstances. By treaty the enemies of France were debarred from buying and fitting ships in the American ports; and that being so, every other nation was protected, for by the law of nations the arming of vessels and selling them was only lawful when done without partiality. These rules were a political act; they embodied an assertion of the rights of neutrality against the assumption by the French Republic of a right to promote its warlike operations within the territory of the United States. It was only wise that in the absence of legislation Washington should refrain from the condemnation of vessels *incipitibus usis*; and all Kent meant to say was, that these rules were warranted by the principles of the law of nations. Let them consider the rules put forth by the British Government in reference to the *Nashville* and *Tuscarora*. On the theory of Sir H. Cairns it might be argued that, because those rules

were in accordance with the law of nations, therefore the course of possible future legislation was to be prescribed by and confined to the regulations thus set forth. Why, the President himself, in his message of 3rd December, 1793, said that "it rested with Congress to correct and improve the existing regulations, to extend and regulate the doctrines laid down by the Courts of the United States." So Chancellor Livingston, who certainly held that, by the law of nations, ships might be manned and armed in neutral ports, also laid it down that "it was the duty of a neutral to preserve neutrality by vigilance in preventing any act of hostility; and that, therefore, the United States had endeavoured to prevent belligerents from 'fitting out' ships in their ports, and to punish those who might contribute to such attempts." Next, as to the construction of the Act: the preamble pointed to the welfare and peace of England, not to the duties of neutrals towards belligerents. The enlistment of men and the arming of ships were both spoken of as tending to endanger the peace and welfare of the country; there was no ground for reducing the enlistment clauses to a mere question of allegiance. The preamble further declared that the existing law was not sufficient; it must, then, have been intended to prevent a mischief which previous laws had failed to stop. It was clear that our legislature wished to govern beyond the American Act. The latter Act, in its enlistment clauses, did not forbid the enlistment of a foreigner to go and fight for his own State; whereas, by our Act, a Federal citizen attempting in this country to enlist another Federal to go to America to fight against the Confederates, would be within the Act. This principle was visible throughout the Act. Now, in the 7th section of the English Act the words were in the disjunctive, but in the conjunctive in the American Act. They said, in respect of the principal offence, "fit out and arm," we said, "equip, fit out, furnish, or arm;" they said "with intent," we said "with intent or in order;" so we had inserted the words, "transport or store-ship." Similarly, in the 8th section, they prohibited the "changing of guns for guns of greater calibre," we substituted the words "for other guns;" so they spoke of "equipments solely applicable to war," we said "equipments applicable to war." Now, the word "equip" included "to man;" but the word "fit out" excluded that notion. As Lord Tenterden said, "the master's duty is to fit out, victual, and man." The word "equip" certainly would include the strong bulwarks found in the *Alexandra*; so the word "fit out," would include the structure of "steam-rans" and "cupola vessels." Indeed, he was prepared to argue, if necessary, that the words would include every part of the process, from the laying of the first plank to the completion of the ship. The words "with intent or in order," referred, not to the equipment but to the employment of the ship; they could not qualify the "equipment." He contended that a ship not of a distinctively warlike character at all, but a mere merchant ship, a weak ship, might be within the Act; for such a ship might be armed sufficiently to injure trading vessels. Sir H. Cairns had argued that however certain the intent to commit hostilities might be, yet if the equipment was innocent the ship was free; that a vessel like the *Alabama*, with a structure exclusively and undeniably warlike, yet because she was equipped with things *incipitibus usis*, was free. The warlike purpose, he contended, determined the whole question. What were the facts? Skilled witnesses, looking at the *Alexandra*, were compelled to say that she was a ship-of-war; she could not be a merchantman; she might be a yacht; she was built as a gunboat; her bulwarks would have been prejudicial to her for all purposes but those of war; her hammock nettings also showed her warlike character. It was not material whether her warlike character existed in her structure or her rigging; the object clearly was to complete her as a gun-boat, and nothing more was necessary to be done short of arming than to screw an iron plate on her deck for pivot guns to run on; every equipment was in her with that exception. Was it, then, to be argued that if this iron plate had been screwed on, there would have been a breach of the Act, but that if the *Phantom* had sailed out with her with this pivot-plate and the guns on board, and the plate had been affixed and the guns transferred just outside the line of protection, then there would have been no breach? What was this but an evasion? The 8th section regulated the hospitality to be afforded to ships of war visiting our ports, cutting it down to those things which did not augment the warlike force of a belligerent. Because the legislature prohibited an addition to that power, was it to be argued that it did not prohibit the creation of a ship? The 7th section said, "you shall not create a ship of war," the 8th section said, "you shall not add to the warlike force of a ship." The Attorney-General then entered upon a minute criticism of the charge of the learned Judge at the trial, referring especially to his lordship's remark, that "you might make, equip, and arm a vessel, and then sell it to a belligerent, and you might equally do it under an order from the belligerent." That was the very point. Doubtless you might build, man, and arm a ship on speculation, take it abroad, and sell it, but to build one under a contract was exactly what you might not do. As to the point raised by Mr. Mellish, a new trial might be granted, on the ground that the verdict was against the evidence; for this was an action *in rem*, not a penal action. The Attorney-General concluded with an eloquent appeal to their lordships to interpret the statute wisely and dispassionately; not straining it at all, but giving effect to the plain meaning of the words, suppressing the mischief and advancing the remedy. The speech occupied eight hours and thirty minutes in delivery. The Solicitor-General then addressed the Court. He said that Sir H. Cairns had tried to narrow the rules of international law, and to cut down the Act of Parliament so as to square the two. It could not be said that the trade in contraband of war was absolutely legal. The argument in favour of the

interests of trade and commerce was counterbalanced by the arguments in favour of peace. A ship was not a mere instrument of war; it carried the instruments of war; it was a nationality, a country in itself; it was a combination of armaments. The Act of Congress was not prescribed by the law of nations; Washington went to Congress to get wider powers, and our Act again was wider than that of Congress. Now as to the seventh section, the "intent" of the belligerent or his agent was sufficient; the object therefore, was prevention, and forfeiture would ensue irrespective of the intent of the equipper. There were two classes: "principal and accessories." In the first there might be the "intent," in the second a guilty knowledge, which would be evidence of the intent of the principal. If the aggressive power were essential then the words of the section became conjunctive. The United States *v. Quincey* proved that "fitting out" was something less than "arming." He agreed with the remark that fell from the Bench that that case had been much over-rated out-of-doors, and was by no means satisfactory. In the case of the *Independencia*, there was an absence of the *men's rea*. She was built, fitted out, and taken to Buenos Ayres on speculation; had she been ordered, it would have made all the difference. He agreed with the remark, that according to the American cases a man might fit out, arm, and man a vessel on speculation, run her into a foreign port, and sell her; but then there was the question for the jury, whether he intended to employ her in the service of one particular belligerent. If, however, such a case were to arise here, it might be a question whether the Courts of England would extend the doctrine so far. Sir H. Cairns required that the equipment must be distinctively warlike. He said that the equipment must be determined by the intent as to the employment of the ship. Suppose the case of an emigrant ship. If it could be proved that it was intended to carry troops by that ship, that intent would at once make the ship a transport within the Act. The proof of the design was the real point, and the building of a vessel in any way suited to fulfil the design was within the Act. The Act against the slave-trade said, "No man shall build, fit out, equip, or prepare a ship, &c., for the purpose of procuring any negro to be transported," &c. How was that interpreted in the American Courts? The learned counsel referred to Attorney-General *v. Goodie*, 12 Wheaton, p. 460, and 10 Wheaton, p. 133. In the former case, it was said that if the purpose existed that was sufficient; the act and the intent constituted the offence; and it was not an objection that the "fitting out" was imperfect. And in the latter case the Court said that "the law did not suppose that the equipment must be specially adapted for the purpose, nor was complete equipment necessary, if the design existed." The Queen's Advocate, Mr. Locke, Q.C., and Mr. T. Jones, followed on the side of the Crown. The Lord Chief Baron said that the Court would consider their judgment.

#### THE HONOURABLE WALKER.\*

As a rule, English pamphlets are still-born, and seeing that ninety-nine out of a hundred of them are as heavy as *Bradshaw* or as *Blue-books*, we cannot be surprised that editors and authors' friends fling them into the waste-paper basket without reading a line more than the title-page. Somehow or other these matters are better managed on the other side of the Channel, and French pamphlets are popular both at home and abroad. Now we beg to inform all whom it may concern—that is, all who appreciate a clever and brilliant *jeu d'esprit*—that "A Familiar Epistle to Robert J. Walker" is the very opposite of the ordinary English pamphlet. It is droll enough to rouse the dormant risibility of the "pained impotent," and withal it so bristles with facts that no one can fail to perceive that it is a true story. The Hon. Walker is trotted out just as Rarey used to trot out his horses, and put through a most ludicrous performance for the amusement and edification of the public. The man "of many homes and many principles," is made, by copious extracts from his own speeches and his own writings, to tar and feather himself, until such a grotesque abortion of nature is presented, that *no lens volens* the spectator is compelled to follow the advice lately given by a noble lord to a Scotch audience, and to laugh heartily. It is a merit of this pamphlet that it is thoroughly genial as well as humorous and witty. The Hon. Walker is not gibbeted, for then to some persons he might be an object of pity as well as of contempt and ridicule; but the author merely directs our attention to the antics of the little creature, joyously and conceitedly wallowing in the mire. Between the histories of Titus Oates and the Hon. Walker there are a few close analogies. Both humbly craved and received the bounties of a party whom they afterwards deserted and slandered. But there is also a marked difference. The English Titus Oates made political prostitution and the hired informer's trade hideous, and his own name infamous; the Yankee Titus Oates has habituated his vices in such motley that we are merry when we ought to feel only disgust, and if the name of the Hon. Walker should be remembered for a generation, it will be so as food for laughter. A mere time-server can no more get a niche in the historical Chamber of Horrors than can a London pickpocket get his bust exhibited in Madame Tussaud's.

But who is the Hon. Walker? We will introduce him to our readers by quoting from a biographical sketch prefixed to

\* A Familiar Epistle to Robert J. Walker, formerly of Pennsylvania, later of Mississippi, more recently of Washington, and last heard of in Mr. Coxwell's Balloon. From an Old Acquaintance. To which is prefixed a Biographical Sketch. London: Saunders, Otley and Co.



the "Familiar Epistle," and although the biography is brief it is very complete:—

Robert J. Walker was once a man of mark in America, and has held some, if not all, of the titles which, with Republican simplicity, he affixes to his name. He is about as old as the century. Born and educated in Pennsylvania, after a futile attempt to obtain public office and position in his native State, he migrated to Mississippi, then almost a wilderness, with but 55,000 inhabitants. Here the shrewd and plausible young Yankee pushed himself rapidly forward to fortune and place, till at last the highest honour the State could confer was given him, in 1836. He was then made one of her senators in Congress, in which post he remained until 1845, thus filling that position at the very period of the act of Repudiation by his two States, (native and adopted), and before his successor in the Senate, Jefferson Davis, had entered public life. Mr. Walker was then, and for twenty years afterwards, a most "ultra-Southern" man in his sentiments, or at least in his speeches; including the most violent advocacy of State rights and slavery. In fact, like most men of Northern birth domiciled in the South, he out-heroded Herod in his violent affection for Southern doctrines and interests; and on this account, when the Southern administration of Mr. Polk came into power, a seat in his Cabinet was accorded to Mr. Walker. On the 3rd March, 1845, he left the Senate, and took the post of Secretary of the Treasury—not "Minister of Finance," as he terms himself; for that office does not exist in the United States, and its duties are performed by the Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate, not by the Secretary of the Treasury. He supported warmly the measures and principles of the Southern party while in the Senate and during his term of office, and here ends the most respectable part of his career. He never returned to Mississippi; but after 1845 lived chiefly in Washington and New York, professing to practice law in the Supreme Court, but really occupied in various speculations; his ideas, unlike his stature, being on the largest scale. Jefferson Davis succeeded him in the Senate, and years after, when he had almost forgotten as a public man, Robert J. Walker made a brief reappearance in public life, through the friendly suggestion of the man he now defames. President Pierce, in 1856, first nominated him "Commissioner to China," a title he now assumes, but on the duties of which he never entered, as he resigned his commission immediately. Mr. Buchanan, desirous of being useful to him (it is said at Mr. Davis's suggestion), appointed him Governor of the Territory of Kansas. This office Mr. Walker held only one year, Mr. Buchanan having been compelled to withdraw him in consequence of his abandonment of the policy and principles of the Administration, and his management of that Territory, then in a state of revolution. On his first arrival there, Mr. Walker's despatches denounced as "a band of disorganisers and revolutionists" the very men and the very party whom he afterwards joined; and from that hour he has been the sworn foe of the friends, political associates, and principles of his whole previous life; for Robert J. Walker was the first to insist on the recognition of Texas as a Slave State, and for the benefit of the Slave States, a "shrieker" then, not for "Union," but for "strict State Rights," a denouncer of Abolitionists and Englishmen, whom he placed in the same category; himself a slaveowner and an able defender of that "institution"—in fact, the very reverse, in practice and in profession, of all he now presumes to preach to the people of England.

In one detail the above sketch is not quite accurate. It is true the Hon. Walker was nominated Commissioner to China, and that he never entered on his duties; but it is not true that he resigned his commission. So far as we know, the Hon. Walker never resigned any place by which he could get money. The explanation is, that the Senate refused to confirm the appointment of the President, and so the Hon. Walker was never, *ex de jure* or *de facto*, Commissioner to China. There is an incident connected with the affair which the Hon. Walker cannot have forgotten. He had received some money either for outfit or for salary in advance, which he had to refund. The Hon. Walker was in a fix, for he had not the means of reimbursing the Treasury. Under these circumstances an eminent Washington banker came to the rescue, and found the cash. It is fortunate for him that his debtor has now placed on record so emphatic a condemnation of repudiation.

The Hon. Walker is now an agent of the Federal Government, and his business is apparently to show that Mr. Chase's greenbacks are as valuable as gold. It is no disparagement to the man "of many homes, and of many principles," to say that he has found the task assigned him impossible of execution. We Englishmen give Mr. Chase all due credit for his clever manipulation of the finances of the United States, but we are not gullible enough to believe that he has found the philosopher's stone, and we know all about kite-flying. The Hon. Walker has, however, done his best. Having no case, he has undertaken to abuse the other side. He commenced operations with a "letter," entitled "Jefferson Davis and Repudiation." How Mr. Lincoln must have roared when he saw the pamphlet! Why, Walker, the Hon. Walker, was senator for Mississippi when the repudiation was perpetrated, and Mr. Davis was not in public life; and the Hon. Walker, Senator for Mississippi, said nothing about repudiation until eight years after it had been accomplished. Read what "Jonathan Slingsby, of Screamsville," the author of "A Familiar Epistle," writes about it:—

The only appearance of Jeff. Davis in Mississippi during those years was in the very unimportant function of Presidential elector (a nominal responsibility only), in 1844, three years after the Repudiation question had been settled, and again, in 1845, in Congress of the United States, as representative for one year. He had resigned his seat in Congress to go to the Mexican war, as before stated, and did not actively commence his public life until 1847; never having said, spoken, or written anything about Repudiation until 1849, eight years after its demise, like a tardy Antony delivering a funeral oration over the disinterred body of a slaughtered Cæsar. You and I know, very well, Robert, that he was not "in at the death," as you were; and that he never was Governor of Mississippi, or held any office of profit or trust in

that State, in the whole course of his life; and that your attempt to saddle him with the responsibility for acts in which he had no art or part, is an adroit afterthought of your own.

Robert! Robert! your vanity must surely have got the better of your discretion, when recalling your own biography, and enumerating your own past honours, you prove yourself (by figures that cannot lie) an accessory *before* the fact, when the deed was done—present, if not aiding and abetting—and can only find a letter, dated eight years afterwards, to criminate Jeff. Davis, who then first appears on the scene. People will ask if you, by your own admission, were really the man of the day in Mississippi from 1836 to 1845, when the act was concerted and perpetrated, how came it to pass that your opposition to the measure did not in that most Democratic State, impede your advancement, and destroy your popularity? And if you had really and truly (as you affirm), "always earnestly opposed the doctrine of Repudiation in Mississippi," how does it happen that in sending over to America for the proofs against Jeff. Davis, you did not also obtain some eloquent extracts from your own writings or speeches, to that effect?

Surely here is matter for jovial mirth. Whilst the Mississippi repudiation was in progress Mr. Davis was not in public life, and, therefore, cannot by any sophistry be held responsible for the offence; but the Hon. Walker was then the representative of Mississippi, and if there is any responsibility must bear his share of it—ay, and the lion's share. And yet the Hon. Walker charges Mr. Davis with the guilt of this "repudiation." What a parody of the well-known drama of Punch and Judy! The Hon. Walker, like the bumptious beadle, erects a gallows, and by mistake hangs himself.

Reader, get "A Familiar Epistle," for we cannot give you all the fun of it unless we reproduced the entire pamphlet; but we will, for amusement of our distant subscribers, give one more scene from the "Walker" farce.

The Hon. Walker has turned Abolitionist, that is, he talks Abolitionism. He raves about the Southerners as "the lords of the whip and the chain and the branding-iron." Now, the Hon. Walker lived in Mississippi, and was himself a slaveholder. He knows "that the 'whip, the chain and the branding-iron,' are mere figures of rhetoric—the first being used more rarely upon slaves than upon British soldiers and American seamen; the second never, except upon criminals white and black indifferently; and the 'branding-iron' being a pure invention of sensation-mongers." But perhaps the Hon. Walker draws a little on his own experience. He was a Yankee emigrant in the South, and all the Yankees are exceedingly spiteful to the negroes; and so it is possible that he cunningly devised some means by which he secretly tortured his slaves; but he knows that he dared not have done so openly. But we will let the Hon. Walker speak for himself. The following passages express his opinions when he was getting his bread out of the Democrats, and before he became the lackey of the Republicans:—

The avowed object of this party is the immediate abolition of Slavery. For this they traverse sea and land, for this they hold conventions in the capital of England, and there they brood over schemes of abolition in association with British societies. There they join in denunciations of their countrymen, until their hearts are filled with treason, and they return home Americans in name but Englishmen in feelings and principles. Let us all then feel and know, whether we live North or South, that this party, if not vanquished, must overthrow the Government and dissolve the Union.—*Extract from Letter of Hon. R. J. WALKER, January 8th, 1844, in favour of Annexation of Texas.*

If my voice could reach even the Black Republican party, I would say, Re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, but tear down your African platform ere you endorse it at the polls, and give to the South a perfect justification for withdrawing from the Union.—ROBERT J. WALKER in 1856.

This movement at Lawrence was the beginning of a plan originating in that city, to organise insurrection throughout the Territory; and especially in all towns, cities, or counties where the Republican party have a majority. Lawrence is the hotbed of all the Abolition movements in the Territory. It is the town established by the Abolition Societies of the East, and whilst there are respectable people there, it is filled by a considerable number of mercenaries, who are paid by Abolition Societies to perpetuate and diffuse agitation throughout Kansas, and prevent a peaceful settlement of this question. Having failed in inducing their own so-called Topeka State Legislature to organise this insurrection, Lawrence has committed it herself, and, if not arrested, the rebellion will extend throughout the Territory. . . . In order to send this communication immediately by mail, I must close by assuring you that the spirit of rebellion pervades the great mass of the Republican party of this territory, instigated, as I entertain no doubt they are, by Eastern Societies.—*Extract from Despatch of Hon. Walker, Governor of Kansas, July 15th, 1857.*

The clever pamphlet is not by any means exhausted; but we must part from it, particularly as we desire elsewhere to find space for another and rather long extract from the Walker records. We have now—following the example of "Jonathan Slingsby"—contributed our mite towards the Hon. Walker's notoriety, and in conclusion we will throw out a hint which, if acted upon, will make him one of the lions of the ensuing festive season. Managers are anxiously casting about for the newest jokes to fill up the comic business of their pantomimes. What better material can they desire than the career of the Hon. Walker, as set forth in "A Familiar Epistle"? Pit, boxes, and gallery would be equally delighted with a pantomimic version of "The Yankee Walker's" attempt to bamboozle John Bull. A clown's song faithfully embodying the adventures of the man "of many homes and of many principles" would be more in vogue than was "Hot Collins" in the days of Grimaldi, and "The Yankee Walker" would be sure of a double encore.

## LITERARY NOTES.

What prompted the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel\* to write on the American question we cannot conceive. He is thoroughly ignorant both of the history of the American Union and of the principles of the Federal Constitution; and he writes, not in the style of an Englishman, but in that of a Massachusetts minister. His chief authorities are the Abolitionist organs of New York and Boston, and the correspondents of the *Daily News* and *Morning Star*; and he actually quotes the infamous scurrilities of the once notorious Helper as evidence against the Southern planters. We quote one or two sentences from his book, which sufficiently show his qualification for the task he has undertaken. He begins as follows:—

"At the time when the Americans rebelled against the British Crown, the slaveholding Colonies would not have entered into the Union without obtaining from the rest a recognition of their right to their slaves."

Which were "the rest?" Which of the States, in 1776, were not slaveholding? And is Mr. Noel aware that the clause for the rendition of fugitives from service passed in the Constitutional Convention as utterly unopposed as would be, in the House of Commons, a law obliging runaway apprentices to fulfil their contract? In the next chapter we find the following ridiculous proposition:—

"The revolt of the Slave States, which is essentially unlike the revolt of the United States, much more resembles a revolt of the Southern counties of England. If five millions and a half of Englishmen in the southern counties, well governed, with no wrongs to redress, no rights to claim, fairly represented, and fairly taxed (!) were to rebel against the Government in London, they would do exactly what five millions and a half of Americans, in similar circumstances, have done, in rebelling against the Government at Washington; and those who would condemn a rebellion of the southern counties ought not to support a rebellion of the Southern States."

Even the *Morning Star* would hardly be capable of such babyish nonsense as this; and no American schoolboy of ten years old would have any difficulty in pointing out the stupendous blunders involved in this comparison. These passages sufficiently explain the intellectual qualifications of Mr. Noel for the task he has undertaken. When we add that he is a warm admirer of General Butler, and that he records with bitter exultation the burning of the undefended town of Jackson by General Grant, we have said enough to enable our readers to judge whether his book can be worth their attention.

Professor Goldwin Smith† has set himself an impossible and more than Herculean labour, if he really hopes to prove that the Bible does not allow the existence of slavery, as compatible both with morality and with Christianity. But his argument does not grapple with this question at all. It amounts, in brief, to this: "Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, allowed the Jews to keep slaves, and regulated their treatment. But this does not amount to an enactment of slavery as an institution generally necessary or desirable." Of course not: if it did, it would amount to a condemnation of free labour. But if Moses permitted slavery, and undertook to regulate it, it is clear that He who gave laws through Moses did not consider slavery as Mr. Smith considers it, a thing *malum in se* and altogether abominable. We are ready to grant to Mr. Smith that the ill-treatment of slaves is altogether contrary to the law of God and the spirit of Christianity. We do not pretend to say that there are not features in the American system of slavery, especially in its legal aspect, which might well be mitigated or abolished. But we do challenge Mr. Smith to find in the Bible any condemnation of the institution of slavery, as such, or to explain away the distinct sanction—observe, we do not say injunction—of slavery by the Mosaic law. We ask him, also, honestly to state, side by side, the Mosaic and the Southern law in regard to homicide committed on a slave; and then to say, if he dare, that the former gives a more effective protection to the servant than the latter; or if that consideration which is said to be the sole protection of the slave in the South, "that he is his master's money," is not stated in its most naked form by the Jewish lawgiver.

Dr. Forbes Winslow's work on mental diseases‡ will be of great service, if it induce hard-working men to take advice on the first alarm, to give prompt heed to the first symptoms of danger threatening the brain, and save themselves, while there is yet time, from a fate infinitely worse than death. To one case after another of the hundreds recorded in this volume we find the painful moral attached, "If the patient had taken advice when he first began to suffer from these premonitory symptoms his reason and his life might have been preserved." And Dr. Winslow states it as his own conviction that eight cases of brain disease out of ten are curable, if taken in time. His book is full of curious anecdote, but not pleasantly to be read just before bedtime, nor wholesome for people having the slightest tendency to hypochondria. It contains good advice for them, but it is hardly likely to have a beneficial effect upon their nerves.

The authoress of the "Heir of Redclyffe" has filled two thick volumes (small octavo) with curious learning about "Christian Names."|| For those who love this kind of knowledge, which is of more interest than use, these volumes will have many attractions. We wish, however, that the

\*The Rebellion in America. By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. London: Nisbet, 1863.

†Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery? By Goldwin Smith. London: Parker, 1863.

‡Obscure Diseases of the Brain and Mind. By Forbes Winslow, M.D., &c. Third Edition. London: Hardwick, 1863.

||The History of Christian Names. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," &c. London: Parker and Bourn, 1863.



lady had finished her work. If she have corrected the press, she has been exceedingly careless in doing so; and on nearly every page we find some sentence which we cannot construe, or some collocation of words utterly without sense, through which the original meaning of the writer is hard to discover. It is a pity that a work on which so much labour has been bestowed should be disfigured by such blemishes as these.

Mrs. Browning's little work on "The Greek Christian Poets" deals, in that lady's charming manner, with a branch of learning with which few scholars are familiar. The authoress was one of those rare creatures who are learned without being pedantic, and while excelling the majority of men in intellect and knowledge, remain none the less womanly in heart and character. If only she had remembered that the English grammar was as well worth respect as the Latin, and had sought rather in the stern and coherent dialogues of the Greek tragedians than in the mystical and often unintelligible songs set down for the Chorus, she would have ranked among the greatest of our poets. We remember to have heard an excellent judge of scholarship say to a pupil—"Brown, two things are necessary in Greek iambs: first that they should be Greek, and secondly that they should be iambs; yours are neither." We have read English verses of Mrs. Browning's to which that censure would have been equally applicable; and a similar remark is provoked by some of her prose. Nevertheless, we heartily recommend to our readers this relic of one of our most exquisite female writers.

If Mr. Coventry Patmore would write English, or if he had any ear for rhyme or metre; if he had the critical faculty in sufficient degree to know when he is writing nonsense and when he is writing poetry, or if he would profit by censure and avail himself of admonition, he would earn deserved fame. We admire his pearls so much that we are very intolerant of having to seek them in a rubbish heap. "The Victories of Love"† is a dust-bin rich in neglected jewels and silver; but only reviewers—the chiffonniers of literature—are likely to find its treasures.

#### LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

[Though anticipated by his later dates of 10th and 17th October, published in THE INDEX of 5th and 19th inst. respectively, our correspondent's letter contains so many interesting items, which have not appeared before, that we give it in *extenso*.]

RICHMOND, October 3.

THERE is a pause in military operations. The latest intelligence we have from Chattanooga represents Rosecrans as fortifying himself strongly in front of that town, while the Confederates occupy the hills around it, and threaten the safety of his whole army. General Bragg's headquarters are on Missionary Ridge, from which height his batteries command completely the railway and county road leading eastwardly. Longstreet is possessed of Lookout Mountain, where he controls the approaches from the West. All the supplies for the Federal troops are drawn from Bridgeport, a point on the Tennessee River, several miles below Chattanooga, and are conveyed by a circuitous route to the latter place across a pontoon bridge immediately opposite the town. Our cavalry are over the river actively engaged in cutting off the forage and provision trains. Such is the "situation," as we understand it, at Chattanooga. The lines of Rosecrans are drawn without the corporate limits in a semicircular sweep, both his wings resting on the river. It is believed that General Bragg might carry his entrenchments by direct assault, but that he is averse to making the attempt because of the very great loss of life that would inevitably result from it. He is sanguine that the surrender of Rosecrans is only a question of time, unless the Federals can succeed in opening communications with the latter to reinforce his army and replenish his commissariat. Twenty-five thousand men have been withdrawn from the Army of the Potomac and sent to him *via* Washington, and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and "Fighting Joe Hooker" has been called from his recent inglorious obscurity and sent to take Burnside's late command, which is to constitute a part of the relief. A very few days will show what is to be the result of the struggle in the West. If it shall terminate in the capitulation of Rosecrans, or the utter expulsion of his forces, shattered and demoralized, from Tennessee, the cause will look brighter than it has done at any time since the loss of Fort Donelson.

It is amusing to see how the press of the North falls back upon its stereotypes to account for the defeat of Chickamauga. They agree in the confession that only the obstinate courage and desperate fighting of General Thomas's corps on Sunday the 20th saved their whole army from rout and annihilation, and they hail General Thomas with plaudits as the fifteenth or twentieth savior of the Union; but the explanation of the advantage gained by the rebels is the same which has been given of all their reverses from the day of Bethel down to the night of the Wilderness. Rosecrans was overpowered by numbers. Of course he was. The miserable rebels were more than two to one against him. Four weeks ago, when Rosecrans was advancing, we were told that he was at the head of a host against which it would be madness to contend—that he had men enough to drive Bragg to the Gulf of Mexico, &c., and when Bragg fell back into Northern Georgia they boasted

it was because he saw the folly of attempting a feeble and hopeless resistance to the resistless onset of their legions. But all at once these legions are scattered and driven into their earthworks at Chattanooga, leaving the ground behind them strewn with their dead and wounded; and then we learn that the grand army which was to overpower the Gulf States, and bring the South speedily to submission, was after all a very inconsiderable force, numbering not half as many as that beggarly herd of disaffected and undisciplined conscripts which the Confederate general had to oppose them. It is difficult to say which statement is the more discreditable to the enemy. If, as we believe, Rosecrans was fairly beaten by a force not at all greater than his own, the mendacity of their present assertions is amazing, especially when considered by the light of Mr. Seward's circular. If, on the other hand, as is most improbable, the western leader undertook the task of extermination with an inconsiderable body of men, the gasconade of the Yankee newspapers over the evacuation of Chattanooga can only be measured by his own inconceivable folly.

The greater part of the prisoners taken at Chickamauga have already arrived in this city and been consigned to the prison encampment at Buile-isle, where they will remain until exchanged, or until the return of cold weather shall necessitate a change of quarters. The stands of colours have also been sent by special messenger to the office of the adjutant-general. The thirty-six pieces of artillery captured in the fight, General Bragg will pretty surely turn to good account against their former owners.

Of our wounded generals we have encouraging accounts. The gallant Hood has borne the amputation of his leg with as little loss of strength as we could have expected, and his recovery may be hoped for in a few months. General Benning was very slightly injured, and is already in the saddle again. General Preston, of Kentucky, who was reported wounded, and subsequently as dying of his wounds at Atlanta, I am glad to learn, was not even scratched, and is at the head of his brigade, ready to win new laurels in this already glorious campaign.

Generals Preston Smith, of Tennessee, Helm, of Kentucky, and Deshler, of Alabama, all brigadiers, and all under forty years of age, fell while gallantly encouraging their men, and are deeply lamented by the army. Helm and Deshler had received a military education at the Academy at West Point. Helm was the son of the ex-Governor Helm and the grandson of the celebrated Ben Harden, and thus represented the highest elements of the Kentucky character. Deshler's father is a clergyman, living near Huntsville, Alabama. The general himself was as conspicuous for his piety as for his courage. Preston Smith, at the breaking out of the war, was engaged in the practice of the law at Memphis, in Tennessee, and had given great promise of future distinction in the courts. Thus, in every battle of this cruel strife, are the gifted young men of the South taken from us, till the lists of the early dead comprise more of genius and virtue than are left amongst the living. May God inspire their successors to emulate their bright example!

Contrary to the general expectation, there has been nothing done on the line of the Rappidan as yet, though all things portend an early engagement. I incline to the opinion that after waiting vainly several weeks for an advance on the part of Meade, General Lee is about to strike a blow at the enemy—a movement which would infuse the liveliest joy among his troops, who have been pining with inaction since the retreat from Gettysburg, and burning to repair the injury of that disaster. There never was an army in a state of higher efficiency than that of General Lee, in all respects, except in the cavalry arm, which falls behind the standard of excellence only for the want of horses. A good deal of dissension has taken place in the daily papers with regard to the corps of Job Stuart: some critics declaring that they accomplish but little in comparison with their opportunities. And I observe that a most agreeable and amiable writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September remarks upon their delinquency in discarding the use of the sabre in the charge, preferring their carbines and revolvers at short range as the more serviceable weapon. The English officer in *Blackwood* unwittingly does them injustice, I am sure, in his statement that they cannot be made to charge upon infantry, and the umilitary critics of the daily press at home write without a proper knowledge of the facts. The Confederate cavalry of General Lee are weak only in numbers. Again and again have they put to rout the heavy squadrons of Pleasanton and Stoneman, supported by large bodies of Yankee foot, and many successful charges have been made by Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee and Mumford upon the very bayonets of the enemy. In the use of the sabre they are undoubtedly inferior to the cavalry of the old military organisations of Europe, where all the dexterities of fence are made a part of the early instructions of the drill sergeant; but it may be doubted if in perfect command of the horse and endurance in the saddle they are not superior to any regular cavalry on earth. Mistakes have been made in the use of the dragons, heretofore, which, we may hope, experience will correct; but when the history of the war shall be fully and faithfully written it will be seen that the Confederate trooper has borne his due share of the hardships and reaped his proper measure of the glory of the conflict.

With reference to Charleston, I can but refer you to my last week's letter, and with that you will apply what was said therein to the intervening period. The bombardment is maintained on both sides, our batteries throwing shells into

the works on Morris Island, and the enemy's monster guns hurling great cylinders of iron at the debris of Sumter, monotonously, at intervals, throughout every day. The enemy's fire is exceedingly accurate, and their explosives rarely miss bursting; so that Sumter is in a chronic state of eruption, breaking out every few minutes with brick and mortar dust, and scattering the fragments of its once firm walls over the blue waters that girdle the island fortress. In spite of the well-directed fire of our own rifled ordnance, the Yankees make good progress with their Morris Island defences. The negroes and Irishmen are killed off daily; but the covered ways and bomb-proof casemates are carried on to completion. If Charleston can be taken by engineering, by mechanical contrivances, by a line of telegraph up and down the beach, by signal stations, &c., &c., Gilmore will assuredly do it; but the utmost that he will be enabled to accomplish by his indefatigable labours on the island, it is thought, will be to obtain command of the entrance to the harbour, and thus maintain the blockade of the port to the relief of the fleet, which has hitherto been kept off the bar. As yet, the *Swamp Angel* is silent, and the city is undisturbed. It cannot be long before their further plan of attack upon the harbour is developed, and then we may look for another trial of strength between the besiegers and the besieged.

The total number of Federal prisoners now confined in this city, irrespective of commissioned officers, is 8,550, and more are on their way to the Confederate capital, so long the object of their destination. General Winder estimates that provision will have to be made for 14,000 or 15,000 during the winter, and he has made application in person to the city council to be allowed the privilege of using the public almshouse, a very handsome and commodious building on the north-eastern extremity of the town, as a military prison; but the council refused to turn the paupers adrift for the accommodation of Yankee prisoners, and it will be necessary to fit up more tobacco factories for the reception of those sojourners. The press of the Northern cities has endeavoured to excite resentment against the Confederate authorities by false representations with regard to the comfort of these factories, alleging that they are loathsome places of confinement, and that cruelty is thus officially practised against their soldiers that fall into our hands. The factories are, in point of fact, as comfortable and healthy prisons as could possibly be provided. The very saturation of the floors with the nicotine of the tobacco, is an effectual security against vermin, which are the greatest pests of the common gaol, and it was indispensable for the purposes to which the buildings were originally devoted that they should be close against the weather. No one who has visited the military prisons of Richmond has failed to observe the cleanliness and order of these establishments, although the habits of the miscellaneous herd that have infested them since the beginning of the war have made the maintenance of cleanliness and order no easy matter to the commandants.

General Pemberton, who commanded at Vicksburg, is at present in the city. General Kemper is also here, slowly recovering from his Gettysburg wounds.

The weather is glorious—the beautiful October, which streaks the woods with crimson and saffron, and hangs its curtains of haze along the horizon, blesses us with delicious days, and starlit, tranquil nights, all unconcerned with the war, its devastations and alarms.

#### WAR CHRISTIANITY.

WHATEVER may be the honesty of Mr. Ward Beecher's political creed, his faith in English ignorance is unquestionably very great. But for a conviction, almost respectable from its intensity, a Yankee "War Christian" would hardly have the audacity to attempt to palm off, even on the packed audience of Exeter Hall, fictions so simple as those with which this reverend gentleman entertained his hearers on the evening of the 20th ultimo. Unfortunately, we are not quite so ignorant as Mr. Beecher fondly imagines. We have little space to waste on the exposure of fallacies so transparent; but, if only with the charitable object of sparing him such exhibitions in future, we will give Mr. Beecher a few lines. We will not descend to argument. We will confine ourselves entirely to fact.

It is simply an imposition, then, on popular credulity to lay claim to the slightest credit on behalf of the North with respect to emancipation. It is simply untrue to say that, as States, they have ever made a sacrifice for the sake of the blacks, or taken a step with regard to slavery with any other object than that of making out of it the largest possible profit to themselves. It is simply a falsehood—stamped as such by the words of the Constitution, no less than by every circumstance and every document surrounding or bearing upon it—to attribute to the Constitution of the United States any squeamishness with regard to slavery, any idea of a "compromise" with it, any thought of putting it away, or even out of sight, as an unholy or undesirable thing. Most impudently untrue of all is it to claim for New England in particular any superiority in this respect.

The truth lies in precisely the opposite direction. If slavery is a sin, the guilt of it lies upon New England with tenfold weight. So far as the private acts of individuals are concerned, there is no single Southern State but has emancipated more slaves than all her six combined. As a body of States, she has not freed a single slave. She never dreamed of emancipation till her own slaves were found not to pay, and she had sold them to the South. So far as their laws are concerned, four of her six States are slave States now. It is only when, by the separation of the other slave States, she is losing the benefit of their slavery, that she begins to clamour in earnest for its abolition. Whilst, for the worst and most crying evil of it all, it is not only by the enterprising cupid-ity of Northern men that the slave trade has been exul-

\* The Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets. By E. B. Browning. London: Chapman and Hall, 1863.  
† The Victories of Love. By Coventry Patmore. London: Macmillan, 1863.



sively maintained, but it was by the arguments, the entreaties, the threats of the New England States that its legality was insisted on for years throughout the Union against the persistent and united opposition of the South.

Such are the facts. They are susceptible of the easiest, the most abundant, and the most irrefragable proof. Let Mr. Ward Beecher beware how, in his eager hatred of those whom he was proud to call brethren so long as the brotherhood could be turned to gain, he force them too much on the minds of honest Englishmen.—*Church and State Review.*

**THE "SO-CALLED" EARL RUSSELL.**—A correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, referring to Earl Russell's designating the Confederate States, as the 'so-called' Confederate States, observes:—"Nobody that knows anything about them can doubt that they are States, and that they are confederated. The name Confederate States, therefore, truly expresses what they are. The fact that they are Confederate States is as certain as the existence of the sun or the moon, and it would not be more absurd to speak of the sun as the 'so-called' sun, or the moon as the 'so-called' moon. The late Lord John is a Russell and an Earl, and is therefore properly called Earl Russell, but by the authority of his own example he ought to be styled the 'so-called' Earl Russell." The correspondent of the *Courier* was probably not aware, or he would have been less angry, that for the greater part of Earl Russell's life—that is, until he rose to the Peerage—he was designated in official documents as "John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell," he only being a lord by courtesy. The "so-called" is a mere diplomatic formality that signifies nothing.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

### WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOV. 25. MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

THERE has been quite a change in the aspect of the Money Market during the past few days, and the general gloominess which prevailed last week has given place to brighter prospects, and in all monetary circles business has assumed a more encouraging tone. The anticipations in some quarters that the Bank directors would, at the last weekly meeting, have advanced the rate to 7 per cent., were not realised; and the Bank return fully justified them in not announcing any alteration, as it proved far more favourable than was anticipated, and showed that the reported withdrawals of gold had been overstated. At the same time, far more satisfactory accounts arrived from the Paris Bourse, which greatly tended to allay the unsatisfactory feeling which prevailed. The demand for money, both at the Bank and in the open market, has only been moderate, but the brokers do not yet seem disposed to lower their terms to any considerable extent. The general quotation is still 6 per cent., though in a few exceptional cases 5½ has been taken. The joint-stock banks are not quite so hard in their terms, most of them now making advances at 5½ per cent. On the Stock Exchange money is tolerably plentiful, and short loans on Government Securities can now be obtained at 3 to 3½ per cent.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The specie movements at the Bank of England have not been on a very extended scale; but, for the first time during the past month, a small amount of gold, £17,000, has been sent in; but on the other hand, £220,000 has been taken out, chiefly for Alexandria. The only arrival of specie has been £15,460 by the *Canada* from New York. Bar gold has been in considerable demand for exportation, but bar silver is again becoming dull. The supply by the last West India packet has been sold at 61½d. per oz., being a decline of ½d. as compared with the previous sales. Mexican dollars are not at present in demand, and the supply on hand is small. The last mail for the East took out £302,052, of which £214,000 was in gold, and £88,000 silver. The proportions were—to India, £51,000; China and the Straits, £38,052; and Alexandria, £213,000.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The market for the English Funded Securities has within the past few days shown more elasticity than for some time past. The Bank Directors not having further advanced the rate of discount on Thursday gave a general stimulus to operations, and dealings freely took place at a slight advance in prices. Since then business has continued moderately active, and an advance on the week of ½ per cent. has been established, Consols closing at 92½ to ¼ for money, and 91¼ to ¾ ex. div. for the account. Exchequer Bills also show an improvement, being at present 6s. to 2s. dis. The foreign stock market has, under the circumstances, been particularly quiet. An average amount of transactions has taken place, but without exhibiting anything of a speculative movement, and, in sympathy with the other markets, quotations, in most instances, show an improvement. Greek Stock closes at at 30½ to 31; Mexican, 37½ to 38; Spanish Passives, 34½ to 34½; Do. Certificates, 13½ to 14; Turkish (1854), 89½ to 90, and do. (1862), 70 to 70½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The dealings in American Government and Railway Securities continue to be exceedingly limited, and notwithstanding the nature of this intelligence recently received with regard to the progress of the war, there seems no disposition whatever on the part of the brokers to operate except to a very limited extent. The following comprise the dealings of the week:—United States Six per Cents, 65, 65½. Ditto, ditto, Five per Cent., 59. Atlantic and Great Western, New York Section, first mortgage, 76½, 76 and 76½. Ditto, ditto, Pennsylvania Section, 76, 76½, 76½, and 76½. Illinois Central, Six per Cents, 83. Ditto, ditto, Seven per Cents, 73. Ditto, \$100 shares, \$90 paid, 23, and 22½ dis. Ditto, ditto, all paid, 70½. Panama Railway, second mortgage, 106. Pennsylvania Central Bonds, second mortgage 88. Philadelphia and Reading Railway, \$50 shares 36.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The general aspect of the railway share market has considerably improved within the last few days; the more settled state of the money market, and the better appearance of things in most departments, causing dealers to operate more freely, and for most of the leading descriptions of securities prices have advanced, and with a prospect of further improvement. The most important changes have been a rise of 1 per cent. in Bristol and Exeter, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Great Western, Brighton, London and North-Western, London and South-Western, and South-Eastern; of ½ per cent. in Great Eastern, of ¼ per cent. in Great Northern, Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, North Staffordshire, and North British, and of ¼ per cent. in Midland and North-Eastern (Derwick). On the other hand there has been a decline of 1 per cent. in Great Southern and Western (Ireland) and Metropolitan. In Foreign Railway shares, although the business transacted has not been of a very active character, there has been general

firmness exhibited with respect to prices, and the same may be said with regard to shares in British possessions.

### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

There have been few transactions in this Stock during the week, but purchases could only be made at full rates, the quotations ranging from 54—56 to 56—58. We close to-day at the higher rate, with a steady market.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

A General Court of the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading with Hudson's Bay has just been held at their house in Fenchurch-street, for the purpose of electing a Governor and Deputy Governor and Committee for the ensuing year. Sir Edmund Head presided. The report recommended the payment of an *interim* dividend of 5s. per share in January next, being equal to the rate usually distributed at that period, the regular accounts not being made up till the 31st May in each year. The fur trade this year, so far as the results could be ascertained, had been more than ordinarily favourable; the construction of a line of telegraph from Canada to British Columbia had been found to be perfectly practicable, and the requisite negotiations on the subject were in progress with the home Government as well as with the Government of the two colonies. A mineral survey of the Company's property, with reference to the fact of gold having been found within its limits, is hoped to be effected within a moderate time; and, finally, it was announced that the Government of the United States had manifested a disposition to deal fairly and promptly with those large claims which the Company possess under the Oregon treaty.

The report was adopted without any discussion, and the following officers were elected: Governor, Sir Edmund Head, Bart.; Deputy-Governor, Mr. Curtis Miranda Sampson. Committee: Mr. Eden Colville, Mr. George Lyall, M.P., Mr. Daniel Meinertzhagen, Mr. James Stewart Hodgson, Mr. J. H. W. Schroeder, Mr. Richard Potter, and Mr. Bonamy Dobree. On the motion of Mr. R. A. Heath, a vote of thanks was accorded to the committee, and the meeting separated. A meeting has been held of the Inns of Court Hotel Company, when some strong remarks were made with regard to the accounts, several items of expenditure being considered excessive. It was explained that these expenses were incurred by the promoters of the Company, and not by the directors, who were nevertheless bound by the articles of association to pay them. A very favourable opinion was expressed with regard to the eligibility of the site selected for the hotel, and to the prospects of the undertaking generally. The report was adopted. The third ordinary general meeting of the Bahia Steam Navigation Company was held this afternoon at the office, Bridge-street, Westminster, when a report was read and adopted which stated that the directors congratulated the shareholders on the steady increase in the receipts of the company, and the prospect of a still larger revenue in the next year. The balance to credit of traffic account was £8,688, which, after deducting expenses in London and insurance, would leave a profit of £5,736, out of which the directors announced a dividend at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum, leaving a balance of £582 to be carried to the reserve account, which would then amount to £2,990.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

A prospectus has just been issued of the West India and Pacific Steam Ship Company (Limited). It is intended by the directors, the principal members of which are actively engaged in the commerce of London and Liverpool, to assume the working and further development of a line of steamers already established between Liverpool, the West Indies and the eastern terminus of the Panama railroad, and to employ such branch steamers as shall bring the main line into communication with the West India Islands, Venezuela and Mexico. Subsequently, other routes in that part of the world are to be occupied. It is remarked that the success which has attended the employment of steamers on the Pacific is shown in the fact that the shares of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company and the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company are now worth upwards of 50 per cent. premium. It is believed that the traffic on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus is likewise susceptible of great development, and there will be the less tendency to competition with established interests, because the traffic which the Company aim at is mainly that of goods. A prediction is made that the time is not far distant when the tea, silks and other products of China will be conveyed in less than sixty days by steam to England by the Panama route. Operations are to be entered upon at once, owing to the transfer of an existing business to this Company—The Bedford Hotel Company of Brighton (Limited), is another new scheme just put forward; the objects of the undertaking being to effect an amalgamation with the Brighton Club and Norfolk Hotel Company, by which mutual advantages will be secured. The capital proposed is £100,000, in 10,000 shares of £10 each. A great portion of the capital is said to be already subscribed.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The American Produce Markets have generally been the turn firmer since our last, the tendency of money having appeared more favourable. The advices to hand from New York have not had any marked effect. For cotton, the demand during the last day or two has somewhat improved, and a fall of ½d. per lb. at the close of the previous week has been recovered. Provisions continue to sell steadily; New York bacon sides making 46s. to 48s. for sizeable kinds. Arrivals of American beef are now daily expected, and buyers keep their orders open as far as possible, in consequence. American butter moves off to a fair extent, at 9s. to 10s. for the better sorts. In lard there is very little doing. The grain markets are showing increased firmness, and for good qualities of American wheat, rates are 1s. per lb. higher. Barley flour is also the turn dearer, and of both articles, home as well as foreign, supplies are light. Petroleum has sold steadily during the week, at 1s. 11d. to 2s. per gallon for refined, and £18 per ton for crude. In oils, the only variation is another decline in the price of linseed, which is now quoted 39s. to 39s. 6d. Tallow continues depressed, and prices are further reduced, 6d. to 9d. per cwt. At the colonial wool sales, which are progressing with a good deal of animation, larger purchases than usual have been made on American accounts, in wool ranging from 11½d. per lb. and under. The jute speculation has somewhat abated, and to-day some parcels were realized at 10s. to 20s. per ton under the highest point. Hemp of all kinds remains without essential change. The tobacco trade has not presented any new feature. Generally, dealers buy only for immediate demand, but stocks are well held, and quotations for the most part firm. French turpentine has declined to 65s. per cwt., but American remains nominally as last quoted. The sugar speculation is still unchecked, and we have again to record an advance in prices, the market closing with an upward tendency. For cheapest Manilla sugar 41s. was paid to-day. In drugs, dyes, and drapery articles we have but little change to note, further than a decline in camphor to

100s. Metals generally have been more active. Scotch iron has risen to 64s. cast, and spelter is 5s. per ton dearer. English tin is reduced £3, but foreign is unaltered, Straits commanding £113 per ton.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, 2d. ord. to fr.	0 1 10	0 2 4½	0 1 8	0 2 3
CHEMICALS—				
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5½	0 1 5½	0 1 7½	0 1 7½
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4½	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 5
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 7	0 0 7½	0 0 7½	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 6
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 7 3	0 7 3
DRUGS—				
Alum, Cape, cwt.	1 10 0	2 10 0	1 0 0	2 5 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 3	0 1 3
Peru, lb.	0 4 0	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 3
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 9 6	0 8 0	0 10 6
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 0	0 4 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	4 15 0	5 0 0	5 12 0	5 15 0
Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 0 0	5 10 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 14 0	0 9 0	0 14 9
Leimon-grass, oz.	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 5½	0 0 6½
Orange, lb.	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 5	0 0 6
Citronelle, cwt.	0 0 53	0 0 6	0 0 54	0 0 54
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 18 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	0 19 0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3½	0 0 2½	0 0 3½
Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 4	0 0 4
Snakeroot, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 2 3	0 2 3
Spermaceti, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 2
DYES, cwt.—				
Safflower	4 5 0	7 10 0	3 10 0	7 10 0
Turnerie, Bengal	1 12 0	1 14 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
Madras	1 14 0	1 16 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 5 0	5 10 0	6 10 0
GRUINS, cwt.—				
Animi, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Godda	1 13 0	1 14 0	1 6 0	1 7 0
Kovrie	2 10 0	2 12 0	1 6 0	1 6 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	3 4 0	3 4 0	2 16 6	3 4 0
Iron, Scotch, pig	112 0 0	112 0 0	119 0 0	119 0 0
Tin, English	112 0 0	112 0 0	119 0 0	119 0 0
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	76 0 0	78 0 0	84 0 0	84 0 0
Linsced	39 0 0	39 6	42 0 0	42 0 0
Rock Oil, Crude	18 0 0	18 0 0	14 0 0	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	5 0 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine	2 6 0	2 18 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 9 0	2 8 0	1 18 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	2 0 0	2 2 0	2 0 0	2 2 0
South do.	2 1 0	2 2 6	2 7 0	2 8 3
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
TOBACCO, lb.—				
Maryland	0 0 5½	0 0 9	0 0 4½	0 0 9
Virginia	0 0 10	0 0 12	0 0 5½	0 0 10
Kentucky	0 0 6½	0 0 17	0 0 4½	0 0 17

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

### LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Nov. 25.

Our Cotton Market within the last few days has again shown a decided improvement both as regards the amount of business transacted and the prices obtained. The late stop put to the trade by the uncertainty which prevailed, with reference to the value of money has been entirely removed by the improved state of affairs both here and in Paris, and both sellers and purchasers are operating with far more freedom. American cotton has been more firmly offered, and at one period a decline of 1d. per lb. had to be submitted to, but the markets have now all improved, and to-day are quoted at from ¼ to ½ advance upon nearly all descriptions. The sales of the week have amounted to 36,000 bales, of which 17,600 bales were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year down to the present period have been 2,365,210 bales; and to the same period in 1862, 2,434,510 bales. The total imports this year have been 1,491,474 bales; and to the same period last year 1,084,053 bales. There have been exported this year 431,042 bales; to the like period in 1862 400,613 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,193,500 bales; same period last year 1,030,800 bales. Taken on speculation this year 659,100 bales; same in 1862, 969,760 bales. Computed Stocks at the present time 256,290 bales, and to the same time last year 291,660 bales. The closing quotations were: American 27d. to 28½d.; Egyptian 28d. to 29½d.; Fair Dhollerah 22½d. to 23½d.; and Surats 16½d. to 24½d.

### MANCHESTER, November 24.

The depression of feeling existing at the date of our last report has been alleviated to some extent by the non-advance in the Bank rate of discount on Thursday; yet there is an impression on peoples minds that the Money Market will become more stringent as the new crop of cotton comes forward from the various sources of supply, owing to an increased amount of specie having to be transmitted by each successive mail to the East, to pay for cotton shipments.

Manufacturers and spinners, whose contracts are about running out, are becoming rather anxious to take fresh orders at a considerable decline on the prices of a fortnight back; but very little business is being done.

Stocks of goods are beginning to accumulate in agents' hands, and if there be no increase in demand shortly, there will be a resort to short time again on the part of manufacturers.

Yesterday and to-day there has been a firmer feeling displayed in the Liverpool market, and prices are quoted ¼d. to ½d. per lb. higher here. On the strength of this, sellers here have put up their quotations to the same extent, and some little business has been effected at this advance.

There is a good demand to-day for 44 inch. shirtings at increased rates; but as this trade is only very small in the aggregate, the general tone of the market is not affected thereby.

### Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Nov. 19, are—

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATE DEPARTMENT RELATIVE TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE BRITISH CONSULS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD. THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTERSHIRE. PARIS NOTES.

### LETTER FROM RICHMOND, Oct. 17th.

THE NEUTRALITY OF NON-INTERCOURSE.

THE NEW CANADAINS.

THE LETTER OF EXALTATION.

THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRIA.

THE TRADE TO MAFANIGAN.

PRESIDENT-MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES.

LITERARY NOTES.

LETTER FROM MR. W. H. COWELL.

AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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**TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND.** Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilized people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality," while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater, sacrificing her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States have declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South consented, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an iron thunderbolt in the other, and we have given him a serpent. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally declare what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence; nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. It is time that we should decide between the two. In our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her to the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends, as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.

Offices open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., at 7, St. Michael's-court, Fenchurch, E.C. Meetings every Wednesday at one o'clock, p.m., at the above place.

JAMES YOMANS, Hon. Sec.,  
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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathize with the sufferings of their fellowmen.

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# THE INDEX

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VOL. III.—No. 84.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 3, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CRISIS IN TENNESSEE.  
THE CLOVEN FOOT.  
ENGLAND AND THE CONGRESS.  
MRS. GREENHOW'S IMPRISONMENT.  
THANKSGIVING ENTERTAINMENT AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.  
DR. HUNT'S LECTURE ON THE NEGRO: HIS PLACE IN NATURE—(concluded.)  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

ANOTHER Federal army is "safe." General Burnside, like Rosecrans and many other Northern commanders, has been defeated in the open field, and driven to his inner line of defences, and, not perceiving that for an invader to be on the defensive, to be besieged, to be skulking behind fortifications, is to be defeated, writes confidently to his Government that his position is impregnable, that he is "safe."

We ought, however, to give General Burnside credit for showing plenty of fight. He advanced as long as he could, and in his retreat warmly contested his ground. On the 14th November, General Longstreet crossed the Tennessee River at London, but for days and even weeks before this, Burnside had been harassed. The 850 prisoners from his division, of which the arrival is announced in Richmond, are captures made prior to the operations that ensued from the Confederate passage of the Tennessee. One effect of the constant pressure on Burnside's outposts was to keep him on the alert, and accordingly, the first portion of Longstreet's troops that crossed on the 14th were, in attempting to move towards Lender, driven back nearly to the river. During the night the rest of the Confederates crossed, and on the 15th the Federals retreated, being closely followed up. With undiminished vigour the Confederates made several assaults during the night, and in the morning (16th) the Federals retreated to Concord, where they formed line of battle, and a fight ensued, which lasted until nightfall. We may judge of the character of this battle from what followed. The Federals gave up all hope of disputing the advance of the Confederates, and in darkness beat a hasty retreat to their inner line of defences at Knoxville. Still they were not permitted to rest by their vigilant, untiring pursuers. Early on the 18th they were attacked at several points, and heavy skirmishing continued until evening. On the 19th, after a cannonading, the Confederates charged, and this was decisive. The Federals were ousted from all their positions and fled into Knoxville; the Confederates capturing a portion of the chief fortifications only half a mile from the town, and after that Knoxville was completely invested. Such is a brief outline of events, which are interesting in themselves and will probably have a highly important bearing on the issue of the campaign in Tennessee.

The Federals estimate their own loss on the 16th and 19th at 500, and the Confederate loss at 1,400. We expect that 500 is far too low a figure for so much fighting; and moreover, as the Federals were always retreating, it is utterly impossible that they could ascertain the loss of their enemy. When General Halleck dresses up an account for the market, he should not venture on arithmetical assertions that everybody knows must be mere guess-work.

General Meade has visited Washington to consult with Mr. Lincoln, and the impression in the North is that he will now go into winter quarters. Others think that he will immediately assume the offensive. At present, however, he has been as quiet as the troublesome Confederates will permit him to be. The news from Virginia is made as meagre and indefinite as possible, but it has crept out—perhaps as a prelude of worse intelligence—that there has been sharp skirmishing on the Rapidan, and that the Federals have been driven back. This must be rather discouraging to those who urge Meade to advance, on the ground that Lee has sent all his troops to Bragg, and has only a thin line to deceive his enemy. General Meade is evidently of a different opinion.

At Chattanooga there has been no change of importance. It is rumoured that both sides have been heavily reinforced, but all such rumours are in themselves totally unworthy of credence. The Confederates continue to shell the Federal position, and if we may believe the Northern reports, with as little effect as the Federal bombardment produces on Fort Sumter. It seems that in war science will not do all, and that battles are to be won by close quarters and the bayonet.

The only item from Charleston, besides the stereotyped "bombardment of Sumter continued, and no harm done," is that four monitors have passed up the channel to ascertain the depth of water. It is said that twenty-five shots were fired into the city without doing any damage.

General Banks' expedition landed at Brazos Island, Texas, on the 3rd and 4th November. As soon as the Confederate authorities were cognizant of this, they destroyed Fort Brown, and a portion of Brownsville, a small wooden town of rather less than 3,000 inhabitants, and notorious as the most rowdy place in Texas. The Confederate forces being withdrawn, General Banks occupied Brownsville on the 5th without opposition. There is no doubt the Texan boys will give a good account of themselves in their own peculiar manner.

But after all, General Banks may not long trouble the Texans. It is said that "a revolution in favour of the French was feared at Matamoras; and as the American consul was fearing personal violence, a portion of Banks' troops were in readiness to go to his protection, if necessary." If Banks means to keep even temporarily a footing in Texas he has not a man to spare, and looking at the position of affairs in Virginia and Tennessee, and remembering that at New York the bounty paid for a recruit is \$700, we should have supposed the Federals had enough to engage their attention without interfering in Mexican affairs. The paragraph we have quoted is probably only brag and bluster. But it is a dangerous game in this case, and an accident may lead to a complication not intended by the authorities at Washington.

A certain class of people ought to have good memories. It was announced in Washington that the advanced guard of General Washburn in the Teche country was attacked by the Confederates on the 3rd November and beaten, but that it rallied and repulsed the Confederates with the loss of 200 prisoners and 100 killed and wounded. It was further notified that "the Federals lost 40 men killed." It is now admitted that the Federal loss on that occasion was 677 men. It will better enable us to understand the progress of the war if we recollect that the Federals always apply the rule of division to their own losses and that of multiplication to those of their enemy. Indeed, to confess the truth would be highly inconvenient, for their losses are frequent and heavy. It is stated that in the late attack upon Franklin's

troops near Opelousas the Federal loss "was 670 men, one regiment being captured entire."

Our New York correspondent gives what we believe to be the only rational account of the alleged conspiracy for making Canada the basis of a Confederate invasion. His view of the duty of Lord Monck under the circumstances, cannot fail to strike every candid mind as just and equitable; and if the Governor-General of Canada had indeed played the part ascribed to him by the Northern press and Government, it cannot be doubted that an indignant public opinion in this country would call him to a strict accountability. We desire, also, to invite the special attention of our readers to our correspondent's clear and moderate statement of the questions now at issue between the two American belligerents, in reference to the exchange of prisoners—questions which have furnished occasion for slanderous accusations of the South, as inconsistent with the attested character of its people, as their promulgation is in accordance with the notorious practice of the Yankees.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania gave judgment on the 9th November upon the constitutionality of the Federal Conscription Act. The matter was brought before the Court in the form of three suits in equity, the plaintiffs severally praying for an injunction to restrain the defendants (draft officers) from coercing them, the plaintiffs, to enter the army. It was not alleged that the defendants were not acting according to the instructions contained in the Act of Congress; but that the Act itself was unconstitutional and therefore invalid. Chief Justice Lowry commented on the difficulty of giving a judgment upon an issue that was a political question, because both sides thought themselves morally right and would not change their views in accordance with the Court. But the Conscription Act was an exception to the rule, for the appeal was to the Constitution, a "written standard." Now it is not denied that Congress has the power to raise armies, and therefore the point in dispute is as to the mode of doing it. "Is it admissible to call forced recruiting a necessary and proper mode of exercising this power?" Assuredly it is not for the suppression of a rebellion, because the Constitution provides a remedy under such circumstances, viz., calling out the militia of the States; and when a remedy is provided, it is evident that all other modes or remedies are forbidden. It is urged that the militia is inefficient or insufficient. Several Presidents have noticed the inefficiency of the militia and advised its reorganisation, and so it is probable that the allegation is true. But must we, therefore, conclude that Congress has the power to set aside the constitutional remedy and to substitute another? No; for Congress is authorised to make the militia as effective as possible, and so is barred the plea of inefficiency. But Chief Justice Lowry properly remarks that it is not the function of the Judiciary to sit in judgment on the reasons that prompt the action of the Legislature. An Act of Congress might be passed for a very inadequate reason, but that would not make it less binding. If Congress can pass such a conscription law "for any reason, we must sustain it for that reason. The question then is, may Congress, independent of the fact of rebellion or invasion, make forced levies in order to recruit the regular army?" Against an affirmative reply there are two objections. Such an authority is not granted to Congress by the Constitution and is altogether opposed to the spirit of the Constitution. "In all other matters of allowed contribution to the Union, duties, imports, excises, and direct taxes, the rule of uniformity, equality, or proportion is fixed in the Constitution." Now it is likely, that if the framers



of the Constitution had contemplated the concession of such a power to the Federal Government as that of conscripting for the army, that it would have been granted without any rule or restriction? Is it likely that the Federal Government, which is the creature of party, would have been authorised to draft for the army, without the rights of the several States being protected by express stipulations? Then again, we must remember that the militia was an institution before the creation of the Federal Government, and that its continued existence is guaranteed in the Constitution. But if the Federal Government is empowered to make forced levies when, where, and how it will, it is plain that the militia only exists by sufferance and may at any moment be abolished; for by such levies the Federal Government can conscript the very population that feeds the militia. Now volunteering is not antagonistic to the militia, but only calls for that portion of the people who are not necessarily included in the militia; and as in case of insurrection or invasion, the Federal Government has the power to call upon the militia for aid, the militia is at all times available for the defence of the country. There are, then, four principal reasons upon which the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania granted the injunction prayed for, and by so doing pronounced the Conscription Act unconstitutional.—1. The Constitution grants a specific remedy for rebellion, and therefore all other remedies are not granted; and this is an argument of peculiar force, inasmuch as the Constitution reserves to the States all powers not specifically bestowed upon the Federal Government. 2. In case of rebellion, the Federal Government is authorised to call upon the militia, and if that force is inefficient, it is empowered to add to its efficiency, and is therefore bound to increase its forces through the militia. 3. The Federal Government is empowered to raise armies, but not through a forced conscription, because such a mode would place particular States and parties at the mercy of the General Government, as the Constitution does not provide for the protection of the States and citizens in an emergency which it does not contemplate. 4. It is provided by the Constitution that the States' militia shall be conserved; but that is impossible if the Federal Government has an unlimited power of conscription, which includes the right to conscript the whole population from which the militia is recruited, the existing militia, and even the State officers.

Thus the second State in the Union, by the voice of its Supreme Court, decides that the Conscription Act is unconstitutional and therefore invalid. A fortnight since we noticed that the Supreme Court of New York, the first State in the Union, had decided that the Indemnity Act was unconstitutional and invalid. These decisions may not have much practical effect, but they serve to show how thoroughly revolutionary is the present Washington Government. The Lincoln Administration may ignore the State tribunals, as it did in Pennsylvania, by refusing to appear before the Supreme Court, but by so doing it will only give a fresh proof that it is unable to appeal to the law, and depends upon the sword for its support.

The *Richmond Enquirer* of the 11th November gives some statistics about the bombardments of Fort Sumter, from their commencement on the 17th August until the 5th November. The number of shots fired at it was 15,583, and of these 12,302 struck. The casualties of the garrison were 27 killed and 69 wounded. The flag was shot down 34 times. The average weight of shot being 200 pounds, the weight of iron was 3,116,000 pounds, or 115,430 pounds of iron to each man killed, 30,370 pounds of iron to each casualty. If the charges of powder averaged 15 pounds, we have 233,745 pounds of powder used, or 8,657 pounds of powder to each man killed, and 2,434 pounds of powder to each casualty. Thus the North will find that although to bombard a fortress at a distance is very noisy and safe work, it is also very expensive and ineffectual.

Complaints are made in the Northern papers about the treatment of Federal prisoners in Richmond. The truth is, they are comfortably housed, clad as well and often better than Confederate soldiers, have the same rations as Confederate soldiers, and in sickness are as well cared for as Confederate soldiers. To treat their prisoners well is a point of honour with the Southerners. But assuming that the Federal authorities believe that their prisoners are badly treated, is it not remarkable that they should have stopped the exchange under the cartel? Some weeks ago we stated that a dispute had arisen between the commissioners of exchange as to the numbers held on either side. Since then the Confederate agent, Mr. Ould, proposed to General Meredith, the Federal commissioner for exchange, that the prisoners should be at once exchanged, and the excess on either side should be released on parole. After a considerable delay General Meredith refused the offer in very insulting terms, hinting that the Confederate authorities meant to make an unfair use of the exchange, and put valuable officers and men in the field who would otherwise be kept out of service. This charge very well exposes the true reason of the policy of the Yankee Government. A fair exchange they consider is not for their benefit. They do not think their men, either officers or privates, are equal to the men of the South, and so they put a stop to the cartel. Mr. Lincoln and his admirers, only intent on present advantage, do not perceive that the stoppage of the exchange is the forerunner of the refusal to take prisoners, and that however much Southern patriots may endure, it is not likely that the Irish and German mercenaries will be inclined to enlist in Mr. Lincoln's service, when they know that there is no surrender and no quarter.

The *Richmond Sentinel* publishes a review of the war in which the position of the Federals in 1862 is compared with their present position. After the first battle of Manassas the Lincoln Government became aware of the

magnitude of the task they had in hand, and made elaborate preparations for the invasion of the South. The autumn and winter of 1861 were devoted to collecting and drilling armies, which in February, 1862, were hurled against the South. In May, 1862, there were in Virginia 210,000 Federal soldiers:—

McClellan in the Peninsula	.. ..	156,000
McDowell	.. ..	22,000
Banks and Fremont in the Lower Valley	.. ..	20,000
Cox in Western Virginia	.. ..	12,000
		210,000

Besides these there were those who remained at Washington and Alexandria, those who occupied Maryland, and the garrison of Norfolk. Burnside had 20,000 men in North Carolina. At Beaufort there was an army of 12,000. Simultaneously two large armies under Grant and Buell penetrated Tennessee; a third, under Pope, operated on the Mississippi; a fourth was in Missouri and North Arkansas; and a fifth occupied New Orleans. The exact strength of the Western armies is not known, but they were all able to operate independently.

Such was the aspect of Federal affairs in the spring of 1862. What is the condition in the autumn of 1863? Mr. Lincoln, unable to obtain the recruits he required for supplying his various armies, has been obliged to amalgamate them. The army of the Potomac is so wasted that it retreats when General Lee, with his forces also lessened, advances. The armies in Virginia have become one army, no longer aggressive, and which is needed as a protection for the Federal capital. In the West, also, the armies have been united, and are hardly pressed by the Confederates. The contrast thus suggested is very striking. The invader intending to overrun the South has been compelled to assume the defensive.

The Canadian papers devote considerable space to a curious case of kidnapping. A person named Redpath was seized in a principal street in Montreal, charged, it was supposed, with the crime of murder, in broad daylight, and conveyed by force to the ferry-boat, and then to the railway station, and was ultimately brought to New York. It then appeared that the wrong man had been arrested, and Redpath, who is a British subject, was released after two days' confinement, but not until he had signed a document releasing his captors from the consequence of their illegal proceeding—which document will not, under the circumstances, be any bar to Redpath's claim. What gave the affair more importance was, that the United States Consul, Giddings, had in some way or other interfered in and sanctioned the arrest. Mr. Giddings has written a letter to excuse himself, and to explain that he acted under a wrong impression. However this may be, it is remarkable that a British subject can be seized on British territory, and carried to the United States, without any warrant from the British authorities. An action for damages has been commenced by Redpath against Mr. Giddings.

We learn from the telegraph that President Davis has acquitted General Polk of mismanagement at the battle of Chickamauga. Of General Polk's bravery and devotion to his country there never was the least question.

Butler and McNeil are at their work. The former has imprisoned a Norfolk merchant for six months for smuggling whisky. The Norfolk merchants had better prepare to divide their profits with Butler, and let him have their spoons, or they will share a like fate. We can hardly credit the report that all Confederate prisoners taken in his department, which includes Virginia, are to be under his jurisdiction. If so, we venture to predict that the Confederates in that part of the country will neither take nor give much quarter.

McNeil, who murdered ten Confederates for the supposed death of one old man, who afterwards turned up, is going to hang "a guerilla" each time the telegraph is cut between St. Louis and Fort Smith. McNeil will not be balked of blood.

The "Great Canadian Conspiracy"—assuming that the whole affair is not a *canard*, and we do not think it is—was at best a small matter, and would not have attracted much attention but from the conspicuous part played by Lord Lyons. At first it was reported that a plot had been hatched to burn Buffalo and several other towns, and generally to wage war on the United States, the Canadian shore being the basis of operations. This was, of course, mere moonshine, and the true story appears to be as follows:—

On Johnson's Island, which is situated at the mouth of Sandusky Bay, and is about fifty miles from the Canadian shore, there are confined a large number, some say 2,000, Confederate prisoners. The object of keeping the Confederates on Johnson's Island is the gratification of Yankee barbarity. The Southerners, accustomed to a warm climate, are there exposed to a peculiarly rigorous and unhealthy climate, and their sufferings may be more readily conceived than described. Several applications have been made to the Federal authorities to change the place of imprisonment, but no notice was taken, and the Confederates were left in what is neither more nor less than torture. Under these circumstances it seems that a body of Confederates (it is not clear that the Confederate Government was concerned in the affair) determined to attempt the rescue of their fellow-countrymen. The task, though difficult, did not seem hopeless. The prisoners were guarded by 400 men. By the terms of the Ashburton treaty, the United States could keep only two vessels of war (for revenue purposes) on the Lakes, and they were debarred from erecting fortresses on the shore. We mention these circumstances because they are to a great extent a justification of the remarkable officiousness of Lord Lyons. The necessary guns were provided, and the enterprise appeared likely to succeed, when the inhabitants of Buffalo

were startled by a telegram from Washington warning them of the plot. The British authorities had been on the track of the Confederates, and had communicated their suspicions to the British Minister at Washington, who, upon evidence too flimsy to raise more than a passing suspicion in the mind of a London detective, informed Mr. Stanton of the conspiracy. We do not say Lord Lyons exceeded his duty, but it is to be regretted that circumstances imposed such spy work upon him; and moreover, we cannot but remark, that it is not very much to the credit of this country that we are obliged to confess to the Federal Government that we are unable to enforce the observance of treaties in our own territory, and to call upon the Federals to look after their own interests. We certainly were under the impression, that the Governor-General of Canada had sufficient force to keep in order, say 150 Confederates, armed or unarmed. To betray such weakness is to invite aggression, and if we are so weak, it would better have consorted with our honour and our welfare to have kept the Confederates in check, and not have enacted the ignominious part of spy to the Federal Government.

The object of Lord Lyons was not to keep the Confederates in Johnson's Island, though that is the effect of his conduct; and no doubt, considering the terms of the Ashburton treaty, we are bound in honour to see that the weakness of the Federals shall not be used against them; but we do not agree with the mode in which the treaty was in this case upheld. In addition, however, to a sense of duty, it is pretty certain that Lord Lyons was instigated by a desire of reciprocating the politeness of the Federal Government. The North has warned us of a Fenian conspiracy in Ireland, and in return we warn the North of a Confederate conspiracy in Canada. It was really a fine opportunity, and justifies the observation of the *New York Herald* that never before "in the history of American independence has the British Government exhibited so signal a solicitude for the welfare of the United States." It seems that the Yankees are going to take advantage of our subservency. They will not move the Confederates from Johnson's Island, for they have no other convenient place of torture, and the British Government admits it cannot guarantee that the Confederates will not be able to fit out an expedition from the Canadian shore. It has therefore been agreed (so it is reported) that the Ashburton Treaty is to be so far set aside as to allow the United States to erect fortifications, which will certainly be useful to them if ever they undertake the invasion of Canada.

Mr. Wendell Phillips has lately made a speech, in which he stated that Mr. Lincoln had told him that the greatest folly of his life was the issuing of the emancipation proclamation. Mr. Phillips is not the man to invent such a story. The *New York Tribune*, which is notoriously inventive, denies that Mr. Lincoln made such a declaration, and the *New York Herald*, which is quite as truthful as the *Tribune*, says that Mr. Lincoln has on many occasions expressed such an opinion.

Mr. Ward Beecher has been publicly welcomed by his congregation on his return from Europe. Mr. Beecher's speech on that occasion was for the most part becoming a Christian minister. However, the cloven foot of political partisanship would show itself. He said he liked England still better when he left her, but "not her wrongheadedness, not her prejudices, not that corruption among her commercial classes, which is the parallel of the corruption in our country in years past by barbarous interests through slavery." Mr. Beecher was followed by a Rev. Mr. Holme, who made a joke about his friend's sea-sickness by a profane application of a verse in Revelations, and observed that Mr. Beecher was permitted to speak to an English audience "as almost never man spake."

The negroes in New Orleans have had a public meeting, at which they adopted a petition to be allowed to vote in State and Federal elections. The meeting was under the management of white men, who did nearly all the talking. This movement is set afoot by politicians, who are perfectly aware that black votes will be very marketable.

New Orleans has been for a long time under Federal government, and we have often been told that commerce was reviving. We should think that trade would not be much encouraged by the United States marshal seizing all the cotton in the city, which he has lately done.

The Democrats in Delaware have adopted a wise policy, by retiring from the contest and publishing a protest against the military intimidation which makes the election a mere farce. An effort is to be made to annul the elections both in Maryland and Delaware, on the ground of their being controlled by powers unknown to the Constitution.

The Richmond papers of the 18th announce the arrival at Wilmington of the steamers *Dundee*, *Flora*, *Banshee*, *Syren*, *Alice*, *A. D. Vance*, *Hansa*, *Antonica*, *Despatch*, and *General Scott*.

There has been a considerable advance in the price of gold in New York. On the 14th November, as we announced in our last issue, it was 46½ per cent. prem.; on the 16th it was 47½ per cent.; on the 19th it was 51½ per cent.; and this rise was ascribed to the drain of specie to Europe. On the 21st it was 53½ per cent., being an advance of 7 per cent. in a week.

#### ENGLAND.

HER Majesty's Government has declined to accept the invitation of the Emperor of the French to the Congress at Paris. A summary of the despatch from Earl Russell to



Earl Cowley, communicating the resolution of the Cabinet, will be found in another part of our impression.

His Excellency Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the newly-appointed ambassador from the Court of the Tuileries, arrived at Albert Gate House on Sunday evening from Paris.

The last mail from India brought the sad intelligence that Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, was rapidly sinking from dropsy on the heart, and that there was little hope of his recovery. It was also reported that his lordship had resigned his office, and had requested the Queen to appoint his successor. His loss is a heavy one to England and to India, and will be deeply mourned. It also affords a terrible example of the cost at which England has bought the Empire of the East, for Lord Elgin is the third of the men who have governed India with renown, who were in point of age nearly equal, and who fell under the stroke of labour and an Eastern climate. Lord Dalhousie ruled India when he was in the prime, or even the youth, of life, and returned home to die; Lord Canning, at the close of his perilous and successful administration, died without any enjoyment of the ease and honour to which he held so good a title; and now Lord Elgin, his successor, has been cut off before his career was accomplished.

Lord Elgin traced his descent from the Bruce, and was the son of the Earl of Elgin who brought the famous Elgin marbles to this country. Lord Elgin was born in London on the 20th of July, 1811. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, from which college also came the late Sir Robert Peel, Lords Derby, Dalhousie, and Canning, Mr. Gladstone, and the late Sir George Lewis. In 1841 he entered the House of Commons as Member for Southampton, being then Lord Bruce, and supported Sir Robert Peel. In 1842 he was offered the governor-generalship of Jamaica by Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby), who was at that time Secretary for the Colonies. In 1846 Lord Elgin was appointed Governor-General of Canada, and there he remained for eight years, to the advantage of the colony and to the promotion of its loyalty to the mother country. In 1857 he was appointed Ambassador to China, and on his way thither did an act which stamped him as a man of power and resolution; for, on mere rumours of the Indian mutiny, he diverted the troops under his charge to Calcutta, wisely seeing that India must be pacified before China could be conciliated. His embassy to China was successful. Canton was taken, and the Treaty of Tientsin was negotiated. In 1859 fresh troubles broke out in China, and the Peiho disaster called at once for active measures. Lord Elgin returned to China, Pekin was captured by the troops under Sir Hope Grant, and Lord Elgin, entering the Celestial City in state, compelled the submission of the Chinese Government, and negotiated the treaty from which both countries have derived so much benefit. On the retirement of Lord Canning, Lord Elgin was appointed Governor-General of India, but his tenure was destined to be but brief. He had suffered from heart complaint, and in spite of his great precautions he has fallen a victim to that disease. At the time of his illness he was in the north-west provinces, and having lately been traversing some elevated tracts in the Himalaya, was on his way to meet Sir Hugh Rose at Lahore.

The successor to Lord Elgin has been nominated and will go to India by the next mail. From what we have said it will be seen that three peers have successively held the greatest vice-royalty known to the ancient or modern world. Now it has been determined to appoint a man not even of aristocratic connections. The new Governor-General is Sir John Lawrence. If a man has a right to that which he has saved, then Lawrence rightly will rule India. Sir John Lawrence in 1857 held down, by his intrepidity and his wisdom, the turbulent Punjab. He had no abundance of troops or of resources; his province had only been conquered but a few years; yet he restrained the fierce Sikhs and the mutinous Sepoys in his own province, and sent such supplies of men and munitions to the siege of Delhi that it has been said that but for Laurence Delhi would not have fallen, and if Delhi had not fallen England would not have held India. His administration in peace was conspicuous for success in the dispensation of justice, in undisputed command, and in matters of revenue and finance. Sir John Lawrence is moreover, in a sense intelligible enough, an East Indian. His appointment will be popular in India because his fame belongs entirely to India. While we doubt not his ability and his success, let us hope that many years may be given him for the display of the one and the consummation of the other.

A public meeting was held in the City-hall at Glasgow, on Thursday last, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. James Spence, at Liverpool, on "Southern Independence." The attendance was enormous, and the hall was crowded long before the hour named for the commencement of the proceedings. Mr. James Hannan occupied the chair. Mr. Spence first endeavoured to show that under the Constitution each State remained a sovereign community, governing itself, except in regard to those matters which were committed to a general agent. So there was nothing in the Constitution forbidding the secession of any State. The Declaration of Independence stated that whenever a government no longer attained certain ends and among them the pursuit of happiness, it was "the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government." To say that the right to abolish existed, but not the right to secede, was as absurd as to say that you might have a right to kill a man, but have no right to leave his company. What said Mr. Lincoln in Congress on January 12th, 1848? "Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and

a most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world; nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing Government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize and make their own of so much territory as they inhabit." Mr. Lincoln then was a secessionist of the deepest dye. Many of the Northern States had passed what were called Personal Liberty Bills, the object of which was to defeat an express clause of the Constitution. For years the people of the Northern States had made a practice of vilifying and reviling the South, and when the result was seen in an armed invasion of Virginia, with murder and servile insurrection, these acts had been applauded. Finally, the election of the President was purely sectional. It drew a line across the North and South. Moreover the people of the North and South were two peoples, distinct and even antagonistic. That was proved by the conduct of each in the war. In the North, merriment and feasting, diamonds and shoddy wealth; in the South, fasting, penury, and sorrow. In the North, the bribing of mercenaries to fight, the destruction of liberty, and every cherished doctrine of the Constitution; in the South, the Constitution the guide of action. So also the Union was worked at a profit to the North and at a loss to the South. The South had not been indifferent on the tariff question. South Carolina had nullified the tariff bill, and armed to resist it, to the peril of the Union. Slavery was not the cause of secession. If slavery had been the grand object the South would have clung to the Union. The question of slave territories was a mere struggle for votes. No Southerner would ever dream of transplanting himself and his slaves. In New Mexico in twelve years there were only a dozen slaves domiciled. The North did not care for the negro; otherwise, why had not Mr. Lincoln freed the slaves of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky? The proclamation of emancipation was only meant to throw dust in the eyes of the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies. Its only effect could be a servile insurrection, and on that point he would read the words of Dr. Channing—the real Channing, not the present one. Dr. Channing said, "Were our national Union dissolved, we ought to reprobate as sternly as we do now the slightest manifestations of a disposition to stir up a servile war. Still more, were the Free and the Slaveholding States not only separated, but engaged in the fiercest hostilities, the former would deserve the abhorrence of the world and the indignation of Heaven were they to resort to insurrection and massacre as means of victory. Better were it for us to bare our own breasts to the knife of the slave than to arm it against his master." The South had never invented slavery, and had always protested against the slave-trade. It was the people of Great Britain who took the slaves from Africa and planted slavery in the South. The first result of Northern success in the present struggle would be a war with this country. We ought to attempt something to end the war. Neutrality did not necessitate inaction. More than one of the Powers of Europe who had desired to move on this subject, had been restrained by the inaction of this country. Wars ceased from the moral, not the material, exhaustion of a country. What conceivable fact so patent to produce on the North the conviction that its object was unattainable as the recognition of the South by Europe? That step should have been taken when the great attempt on Richmond had failed and the Northern army lay helpless, and the Northern spirit was broken down. Yet he did not urge recognition; all that he urged was that our Government should enter into relations with the other Powers of Western Europe, in order that they in their united wisdom might decide what measures should be taken. Mr. Spence concluded his able address with an eloquent appeal to his audience as men, as citizens, and as politicians, to make an effort to assuage the tempest and to restore to America peace on the only possible basis, the independence of the South. The speech of Mr. Spence was listened to with great interest, and many parts of it were loudly applauded. The mention of Mr. Lincoln as a Secessionist called forth hisses against such a doctrine from such a person, and the name of Beecher was considerably hissed and slightly cheered. At the close of the speech Mr. John Macadam proposed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting the war in America is an injury to the world, and that the present aspect of the conflict affords no hope of its early termination unless by means of the moral influence of Europe; we therefore earnestly hope that the Government of this country will enter into communication with the European Powers, to concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace, and that a memorial be presented to the Government expressing these sentiments." Mr. Councilor Moir here interposed with a resolution condemnatory of slavery, but it was eventually, after considerable uproar, agreed that the sense of the meeting should be tested on Mr. Macadam's resolution. An unmistakable majority of hands was held up in favour of the resolution, and a still more evident minority against it. The chairman then declared the motion carried an announcement which was received with loud cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. The victory for the Southern cause at Glasgow is now the sixth achieved, and in every case the meetings have been held in our large manufacturing towns, where the current of public opinion was naturally supposed to run in favour of the North. About the feeling of the small towns in the rural districts of the south, west, and east of England there has never been much doubt. We have reason to believe that similar meetings will be held in Barnsley, Macclesfield, and other towns, and that Mr. J. Spence will appear at each of these. What the English people really require is to be informed of the true state of the issue between North and South. For years the Abolition party has possessed the ear of the people on the platform and through the press. Their opinions consequently on American affairs are based

on *ex parte* statements. There is no lack of readiness to learn; the people are open to argument and conviction. Those, then, who labour to enlighten the masses on American affairs as Mr. Spence has done, deserve the gratitude of our common humanity.

The Hon. R. J. Walker presided at an elegant banquet at St. James's Hall, holden in pursuance of the proclamation of President Lincoln, which "invited his fellow-citizens at home and abroad to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in Heaven." Mr. Adams, and his secretaries, Messrs. Wilson and Moran, were present. The proceedings commenced with an address from the Hon. R. J. Walker, who called upon Mr. Hunting to read the proclamation. Then Sella Martin, the runaway negro, offered up prayer, and then the company sang a hymn. After the banquet Mr. Walker proposed the "President of the United States," and delivered an address on the rise and progress of the rebellion, and the prospects of its speedy suppression. Mr. Adams returned thanks, and addressed himself chiefly to the task of proving the proposition that the President had good grounds for calling on the people to offer up thanksgiving. To do that, he said it would be necessary to recall to mind the course of events. The President had come to his post with less of practical experience in government than any individual had done since the foundation of the Government. It was only by a little contrivance that he succeeded in getting to Washington at all; treachery was disseminated through all the departments of Government. Now the Government was safe, and was served faithfully. Was not that something to be thankful for? The case was the same with regard to the foreign representatives. It had taken nearly three years to make European governments believe that the President's power could be maintained. Now the Foreign Department worked faithfully and harmoniously, and that was a reason for thankfulness. By the machinations of the preceding Administration the national credit had been shattered. Now the people rushed in swarms to offer their money to the Government in exchange for the "obligations" which they were anxious to obtain. Throughout all the channels of military organisation the President at first had been unable to find one man out of those who could be trusted. Now no man was suspected of betraying their movements to the rebels. Similarly as to the navy: half the ships had to be burnt for fear of treachery, and the other half were dispersed over the world. Now their naval power was respected on every sea. Every man had thought that the emancipation of the slaves was impossible without the ruin of all classes. The crowning act of President Lincoln's administration was that, in two distinct measures he had opened a way for a practical result which had been supposed unattainable. The proclamation and the enlistment of the negro were the two great instruments by which emancipation without revolution would be carried out. Last year there had been a great expression of popular sentiment against the proclamation. Now the bulk of the people, having seen the result, had joined in one voice to sustain the Government in executing that policy. The people had rallied round the Government, and had maintained the policy of the President. They had money, they had men, and they had ideas, which they meant to establish as the only true and successful conclusion of the struggle. All this had been effected through the agency of a President, who came into power "with less practical political experience than any one preceding him." The next toasts were "The Queen," "The Day," "The Union—from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the source to the mouth of the Mississippi—for ever one and inseparable;" "The Emancipation Proclamation—Slavery's Epitaph, written by the finger of God on the heart of the American President." Other similar toasts and sentiments followed.

A field for Earl Russell's activity in the enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Act has been allowed to lie untouched by the Government. One Edward Lynch, a yeoman of Queenstown in the county of Cork, has deposited before Mr. Robert Hall, J.P., that during the time that the Federal ship-of-war *Kearsage* lay at Queenstown; namely, from the 2nd to the 6th day of November last, he, Edward Lynch, with two other Irishmen, went on board the vessel; that he was well entertained on board, and that his two comrades were enlisted for the Federal army, but that he was rejected for his lack of height. Besides his friends, three other men passed the doctor and were duly enlisted, and that the pay was understood to be twelve dollars a month. That all these men, with a boatman who came on board later, sailed away in the *Kearsage*. Another Irishman, named Patrick Kennedy, also of Queenstown, has deposited before Mr. Mullin, J.P., that he went on board to be enlisted in the naval service and was taken as a landsman; that three other men were examined and passed with him, and that on the next day seven or eight men from Rengashetty, all Irishmen, came aboard, and told him they had passed the doctor; that all these sailed away in the vessel, but that he slipped overboard and came back with the pilot. He also declared that there were from 150 to 200 men taken on board, nearly all Irish. Mr. Eastman, the American Consul for Queenstown, was on board. The promised pay was twelve dollars a month. Surely the ingenuity of the Government can, if it please, find some method of checking these breaches of that Act which, in some respects, they are so zealous to observe.

Mr. A. G. Kidson, of Glasgow, has received, in his capacity as justice of the peace, several depositions made by persons in the employment of Messrs. J. and G. Thompson, the builders of the ship *Pampero*, which has been seized by the Customs authorities. One of these men states that he has been offered, as a reward for information as to the ship, a handsome sum of money, a free



passage to the Northern States, and an excellent situation; or, if he preferred it, such a sum of money as would make him independent. Another man was offered £50, or a passage to the Northern States or a situation. Three other persons made similar depositions. These, we suppose, are the means by which the De Costas and the Clarence Yonges are converted into such excellent witnesses.

On Monday last, the Rev. Addington P. Venables, of Exeter College, Oxford, was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace to the Bishopric of Nassau, vacant by the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Caulfield. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Oxford.

Mr. John Laird, M.P., has been entertained at a banquet in the Music Hall, Birkenhead. The object of the banquet was to celebrate his noble gift of a building to be used as an hospital for the benefit of the town. Mr. H. Segar presided, and was supported by Lord Richard Grosvenor, Lieutenant-colonel King, and Captain Hokey, R.N. About 150 gentlemen were present at the banquet.

The iron frigate *Northumberland* is approaching completion. She is of the same class as the *Minotaur* and the *Agincourt*. Her length is 400 ft., her breadth 52 ft. 3½ in., and her depth 41 ft. 6 in. She has a burden of 7,000 tons, and her engines will be of 1,250 horse-power, nominal. She has no outer keel, but her inner keelson is a huge wrought-iron girder 3 ft. 4½ in. deep, which runs throughout the vessel from end to end. To this the jointed ribs are riveted, which are placed so closely that there are only alternate intervals of 1 ft. 11 in. and 2 ft. 4 in. between each. These ribs are made of wrought iron, in lengths varying from 10 ft. long and 3 ft. deep, to 4 ft. long by 18 in. deep, and are riveted by the longitudinals, which run from end to end of the vessel, and which, by intersecting the ribs at the intervals stated, divide the framework into a series of square compartments of enormous strength. There are five longitudinals on each side of the keelson, which form single massive girders, running from end to end of the ship, curving with the curve of her lines, and converging in the bows and stern, so as to make one solid girder of the whole frame. The cross-beams which carry the decks are of wrought iron, and beneath the oak upper deck is an iron one to keep out shells. The height from the floor to the lower deck beams is 21 ft., from lower deck to main deck 9 ft. 2 in.; and from main deck to upper 7 ft. 2 in. clear. The armour of the vessel is composed of 9 in. solid teak beams, and 5½ in. of rolled plates, fastened through with bolts to the inner skin of wrought iron. The sides have a slope inward of 2 ft., and an incline of about one foot in ten. The beak, to be used as a ram, projects 6½ ft. beyond the apparent bows above. The stern is quite round, and at both bows and stern the armour is reduced to 4½ in. The bow piece is a single forging, and weighs thirty-one tons. The *Northumberland* will carry forty-eight of the heaviest guns on her main deck, with two pivot guns, and six broadside guns on her upper deck. Her ports will be 3 ft. 6 in. high, and 20 in. wide. She will have an iron tower on her upper deck, 18 ft. long by 13 ft. wide, coated with 4½ in. iron, and pierced for riflemen. Her draught of water will be 24 ft., and she will carry enough coal for ten days' steaming. Her speed is expected to be fourteen knots an hour. She will have five masts, three to be square-rigged, two with fore-and-aft sail, and all to be of iron. Her plates will be rolled plates of the Milwall Company, and her engines will be supplied by Messrs. Penn and Sons.

The Birmingham Annual Show of cattle, pigs, and sheep, agricultural machinery, poultry, and dogs, is being held this week, with even more than accustomed success. The classes of the renowned Herefords, Short-horns, and Devons, together with the Leicester and Southdown sheep, might seem to form a sufficient attraction both to men of business and to amateurs. But even the tastes of all lovers of animal kind have been consulted, and Birmingham has an unrivalled exhibition of Dorking, Hamburg, and Cochin-China fowls, fowls of the game or fighting breed, Mandarin ducks, and pigeons in every variety. This department of the exhibition could not be other than successful, for it is under the especial patronage of three duchesses, a marchioness, fourteen countesses and baronesses, and twenty other ladies of rank. The council, moreover, that presided over the exhibition of dogs, shows a long list of noblemen and gentlemen famous in the fashionable and the sporting world. No less than 570 dogs are exhibited. More than 100 of these are pointers, sixty are setters, and fifty are retrievers. The chamber spaniels, the smaller breeds, and the water spaniels, appear to the number of forty. There are seventeen splendid bloodhounds, and a good class of greyhounds. Mastiffs, Newfoundlands, terriers, Skyes, Dandie Dinmonts, are all to be seen and admired. There is a St. Bernard too, in height 2 feet 9 inches, 11½ inches round the arm, and 3 feet 5½ inches in girth. Beyond and above all, there are magnificent foxhounds, sent even in the heart of the season from the world-known kennels of the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Fitzhardinge, Colonel Clowes, and Mr. Milne. The whole show is wonderfully attractive and peculiarly in conformity with English tastes and habits.

#### THE CONTINENT.

The English Government has refused to take part in the Congress and the magnificent scheme of the Emperor's may, therefore, be considered as disposed of. The correspondence upon the subject was published in Friday's *Globe*. It commences with an extract from a despatch from Earl Russell to Earl Cowley, dated the 11th of November, informing the Ambassador that the Queen had received a letter from the Emperor—which letter

is also published, and is, in all important points, the same as that addressed to the German Confederation and published in the *Moniteur*—and that Her Majesty had replied that any suggestion or proposal made by the Emperor would always command her most earnest and attentive consideration, and that she had directed her confidential advisers to submit to her their advice and opinion. On the following day, the 12th, the Foreign Secretary informs the Ambassador of the view which the Government take of the proposal contained in the Emperor's letter. The changes, his lordship observes, made in the period which has elapsed since the Treaties of Vienna, have not been more than might have been expected. Changes took place in the half century that followed the peace of Westphalia and Utrecht, but it was not then thought necessary to proceed to a general revision of those treaties. "It is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government that the main provisions of the Treaty of 1815 are in full force; that the greater number of those provisions have not been in any way disturbed, and that on those foundations rests the balance of power in Europe."

Referring to the changes which have taken place, Earl Russell puts a series of queries. Is it proposed to give the changes a more general and solemn sanction? Is such a work necessary? Would it contribute to the peace of Europe? Is it proposed to obtain from the Powers which have not yet recognised the *de facto* changes that recognition? What are the proposals of the Emperor as to those parts of the Treaty of Vienna which are menaced? Are they, if agreed to by a majority of the Powers, to be enforced by arms?

Upon all these points Her Majesty's Government must obtain satisfactory explanations before they can come to any decision upon the proposal made by the Emperor.

Her Majesty's Government would be ready to discuss with France and other Powers, by diplomatic correspondence, any specified questions upon which a solution might be attained, and European peace thereby more securely established.

But they would feel more apprehension than confidence from the meeting of a Congress of sovereigns and ministers without fixed objects, ranging over the map of Europe, and exciting hopes and aspirations which they might find themselves unable either to gratify or to quiet.

Her Majesty's Government have no reason to doubt that the Emperor Napoleon would bring into such an assembly a spirit of moderation and of justice. They feel confident that his object is to give security to the peace of Europe. The only question is as to the means by which that object is to be attained.

To this despatch, which could leave no doubt in the mind of the Emperor that the final reply of England would be a refusal, M. Drouyn de Lhuys responds on the 23rd, in a despatch addressed to the Marquis de Cadore. He observes that "the Imperial Government have no intention either to apologise for or to criticise the Treaties of Vienna; the Emperor declared, on mounting his throne, that he should consider himself bound by the engagement, subscribed by his predecessors." The Cabinet of London recognises that several of those stipulations have been seriously infringed. England herself has been eager to give her adhesion to those changes.

We admit, with Lord Russell, that it is not absolutely necessary to give to those changes a more general and more solemn sanction; but we consider it would be an advantage to clear away the ruins, and re-unite in a single body all the living members.

Coming to the questions of Earl Russell, he observes that the Emperor, as the youngest of the sovereigns, considers that he has no right to fix beforehand for other Courts the programme of the Congress; that was the motive of his reserve. "It is, moreover, so difficult to enumerate the questions not yet solved, which may disturb Europe."

A deplorable struggle is bathing Poland in blood, is agitating the neighbouring States, and threatening the world with the most serious disturbances. Three Powers, with a view of putting a stop to it, invoke in vain the Treaties of Vienna, which supply the two sides with contradictory arguments. Is this struggle to last for ever?

Pretensions opposed to one another are exciting a quarrel between Denmark and Germany. The preservation of peace in the north is at the mercy of an accident. The cabinets have already, by their negotiations, become parties to the dispute. Are they now become indifferent to it?

Shall anarchy continue to prevail on the Lower Danube, and shall it be able at any moment to open anew a bloody arena for the dispute of the Eastern question?

Shall Austria and Italy remain in presence of each other in a hostile attitude, ever ready to break the truce which prevents their animosities exploding?

Shall the occupation of Rome by the French troops be prolonged for an indefinite period?

Lastly, must we renounce, without fresh attempts at conciliation, the hope of lightening the burden imposed on the nations by the disproportionate armaments occasioned by mutual distrust?

Such are, sir, in our opinion, the principal questions which the Powers would doubtless judge it useful to examine and decide.

The French Minister proceeds to observe that Earl Russell cannot expect him to specify the solutions, or the sanction to be given them; that would be the work of the Congress. "It would be illusory," he says, "to pursue the solution through diplomatic correspondence." He refers to the opinion expressed by Lord Clarendon, and concurred in by the other Ministers at the Congress of Paris, in favour of "friendly mediation, before appealing to arms;" and concludes:—

The solicitude of the Emperor goes further; it does not wait for dissensions to break out in order to recommend an application to the actual circumstances of the salutary principle engraven on the latest monument of the public law of Europe, and His Majesty now invites his allies "to enter into explanations, and to come to an understanding."

Earl Russell's rejoinder is dated the 25th, a circumstance which proves that the Government had made up their minds to refuse without the slightest regard to the

character of the reply they might receive to their inquiries. He observes that England is quite as disinterested in the matter as France; that she seeks no aggrandisement; and that she has only to counsel moderation and peace.

But France and Great Britain being thus disinterested themselves, are bound to consider what is the position, and what, in a Congress, will be the probable conduct of Powers who may be called upon to make sacrifices of territory or of pre-eminence and moral strength.

Recapitulating the programme of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, his lordship asks, "Is a general Congress of European States likely to furnish a peaceful solution of the matters in dispute?" At the previous settlements of Europe it was possible to distribute territories and define rights by a Congress:

At the present moment, after a continuance of long peace, no nation is willing to give up any territory to which it has a title by treaty or a claim by possession.

He takes two of the questions, and proceeds to examine the chance of a Congress contributing to their peaceable settlement. And first, with regard to Poland.

Is it probable that a Congress would be able to secure better terms [than the promise given to the representatives of England, France, and Austria] for Poland, unless by a combined employment of force?

Considerable progress has been made by the military preponderance and by the unsparing severity of Russia, in subduing the insurgents.

Is it likely that Russia will grant in the pride of her strength what she refused in the early days of her discouragement?

Would she create an independent Poland at the mere request of a Congress?

But if she would not, the prospect becomes one of humiliation for Europe, or of war against Russia; and those Powers who are not ready to incur the cost and hazard of war may well desire to avoid the other alternative.

The best thing, in his lordship's opinion, is to wait.

Then as to Italy. Is it intended to ask Austria to renounce the possession of Venetia? Austria would decline to attend a Congress in which such a question should be raised; but it is impossible to summon an Italian representative to sit in Congress without discussing the state of Venetia. As to Denmark, the addition of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, to the deliberations would not improve the prospect of a satisfactory solution; and it is not expedient to call a Congress to find a remedy for the anarchy of Moldo-Wallachia.

And having disposed of the Congress in this wise, his lordship concludes in these words.

Were all these questions, those of Poland, Italy, Denmark, and the Danubian Provinces, to be decided by the mere utterance of opinions, the views of Her Majesty's Government upon most of them might perhaps be found not materially to differ from those of the Emperor of the French.

But if the mere expression of opinions and wishes would accomplish no positive results, it appears certain that the deliberations of a Congress would consist of demands and pretensions put forward by some and resisted by others; and, there being no supreme authority in such an assembly to enforce the decisions of the majority, the Congress would probably separate, leaving many of its members on worse terms with each other than they had been when they met. But if this would be the probable result, it follows that no decrease of armaments is likely to be effected by the proposed Congress. M. Drouyn de Lhuys refers to a proposal made by Lord Clarendon in one of the last sittings of the Congress of Paris. But Her Majesty's Government understand that proposal to have reference to a dispute between two Powers to be referred to the good offices of a friendly Power, but in no way to the assembling of a general Congress.

Not being able, therefore, to discern the likelihood of those beneficial consequences which the Emperor of the French promised himself when proposing a Congress, Her Majesty's Government, following their own strong convictions, after mature deliberation, feel themselves unable to accept his Imperial Majesty's invitation.

After this refusal it matters little what is the character of the replies received from other Powers. The *Mémorial Diplomatique* professes to know all about the Austrian answer, and gives an analysis, the substance of which is, that Austria appreciates the Emperor's excellent intentions, and will be happy to help him to carry them out, but thinks the Treaties of 1815 still existing, and desires to know the programme of the deliberations.

The English answer, as might have been expected, has been very ill received in Paris, and many people insist that there must be war; but between whom?

The Emperor will not go to war with England for rejecting the Congress, and the proposition has brought about an approximation between him and the Powers with whom it appeared possible some time since that he might go to war. It is a very involved "situation," and he would be a rash man who would pronounce dogmatically in what manner the knot will be untied.

The verification of Powers has continued to provide the Corps Legislatif with an ample amount of work. Most of the elections contested have been confirmed after debates more or less animated. One or two have been annulled on points of form, and two, although the deputies were members of the majority, on the ground that their return had been secured by corruption. Amongst these victims of their excessive liberality was one of the rich family of Pereires.

According to Polish accounts the insurrection has revived again. It is making head in all the Governments, as well in Lithuania as in Congress Poland, and the number of the insurgents in the field is rated very high; in one Government at 3,000. We do not place any reliance upon these statements. On the other hand we see no reason to doubt that the Russian Government is pursuing a system of wholesale deportation of Poles into Russia.

The Schleswig Holstein excitement runs higher and higher in Germany. The newspapers are filled with



reports of public meetings and other demonstrations in favour of the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg, or rather of the separation of the Duchies from Denmark. The whole nation seems to have gone mad. Nothing can well be more ludicrous than the threats which are dealt out to England and Europe in leading articles and speeches. Germany is ready to make war against the whole world, if it dares to hint that treaties are to be respected. The Chambers of some of the smaller States have passed very spirited resolutions, promising the Government to make any sacrifices to effect the great object, and the governments of these States have generally given in their adhesion to the popular view. Even Saxony and Wurtemberg, both of which acceded to the Treaty of London, have declared their determination to use all the means in their power to upset it. The Wurtemberg Minister had the shameless impudence to pretend that the conduct of Denmark had released Wurtemberg from its obligations: as if a quarrel about one instrument could release a Government from another instrument, to which almost the whole of the States of Europe were parties. However, the small States are only sowing the seeds of their own destruction. They have encouraged hopes which cannot be gratified, and in its disappointment the people will turn on them.

Austria and Prussia have, as was to be expected, declared themselves bound by the Treaty of London. They pretend, indeed, that the arrangements of December, '51 and January, '52, were preliminary conditions of the Treaty—a contention which has no validity—but they give no support to the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg, and place themselves directly in the face of the popular cry for the severance of the Duchies from the Danish monarchy. They admit, too, that even if the Treaty of London did not exist, King Christian would be the legitimate sovereign of Lauenburg. And in accordance with this view they voted against the reference to the committee of a proposal to augment the number of troops designed for the Execution. That proposition was, however, carried on Saturday's sitting of the Diet, which at the same time adopted resolutions excluding Baron Dirckinck, the Danish representative, and suspending the exercise of a vote for Holstein.

It must not, however, be supposed that Austria and Prussia intend in the least to drop their old policy of perpetual interference with Denmark until practically the same results are achieved as the more vehement Germans would accomplish at once.

They have both protested, as from their standpoint was unavoidable, against the new constitution for the kingdom proper and Sleswig, as an incorporation of that Duchy, and they will press on Federal Execution in Holstein, not for putting the Prince of Augustenburg on the throne, but for enforcing the pretended constitutional rights of the Duchy and of the Confederation. It is unfortunate that so excellent a pretext should be afforded them in the new constitution, and it will be well for Denmark if by some mediation the Execution can be delayed. Federal occupation at the present moment, although nominally intended only upon the constitutional question, might be turned to the benefit of the pretensions of the Augustenburgs.

Earl Russell has already stepped into the arena. Sir Alexander Malet has communicated to the Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian plenipotentiaries at the Diet a despatch, which, according to a telegraphic summary, says that the support given to the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg by some of the German Governments has attracted the attention of the English Government, which, therefore, hastens to make its views known. As might be expected, England intends to faithfully observe the stipulations of the Treaty of 1852, "according to which Christian IX. possessed an hereditary right to all the territories at that time united under the Danish Crown; and expected that all Powers who signed or acceded to the Treaty would share this opinion." From this colourless summary it is not easy to ascertain what is the real character of the despatch. It may be an energetic notification of the purpose of the English Government to maintain the Treaty, or a practical abandonment of the Danish cause.

In the Duchy of Sleswig all the officials have sworn allegiance to the new king, and the municipalities of the most important towns in the German portions of the Duchies have voted congratulatory addresses. In Holstein a portion of the officials—how large cannot yet be said—have refused the oath. As soon as the delay accorded them expires the Danish Government will act energetically against the recusants. The garrisons have been largely reinforced, and every preparation has been made to suppress any movement. In Lauenburg there seems to be very little agitation. As we have said, Austria and Prussia admit that King Christian is entitled to this Duchy, independently of the London Treaty. It is curious to observe, from the different protests handed into the Diet, that almost every one of the small German States has pretensions of some kind to the succession to this Duchy.

The bill for the legalisation of the military reorganization, which has just been presented to the Prussian Parliament, insists upon the three years' service, to which the House of Deputies is so determinedly opposed, and there is therefore no hope of a settlement of this the original quarrel between the king and his people.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has been discussing the treaties of commerce and navigation with France. Some vehement objections were raised against both, but the latter Treaty is the one which creates most dissatisfaction. It concedes privileges on the part of Italy to French vessels which are not accorded by France to Italian vessels. The Treaties were, however, approved by a large majority, the numbers being 157 to 49.

A terrible outrage committed in Palermo comes before the Chamber for discussion in a few days. A poor lad, born dumb, has been tortured to death by the military

authorities. They pretended that he was feigning dumbness to escape the conscription, and burnt him with hot irons. This torture seems to have lasted a month. 154 wounds were found upon his body. The authorities excuse themselves upon the ground that they were justified by the law in the measures they took.

The railway which the King of Italy lately opened with so much pomp will not be really opened for months. The whole affair was a costly *coup de theatre*. Part of the triumphal progress had to be performed posting, and unfortunately that part was through the country most frequented by brigands. It is said, and as it has been confirmed from many quarters we mention the story, which at first we suspected might be an invention of the enemy, that the carriage in which the English Minister, Mr. Elliott, was travelling, chancing to upset, the diplomatist was so frightened that he fired a pistol, which he had prepared for such emergencies, at the postilion. Fortunately, the honourable gentleman was as weak of aim as of heart.

#### SOUTHERN PRISONERS' RELIEF FUND.

The following is the copy of a letter received by the Treasurer of the Southern Relief Fund, dated

"NEW ORLEANS, 3rd November, 1863.

"The last steamer from New York brought me your kind letter and munificent donation. A thousand thanks for your ready zeal, and particularly to the Committee and other kind friends of our cause, who so generously responded to our call for aid. Could I convey to you the blessings of those whom this timely gift will make comfortable, you would, in a measure, realise the gratification we experience, who are simply the agents of your bounty. This work of love is all that makes living in this city endurable; and should our means to clothe the naked and feed the hungry cease, I think more would succumb and follow those of our good citizens who have already sunk under their troubles. To go amongst our brave boys who are here as prisoners, to witness their cheerful endurance of captivity and privation, and their firm faith in our great and glorious future, would strengthen the hopes of any who are doubtful of our ultimate success. You cannot imagine how much we feel the sympathy of our absent friends. In a land of peace, surrounded with all the elegances of life, and the bustle of business and the excitement of society, to remember us even in thought is a happiness; but when to that sympathy of feeling is added the much-needed pecuniary assistance, we do indeed feel that all the world is not looking cold upon us in our struggle for life and liberty. That God has given to our brave soldiers friends even among strangers, and you may rest assured their wives and children, left to the mercy of the charitable, will not be neglected. Our winter opens very drearily, food and fuel are advancing every day, and I fear we shall have much suffering. If this cruel war could only be brought to an end we might hope to see our beautiful city free from those horrid intruders, our homes once more cheerful, our absent friends again with us, and our loved ones returned from battle-fields and hospitals. You would hardly recognise your old home, the smiling faces of Carondelet-street, so full of business and excitement, are gone. You would only see the long rows of palaces closed, dark and dusty, save where here and there one has been taken for 'military purposes,' to store stolen furniture, or a recruiting office for 'American citizens of African descent.' Canal-street, once so brilliant with beauty and fashion, is now given up to strutting officers and dirty soldiers, black and white. The Southern ladies no longer dress for display or promenade for pleasure. Independent of the sights and sounds, no one has the heart to be gay, or the wish, if they had the means, to be extravagant.

I have this day valued upon you for £100, which will be applied as above, in aid of the prisoners in New Orleans. Pray continue the good work.

(Signed.)

S. —

P.S.—I will draw upon you for the £200 against the Aged and Infirm Fund, as it is required.

#### DR. HUNT ON THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.

(Concluded from page 487.)

I am astonished that an Ethnologist, a student of the Science of the Races of Man, could deliberately make the statement that all races have the same intellectual, moral, and religious natures. Rather the reverse is the real fact. Intelligence is the great peculiarity of man, and it is in the instincts of each race that we find the greatest difference. Mr. Dunn, however, it must be acknowledged, does not carry out the principles he here enunciates, for he fully admits the fact that, practically, Negro children cannot be educated with the whites. He also admits that some of the lower races are not able to receive complex ideas, or have little power of thinking and none of generalisation, although they have excellent memories.

The assertion that the Negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilised, is disproved by history. The African race have had the benefit of the Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman civilisations, but nowhere did they become civilised. Not only have the Negro race never civilised themselves, but they have never accepted any other civilisation. No people have had so much communication with Christian Europeans as the people of Africa, where Christian bishops existed for centuries. They possess some knowledge of metallurgy, but no other arts: their rude laws seem to have been borrowed and changed to suit their peculiar instincts. With the Negro, as with some other races of man, it has been found that the children are precocious, but that no advance in education can be made after they arrive at the age of maturity; they still continue mentally children. The dark races generally do not accept the civilisation which surrounds them, as is shown in the South Sea, where they remain the uncivilised race by the side of the Malays. The opinion of Dr. Channing, of America, is often quoted respecting the Negro. He says: "I would expect from the Negro race, when civilised, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality, than in ours; but more amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content." Now, if possible to civilise them, there is no doubt they would show less energy, courage, and intellectual originality (of which they would be utterly deficient); and as to their amiableness, tranquillity, gentleness, and content, it would be more like the tranquillity and content shown by some of our domestic animals than anything else to which we can compare it. It

has been said that the present slaveholders of America "no more think of rebellion amongst their full-blooded slaves than they do of rebellion amongst their cows and horses." It has also been affirmed (and I believe it the truth) that not a single soldier has been required to keep order in the Slave States.

The many assumed cases of civilised Negroes generally are not of pure African blood. In the Southern States of North America, in the West Indies and other places, it has been frequently observed that the negroes in places of trust have European features; and some writers have supposed that these changes have been due to a gradual improvement in the Negro race which is taking place under favourable circumstances. It has been affirmed that occasionally there are seen Negroes of pure blood who possess European features. Some observers have assumed that improvement has taken place in the intellect of the Negro by education, but we believe such not to be the fact. It is simply the European blood in their veins which renders them fit for places of power, and they often use this power far more cruelly than either of the pure-blooded races. At the same time, there are doubtless many exceptions to this rule; depending perhaps on the amount of mixture of blood and inherited peculiarities. It is affirmed that the Negro only requires early education to be equal to the European; but all experiments of this kind have proved that such is not the case. To such a statement I would oppose the opinion of Pruner Bey, who says that "with regard to the regular Caucasian features, with which some travellers have endowed certain Negro peoples, among many thousand Negroes which have come under my observation there was not one who could lay claim to it."

Instances have often been quoted in which a reputed European skull has shown the character of the Negro. Such an instance there is in the College of Surgeons, another in Morton's museum, and one in Gall's collection; but if we admit these to have belonged to the pure race, we shall only be admitting that in one character the European skull sometimes resembles a Negro; but there will be plenty of other characters to show that they did not belong to the same race or species, and it ought simply to caution us not to base our ideas of race or species upon one character. We know that species of the mammalia frequently cannot be distinguished by the form of the skeleton, and we must therefore not be surprised to find that we are unable to prove a distinction of species in mankind if we take the cranium, or even skeleton, as a sole test.

We now know it to be a patent fact that there are races existing which have no history, and that the Negro is one of these races. From the most remote antiquity the Negro race seem to have been what they now are. We may be pretty sure that the Negro race have been without a progressive history; and that they have been for thousands of years the uncivilised race they are at this moment. Egyptian monuments depict them the inferior race they are at this minute, and holding exactly the same position to the European. Morton truly observes: "Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it now is, that of servants and slaves."

Some writers have assumed that the Negro has degenerated from some higher form of civilisation, but we see no evidence to support such an assertion. We, however, fully admit that there are found traces of a higher civilisation, especially along the coasts visited, during all ages, by Europeans. The working of metals and imitation of European manufactures also exist in many parts of Africa. Indeed, there seems to be a great sameness in this respect throughout all Africa. Consul Hutchinson has given an interesting account of the finding of some implements used by the natives of Central Africa, exactly resembling those used by the Anglo-Saxons.

He says: "You will be surprised, no doubt, to hear that I brought down with me from the tribes of Filatahs, in Central Africa, iron heads of spears with wooden shafts and iron-spiked ferrules, heads of javelins and arrows, double-edged swords, knives, beads for ornaments, potteryware for culinary purposes, exactly similar in pattern to those that are described by Mr. Wright, in a paper on 'Fausset Antiquities,' which he read before the British Association at Liverpool, in 1856, and which antiquities, I need scarcely tell you, were excavated at Canterbury, as well as proved to have been used in this country before the introduction of Christianity to our shores. Even the cowrie (the shell of the *cypræa moneta*), which is described in Mr. Wright's paper as having been found among other relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is in this very day the currency among the Filatahs. It may perhaps increase the interest of my statement, which can be demonstrated by the articles I brought home (being deposited at the Royal Institution museum at Liverpool), when I add that they were obtained from tribes who had no record of ever having been visited by any white man previous to the time of our voyage at the end of 1854."

There is good reason to believe that, like all inferior races, there has been little or no self-migration of the Negro races since the earliest historical records. The European, for ever restless, has migrated to all parts of the world, and traces of him are to be found in every quarter of the globe. Everywhere we see the European as the conqueror and the dominant race, and no amount of education will ever alter the decrees of Nature's laws.

We hear much of late in this country of the equality of the Negro and European, because we have little real knowledge of the Negro; but in America the Negro is better known. As Dr. Van Evrie observes: "In the United States, among a people almost universally educated, and where the fact of 'equality' is almost universally understood and acted on, personally as well as politically, the advocacy of woman's 'equality,' in the sense that they (in England) argue it, or 'equality' of the Negro to the white man in any sense whatever, is inexcusable on the ground of ignorance; and those thus warring against the laws of nature and progress of society deserve to be treated as its enemies, or as absolute maniacs, and irresponsible for the evils they seek to indict upon it." It has been assumed, on very insufficient evidence, that the Negroes in America improve in intelligence in every generation, and that they gradually approach the European type. M. Quatre-fages recently directed our attention to this point, as did Sir Charles Lyell many years ago. It is affirmed that the head and body also approach the European, without any mixture of the races.

M. Quatre-fages quotes the following from M. Elzéar Reclus: "We do not intend here to touch upon the question of slavery; we would merely state a certain fact—the constant advance of Negroes in the social scale. Even in physical respects they tend gradually to approach their masters; the Negroes of the United States have no longer the same type as the African Negroes; their skin is rarely of velvet black, though nearly all their progenitors have been imported from the Coast of Guinea; their cheekbones are less prominent, their lips not so thick, nor the nose so flattened; neither is the hair so crisp, the



physiognomy so brutish, the facial angle so acute, as those of their brethren in the old world. In the space of one hundred and fifty years they have, as far as external appearance goes, passed one-fourth of the gulf which separates them from the white race." But we must be careful how we accept such statements.

On this point Dr. Nott has very judiciously observed: "Sir C. Lyell, in common with tourists less eminent, but on this question not less misinformed, has somewhere stated that the Negroes in America are undergoing a manifest improvement in their physical type. He has no doubt that they will, in time, show a development in skull and intellect quite equal to the whites. This unscientific assertion is disproved by the cranial measurements of Dr. Morton. That Negroes imported into, or born in, the United States become more intelligent and better developed in their physique generally than their native compatriots of Africa, every one will admit; but such intelligence is easily explained by their ceaseless contact with the whites, from whom they derive much instruction; and such physical improvement may also be readily accounted for by the increased comforts with which they are supplied. In Africa, owing to their natural improvidence, the Negroes are more frequently than not a half-starved, and therefore half-developed, race; but when they are regularly and adequately fed they become healthier, better developed, and more humanised. Wild horses, cattle, asses, and other brutes are greatly improved in like manner by domestication; but neither climate nor food can transmute an ass into a horse or a buffalo into an ox."

The real facts seem to be that the Negroes employed in domestic labour have more intelligence than those who are employed at field labour, who are nearly in the same state of intelligence as when they left Africa. We see, therefore, in this improvement of the Negro simply the effect of education, but not of climate or other physical agents. We fully admit that the domestic Negro is improved in intelligence in America, resulting from the imitation of the sayings and doings of the superior race by which he is surrounded; but much of this improvement is owing to the mixture of European and Negro blood. The pure Negro is true to his character, and it is said that he is no sooner taught to read than he will take every chance of reading his master's letters; and if he be taught to write, he will soon learn to forge his master's signature. This applies with equal and perhaps greater force to those free, semi-civilised Negroes who are held by some in such theoretical veneration.

I intentionally avoided touching on the great diversity of physical type found in Africa, as this subject is not the object of the paper. There can be no doubt, however, that there is, in both North and South Africa, every shade of colour, and races with very different features. There are also in Central Africa some races, such as the Mandingoes, Fulahs, and Wolofs, who are quite distinct from the typical Negro. In these races some of the characters found in the pure Negro are found in only a very modified degree. How many races inhabit Africa, and their relation to one another, is not the subject of present inquiry. M. Pruner Bey has very judiciously made the following observations on this point:—

"We must admit that the inferior orbital margins are frequently narrow and retreating; that the noses become longer and more prominent; that the lips, turned up in some tribes, are only full in others; that prognathism diminishes, without, however, disappearing entirely; that the aperture of the eye becomes wide; that the hair, short and woolly in most, grows longer; that the transverse diameter of the chest becomes enlarged; that even the pelvis, though much more rarely, acquires more rounded outlines; that the limbs acquire more harmonious proportions; that the hips, thighs, and legs become more fleshy and the foot more arched; but as regards the crowning of the work, i.e., the skull, especially the cerebrum, all the variations in the Negro race remain confined within limits which deserve our attention. In the Arian race the skull presents three fundamental types: the elongated form (producing in some exceptional cases prognathism) which approaches the limits of the Negro type; the short and round form, approaching the Turanian race; and finally, the typically beautiful oval form which seems to have resulted from a combination of the two former. Nothing like it is to be found in the Negro. The skull is and remains elongated, it is elliptical, coniform, but never round; his facial bones may approach the pyramidal form by increasing the distance between the cheekbones, and may in this respect resemble the Kaffirs and the Bechuanas, but this is all." This generalisation appears to me to be in accordance with all the known facts respecting the craniological development of the chief African tribes, which thus form one great ethnic family, although composed of many distinct races.

I need not enlarge on the well-known and admitted facts respecting the intense immorality which exists amongst the Mulattoes and others of mixed blood. There are, at the same time, perhaps, some exceptions to this general rule, which has been observed in every country where these people exist. I propose on some future occasion to lay before you evidence to show that nearly all the Negroes who are asserted to have arrived at any mental distinction have European blood in their veins.

Of all the questions connected with the Negro, the most difficult to settle is that of his intelligence. Amidst conflicting testimony, it is difficult to discover the truth. We may admit, however, that there are instances of the pure Negro showing great powers of memory, such as the acquirement of languages; but we must also remember that memory is one of the lowest mental powers. Numerous instances have been collected by different partisan writers to show that the Negro is equal intellectually to the European; but an examination of these cases nearly invariably leads to the conclusion that there has been much exaggeration in the statements made by writers as to the aptitudes of the Negro for education and improvement.

The exhibitions of cases of intelligent Negroes in the saloons of the fashionable world by so-called "philanthropists" have frequently been nothing but mere impostures. In nearly every case in which the history of these cases has been investigated, it has been found that these so-called Negroes are the offspring of European and African parents. We admit, however, that the African Negro occasionally has great powers of memory, in learning languages, &c., but this is not admitting what is generally claimed for him. Some writers, who advocate the specific difference of the Negro from the European, have very injudiciously admitted that occasionally the Negro is equal in intellect to the European, but this admission has materially weakened their argument in favour of a specific difference. If this is so, let me ask those who hold such an opinion to give the name of one pure Negro who has ever distinguished himself as a man of science, as an author, a statesman, a warrior, a poet, an artist. Surely, if there is equality in the mental development of human races,

some one instance can be quoted. From all the evidence we have examined, we see no reason to believe that the pure Negro ever advances further in intellect than an intelligent European boy of fourteen years of age. Many writers have mentioned the precocity of the Negro children. Sir C. Lyell has observed: "Up to fourteen years of age black children advance as fast as the whites;" and Eliot Warburton has remarked that the modern Egyptian, "when young, is remarkably precocious in intellect, and learns with facility. As he grows up, his intelligence seems to be dulled or diminished. He has no genius for discovery, and though apt in acquiring rudiments, he is incapable of generalising. He fills subordinate departments well, but appears incapable of taking or of keeping a lead." Sir C. Lyell expresses his surprise at the results of the mixture of some European blood with the Negro, and thinks "it a wonderful fact, psychologically considered, that we should be able to trace the phenomena of hybridity even into the world of intellect and reason." It would, indeed, be remarkable if all men were endowed with the same instincts; but not so wonderful if we do not accept such an unfounded hypothesis. The pure Negro seems incapable of much mental cultivation; and Archbishop Sumner's much-talked-of "improvable reason," as a distinction between men and animals, only finds a limited application in the Negro race. The reason of animals is improved to some extent by domestication and training, and this is all we can say of the Negro. Dr. Madden observes: "It will be seen by all the answers the missionary gentlemen in our different settlements have given to my queries respecting the mental capacity of Negro children, that they are considered universally, in that respect, equal to European children, and by some men quicker in their perceptions and more lively in their powers of apprehension." To which Dr. R. Clarke adds: "This is observable from the ages of five to twelve or thirteen years; but from that period of life to the age of eighteen or twenty, it becomes less strongly marked, and there appears to be less activity in the mental faculties."

Professor Owen gives it as his opinion that we are unable "to appreciate or conceive of the distinction between the psychological phenomena of a chimpanzee and of a Bojesman;" but we think we are able clearly to appreciate the psychological distinction between the Negro and the chimpanzee; just as we are able to see that there are decided mental and moral distinctions between the European and the Negro. We fully admit, however, that the psychological distinction is simply a question of degree and not of kind.

The day is not far distant when we shall be able to analyse the mental character of the Negro far more minutely than we can do in the present infant state of psychological science. In dwelling on the mental character of the Negro we must, therefore, for the present, rely on the general observations of those unbiassed travellers and others who have been much associated with the Negro race. In the first place we will see what is the evidence recently published of our English consuls, who have the best opportunities of judging of the character of the people amongst whom they are placed.

Consul Hutchinson, who spent no less than eighteen years on the West Coast of Africa, and who is as competent a judge as any man now living, says, that "his own observations on the African tribes tend to show that the African is not exactly the style of 'man and a brother' which mistaken enthusiasts for his civilisation depict him to be." He gives the result of a ten years' attendance at the Missionary school at Cape Palmas of one of his servants, a Kruman, and says that at the end he was asked what he knew of God? He replied: "God be very good; He made two things—one sleep and the other Sunday, when no person had to work." Consul Hutchinson says that "the thirst for each other's blood, which seems a daily habit amongst too many of the Negro tribes in Western Africa, appears to me to be incompatible with ordinary notions of common humanity." He adds that for scores of years European missionaries and English traders have mixed with them in social intercourse, yet they still cling "to their gris-gris, juju, fetishism and cannibalism as with much pertinacity as they did many hundred years ago." He adds: "Here we have all the appliances of our arts, our science, and our Christianity, doing no more good than did the wheat in the parable that was sown amongst the briars and the thorns. To attempt civilising such a race before they are humanised appears to me to be beginning at the wrong end. I have passed many an hour in cogitating and endeavouring to fabricate some sort of education likely to root out the fell spirit that dictates human sacrifices and cannibalism; but I fear years must elapse before any educational principle, in its simplest form, can produce an amendment on temperaments such as they possess."

Consul Burton considers that M. Du Chailu's remarks "concerning the commercial shrewdness and eagerness, the greediness and rascality of the Negro, apply to him everywhere in his natural state." He says that he believes "that an abnormal development of adhesiveness, in popular language a peculiar power of affection, is the brightest spot in the Negro character; as in children, it is somewhat tempered by caprice, especially under excitement, yet it has entitled him to the gratitude of many a traveller." Exaggeration, he considers, is the characteristic of the mind of both the East and West African. He says that "they justly hold labour as an evil inferior only to death."

These are the opinions which have been published by the last two consuls who have written on the subject, and we shall now examine the evidence of some other witnesses.

M. Du Chailu describes the general characteristics of the tribes he visited as speaking the Mpongwe language as far superior to the Negroes of Congo. He says "the Negroes possess an imaginative mind, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars, possessing great powers of dissimulation, and are far from being in many respects the stupid people they are believed to be. In everything that does not require mental labour and forethought, they seemed to me to learn almost as fast as any amongst the more intellectual races, to a certain point." He also affirms that they have little power of forethought or power of reflection, and that there is "a total lack of generalisation." He also says, that although these people "are often treacherous, they have noble qualities, are given to hospitality, and the women show great kindness of heart, especially when one takes into account the way they are treated."

Brehm says that "there seems to be a complete absence of moral sentiment amongst the natives of East Sudan, who not merely excuse theft, murder, and treachery, but consider these actions as praiseworthy in man. They first learned under a Turkish ruler to distinguish murder from justifiable homicide in war. Lying and deceitfulness are considered as marks of mental superiority; and those who suffer death on the gallows are buried with the same honours as the rich merchant or the sheik."

Count Gorz narrates of the Negro in Cuba, "Their character

is very degraded; the moral feeling entirely undeveloped; all their actions proceed from animal impulse, or a cunning calculation of their own advantage. Generosity and indulgence exhibited by the white man they consider as weakness. Power imposes upon them and excites their hatred, which would become dangerous were they not aware of their powerlessness. The only efficacious punishment for them is the whip. They delight in sowing discord; are thievish and revengeful; void of any religious feeling, they are given to the crudest superstition. Their frame, however, is well developed and powerful; their teeth magnificent; their legs slender; they digest like beasts of prey." This certainly is a severe judgment, and may be partly explained by the large amount of mixed blood in Cuba.

Colonel Hamilton Smith thus describes the Negro. "The Negro is habitually dormant, but when roused shows his emotion by great gesticulations, regardless of circumstances. War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding the listless torpidity caused by excessive heat, the perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible; they have a quick apprehension of the ridiculous, often surpassing the intelligence of the whites, and only drop behind them about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy. Collectively, the untutored Negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. Both sexes are easily ruled, and appreciate what is good under the guidance of common justice and prudence. Yet where so much that honours human nature remains in apathy, the typical woolly-haired races have never invented a reasoned theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art. They have never comprehended what they have learned, nor retained a civilisation taught them by contact with more refined nations as soon as that contact had ceased. They have have at no time formed great political states, nor commenced a self-evolving civilisation. Conquest with them has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even Christianity, of more than three centuries' duration in Congo, has scarcely excited a progressive civilisation. Thus, even the good qualities given to the Negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast—the marked, unceasing proof of a curse as old as the origin of society, not even deserving human forbearance. And true it is that the worst slavery is his lot even at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim, slaughtered with the most revolting torments. Tyrant of his blood, he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise, makes war purposely to capture neighbours, and sells even his own wives and children."

Van Amringe thus describes the Negro race: "Even after having lived centuries with the white people, from whom they have received every possible instruction for the purpose of developing an attribute which would be so serviceable to them, as well as those whom they serve, they are very far from having a virtue for which they are distinguished or even trusted. The Canaanite (Negro) is indolent, careless, sensual, tyrannical, predatory, sullen, boisterous, and jovial. Such are the specific characteristics, and the sensual relations are founded upon them. It has been a favourite theory with some visionary philanthropists that intermarriages of the different species would be highly favourable to the race; but we have never heard of any of them who was willing to commence the practice in their own families. There is certainly no method that could possibly be devised, which would as certainly and as expeditiously degrade the whole human family as amalgamation. If there is any hope for the improvement of the condition of the dark races, the history of mankind shows it can only be founded upon the preservation of the Sæmistic (white) species. This is the only species endowed with any power to drag the cumbrous dark races out of the slough in which they have been wallowing for ages."

Burmeister, an excellent observer, says: "I have often tried to obtain an insight into the mind of the Negro; but it never was worth the trouble; the only available result obtained was, that there is not much mental life in the Negro, and that all his thoughts and actions were merely directed to the lowest requirements of human existence."

Carl Vogt has recently observed: "Most of the characters of the Negro recognised externally remind us irresistibly of the ape: the short neck, the long lean limbs, the projecting pendulous belly; all this affords a glimmer of the ape beneath the human envelope. Such similitudes are equally detected on examining the structure of individual parts."

Mr. Winwood Reade says, "It must be acknowledged, that putting all exceptions aside, the women of Africa are very inferior beings. Their very virtues, with their affections and their industry, are those of well trained domestic animals. But if the women of Africa are brutal, the men of Africa are feminine. Their faces are smooth, their breasts are frequently as full as those of European women; their voices are never gruff or deep. Their fingers are long; and they can be very proud of their rosy nails. While the women are nearly always ill-shaped after their girlhood, the men have gracefully moulded limbs, and always are after a feminine type—the arms rounded, the legs elegantly formed, without too much muscular development, and the feet delicate and small."

A king of Ashanti cut off the hands of a slave, and had her scratch his head for vermin with the stumps. If any one had accused him of barbarity he would not have understood the accusation. It was his idea of a good practical joke." He continues, "It will be understood that the typical Negroes with whom the slave is supplied, represent the dangerous, the destitute, and the diseased classes of African society. They may be compared to those which in England fill our gaols, our work-houses, and our hospitals. So far from being equal to us, the polished inhabitants of Europe, as some ignorant people suppose, they are immeasurably below the Africans themselves. The typical Negro is the true savage of Africa, and I must paint the deformed anatomy of his mind as I have already done that of his body. The typical Negroes dwell in petty tribes where all are equal, except the women, who are slaves; where property is common, and where, consequently, there is no property at all; where one may recognise the Utopia of philosophers, and observe the saddest and basest spectacles which humanity can afford. The typical Negro, unrestrained by moral laws, spends his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. He smokes hashisch till he stupifies his senses, or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm-wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses children, and stabs the poor brute of a woman whose hands keep him from starvation, and makes a trade of his own offspring. He swallows up his youth in premature vice; he lingers through a manhood of disease; and his tardy death is hastened by those who no longer care to



find him food. Such are the 'men and brothers' for whom their friends claim, not protection, but equality! They do not merit to be called our brethren; but let us call them our children. Let us educate them carefully, and in time we may elevate them, not to our own level—that, I fear, can never be—but to the level of those from whom they have fallen." This last remark is made in the supposition that the typical Negro is degenerated from some higher African race; but we think such an hypothesis is not warranted by history, archaeology, or any well established facts.

Dr. Van Eyrie, of New York, who has paid considerable attention to the character of the Negro, and had ample opportunities for observation, thus describes the Negro:—"But while the analysis of a single bone or of a single feature of the Negro being is thus sufficient to demonstrate the specific character or to show the diversity of race, that great fact is still more obviously and with equal certainty revealed in the form, attitude, and other external qualities. The Negro is incapable of an erect or direct perpendicular posture. The general structure of his limbs, the form of the pelvis, the spine, the way the head is set on the shoulders, in short, the *tout ensemble* of the anatomical formation, forbids an erect position. But while the whole structure is thus adapted to a slightly stooping posture, the head would seem to be the most important agency; for with any other head, or the head of any other race, it would be impossible to retain an upright position at all. But with the broad forehead and small cerebellum of the white man, it is perfectly obvious that the Negro would no longer possess a centre of gravity; and therefore, those philanthropic people who would 'educate' him into intellectual equality, or change the mental organism of the Negro, would simply render him incapable of standing on his feet, or of an upright position, on any terms. Everyone must have remarked this peculiarity in the form and attitude of the Negro. His head is thrown upwards and backwards, showing a certain though remote approximation to the quadrumanal, both in its actual formation and the manner in which it is set on his shoulders. The narrow forehead and small cerebrum (the centre of the intellectual powers), and the projection of the posterior portion (the centre of the animal functions), render the Negro head radically and widely different from that of the white man. Thus an anatomist, with the Negro and orang-outang before him, after a careful comparison, would say, perhaps, that Nature herself had been puzzled where to place them, and had finally compromised the matter by giving them an exactly equal inclination to the form and attitude of each other."

Dr. Louis Buchner, has drawn a most graphic picture of some of the physical characters of the Negro:—"An uninterrupted series of the most various transitions and analogies connect the animal world, from the lowest to the highest. Even man, who, in his spiritual pride, deems himself elevated above the animal creation, is far from forming an exception to this rule. The Ethiopian race connects him by a number of the most striking analogies with the animal world. The long arms, the form of the foot, the thin calf, the long small hands, the general leanness, the undeveloped nose, the projecting jaw, the low receding forehead, the small head, the narrow pelvis, the pendulous belly, the deficient beard, the colour of the skin, the disgusting odour, the uncleanness, the grimaces in talking, the shrieking voice, are the many marks which manifestly exhibit the most decided approach of the negro to the ape. That he also resembles him in his intellectual capacity is sufficiently known and established by the best observers."

M. Pruner Bey, one of the most eminent of living Anthropologists, has written the most complete memoir on the Negro yet published, and this author must, for some time to come, be the supreme authority on this subject.\* Many years ago he thus expressed himself respecting the psychological character of the Negro:—"The capacity of the Negro is limited to imitation. The prevailing impulse is for sensuality and rest. No sooner are the physical wants satisfied, all psychical effort ceases, and the body abandons itself to sexual gratification and rest. The family relations are weak; the husband or father is little concerned. Jealousy has only carnal motives, and the fidelity of the female is secured by mechanical contrivances. Drunkenness, gambling, sexual gratification, and ornamentation of the body, are the most powerful levers in the life of the Negro. The whole industry is limited to ornaments. Instead of clothing himself he ornaments his body. Like certain animals, the Negro seems apathetic under pain. The explosions of passion occur when least expected, but are not lasting. The temperament of the Negro has been called choleric, but it is only so to a certain extent. It is a momentary ebullition, followed instantly by perfect apathy. Life has for the Negro no longer any value when he cannot supply the physical wants. He never resists by increased activity, but prefers to die in a state of apathy, or he commits suicide. The Negro has no love for war; he is only driven to it by hunger. War, from passion or destructiveness, is unknown to him." This is a sufficiently clear and truthful picture, and the following summary, with which M. Pruner Bey concluded his paper, presented to the Paris Anthropological Society, is equally to be commended for its truth and moderation. "The Negro has always appeared to me as partaking of the nature both of the child and the old man. Anatomists worthy of our confidence—Jacquart, Serres, and Huschke—have, in this sense, interpreted the details of the anatomy of the Negro. The elongated form of the cranium, the proportions of the cerebral lobes and their respective forms, the prominence of the inferior border of the orbits, the flattened nose, the rounded larynx, the less marked curves of the vertebral column, the lateral compression of the thorax and pelvis, with the vertical direction of the iliac bones, the elongated neck of the uterus, the proportion of the parts composing the extremities, the relative simplicity of the cerebral convolutions, &c., are characteristic features of the Negro race, which are found in the fetus or the infant of the Aryan race, in the different periods of development. The propensity for amusements, for material enjoyments, for imitation, and the inconstancy of affection, are the appanage of the Negro as well as of our children. The flexuosity of the arteries, the flattening of the cornea, the weakness of the muscles, the dragging walk, and the early obliteration of the cranial sutures, the obstinacy and love of repose, are met with in the Negro as in our aged men. In short, the great curve of human development, and its backward direction, appear to be sufficiently extended to appreciate the differences characterising the Negro race opposed to our race, always taking into account the differential characters resulting from adaptation to external conditions. If our interpretation leaves open many gaps, the future may fill them up, perhaps, in the same sense. If, finally, the Negro, speaking always figuratively, partakes of the nature of the ape, it must still be admitted that it is not the most ferocious, malicious, nor the most pernicious, but rather the most patient, and frequently the most useful animal. In any case, an honorable mediocrity is his inheritance."

The general deductions we would desire to make are:—1.

That there is as good reason for classifying the Negro as a distinct species from the European as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; and if we take intelligence into consideration in classification, there is a far greater difference between the Negro and European than between the gorilla and chimpanzee. 2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes than between the European and apes. 3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4. That the Negro is more humanised when in his natural subordination to the European than under any other circumstances. 5. That the Negro race can only be humanised and civilised by Europeans. 6. That European civilisation is not suited to the Negro requirements or character.

No man who thoroughly investigates with an unbiased mind can doubt that the Negro belongs to a distinct type of Man to the European. The word "species," in the present state of science, is not satisfactory; but we may safely say that there is in the Negro that assemblage of evidence which would, *ipso facto*, induce an unbiased observer to make the European and Negro two distinct types of man.

The facts I have quoted I believe are sufficient to establish the fact that the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European, and that the analogies are far more numerous between the ape and the Negro than between the ape and the European.

We shall not enter at length into the three last propositions. Suffice it to say, that no subject needs more attention at this minute than the position which the Negro race is fitted to hold in nature. I have said it devolves on the student of the Science of Man to assign to each race the position which it shall hold. This is surely a momentous and most difficult problem, but one which science must not evade. As the student of mechanical science has given to the world his inductions and discoveries, so must the student of the Science of Man endeavour to deduce from actual facts principles of guidance for the relations of one race of Man to another.

It is painful to reflect on the misery which has been inflicted on the Negro race, and the ignorance of Anthropological Science, especially the great question of race. By our ignorance of the wants and aspirations of the Negro, and by a mistaken theory respecting his origin, this country has been the means of inflicting a prodigious, and, at present, totally unknown amount of mischief on these people. Our Bristol and Liverpool merchants, perhaps, helped to benefit the race when they transplanted some of them to America; and our mistaken legislature has increased the death-rates of the slaves to an alarming extent by absurd and unwarrantable attempts to prevent Africa exporting her surplus population. All this has been done on the theoretical assumption of a mental equality of the different races or species of Man. In an attempt to benefit the Negro, we have brought on him endless misery and rendered some of the most beautiful and productive islands in the world of little more use to humanity at large than they were before the discovery of Columbus. But men wedded to a theory become blind to all facts, and will learn nothing from experience. All the millions of money which have been spent, and which has inflicted great hardships on our own working classes, might have been saved had we taken the trouble to investigate the character of the Negro race. Scientific men have yet to do their duty in showing what are the true facts.

It may be said that some of the propositions I have advanced are in favour of the slave trade. Such, however, is not my own interpretation of these propositions. No one can be more conscious of the horrors of the "slave trade" as conducted at this time. Nothing can be worse for Africa generally than the continual capture of innocent men and women by brutal Europeans. Few things can be more horrible than the manner in which these people are attempted to be carried across the Atlantic. Nay, more, nothing can be more unjust than to sell any man, woman, or child into "slavery," as understood by the Greeks and Romans, where the life of the slave was absolutely at the disposal of the master whenever his caprice or fancy thought fit to take it. We protest against being put forward as advocating such views.

But while I say this, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that slavery, as understood by the ancients, does not exist out of Africa, and that the highest type of the Negro race is at present to be found in the so-called Slave States of America. Far superior in intelligence and physique to both his brethren in Africa and to his "free" brethren in the Federal States, nowhere does the Negro attain such a long life as in the Confederate States, and this law formerly obtained in the West India Islands before our mistaken interference. Nowhere does the Negro character shine so highly as it does in his childish and fond attachment to his master and his family. The Negro cares far more for his master and mistress than he does for his own children after they are a few years old. I by no means join in that indiscriminate abuse of the Negro character which has been indulged in, especially by those who have only seen the Negro in his savage state, or the "emancipated" (from work?) in the West India Islands. On the contrary, there is much that is to be admired, and more that is useful in the Negro, when properly and kindly treated. Brutal masters there are in every part of the world; but we must not found a law on exceptions. Scientific men, therefore, dare not close their eyes to the clear facts, as to the improvement in mind and body, as well as the general happiness, which is seen in those parts of the world in which the Negro is working in his natural subordination to the European. In some respects, the Negro is certainly not only not inferior, but even far superior to the European. If, for instance, the European was alone in the Confederate States of America those fertile regions would soon become a barren waste. The Negro is here able to work with impunity, and does himself and the world generally much good by his labour. Occupations and diseases which are fatal to the Europeans are quite harmless to the Negro. By their juxtaposition in this part of the world they confer a material benefit on each other.

But it may be asked, "Why remove the Negro from his own country? Why not humanise him in Africa?" No doubt this sounds very feasible, and no pains should be spared to introduce every possible humanising influence into Africa. There is little doubt that the African is more easily humanised out of his native land, away from all his savage associations; but this need not prevent us from doing all we can towards civilising him in his own country.

It has been affirmed on the best authority (although frequently denied) that domestic slaves are only sold in Africa for some crime. No one, we presume, will dare assert that there are no criminals in Africa. "What shall we do with our criminals?" may be a problem which is occupying the attention of the political economist of Africa—like His Majesty the King of Dahomey—as well as the Government of Great Britain. Is Africa not to be allowed to export her criminals, or are they so worthless and unmanageable that no people will

have them? What is to be done with unruly or criminal slaves? As a king of Old Calabar said, "You bind me down not to sell them, tell me it is wrong to kill them: what must I do with them? I will give you some, and then you won't take them!" Would it not be well to allow a regular export of the surplus population, instead of permitting, and indeed encouraging, the butcheries of the so-called King of Dahomey? The difficulties of humanising, much less of civilising, the African in his own country are very great; yet, if such healthy sentiments were generally diffused in this country as have been lately published in an admirable work, entitled "Wanderings in Western Africa," it is impossible to say what great results might in time be attained. This author well says, "Ever remember that by far the greater number of the liberated were the vilest of criminals in their own land, and that in their case exportation becomes, in fact, the African form of transportation."

There is abundant evidence to show that the Negro will not work without a considerable amount of persuasion. Even Dr. R. Clarke is obliged to admit that the Creoles of Sierra Leone "manifest the utmost contempt for agricultural pursuits, and the same feeling seems to actuate the half-educated liberated African lads." Another writer observes, that "In Sierra Leone the Christian tenderness of the British Government has tended to demoralise them. . . . The women have become as vicious as those of Egypt, the basest of kingdoms—worse than the men, bad as they are. . . . Theft is carried to such an extent, that no improvement is possible at Freetown."

I have stated that one of the results of my inquiry leads me to believe that English institutions are not suited to the Negro race. There seems to be a maximum testimony to show that the liberated and the Creoles in our colonies are a perfectly worthless set. They accept all the vices of our civilisation with none of its duties. A recent public writer, in behalf of the English colonies on the West Coast of Africa well says:—"The African is far more innocent and natural a creature when he has never been brought within the range of civilised life. The liberated Africans are far superior to the rising generation—in energy, in talent, and in honest principles. To handle a hoe has now become a disgrace, and the people have lost their manhood by becoming gentlemen. . . . only the ignorant can boast of the extensive freedom we have given the African. Freedom, indeed, we should have given, but it ought to have been qualified to suit their capacities."

In now bringing my remarks to a close, I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the graphic picture of the present state of Africa, which has only been published during the last few weeks. There is much true science and healthy manhood in these sentiments. The work of which I speak is evidently the work of a man who has devoted much attention to the study of the great science of mankind; and I am pleased to find that my own views find ample support in the conclusions of this accomplished and scientific observer. Speaking of the Negroes of Bonny, he says: "The slaves were a truly miserable appearance, lean and deformed, with krakra lepra and fearful ulcerations. It is in these places that one begins to feel a doubt touching the total suppression of slavery. The chiefs openly beg that the rules may be relaxed, in order that they may get rid of their criminals. This is at present impossible, and the effects are a reduplication of misery. We pamper our convicts, Africans torture them to death. Cheapness of the human article is another cause of immense misery to it. In some rivers a canoe crew never lasts three years. Pilfering—'Show me a black man and I will show you a thief,' say the traders—and debauchery are natural to the slave, and they must be repressed by abominable cruelties. The master thinks nothing of nailing their hands to a water-cask, of mutilating them in various ways; many lose their eyes by being peppered, after the East Indian fashion, with coarsely-powdered cayenne; their ears are cut off, or they are flogged. The whip is composed of a twisted bullock's or hippopotamus's hide, sundried, with a sharp edge at the turns, and often wrapped with copper wire; it is less merciful even than the knout, now historical. The operation may be prolonged for hours, or for a whole day, the culprit's arms being tied to a rafter, which keeps them at full stretch, and every fifteen minutes or so a whack, that cuts away the flesh like a knife, is administered. This is a favourite treatment for guilty wives, who are also ripped up, cut to pieces, or thrown to the sharks. If a woman has twins or becomes mother of more than four, the parent is banished and the children are destroyed. The greatest insult is to point at a man with arm and two fingers extended, saying at the same time, Nama shubral i.e., one of twins, or a son of some lower animal. When a great man dies, all kinds of barbarities are committed; slaves are buried, or floated down the river bound to bamboo sticks and mats, till eaten piecemeal by sharks. The slave, as might be expected, is not less brutal than his lord. It amazes me to hear Englishmen plead that there is moral degradation to a Negro bought by a white man, and none when serving under a black man. The philanthropists, doubtless, think how our poorer classes at home, in the nineteenth century, would feel if hurried from liberty to eternal servitude by some nefarious African. But can any civilised sentiments belong to the miserable half-starved being, whose one scanty meal of vegetable per day is eked out with monkey and snake, cat and dog, maggot and grub?—whose life is ceaseless toil, varied only by torture, and who may be destroyed at any moment by a nod from his owner? When the slave has once surmounted his dread of being shipped by the white man, nothing under the sun would, I believe, induce him willingly to return to what he should call his home. And as they were, our West Indian colonies were lands of happiness compared with Oil Rivers; as for the 'Southern States,' the slave's lot is paradise when succeeding what he endures on the West Coast of Africa. I believe these to be facts, but *tant pis pour les faits*. Presently, however, the philanthropic theory shall fall, and shall be replaced by a new fabric built upon a more solid foundation."

In conclusion, let me observe, that it is not alone the man of science who has discerned the Negro's unfitness for civilisation, as we understand it. Here is Mr. Anthony Trollope, who is certainly quite guiltless of ever having examined the evidence of the distinction between the Negro and European, and yet truly says of the Negroes:—"Give them their liberty, starting them well in the world at what expense you please, and at the end of six months they will come back upon your hands for the means of support. Everything must be done for them; they expect food, clothes, and instruction as to every simple act of life, as do children."

We must for the present leave aside all questions as to the origin of the Negro, and simply take him as he exists, and not as poets or fanatics paint him. We shall then learn, that it is only by observation and experiment that we can determine the exact place in nature which the Negro race should hold, and that it is both absurd and chimerical to attempt to put him in any other.



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## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1863.

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## The Crisis in Tennessee.

THE conflict in America grows in intensity as the months roll on. The third year of the war is now at its close. There have been half-a-dozen great battles in 1863, in which more than 100,000 men have been hurled together in deadly collision. Not a month has passed without its tidings from hard-fought fields and its holocaust of victims. And with all this enduring struggle, its sacrifices of life and treasure, its wasting effect upon the population of North and South, its hardships and its indecisive issues, there is no sign of weariness or submission on either side in the field. On the contrary, the fighting is more desperate, the masses of men that confront one another are larger, and the area over which the war extends is vaster. The war administration of Washington is not satisfied with conducting the operations of an army of 100,000 men in Virginia, directing the movements of General Grant with double that number, and urging on Gilmore and Dahlgren against the walls of Charleston. It is intent upon new conquests; it launches fresh armies into a hostile State more than equal in size to France, and even plants the Stars and Stripes, as if in vaunting defiance, almost within sight of the outposts of the French army in Mexico. The last mail brings us news of battles all along the Confederate line. In Virginia, in Tennessee, and in Louisiana engagements more or less serious are reported, and in all of these the Federals have been worsted. Yet, at such a critical moment, when every man is needed to strike a blow at the vitals of the Confederacy, great expeditions are on their way to Texas; and when £160 is paid for recruits in New York the strength of some 30,000 disciplined soldiers is frittered away in a country where 2,000 guerillas will suffice to carry on a successful war for twenty years. One solitary gleam of success has attended the Texan expedition. General Banks has occupied Brownsville without opposition. But at Opelousas, in Louisiana, the Federals marching overland have suffered a severe defeat, and the result seems to be that the great scheme for overwhelming Texas with their armies has entirely failed. The Federals will hardly attempt Sabine Pass again; they have unpleasant recollections of Galveston. The ultimate transhipment of their whole force to Brownsville would be quite in accordance with the insane war policy of Mr. Lincoln, and as this movement would be about the most desirable one that could be made for the Confederates, we may expect to hear of its execution. But what is to be expected of a war carried on in this desultory and aimless manner, and in which the object seems to be less a real military

success than a demonstration of Mr. Seward's "big" ideas, and an opportunity for the display of another substantial accession to Federal territory on paper?

We have alluded to the Texas expedition as illustrative of the imbecility of the Washington Cabinet, but it possesses beyond this very little interest. It is on the Tennessee River that the great battles of the war have to be fought—possibly by this time have been fought. The long-expected stroke has been delivered by the Confederates in East Tennessee, and Burnside's army, surrounded and overwhelmed at all points, has been thrown back behind its fortifications at Knoxville. From the accounts received up to this time, it is difficult to comprehend the general movements of the Confederates upon this point. Only Longstreet is mentioned, and the attacking force would seem to have entirely consisted of a portion of Bragg's army. But this would be clearly an erroneous inference. For some time past it has been known that one or two divisions had been despatched southward from Culpepper along the Virginia and Tennessee railroads. General Jones, in command of a force of some 7,000 or 8,000 Confederates has never been more than a few miles distant from the Federal outposts. Only last week we heard of the defeat of the Federals at Rogersville, some thirty miles north-east of Knoxville, with heavy loss. A week earlier their advance was attacked and driven in at Philadelphia, thirty miles south of Knoxville. The obvious conclusion is, that the assailing force is made up of Lee's, Jones's, and Bragg's armies. Only thus can we account for the numerical superiority of the Confederates in the field. The advance upon Knoxville seems to have been made simultaneously in several directions. But Longstreet's corps crossed the Tennessee River at London on the 14th, driving in the Federal pickets. After some smart skirmishing and two or three night attacks, Monday morning found the Federals drawn up in line of battle at Concord within a few miles of Knoxville. They were again attacked and defeated and only saved by the approach of night, when they took refuge behind their outer defences at Knoxville. About the same time heavy bodies of Confederate troops drove in the Federals stationed along the Kingston and Central roads; and finally, the main body closing up, captured "with a bayonet charge, a portion of the strong fortifications only half a mile from the town." Thus in five days they had driven the enemy some twenty miles, had overborne him invariably when he offered resistance, and on the sixth day had completely invested the town. Of the losses in these engagements it is premature to speak. The Federals estimate their own casualties at 500; and with their usual liberality, allot three times that number to the Confederates—an evident extravagance. The losses of the army that was beaten in those four or five days' heavy fighting must have greatly outnumbered those of the victors. However, the Federals are consoled by the report that Burnside has taken up an impregnable position. This is the third impregnable position he has held within the last month. At Philadelphia he was secure, at London he occupied unassailable heights. Once at Knoxville all anxiety about him is over. We agree with the Federal authorities in their conclusion: all anxiety is over, for there is no possibility of his escape. It is almost a canon in the art of war that an army which cannot maintain itself in the field cannot hold a large town against an enemy of equal force; still less when it is cut off from all possibility of supplies and reinforcements. Knoxville is a town of some 2,500 inhabitants, covering a large tract of ground. How is it possible that its garrison, or the army that is cooped up behind its entrenchments, can hold out against simultaneous attacks along the half-dozen roads that converge upon the town? We know something of Longstreet's tactics. He is not the man to throw his chances away. A fierce artillery fire and a dashing assault have in all probability settled the fate of Burnside's army before this, and with it the possession of East Tennessee. There remains to be considered the possibility of an attack in force upon the Confederate army before Chattanooga

by General Grant. But we have as yet no positive information that General Sherman has reached the Federal lines; and we are by no means sure that General Grant has supplies, horses, or ammunition sufficient for a forward movement. And it must be remembered that defeat in this case would be ruin to the Federal cause. It could never recover the loss of the Army of the Cumberland superadded to the capture of Burnside's force. General Grant knows that the South has brought an immense force into the field against him; that he will have to operate at a decided disadvantage; and that even a victory would be so far resultless that he would be unable to follow it up until the spring. We are not inclined therefore to believe in any great offensive movement on his part. Whether he will be allowed to pass many more weeks unmolested we very much doubt. Under any circumstances the capture of Burnside's corps will seriously imperil his position and add to his difficulties. Grant has drained Tennessee to retain his hold at Chattanooga. Between Nashville and Knoxville there is no army to arrest the progress of Longstreet's army. If Burnside's army is destroyed, nothing but want of supplies, or the impossibility of moving great bodies of troops during the next two months, can prevent Grant's lines of communication falling into the hands of the Confederates. It has been said, hitherto only too truly, that the victories of the South have been barren of results. But this almost confirmed hope of Longstreet's triumph opens up a new view. It promises to be the most successful operation of the war. It may turn out to be the crisis of the struggle.

Beaten at Opelousas, beaten at Knoxville, beaten on the Rapidan. So run the telegrams. The Federals, who stopped short at the sight of the Confederate intrenchments on the Rapidan, have in their turn been attacked and routed. The fight may have been a mere affair of outposts: it may have been a serious disaster. We are at the mercy of Mr. Stanton. But it tells us unmistakeably that the Federals under Meade have their work cut out for them, and that whilst they cannot afford to "deplete" their army by sending off troops to Chattanooga, neither can they look for an easy triumph if they advance upon the Southern capital. Practically, the campaign in Virginia seems to be at an end. It leaves the Federals with half the effective force they had in the field this time last year, and General Lee strong enough to send away half his army to secure a great triumph in Tennessee.

## The Cloven Foot.

ACCORDING to the custom of Radical members, Messrs. Cobden and Bright have duly performed *ko-too* before the electors of Rochdale. The former, as the representative of that borough, was in his proper place; why the Member for Birmingham should have selected his fellow-townsmen, rather than his constituents, as the recipients of his homage may seem to require a little explanation. The truth is, that Birmingham and Bright do not suit one another as well as they hoped. The men of the city of iron are somewhat rough and very radical, but they are thoroughly English; and Mr. Bright's foreign policy is as loathsome to their manliness as his hearty abuse of his betters is congenial to their baser passions. Rochdale, on the other hand, is the head-quarters of the White Feathers. It is the only place in England that believes in peace at any price. It is the only town that refused to furnish a volunteer company for the cure of domestic alarms and foreign dreams of invasion. In a word, it is the only place in England that could have produced John Bright; and the only one, therefore, in which he feels thoroughly at ease. Hence, when he wishes to obtain a favourable hearing for some sentiment more disgraceful, or some paradox more extravagant, than usual—when he wishes not merely to show but to parade the cloven foot of treason freed from the ill-fitting restraints of decency and pretended loyalty, without fear of being hooted, he goes to Rochdale; and Rochdale always welcomes



him, as she did on Tuesday week, with ready sympathy and uncritical credulity.

With both speakers the American war was the chief topic; the only one on which they could hope to arouse anything like real interest in their audience. Mr. Cobden took up the ground of slavery. He deplored the ignorance of Northern resources displayed by the higher classes, who, he affirmed, were actually unaware of the existence of very many cities much larger than Rochdale—as is natural enough, where cities grow from nothing into greatness in a dozen years—and therefore could not possibly be justified in their convictions of the impossibility of a forcible restoration of the Union. He declared that, though in all other points of view it did seem impossible that the South should be conquered, yet that she must be crushed in the end, because she had gone to war for the maintenance of slavery, and because she had fired the first shot in a wanton and unjust quarrel. Finally, he expressed his hope that Lancashire would ere long be supplied with abundance of cotton grown by the labour of free negroes in the valley of the Mississippi. We charitably suppose Mr. Cobden wholly ignorant of the history of the West Indies. If he were not, he would know that free negroes don't work, unless they are crowded into so small a space that they must work or starve; and that even then they do not work so well as slaves. He would know that emancipation would reduce the South to the condition of Jamaica, and that she would never again send us half-a-million bales per annum. He would know that the whole manufacturing interest of Lancashire has been built upon the system of slavery in the Cotton States; and that, if its foundation be torn away, it must fall to the ground with a mighty and irremediable ruin, crushing two millions of English people in its fall. We would remind him, also, that the resources of the North are much better known in England than the resources of the South in New York. We would remind him that, at the outbreak of the war, the general belief of the North was that Southern resources could not stand the strain of an ordinary war for six months; whereas they have stood the severest strain ever put upon the strength of any nation, and at the close of the third year of war show no signs of giving way. Moreover, it is clear that at the outset Englishmen, and even English statesmen, greatly overrated the comparative strength and resources of the North. Few educated and thoughtful men believed that the South could be conquered, if she were really in earnest; but every one thought that she would be overrun, devastated, starved, defeated in battle; and if any one had predicted in June, 1861, that in November, 1863, the Federal armies would be at a standstill in Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana; that General Lee would still hold the Rapidan, and that Texas, Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas and Southern Virginia would still be in the hands of the Confederates, and no portion of their original territory, except here and there a fragment on the seacoast, be securely held by the invaders, he would have been laughed at. So far, then, as ignorance has influenced English judgment on the probable issues of the war, it has led us to overrate the chances in favour of the invader.

Mr. Cobden makes, on his own authority, two misstatements as to the origin of the war, which we are obliged to correct. One is, that it was begun by the South. This is, as a matter of dates, simply and utterly untrue. The expedition treacherously, and in violation of a distinct compact, sent by Mr. Lincoln to attack Charleston, sailed some days before its sailing was announced to the Southern Commissioners; its sailing, of course, with that purpose, established a state of war, and fixed the responsibility of commencing it on the Federal Government. It was not till after the latter had formally announced this fact to the Confederate commissioners that Fort Sumter was summoned. Although, therefore, the first shot was fired by the South, the first attack was made, and the war begun, by the North.

Secondly, Mr. Cobden states that "this is a war for the perpetuation and extension of slavery." What does he mean? Does the South propose, or did it ever propose, to force slavery upon the Northern States? Is it not fighting simply to get quit of all connection with those States, and leave them to arrange their own institutions in their own way? And, leaving the question of extension aside, suppose the South were fighting to maintain slavery; what of that? Suppose that in former times France had sent envoys to excite servile insurrection in our West India Islands, would not that have afforded us a *casus belli*, and would the warmest opponents of slavery have contended that we ought not to resent it? Or suppose the French Directory had proclaimed freedom to the negroes of Jamaica, and landed an army to take possession of the island, should we have been wrong in fighting against the invaders, albeit for the maintenance of slavery? This is exactly the position of the South. If she be

fighting to maintain slavery, it is against a Power which has no more right or title to meddle with slavery in the Slave States than France had to meddle with slavery in Jamaica, or England to make war on Spain in order to liberate the negroes in Cuba. Suppose that Portugal, in her attempt to re-conquer Brazil, had offered freedom to the slaves: does Mr. Cobden hold that the Brazilians would thereby have been put in the wrong, or that any step of that kind could have affected in any way the justice of their cause? If it be true that, in electing Abraham Lincoln, the North declared war on slavery, and that the South took up that challenge, and armed to defend her institutions and her rights, her position was exactly what that of Spain would be if France were to order her to emancipate the Cuban slaves and she were to take up arms to resist the demand.

But this is not the case. Not having at hand the document quoted by Mr. Cobden, we are unable to say whether or no the discussion in the Committee of Thirty-three did really turn on the question of slavery, and on no other. All we can say is, that the Republicans would have been willing, and if unwilling could have been compelled, to make any terms, and give any guarantees on the question of slavery which would have availed to keep the Cotton States in the Union. Also, that the real issue was, for the South, not slavery or emancipation, but secession or dependence. Slavery had been the battleground, for many years, between the Northern Sectional party, and the Unionists, including the whole Southern body politic. The question at issue was, whether or no the North, by mere dint of increasing numbers, should obtain an absolute control over the policy of the Union, and reducing the Southern States to a helpless minority, direct affairs in a purely sectional spirit, and for Northern interests only. As the means of preventing this was the creation of new Slave States, it was on the question of slavery that both parties concentrated their force. The South brought to bear the pride of race, the patriotism of her citizens, the interests of her planters, the hereditary opinions of her whole people, and the sectional irritation aroused by Northern insults. The Republicans brought to bear the prejudices of the Germans, the Western greed of land, the Yankee hatred of aristocracy, the fanaticism of the Abolitionists, the ambition of the place-hunter. The war was transferred from Congress to the Territories, and there decided against the South. From that moment the North became preponderant; it only rested with the Northern people to say whether its preponderance should be used for purposes of sectional domination. That question was answered by the election of Abraham Lincoln, on a sectional platform, by a purely sectional majority. Nothing remained for the South but secession or subjection. It was not a question of slavery, it was a question of independence; slavery might have been preserved by compromise; independence could only be gained by war. In choosing war, therefore, the South showed what had been the real dispute. The North, when she drew the sword, made it equally clear. She demanded not the emancipation of the slaves, but the restoration of the Union; and when, at last, she had recourse to emancipation, it was ostentatiously proclaimed to the world that emancipation was only resorted to as a means to an end: that end, the subjection of the South. How, then, dare Mr. Cobden affirm that this is a war between slavery and freedom? or how deny that it is exactly what Lord Russell called it—a war for independence on the one hand, and for empire on the other?

Mr. Bright, after years of sorrowful reflection, has at last discovered in this war a new proof of the wisdom, strength and excellence of democratic institutions. Still, he says, the tide of emigration sets as strongly as ever towards the United States. Strange it would be if it did not. War has not reached the Northern States, and is not likely to reach the regions peopled by the emigrants; the conscription does not touch those who preserve their claims to the protection of Great Britain; and even democracy cannot destroy the attractions offered by an unlimited supply of land at less than 3s. sterling per acre. And, while the English Government enforces its Foreign Enlistment Act only for the benefit of the Federals; while Irishmen love the pleasure of a fight even better than the pay, and while a bounty of £100 is offered to recruits in New York; it would be strange if Ireland did not furnish Mr. Lincoln with food for powder, and, as the correspondent of the *Standard* says, supply a cheap and abundant manure to the fields of Northern Virginia. Under such circumstances, and with such temptations, Russia herself could attract as many emigrants. "But further," says the Member for Birmingham, "the Government of the United States is now the strongest in the world, within its own dominions: it can do what it pleases with the lives, liberties, and property of its subjects; and surely this proves the inherent vigour of democracy." To us it seems to prove the very opposite. We see in the present

condition of the United States a proof of such moral and political weakness as could hardly have been predicted by the bitterest opponents of democracy. The Government is naturally so weak that it cannot carry on a foreign war of magnitude without resorting to the most extravagant abuses of despotic power at home; the Constitution is so rotten and unworkable that it affords no means of checking the usurpation of absolute power by the Executive, and no effectual protection for the liberty of the citizens; the people are reduced by democracy to that degree of moral cowardice and political degradation, that they dare make no stand against the confiscation of their franchises and the establishment of an unmitigated military despotism. The failure of democracy is trebly demonstrated; first, by the necessity of a dictatorship; secondly, by the assumption of a dictatorship, without any sort of legal warrant, by an executive magistrate endowed by law with most limited powers; and thirdly, by the tame acquiescence in such a usurpation of the great mass of the people.

The real meaning of the violence with which such men as these have espoused the Northern cause is not to be sought in their speeches on American affairs, but in their harangues against the social and political order established in England. It is to be found in the spirit which animates their bitter denunciations of the possessors of hereditary wealth and influence. It is betrayed in their attacks on the holders of property in land; in their suggestion that a "reform" in Parliament would enable poor men to become landholders—which Parliament could only do by ordering a general confiscation and gratuitous distribution of landed property. It is explained, in short, whenever their vehemence disturbs the sober garments of the English Liberal, and allows us to catch a glimpse of the cloven foot of the cosmopolitan anarchist. These men are, by instinct and association, the sworn foes of order; for order implies subordination, and their insatiable vanity cannot endure the presence of a superior. They revolt against every influence but that of the tongue, and against every power but that which a fluent tongue can sway—the power of the multitude. They saw in the Northern States of America the realisation of their own ideal. There, was no queen, to be addressed in the language of reverent loyalty by men proud to call themselves her subjects. There, was no Church, preserving ancient traditions, and the influence of an educated clergy and an ancestral faith. There, was no aristocracy, born to hereditary wealth, and educated for political power. There, every avenue to greatness was open to a scheming brain and a fluent tongue. There, no restraints could check, even for a moment, the will and pleasure of the sovereign rabble, or the ascent of the rabble's favourite to place and power. There, a Cobden might be Minister, and a Bright aspire to the Presidency. And yet, owing to a peculiar position and favouring circumstances, the nation so situated flourished in marvellous prosperity, and served to point every oration addressed to audiences unable to discern that it enjoyed that prosperity in despite and not in right of its institutions. The idol has been rudely overthrown. Its utter rottenness, its hollowness, the base metal that underlay its gilded exterior, are exposed to every eye; and instead of being held up for adoration by the votaries of anarchy, it is everywhere used as a warning and example to point the consequences of a headstrong revolt against tradition and authority and order. What wonder that the anarchists are frantic with rage against those who have brought this to pass; that the idolators strain their lungs, and exhaust their vocabulary in cursing those who have broken their idol to pieces? Anarchy and Order are face to face in the New World as they have never yet been face to face in the Old, and everywhere the enemies of order feel that the overthrow of the South would be their victory, and that the dissolution of the Union is the death-knell of their hopes. In the Southern States order presents essentially the same features as in England—a constitutional Government, administered by the best and highest minds in the land, controlled by the educated classes, rooted in the affections of the people; an aristocracy, with hereditary wealth, open to every man who can win his way to enter its ranks by his own genius, talent, or industry; a yeomanry, cultivating their own lands, and living on their produce, in perfect independence and in strong attachment to the institutions of their country; and a peasantry who are happier and more contented in the name of slaves than the half-pauperised peasantry of Europe in the title of freemen. Against this order the great embodiment of anarchical principles has measured its strength, and more depends on the issue than all observers can discern. We can all, however, see far enough into the nature of this quarrel to understand the reasons which enlist all the anarchical elements of society here on the Northern side; to understand why Cobden and Bright should love the North, and why Englishmen in general should not.



## England and the Congress.

WE have not failed to render our tribute of respect and admiration to the noble thought which undoubtedly inspired Napoleon III. in his eloquent appeal to the sovereigns of Europe. Since the day when the dagger of Ravallac dispelled the vision of universal peace that rose before one of the best of French sovereigns and one of the wisest of French statesmen, the idea of Henri IV. and of Sully had been buried amid antiquarian rubbish, scarcely ever alluded to even by philosophical historians, and then only as a beautiful Utopian dream. It is not the least glory of the present Emperor's reign that he has revived this idea with increased grandeur and brilliancy; for though in his lifetime the age may not be ripe to give it shape and body, men's minds will continue to revolve it, and a more advanced generation may seek to realise it. The goal may never be reached, yet mankind will be the better for seeking to reach it. Wars will probably never cease so long as human nature remains unchanged; but it is not absurd to hope to remove them gradually further and further from the centres and to the outskirts of European civilisation; and though small minds cavil at such a thought as that which underlay the French invitation to a European Congress, there is in it more of practical policy and sagacious statesmanship than in all the pusillanimous schemes of peace philosophers, from Seneca down to Cobden. It is scarcely more than four hundred years since the Western nations dimly perceived that they each formed part of a compact, closely knit, and indissoluble political "system," or community, or, if the term is preferred, family. With all who look upon history as something beyond a list of dates and names, and who can see facts beyond those that are recorded in diplomatic formulas, this European commonwealth of independent nations has a recognised existence. Everything that tends to give it a tangible shape in the eyes of the diverse populations adds to its vitality and moral power, and is that much gained for the cause of peace. Members of a family will and do quarrel, and no conventionality of intercourse and behaviour can wholly restrain the workings of conflicting passions, but it will surely not be contended that an honest effort to promote mutual intimacy and to render the obligations of the family tie better understood and more sacred, is useless or unwise. At this time every member of the European family stands armed to the teeth, and each for the last few years has spent a greater proportion of its resources than at any previous epoch in preparing itself for deadly strife against the others. To meet in family council at such a time could at worst precipitate by a very brief period what must inevitably come otherwise; it is far more likely that it would avert the danger.

While we have thus appreciated as they deserved the motives and intentions of the Emperor, we have not been blind to the practical difficulties opposed to their realisation. It was natural to expect, from the character and habits of thought of the English people, that these difficulties would present themselves most formidably to them, and would find probably an exaggerated expression in this country. Less easily dazzled by brilliant conceptions, accustomed to look with suspicion at everything outside of a familiar routine, the English nation would be the first to perceive that, while the proposed Congress might do much good, it could not do all the good its originator hoped and promised. This, we believe, was in truth the feeling of the nation, and it was expressed, with singular unanimity, by the public press. But from this feeling, and the hesitation and reserve which it might cause, to the attitude actually assumed by the British Government, there is a long step, and one so grave and unexpected, that few men besides Earl Russell would have so rashly taken it. That even he was not allowed to take it without the serious remonstrance of his more prudent colleagues, we may infer from the reports of his withdrawal which were current little more than a week since. There can be no doubt that he and Earl Clarendon respectively typified refusal or acceptance of the Emperor's invitation. In the net and peremptory refusal, therefore, which he made haste to publish to the world, we must recognise the ascendancy of the Russell influence in the councils of the State; just as in the strikingly uncourteous and offensive language used, which deprives his despatch almost of the decorum of a diplomatic document, no one can fail to recognise a notorious feature of the Foreign Secretary's personal character. Were Earl Russell a man of bold and consistent views, we might give him credit in this instance for at least an original, albeit a mistaken, policy; but his eccentric and erratic course compels us to seek elsewhere than in his deliberate convictions of expediency for the impulse which he has in the present case obeyed. There is a suspicious coincidence between the tone of his reply and the tenor of the speeches made nearly at the same time by the

great mouthpieces of the Radical party. Were this the only indication, and not one of many, daily becoming more numerous and convincing, we should hesitate to express the fear, which we sincerely trust may be unfounded, that the head of the Foreign Affairs of this country has surrendered himself to the guidance of the least respectable and most dangerous of its political factions.

A certain show of transient popularity attaches to every public act which is calculated to fret or annoy or disappoint our French neighbours and beloved allies. Not but that the Englishman of the present day disclaims indignantly the prejudices which caused his father to believe that every Frenchman went to bed and rose in the morning with the stern determination, first and last in his mind, to "avenge Waterloo." Not this, but there is something irresistibly flattering to the *amour propre* of even the least prejudiced nation, which Frenchmen ought to be most competent to appreciate *sans dire*, since they in their most amiable moods exhibit it toward us in at least an equally strong degree. Yet a feeling of this nature is of necessity ephemeral with a nation like the English. Already in the clubs and the salons of the higher spheres of society the question is asked, "Whither are we drifting in our foreign policy?" It is a question which will soon re-echo in wider circles, and it is not one to be satisfactorily answered. If there has been any policy at all it has been one of absolute isolation. To alienate every friend in Europe and America whose sincerity there was an *à priori* reason for trusting, and to conciliate at all costs whoever from disposition or antecedents must inevitably be a natural enemy, appears to have been within the last few years the one task and purpose of English statesmanship. It is to be doubted whether an *entente cordiale*, fostered with the Federal States of the north of America by making officers of the Crown and colonial governors spies on the actions of their enemies, will, in the judgment of the British public, be a sufficient compensation for the rude breaches made in the friendly relations of this country with the next greatest civilised Power of Europe. It is more than doubtful whether Englishmen are yet ready to see their country occupy the position wished for it by Cobden and Bright, and to become in very deed a shop-keeping nation, having no concern, and desiring none, in the great political problems of the century.

It is not the wont of this journal to prophesy, even in matters where it may claim to be specially well-informed, but we record, without fear of its being falsified by events, our prediction, that despite the refusal of the Foreign-office to participate, the European Congress called by the Emperor will meet. No man better than he is able to distinguish between the act of an ill-tempered, petulant, and self-conceited minister, and the deliberate action of a great nation; and in the case of the despatch published last Friday, the distinction is easily made. The Congress, then, will be held, and what is more, if it assumes but a tithe of the importance which the originator is anxious to give it, Great Britain, though Earl Russell be her Foreign Secretary, will send a representative. This is quite in consistence with that noble lord's inconsistencies. His mind resembles that curious missile of the Australian savage which returns somehow near the place from which it is hurled. In every question that has of late occupied public attention, he ended by taking the side opposite to his starting point. Denmark and America are notable illustrations, if any were needed. So, let our irate *confères* of the French press take comfort. *La perfide Albion*, only waiting like a coy damsel to be asked a second time, will yet take her seat at the council board which is being decked out in the gay capital of continental Europe.

### MRS. GREENHOW'S IMPRISONMENT.\*

THE organs of the Federal Government in this country are, for reasons best known to themselves, very lavish in their denunciations of the Russian tyranny in Poland. We have, in this respect, the rare felicity to agree with them. We hold the original spoliation of Polish territory to have been one of the foulest crimes ever committed by strong nations against a weak one. We consider the sanction given to that monstrous iniquity by the Congress of Vienna as one of the most deplorable concessions ever made by righteous principles to diplomatic necessity. We regard the abolition of constitutional government by the Emperor Nicholas in 1831 as amounting to a moral forfeiture of his title to the kingdom. We think their tame acquiescence in the extinction of the Republic of Cracow an ineffaceable stain upon the honour of England and France. We should rejoice to hear that the Poles had driven the Russians out of Warsaw, and that the chief agents in the cruelties of the last two years had expiated their crimes on the scaffold. We differ with our contemporaries only in this—that we have no sort of respect or sympathy with that gang of assassins which calls itself the National Government. But

we are surprised at their extraordinary inconsistency. Their American patrons are well aware that the similarity between the cause of Russia and that of the Federal Government is so close that for the partisans of Lincoln to cry shame on the Cossacks of Berg and Mouravieff would provoke the ridicule of Europe. They make common cause with the Czar, as engaged like themselves in the suppression of an unjustifiable rebellion, and applaud his measures of severity as being, on the whole, almost as energetic as their own, and more successful than theirs are likely to prove. Seward fraternises with Gortschakoff; Butler recognises a kindred spirit in Mouravieff; the comrades of Admiral Wilkes accord a hearty welcome to the officers of the Russian squadron, and the orators of New York and Boston congratulate their country that she has one faithful friend in Europe. They do well. It is right and natural that the despot by right divine should be "hail fellow well met" with the despot by democratic election. It is proper that the Cossack and the Yankee should be on the best of terms, and that either should refrain from flouting the crimes of the other, while the world is puzzled to say which deserves the palm of iniquity and atrocity. But we are wholly at a loss to understand what the journals which admire Abraham Lincoln find to blame in Alexander II. The Czar, at least, has torn up no Constitution which he had sworn to observe; he has not destroyed by force the liberties of a free State; and if he has sent his troops to pillage, burn, and murder in a country which refuses to obey him, is not this exactly what has been done by the President of the United States? If his generals have hanged men taken in arms against them, Mr. Lincoln's officers have shot their prisoners in cold blood. If the Cossacks have burned houses and beaten their proprietors, so have the Federal soldiery. If the Russians are charged with flogging women, so are the Yankees; and if the charge has not in either case been distinctly proved, the reasons for the absence of proof are in each case easy to understand. If the Governor of Lithuania has allowed his troops a license surpassing that usually accorded in cities taken by storm, so have the generals of the United States. If the general in command at Warsaw has threatened with fine and imprisonment women who venture to wear mourning, General Butler stigmatised as "women of the town," and gave up to the brutality of his soldiery, all women who might seem, by word, or look, or gesture, to express the loathing which they felt for the invaders of their country. And, finally, in any authenticated account of Russian misdeeds in Poland, we find nothing worse than the treatment suffered by the authoress of the volume before us.

Mrs. Greenhow is a lady of Southern parentage, of warm Southern sympathies, and of a spirit and talent not common even among the women of the South. Her social position may best be understood when we observe that she was, in his old age, the favourite and political pupil of John C. Calhoun, the most eminent Southern statesman of the last generation, and one of the most eminent men that America has produced; while her niece is the widow of Stephen A. Douglas, one of the last among the great statesmen of the North. Her rank in the society of Washington was equivalent to that of a daughter of the Zamoyskis or Czartoryskis in Poland. The leading men of both parties were among her personal acquaintance; she had, even in 1860 and 1861, conversed with Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and discussed politics with Baker of Oregon. Seward had been her guest; and she records the expression of his repentance, when the "irrepressible conflict" he had predicted and fostered came to be fought out on the field of battle. "If Heaven would forgive him for stringing together two high-sounding words, he would never do it again." It was not against the wife of a brother rail-splitter or a backwoods attorney, but against a lady connected with the most distinguished men and belonging to the best society in the land, that President Lincoln perpetrated the insults and outrages which this volume records.

The book is calculated to amuse almost as much as to interest us. There are several anecdotes, reminiscences of the gossip of the capital during the last days of Mrs. Greenhow's liberty, which are eminently characteristic of Mr. Lincoln, his wife, and their political entourage—of the naïve simplicity of the President, utterly unaccustomed to the decencies of civilised life, and fully aware of his deficiencies, seeming by his manner "to apologise for being where he is"—of the gross vulgarity and extortionate rapacity of Mrs. Lincoln—of her extraordinary toilette, and still more extraordinary behaviour, and of the intrigues constantly going on around the ill-placed couple. Moreover, English readers are supplied with an explanation of the panic fear of assassination manifested by the President elect, during the time immediately preceding his inauguration. After all, his terror did not imply that gross and abject cowardice which it seemed to indicate. His own party, four years before, had made an attempt, which had nearly proved successful, to poison President Buchanan; several persons had fallen victims to the attempt, and the President's health suffered for months under the effects of the poison administered. We recommend those who wish to read the whole history of this nefarious transaction to seek it in Mrs. Greenhow's pages. Her description of the state of Washington immediately after the battle of Manassas is also worth reading. But we pass on to that part of her narrative which more immediately illustrates the character of the Yankees, and the temper of the Government they have chosen.

It should be remembered, in justice even to the creatures of that Government, that Mrs. Greenhow was really and honestly suspected of being a Confederate spy. She was not im-

\* My Imprisonment, and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington. By Mrs. Greenhow. London: Bentley, 1863.



prisoned, as many ladies of Baltimore have been imprisoned by General Schenck, for expressing sympathy with the Confederates, for singing Southern songs, or for wearing a red and white rose in her hair. The charge against her was one of treason; and of a kind of treason which, under martial law at least, is everywhere punished with death. Resident within the Federal lines, she contrived to communicate to her countrymen intelligence of the utmost military importance, which involved the Federal commanders in serious dangers. In this she performed a patriotic service of the highest merit; but she unquestionably gave her enemies the right, if they could detect her, to hang her as a spy; and, failing detection, the case against her was so strong that no injustice would have been done had she been detained in close custody until the authorities were satisfied that she had no further power of mischief. A lady who takes on herself the duty of a spy is not exempted by her sex from the punishment which the laws of war assign to spies. But, on the other hand, a spy who is a lady is not, by being a spy, deprived of the rights of womanhood. She is not to be maltreated, outraged, and treated with brutal insolence because she has rendered herself liable to a definite penalty by committing what, though often a deed of the highest virtue, is nevertheless an offence punishable with the extreme severity of military law. You have a right to hang, but not to insult her.

We need not say that a distinction of this kind is wholly unintelligible to Yankees; and if they had understood it, the temptation offered by the chance which placed a Southern lady at their mercy would have been too strong for them to resist. Accordingly, when they had made up their minds to seize Mrs. Greenhow, she was spared no affront that they could offer. She was arrested on her own doorstep, and confined in charge of ruffianly "detectives" in one of her parlours while the house was searched. Then, after obtaining a brief opportunity to destroy certain fatally compromising papers in her own possession, she was subjected to the indignity of a personal search by one of the class of women employed for that purpose; after which she was held prisoner in her own house, with her child of eight years old, and never allowed to escape from the vigilance of her guards—all of them men—for a single moment. On one occasion she was even subjected to brutal personal violence by the chief of her gaolers, a scoundrel bearing the rank of captain. Next, her house was made a gaol—several persons, and among them women of the lowest character, being shut up there.

"Another plan was also adopted to reduce me to submission. My food, which up to this time, though plain and often uneatable, had been sufficiently abundant, was now so reduced in quantity and quality as to be inadequate to satisfy the cravings of hunger. My child, as well as myself, suffered greatly under this new infliction. I wrote to Provost-marshal Porter, protesting against this inhumanity, but he turned a deaf ear to my remonstrance; and my little Rose, who was allowed to play on the pavement under escort of a guard, was often indebted to the kind friends who sent her food whilst there that she should not cry herself to sleep from hunger."

We must not lay the blame of these infamies simply on the wretched scoundrels who were the immediate perpetrators. Repeatedly did Mrs. Greenhow represent to their employers the treatment she received, but always without success. This is the part of her story which seems most surprising to English readers, who are accustomed to be ruled by gentlemen. No one thinks very highly of the courtesy or chivalric feeling of Lord Russell; but who can imagine his receiving with indifference such a statement as the following—addressed in vain to Mr. W. H. Seward?—

"During the first days of my imprisonment, whatever necessity forced me to seek my chamber, a detective stood sentinel at the open door. And thus, for a period of seven days, I, with my little child, was placed absolutely at the mercy of men without character or responsibility. During the first evening a portion of these men became brutally drunk and boasted in my hearing of the *nice times* they expected to have with the female prisoners, and rude violence was used towards a servant girl during that first evening. For any show of decorum afterwards practised towards me I was indebted to the detective, Captain Dennis. . . . My object is to call your attention to the fact that during this long imprisonment I am yet ignorant of the causes of my arrest; that my house has been seized and converted into a prison by the Government; that the valuable furniture it contained has been abused and destroyed; that during some period of my imprisonment I have suffered greatly for want of proper and sufficient food. Also I have to complain that more recently a woman of bad character—recognised as having been seen in the streets of Chicago as such by several of the guard—calling herself Mrs. Onderdunk, was placed here in my house, in a room adjoining mine."

Rose, a child of eight years old, shared her mother's confinement, and was eventually removed with her to the regular gaol, in which it was thought fit to lodge these two dangerous enemies of Mr. Lincoln. Here they were subjected to fresh annoyances. Their window looked into a prison-yard tenanted by the fugitive slaves—of whom some of Mr. Lincoln's agents were trying to make "soldiers," such soldiers as the heroes of Beckham's landing—and by negro women; and the scenes that were witnessed there were disgusting beyond description. Rose fell ill, and her mother's attempts to procure assistance for her were made the occasions of fresh outrage and insult. She wrote to ask for the attendance of a medical gentleman from whom she had received some kindness, not choosing to receive the visits of an ignorant ruffian, who could neither spell nor behave himself, and for these qualifications had been placed in charge of the prisoners.

"A few hours after I despatched this note, my door was rudely thrown open, and Dr. Stewart, the 'Brigand Sergeant,' as he signed himself, unceremoniously entered, saying, 'Madam, I come to see you on official business.' I said, 'It ought to be of a very grave character to warrant this intrusion.' He seated himself, his hospital steward standing near the door. 'Madam, did you write a letter to the Provost-marshal this day?' 'Yes, I wrote to the Provost-marshal, but I have yet to learn how you, a subordinate, dare question me in regard to any correspondence I may hold with your superior.' 'Madam, I have every right; you have caused me to be rebuked by Major Allen and General Porter for neglect of duty,' &c. I said, 'Sir, in my letter to General Porter there was not the most distant reference to you. I asked that Dr. Macmillan might visit my child, knowing him to be a man of science and a gentleman, and my note furnished no warrant for General Porter to rebuke you. As to Major Allen, his impertinence is only equalled by your own at this moment.' He replied, 'Madam, I will believe General Porter in preference to you.' I thereupon rose from my seat, and said, 'Sir, I have borne with you quite as long as is consistent with my self-respect, and I now desire you to quit my room, as it is no part of my

plan to submit to personal insult.' He rose also, coming with rage, and stood confronting me, almost a giant in size, and said, 'I will not quit your room; I am here by the order of Brigadier-general Porter.' 'Sir, I command you to go out; if you do not, I will summon the officer of the guard and the superintendent to put you out.' With that he attempted to lay hands upon my child. I interposed my own person, and said, 'At your peril you touch my child. You are a coward, and no gentleman, thus to insult a woman.' 'I will not go out of your room, madam,' he said, this time livid and trembling with rage or fear, I don't know which. I then went to the door, and rapped—for he remembered that he was locked and bolted in my room, that he remembered the humane and Christian order. 'Call the officer of the guard.' The sentinel on duty being a friendly one, no time was lost in summoning him. When the officer appeared and the door was opened, it happened to be that same Lieutenant Carlton, from Zanesville, Ohio. He was very much agitated, for this man was his superior officer. I said, 'Sir, I order you to put this man out of my room for conduct unworthy of an officer and gentleman, and I will report you for having allowed him to enter here.' He nervously rubbed his hands, and said, 'I am sure Dr. Stewart will come out, if you wish it.' 'Sir, I said, 'do your duty; order your guard to put him out.' The sergeant, corporal, and guard—who all hated Stewart for his arrogance—were eager to obey. Whereupon this valiant Dr. Stewart actually slunk out."

One more specimen of the usual treatment of ladies by Mr. Lincoln's Cossacks will probably be sufficient for the endurance of our readers:—

"This day, as I raised my barred windows, and stood before one of them to get out of the smoke and dust, &c., the guard rudely called, 'Go away from that window!' and raised his musket and levelled it at me. I maintained my position without condescending to notice him, whereupon he called for the corporal of the guard. I called also for the officer of the guard, who informed me that I 'must not go to the window.' I quietly told him that, at whatever peril, I should avail myself of the largest liberty of the four walls of my prison. He told me that his guard would have orders to fire upon me. I had no idea that such monstrous regulations existed. To-day the dinner for myself and child consists of a bowl of beans swimming in grease, two slices of fat junk, and two slices of bread. Still, my consolation is, 'Every dog has his day.'"

"January 30.—I wonder what will happen next. My child has been ill for several days, brought on by close confinement and want of proper food. Just now I went to the door and rapped, that being the prescribed manner of making known my wants. The guard came. 'What do you want?' 'Call the corporal of the guard.' I said: 'What do you want with him?' 'That is no business of yours; call him.' 'I won't call him.' 'You shall' (rap, rap, rap). The guard: 'G—d—n you, if you do that again I will shoot you through the door!' 'Call the corporal of the guard!' Here horrid imprecations followed. I thereupon raised the window and called, 'Corporal of the guard!' The ruffian called also, finding that I was not to be terrified by his threats. But, when the corporal came and opened the door, I was seized with laughter, for there stood the Abolitionist, blabbering like a child, that he hadn't orders to shoot the d—d scoundrel woman, who was not afraid of the devil himself."

"I sent for the officer of the guard, who was Lieutenant Carlton, of Zanesville, Ohio, and reported this outrage. He said that the guard had acted by his orders in refusing to call the corporal of the guard, and that he had no idea of allowing his non-commissioned officers to act as servants, &c. I told him that my child was ill, and I demanded the use of a servant; whereupon he told me that a servant should not be allowed me, save night and morning. I replied, 'Very well, sir. I will resort to the window, then, as my only expedient.' A servant after this was sent, but had to perform her functions with a sergeant of the guard standing over her."

After several months' confinement, Mrs. Greenhow was at last banished without trial, and sent South, to join the friends for whose sake she had endured so long and tedious a martyrdom. We fear that she has not yet seen the last of Northern hostility; but, happily, those who have suffered the practical insults which the Federal Government delights to inflict on women and children are not likely to feel keenly the vituperations of the *Daily News* or the organ lately described by *Punch* as "the London Yankee Journal."

## THE THANKSGIVING ENTERTAINMENT AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—On the 3rd of October, Mr. Lincoln, in order to encourage his friends and dismay his enemies in the then approaching elections, drew a bill on Providence at seven weeks date, that is, he called upon his subjects at home and abroad to set apart the 26th of November as a day of national thanksgiving for victories to be won. His mandate was obeyed by his lieges resident in England. It was stated by the London papers on Friday last, that "the day was observed as a holiday by the Americans in London, and in all parts of the country, and business was suspended at the Legation and at the Consulates." In this passage there is a slight inaccuracy. The inhabitants of the southern part of the American continent, the peoples of Central America, the Mexicans, the British-American subjects, and the Confederates, did not observe Thursday last as a day of thanksgiving; and yet all these are quite as much Americans as are the 20,000,000 of people under the sway of Mr. Lincoln. What the passage really means is, that the loyal Federals in London, of all sorts, conditions, and of all nationalities obeyed the mandate of their master. Now the Yankees are smart, very smart, and they devised a plan by which the day set apart for solemn prayer and thanksgiving might be used for a political purpose. So those whose names are on the books of the Treasury at Washington and those who hope to have their names written therein, met together at St. James's Hall to dine and talk buncombe for the glorification of Abraham Lincoln. Before directing your attention to the speech of Mr. Adams, who honoured the motley gathering with his presence, I cannot forbear noticing a very odd incident in connection with this entertainment. Neither the *Daily News* nor the *Morning Star* reported the proceedings on the Friday. How can we account for such an omission on the part of the London Federal organs? It could not be that they considered them too sacred for publication, for on Saturday they copied the report from the other papers. It could not be that the *Daily News* and *Star* were not invited to the banquet. I can only account for the circumstance by assuming that the entire staffs of these journals were amongst the guests, and that their

feelings were too much overcome by what transpired to enable them to read, much less to write out their notes. If this is the true explanation, it is a touching instance of devotion to a cause.

The Chairman at the St. James's dinner was the Hon. R. J. Walker. In this selection there was a beautiful fitness. Who could better preside over an audience of all sorts and conditions, and of all nationalities, than a man "of many homes, and of many principles"? Mr. Walker, by birth a Pennsylvanian, by adoption a Mississippian, the senator for Mississippi whilst the repudiation was being effected against which he did not then but does now protest, the embryo commissioner to China whose appointment the Senate would not confirm, the sometime Governor of Kansas whose term of office was cut short by a recall, the one-time slaveholder—"lord of the whip, the chain, and the branding-iron" as he calls himself, lately the stern opponent of Abolitionism, and now that it pays him, the warm Abolitionist,—why, he was the very man to take the chair at such a gathering. The Hon. R. J. Walker's address is not published, thanks to the good-nature of the reporters who were present. Nor are we informed who was Mr. Walker's "vice." Perhaps Mr. R. C. Young occupied that position, for he, like Mr. Walker, has much to be grateful for. Randolph and Robert cannot but feel a strong sympathy for each other. They are both deserters to an enemy's camp, both have borne false witness against their former patrons, and both have received and are still receiving wages from their new employers.

After a prayer by a negro, Mr. Martin, (we are not told whether Mr. Martin is one of the negroes upon whom Mr. Walker used "the whip, the chain, and the branding-iron") and a hymn sung in "unison,"—a fat contractor having stoutly protested against anything bearing the name of harmony—the Hon. Robert proposed, and his Excellency Mr. Adams, the United States Minister, responded to, the toast of the evening, "The Health of the President of the United States."

Mr. Adams is in no respect an orator: on the stamp and in the halls of Congress he would be distanced by almost every competitor. He is, as Mr. Bright would say, the accident of an accident, and owes his position, not to what he has done, but to the reputation of his father and grandfather. We think, however, that on Thursday last Mr. Adams established a new claim on the gratitude of the Government he represents in this country. His speech, though not brilliant, or witty, or humorous, or true, or profound, was marked by that species of ingenuity which a west-country attorney like Mr. Lincoln cannot fail to appreciate. He began by admitting, with much frankness, that at the present time the United States was suffering from a great calamity, and then proceeded to construct a theory to show why, in a time of calamity, a day should be set apart for national thanksgiving. He said what we dare say is true, that Mr. Lincoln "came to his post with less of practical experience in government than any individual had done since the foundation of the Government;" and yet Mr. Lincoln had succeeded, not in conquering the South, but in getting together an army and navy under very trying circumstances. Mr. Adams repeats the little romance of the intended seizure of Mr. Lincoln, when he was on the way from Illinois to Washington; but he does not explain why, if the Confederates were bent on secession, they should have desired to prevent the North having for a President a man, who, according to Mr. Adams's own admission, was exceedingly inexperienced in the art of government. Mr. Adams thinks that in three years—that is, since he has been in the diplomatic service—"the Governments of Europe have seen reason to modify their views of the condition of the Government of the United States." I perfectly agree with Mr. Adams, but I cannot conceive what there is in this fact for him to be thankful for. The next point in his Excellency's speech is a bold one—a flight of imagination that even Mr. Seward may envy. Mr. Adams positively congratulates Mr. Lincoln upon restoring the national credit, which had been shaken by the secret enemies of the United States in the former Administration. I really think that the loyal Federals must have greeted this announcement with irrepressible cries of "Walker!" When Mr. Lincoln came to power, so far from the national credit being undermined, so far from Southern statesmen betraying their trusts, he found the finances of the country in a condition that they never will be in again, even by the aid of national bankruptcy and repudiation. The public debt was a mere bagatelle, and the taxes authorised by Congress were freely paid. Now there is a huge public debt; gold is at 50 per cent. premium, and Government notes at a proportionate discount, and the taxes authorised by Congress are not collected. Mr. Adams may be thankful for this condition of affairs; but to say Mr. Lincoln has restored the national credit, is simply to utter what schoolboys call "an awful whopper." The President also, according to Mr. Adams's account, had a military difficulty. He says he had three sets of military men to deal with—traitors, the timid and lukewarm, and those who were too old for service. If any one will take the trouble to look over the army list of the United States he will find that this assertion is not true, and that all the Northern commanders who have in any way distinguished themselves were soldiers before the time of secession. And then, sir, is it not the fact that when Mr. Lincoln made his first calls, men flocked to his standard with wonderful alacrity; and that now, neither by volunteering nor by drafting can Mr. Lincoln recruit his ranks? So when Mr. Adams says that loyal Federals ought to be grateful because Mr. Lincoln has overcome the military difficulties that he had in 1861, he not only asserts that which is palpably untrue, but that which is the very reverse of the truth. Speaking of the navy, Mr. Adams observed that "at the beginning of the Administration the President, when he looked after his navy vessels"—I wonder if there are any *army* vessels!—"found that some ships had to be burnt to save them from treacherous surrender, and the rest had been sent away as far over the globe as they could go." I am aware, sir, that many naval officers threw up their commissions when the Confederacy was established, but I am also aware that not a single ship was taken to the South. No doubt, seeing that a portion of the United States Navy was the property of the South, Southern officers would have been morally justified in surrendering their ships to the Southern Government, but as from a high and honourable chivalry they did not do so, I should have thought that even a Yankee who has mixed with gentlemen, as Mr. Adams must have done sometimes during his residence in this country, would have found it impossible to speak of such conduct except in terms of respectful approval. Mr. Adams, who, by the way, proposed in Congress to give the South new guarantees for the maintenance of slavery, says that Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation is something to be grateful for. According to Mr. Wendell Phillips, Mr. Lincoln is of a different opinion, and thinks the attempt to stir up a servile war in the South one of the most foolish acts of his life. Such are Mr. Adams's reasons for thanksgiving



and according to him the Federals are the most grateful people on earth; for not only are they very much obliged for infinitely small mercies, but they give thanks for mercies not received.

After Mr. Adams had resumed his seat, the hilarity of the meeting was sustained by sensational toasts. One was a little in opposition to the preceding speech. It was, "The Day—devoted to thanking God for our victories in the Cause of Liberty and Union." Mr. Adams admitted calamities, and only expressed gratitude because other troubles had been avoided. This toast reminds me of the Quaker's motto—"Honesty and Riches, but by all means Riches." The loyal Federals do not object to Liberty, but they will by all means (if they can) have Union. A Mr. George Thompson proposed this toast. I presume he is the person who has spent his days in agitating for various associations, who became agent for a naughty Indian Prince whom we dethroned and whom Mr. Thompson wished restored, who got into Parliament for the Tower Hamlets, and who, not finding the House of Commons a congenial place, went to America and tied his hand at Abolition preaching. I am glad to find that such a person has ceased to be a British subject, for of course, if he had not been a citizen of the United States, or rather of one of them, he could not have proposed the above toast. Another sentiment was, "The Union, &c., for ever one and inseparable;" and it occurs to me that if the Union is *for ever one*, it does not much matter whether it is or is not separable. Mr. Morse gave a toast about the Emancipation Proclamation being "written by the finger of God" on Mr. Lincoln's heart. Captain Mayne Reid, who contributes new versions of "Robinson Crusoe" to cheap prints for the edification of boys, proposed, "The Army and Navy—invincible champions of freedom, who bleed that our country may live."

I should think, sir, that by this you must share my regret that the *Star* did not treat us to a verbatim report of the proceedings, and that the speeches of Messrs. Thompson, Walker, & Co. are consequently lost to the world. But though we cannot, like the Federals, be grateful for less than nothing, or for worse than nothing, we ought to be grateful for the little and imperfect sketch that we have of the thanksgiving entertainment at St. James's Hall.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
E. Q. V.

**CORTINAS.**—The Mexican "General," who is reported to have defeated a revolution in favour of the French at Matamoras, and whose name is variously spelled by the telegraph, is doubtless the bandit chief Cortinas, of infamous and murderous notoriety in those regions. For many years this man and his bands have been the terror of the inhabitants of both the Mexican and the American bank of the Rio Grande. On one occasion, in a time of profound peace, he surprised the town of Brownsville, plundered it, and hung or carried off some of the principal citizens of the place. Being pursued by the Texans into Mexican territory, and his gang severely punished and dispersed, he was not subsequently much heard of until the outbreak of the present war. Since then he appears to have been in the pay of the Federal Government, and has on one or two occasions led marauding parties against the Confederates on the southern frontier of Texas.

#### LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 17.

Just before the late elections, the sensation press on the Government side proclaimed the discovery of a conspiracy in the Western States, extending from Ohio into Missouri, to overthrow State Governments as well as the Federal Government. The plotters intended, on some given day, to release all the Confederate prisoners in the several prisons, arm them, with their assistance seize the State arsenals, organize an army, and set up a new North-western Government, in amity, if not in confederacy, with the South. It was a very absurd story; but it found believers, and had its influence upon the elections. Some fools were induced to vote the Administration ticket, under the alarm that if they did not strengthen the Government they would have revolution at their own doors. The most diligent inquiry after the elections has been unable to discover any symptoms of the plot, beyond the loose talk of two or three insignificant personages, of whom the most reputable was an ancient washerwoman for a Western encampment.

There has been a repetition during the past week of these experiments on popular credulity, in which the Government at Washington has a disreputable share. Suddenly there came, *via* Canada and Washington, the astounding report of a formidable rebel invasion of the United States, by the way of the Lakes. The Confederates were coming down in force from the North. The first rumour was of an attempt to release, by force, the Confederates who are imprisoned at Johnson's Island, near the City of Sandusky, on Lake Erie, but the story grew wilder and wilder. There were a hundred thousand rebel refugees and sympathisers in Canada. They were armed and ready for a raid on the defenceless frontier. But as they must cross the wide lake, rumour provided them with the vessels, and they had laid their plots to seize others belonging to the Americans. Some of their vessels had already been seen hovering about Sandusky. The Government at Richmond had organised the thing, and were sending armed propellers and gun-boats, *via* the St. Lawrence River and the Welland Canal, to make a fleet on the Lakes, with which to attack and destroy Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Sandusky, and other Lake cities, and plunder and ravage the border.

The Canada papers appear to have helped on this rare fooling, by affecting to believe a great part of the story, and by furnishing to the newspapers here a huge mass of incoherent conjecture, which increased the popular scare and the Government confusion. The inhabitants along the frontier were excited to a frenzy of apprehension, and the War Department encouraged it by hurrying forward telegraphic warnings of danger, to any exposed point, despatching major-generals to superintend the defences, and forwarding troops and batteries to defend the North from a threatened irruption of the Confederates from Canada!

No satisfactory proof has yet been published that any part of this is true, not even that there was any actual plot discovered for the liberation of the prisoners at Johnson's Island. It begins to be thought that nothing more will be shown than the natural agitation among the prisoners of plans for escape, and the natural expressions of a desire by their countrymen, refugees in Canada, to help them escape; perhaps a correspondence on the subject, the discovery of which is sufficient to

defeat it without any extraordinary demonstrations. The first information at Washington of these plots, is said to have been given through Lord Lyons by the Governor-General of Canada. The terms of this caution have not been made public; the fact that it was given from that quarter is the only thing which has transpired to redeem the affair, and its treatment at Washington, from ridicule; and it is very possible that Lord Monck's communications may have been very insufficient grounds for the precipitate proceedings of the War Department, or the public conjectures which have been based thereon. The inspirations from the Foreign-office in London may have stimulated him to strengthen the new *entente* with Washington, by sending, as proofs of goodwill, suggestions which have been taken too gravely, or used insincerely, and for a purpose; but it is to be hoped for the honour of England, that he did not, as these Yankees have boasted that he has done, volunteer to collect and forward to the authorities at Washington information or suspicions of the design of the captives at Johnson's Island to escape. There is no international obligation to do such an act of apparent inhumanity. It is doubtless part of his duty to take care that no naval or military enterprise shall be fitted out from Her Majesty's ports against the territory or commerce of the United States; but he must be prepared to show that such an enterprise was really on foot, and practically advanced, and that the aid of the United States was necessary to enable the people of Canada to enforce their own laws within British jurisdiction, and that, moreover, the liberation of these prisoners in violation of some law or obligation of Great Britain was a necessary and well-ascertained part of the scheme to break some British law, before he can justify himself to the English people for turning informer against these unfortunates to their gaolers. Before Lord Monck is adjudged capable of this baseness, it would be well to know what he did in fact communicate to the Washington authorities. They who have watched these people closely, believe they have designedly exaggerated their own perils, and allowed currency to false impressions of the communications of Lord Monck, in order to signalise to the people here the new friendliness of their relations with the British Ministry, and to cover up their own change of tone towards England by confessing indebtedness to her spontaneous interposition to suppress a "rebel" plot. The English people, with their national love of fair play, will scrutinise the case closely, and require to know whether this is only another specimen of the Federal art of governing by fraud, or whether British officials in Canada have been indeed acting as police detectives for the Federal Government, and supernumerary gaolers of its prisoners.

The general subject of prisoners has indeed become a very serious question. Exchanges have been virtually suspended, the few cases being exceptional since May last, and the presses of the North have charged the Confederates exclusively with the responsibility therefor. The prisoners, and more especially the Federal prisoners, who have so many means of reaching the public with their complaints, speak indignantly of their treatment, in respect to food, clothing, and shelter, and the Federal presses have been for the last six weeks absolutely overflowing with tales of the destitution, starvation, and cruelty with which Union captives are treated in the Richmond prisons, and with horrible stories of the numerous deaths of released prisoners from the effects of absolute want and starvation ere they reach their homes. They are subjects which need some explanatory comments.

The responsibility for the stopping of exchanges no longer rests with the Confederates. The correspondence on that subject has been published in full, at Richmond, and has found its way to this city in the Richmond papers. It explains why the Administration at Washington has never given any part of it to the public. The reading of it has converted every thinking man to the belief that it is the obstinacy and bad faith at Washington which stopped the exchange of prisoners and still stops it. It is made to appear plainly that the Federal Government consented to exchange originally with reluctance, and only because it believed the preponderance in numbers to be against the North, and that they broke their own agreements without justification, as soon as they became persuaded that the advantage would be with them. This has been continued with so much willfulness and tenacity, that it has come to be believed that it is a part of the deliberate policy of the Administration to refuse or avoid all general exchange of prisoners, on the ground that the war with the South is to be one of exhaustion; and that the North, by reason of its superiority of population, can better afford to leave its soldiers in captivity than the South—whose fewer numbers make the return of its veteran soldiers of so much more importance for defence. It is a policy which is in strict conformity with the ideas of destructiveness upon which this whole war has been conducted by the Government of the United States.

There was an original agreement made in the first year of the war between the authorised agents of the two Governments for an exchange of prisoners. It was subsequently varied in some particulars by general orders of the United States authorities, to which, as it appears fully in the correspondence, the Confederates assented. They were charged, indeed, with setting up practices at times at variance with these terms, but no such charge was substantiated by the Federal commissioner; and in nearly every instance of complaint which he makes, he is shown to have misstated or been misinformed. The whole case is fairly put in the following passage, addressed by Colonel Ould, the Confederate Commissioner, to General Meridith, the United States Commissioner, on the 24th of August last: "I propose that all paroles, on both sides, heretofore given, shall be determined by the General Orders issued by the War Department of the United States, to wit: No. 49, No. 100, and No. 207, of this year, according to their respective dates, and in conformity with paragraph 131 of General Order No. 100, so long as said paragraph was in force. If this proposition is not acceptable, I propose that the practice heretofore adopted respecting paroles and exchanges be continued. In other words, I propose that the whole question of paroles be determined by the general orders of the United States, according to dates, or that it be decided by former practice." There could not be a more just and liberal proposition. It was not accepted, and both sides have accordingly gone back to their independent exercise of the right to discriminate and adjudicate, according to their own sense of justice and policy, upon each individual case as it arises.

There was a persistent clamour against the South that they had refused to allow the exchange of Northern officers in command of insurrectionary negroes, and that all exchanges were consequently stopped on that account. They might defend this action and take the responsibility, if they had chosen to take that course; but there is not a word in the whole correspondence which favours the idea that the negro obstruction was raised at all.

In the course of the correspondence, the insincerity and duplicity of the Administration at Washington were several

times exposed and proved, with a force to which there was no other reply but convicted silence. A conspicuous case is that which concerns the treatment of the Confederate general, John Morgan, who was captured in Ohio. The privilege of parole was denied him, and he was, after being handled with personal ignominy, shaved and dressed like a convicted felon, and placed in the Ohio penitentiary. To the application by the Confederate Government to know the cause of this unusual and brutal treatment of a prisoner-of-war, the agent of the United States replied that General Morgan was held in retaliation for the severity of confinement inflicted by the Confederate authorities on Colonel Straight, who had been captured while making a cavalry raid into Georgia. The Confederate commissioner replied with the proof that Colonel Straight was in no other wise held or restrained than any other prisoner-of-war, and the corresponding treatment of General Morgan was again demanded. Instead of complying with this demand, the natural result of the correction of this grave error, the United States commissioner then averred that General Morgan was not held by or imprisoned by the authority of the United States at all, and that the United States were not responsible for the bad treatment he had received in Ohio. There was one obvious and conclusive comment upon this: that the United States had distinctly stated that it held General Morgan as a hostage for Straight, and when that claim was disallowed, how could they say they did not have control over him at all? The Confederate commissioner asked this question. It has never been answered to this day, and Morgan is still a prisoner. The whole story, as I relate it, is in the correspondence, and is a fair example of the candour and good faith with which the United States deals with these and other questions.

There is nothing in the various disputes about comparative numbers which could not be settled by any two fair-minded men in an hour's conversation. They are not settled, simply because the War Department at Washington thinks the South suffers most by non-exchanges. It is, moreover, made apparent by the correspondence that it is only by sharp practice in figures, and the assumption of some very unjustifiable grounds for refusing credits to the Confederates, that the United States can make out the preponderance of prisoners which they claim.

The mutual accusations of hard and cruel treatment of prisoners by both parties make a subject for very serious contemplation, and require that some words should be put in defence against the torrent of impeachment which is poured out upon the South, where no explanations can ordinarily come from themselves.

The sufferings of the Southern prisoners in the fetid camps of the West have been often told of, but the Northern presses give them no circulation, not even to supply a syllable of disproof. In one case they recorded the freezing of a dozen or two soldiers last winter at Camp Douglas, as an item of current news; but they carefully abstain from mentioning the severity of restriction, the daily insult and daily privation, the want, disease, and mortality to which they were exposed, and, as accounts reach us through those who witness their treatment, are still exposed. The story is the same in regard to most of the Northern prisons which is told of the prisons in Richmond, from which come up shocking tales of a dearth of provisions, amounting almost to actual famine, and angry denunciation of the Confederate Government for in-sensibility to their sufferings.

It is not known how much of this is actually true, and how much is the impulse of a personal grievance or of exaggeration for a political purpose, but it must be taken into the account largely on behalf of the Southern Government, that there is confessedly a dearth of provisions at Richmond, and that prisoners must share this dearth, at least in an equal degree with their captors. It is not necessary to accept for this all that the papers of the North are constantly affirming to be true, that the Southern people are starving for want of food, that their armies are about disbanding and their Government to be dissolved, because they have not food for their soldiers or the means of getting it. If this were so, there is a hideous inconsistency in denouncing this pauper and starving Government for cruelty in its inability to feed its enemies, when they must starve, if they are treated only as well as its own soldiers. But in the actual and acknowledged difficulties of the food question in Richmond, there is a very excellent plea against the railing charge of cruelty in not feeding those in its power, as well as the United States, with their abounding resources and open markets and uninterrupted harvests, feeds their prisoners. The equitable claim of this Government is only that the South shall feed Union prisoners as well as it can; and there ought to be no charge of neglect or cruelty if they are fed as well as its own soldiers. If that be at the starvation point, as the exulting Federals aver that it is, there is an allowance for the South, which the rest of the world will not be slow to make, that it is by the Northern blockade of its ports, and the Northern devastation of its fields and destruction of its resources, that it is made incapable of dealing generously and bountifully with the unfortunates in its power. And if the threat which now comes from the North be executed—that it will feed on famine rations the Confederate prisoners in its hands, because the South is short of provisions and puts Union prisoners on scant allowance—the world will only recognise another of the brutalities in the prosecution of this war, which have made the Government of the United States odious among Christians.

The fact, however, remains to be ascertained to what extent of privation these prisoners have been actually submitted, and whether the public necessity is not temporary and will not be removed, as late accounts imply that it will be, by a transfer of these prisoners nearer the source of supply for subsistence. I have no doubt that the Confederate authorities will do all they can to relieve their wants, and will, at least, put the Union prisoners upon an equality with the Confederate soldiers; and that is all their friends have a right to expect. One thing, at least, is indisputable: the United States can end the complaint at once, by a fair exchange of prisoners. The Confederates will go home cheerfully to take their risk of the short commons, and the Federals to the plenty they are invited to, and more fighting if they like it. The Government does not choose to do this, and it ought to have the blame.

There are harrowing accounts published or frequent deaths of exchanged Union prisoners, before they can reach home; and in every case the fatal result is attributed to cruel treatment at Richmond. A proper answer to most of this is, that there are no exchanges made now, except of the sick and wounded, and naturally, of the worst cases of both. The fatigue of travel through the broken roads, on the imperfect means of transportation which are left; the effects of excitement and change, and the neglect which the daily journals have chronicled in the care, after they were delivered, of those sent forward, account for a great share of this mortality—not omitting the consideration that if there has been a want of



good medical attendance in Richmond, something of extenuation may be found, in the persistent exclusion by the Federal authorities ever since the beginning of the war, of all sorts of drugs and medicines from the Southern people, as among the humane means of recalling them to their allegiance to the Union. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that we do not get represented here the Richmond complaints of the death and sufferings of their returned sick soldiers.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 1.

The end of my last letter contradicted the earlier part, in which I had set forth the difficulties in the way of the projected Congress, the concluding paragraph being written on the "very best" authority. The *somnambule* who gave me this private information was doubtless present in spirit at the Cabinet Council being held at that moment in London, but—I acknowledge the fault was mine—I was impatient to know the result before post hour, and interrupted her vision at the critical moment, so that she gave me the opinion of one of the members of Her Majesty's Administration instead of the final decision. Friday's *Gazette* dispelled my illusion and that of the world in general here, and there has been weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth—especially gnashing of teeth—ever since. The *Constitutionnel*, in King Cophetua's vein, in sorrow rather than anger, but a very angry sorrow, reproaches England with the abandonment of Poland, and indifference to Italy. That occupation of Rome by the French troops so worried her, and see how she lets the occasion pass when it offered the opportunity for the withdrawal "by an honourable and practical arrangement"! The *Opinion* is quite of the opinion of the *Constitutionnel*, above all in the matter of the withdrawal of the army of occupation, and it expresses a very decent regret at the, perhaps not unwelcome, rupture of the intimate alliance between France and England which has rendered the Empire so strong. The *Pays* is angry, and, with the *Constitutionnel*, consoles itself by thinking that Earl Russell's despatch does not express the opinion of England. More than one of the papers are unmanly enough to twit Lord Russell with a speech which they say he made one evening after dinner at Blairgowrie, their version of which is in flagrant contradiction with his after-council despatch on the subject of the Treaties of 1815.

There was a *marquis* in the early days of Louis XIV. who was nicknamed the *Duc du Congrès*—a nickname which he disliked to hear. The reader of the diatribes in the French papers would be tempted, judging by their wrath, to suppose all the journalists in France had been promoted to this dignity. The *France* alone, after blaming the "pacific non possumus" of England, insinuating that the Emperor's proposal, if not a solution was at least a formula, remembers that there is still much to be done at home, and that France may now attend to these things, and abandon to the risks they have chosen those who so obstinately refused to enter on the path of salvation she had laid out for them.

In the discussions on the elections, which have resulted in three only being declared invalid, two of them on the ground that they were "English elections," which in French means procured by the illicit application of those arguments which wealth has at its command, there was used for the first time an expression which is destined to become famous. M. Chaix d'Estange, one of M. Mire's victims, having been dismissed from the post of Procureur Imperial on occasion of the latter's acquittal by the Court of Douai, speaking as commissary of the Government, divided its friends into two categories. There are friends of the first degree and friends of the second degree. Those of the first degree are silent friends, who approve all the acts of the Government without venturing to inquire if they be right or wrong. They are friends indeed. The second degree comprises those inconvenient friends, who waver in their conviction of the infallibility of Government, sometimes ask questions, and even offer advice. Of these latter M. Chaix d'Estange has a very poor opinion; in this respect not perhaps unlike ministers in other countries.

The loan which I mentioned as being in contemplation more than a month ago will shortly be applied for. Its amount is variously estimated at twelve and twenty-four millions. The Mexican expedition, which has this year cost eleven millions, will account satisfactorily for the smaller sum, but if a larger be required it can only be in the prevision of an impending war. The difficulties of the money market, added to the uncertainty in which the political future is shrouded, have at present a most depressing effect on all business. Government is too deeply interested in alleviating this feeling of anxiety not to take some measures to restore confidence. The discussion of the address which will come on soon will probably afford the opportunity of quieting apprehensions, or, at least, of fixing opinion.

Last night's *France* announces that Mr. Lincoln, notwithstanding the presence at Washington of Juarez's representative, has granted *exequaturs* to several consuls appointed by the Mexican Regency. Many see here another proof that the Federal Government has come to some understanding with France, for it is an act of extreme courtesy to recognise the agents of a Government whose existence is not yet a diplomatic fact. Amid the changes and shiftings of Yankee politics, this hot haste to recognise the consequences of an occupation against which we have M. Drouyn's word that Mr. Seward did not protest, is not the most unforeseen event.

Galignani advertises to-day a cure for melancholy in the shape of the "Familiar Epistle" to the Chinese Commissioner, H. J. Walker. It has come in very good time to raise the spirits of his countrymen here, who have been very crest-fallen since the arrival of the last news from the South-west. They will learn from this a thing or two, which they may have forgotten, and I am sure will agree with me that a franc's worth of such racy fun goes further towards lightening the load of the National Debt than they are beginning to boast of, than a hundred francs' worth of melancholy. The wise ones will lay in this stock of good chaff to enliven their winter evenings. A friend's reputation makes a cheery bonfire to take off the chill of reverses, when one cannot warm one's fingers at the conflagration of some Southern homestead, which, if pleasant, is also dangerous. Then the mud which sticks to one's friend is a moral white-wash for one's own conscience, and after reading his backslidings one feels oneself immaculate. Add to this exquisite pleasure of seeing a demonstration that one's friend is—not a fool, the more exquisite pleasure of defending him, and you will allow that the Northerners will get a good pennyworth for their money. I have been told that this production is not from a Pennsylvanian pen, but there is internal evidence which inclines me to think that it is, as it professes to be, from a countryman and a friend, one perhaps

who would have liked R. J. W.'s berth himself, and fancies he could have done better in it.

The *Moniteur* has a paragraph to say that Government has no connection with the very warlike pamphlet, "*Napoleon III. et le Congrès*," which has just come out. I do not believe in any warlike intentions on the part of Government, but at all events it is evident that no such threats will precede at so long an interval a declaration of war which can only take effect in spring.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, December 2.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled,

"The humble petition of the magistrates, councilors, manufacturers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, operatives, and other inhabitants of the borough of Preston, in public meeting assembled,

"Humbly sheweth—That your petitioners are of opinion that the war in America is an injury to the world, and that the present aspects of the conflict afford no hope of its early termination, unless by means of the moral influence of Europe. They therefore beg very respectfully to urge upon your Honourable House to use all just and honourable means to procure a cessation of hostilities, with a view to afford an opportunity for the peaceful separation of the States.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

Such is the result of the monster meeting which, as was stated last week, was then on the eve of being held at Preston; and no time will be lost in transmitting the foregoing document to the noble lord at the head of the Government, with a request that his lordship will himself present it to the House, immediately upon the opening of the forthcoming session of Parliament.

The speeches in support of the petition were characterised by more than ordinary ability, eloquence, and vigour. The adherents of the Southern cause, though they were met by the strongest Northern force that could possibly be mustered in the town, commanded so large a majority as completely to overwhelm their opponents, and the meeting was eventually carried to a triumphant issue. One of the leading orators was the Rev. W. C. Squier, a minister of the Unitarian Church, "a staunch anti-slavery man all his life," and withal "a faithful follower of Mr. Cobden upon nearly every political question save that of the American war." As the reverend gentleman's address might be fairly received as an expression of the opinions of the numerous and highly influential body of his co-religionists in Lancashire—opinions which are shared by all other Nonconformists that deserve any respect for their cultivation of educated thought or for their freedom from political and religious cant—an epitome of his arguments can hardly be deemed out of place here.

In advocating peace upon the basis of the independence of the South, he should endeavour (remarked the reverend speaker) to say nothing that would provoke bitter feelings in the breast of any one. He did not suppose that all who heard him would agree with every opinion he might express, but he trusted that in the utterance of his opinions he should so conduct himself as a gentleman and a Christian that his most vehement opponent would have no reason to complain. The object of that meeting was, as he understood, to assist in remedying a gigantic evil, which was not limited to the country wherein it took its rise—an evil which was working as a curse to the world—had changed a republic into a despotism, had corrupted the morals of a great and glorious people, had called out bad passions that could not easily be subdued, had brought free institutions into contempt, had crippled the commerce of the globe, and stricken with "plague, pestilence and famine" the brave and much-enduring operatives of our own land. Every friend of the human race ought to regret that evil, and do his very utmost to abate it. The secession of the Southern States was a political necessity, and the wonder was, not that it took place when it did, but that it had not taken place long before. The mere right to secede was contained in the very essence of federation. To argue that secession was illegal because it was not expressly contemplated in the articles, was as idle as to argue against the legality of divorce because divorce was not mentioned in the marriage service. But apart from the consideration of the technical right of secession—which right he held to be manifestly unimpeachable in the case of States which were themselves sovereign and independent—there was a higher law, which, in the utter absence of such mere right, had been appealed to before now. The right of men to choose their own form of Government had been asserted again and again by Englishmen, by Frenchmen, and by the Americans themselves. The French exiled the Bourbons, recalled the Bourbons, and exiled the Bourbons again—not in obedience to law, but above law. We drove out the Stuarts, recalled the Stuarts, and drove out the Stuarts again, not because we acted according to law, but above law. In obedience to the same "higher law" the Americans themselves rebelled against the sovereignty of the mother country. It was the height of folly, therefore, for those who were the children of revolutions to deny to others the exercise of those rights which have made them what they are. The President of the Northern States had himself argued in favour of those rights. "Any people, anywhere," said Abraham Lincoln, "being inclined and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and to form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world; nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing Government may choose to exercise it; any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionise and make their own such portion of a territory as they inhabit." How, in direct contravention of his own doctrines, could Mr. Lincoln meet secession with war? Because he was the slave of the present necessities of his party. When the news of secession reached England he (the reverend speaker) was then what he now and always was—a strong anti-slavery man. He had seen with his own eyes how the accursed thing flourished and fattened in the Union. He had read of United States officers stooping to become the catchers of slaves. He had embraced the principles of William Lloyd Garrison, the leader of the American Abolitionists, whose dictum was this: "The Union must be destroyed in order that slavery may perish." The Southern States should, therefore, have been permitted to depart in peace. Slavery would then have been confined within narrow limits: the slaveowners would then have had no halo of patriotism encircling their brows; the opinion of the civilised world would have been against them; and under the influence of that opinion, a peaceful and gradual emancipation would have taken place, such as had already been accomplished to our own honour in the West India Islands. But instead of letting the South go in peace, the

North madly rushed to arms. (A voice—"Who fired the first shot?") The war had begun before that "first shot" was fired. When South Carolina had once left the Union, the occupation of Fort Sumter by Union troops was itself an act of war. The "first shot" was a notice to quit, which Major Anderson was only too ready to acknowledge, for he instantly gave up possession, because he felt he was in the wrong. The Federal flag was hauled down, and the Confederate flag was hoisted, and there it still flows. It has been struck down sixty-three times, but there it still waves. It still waves, in testimony to the courage of the brave men who have sworn to defend it. After referring with much feeling to the fearful desolation caused by the war, the reverend gentleman said: If left to themselves, and without the peaceful remonstrances of Europe, the war between North and South would probably go on for years. The South could not end the war until their soil was free from the tread of the invader; and the North would not end the war, because they were growing rich upon it—as persons grow rich who borrow money and never pay it back. But with all their superior advantages, the North could never subjugate the South. The Washington officials were using Ireland as their recruiting ground and Birmingham as their gun-shop; and if they had not bought ships in England, it was only because they could get them cheaper by seizing them under false pretences, as they seized the *Peterhoff*. Was that British neutrality as between North and South? But if our Government could not be fairly neutral, they could at least be pacemakers. There was once a party in this country known as the "Peace party," of which Messrs. Cobden and Bright were distinguished members. It was once the principle of that party to advocate mediation instead of war. Mr. Cobden once stood up for that Christian principle with all the weight of his high character, but Mr. Cobden had turned his coat. He was as great an admirer of Mr. Cobden as was any man, and he was proud to call himself one of Mr. Cobden's followers. But after reading Mr. Cobden's recent speech at Rochdale, he was compelled to affirm that that honourable gentleman was now, not for mediation, but for war. (Confusion, followed by prolonged cheering.) Mr. Cobden's former principle was the principle now held by that meeting, and should always be the principle of every Christian man. Their desire was not for war, but for a peaceful separation of the combatants; and with this view they would ask the British Government—always ready to represent the true feelings of the country—to tender its good offices, or induce the King of the Belgians to do so, to mediate between the contending parties; and if either party refused to listen to the proposals, that party would be confessedly in the wrong. (Applause.)

Mr. Charles Chapman, in seconding the adoption of the petition, said he had travelled over the Southern States before the war broke out, and at that time there was not a cannon foundry, not a powder-mill, nor any other appliance available for military purposes. Whence, then, came the means by which the Southerners maintained the struggle? It came out of their own breasts. By their patriotism, unanimity and devotion, they had continued the struggle for three years, and if it were necessary for thirty-three years would they continue it. The object of the meeting that night was to convey a reply to what Earl Russell said at Blairgowrie. For his part he feared not to stand on that platform, and contradict that statement to its very base, and he had no title of doubt that an overwhelming majority of the people of Preston would that night proclaim Earl Russell to be wrong. But there was another point upon which he wished to touch. It had been frequently said, "Let them fight it out; it is no concern of ours." Apart from the inhumanity of that advice, he would ask was it no concern of ours, that when we walked the streets we saw the poor man wending his way, with a down-cast countenance and a paltry dole in his pocket, scarcely sufficient to keep body and soul together?—that we had his pale, sickly, wife standing in the doorway with scarcely a rag on her back to shield her from the cold blast of winter? Was it no concern of ours that we saw her children stretching out their thin hands to her for bread—and she had none to give? It was very much a concern of ours, and thousands in that room could feelingly bear him out in that assertion. It remained for them to choose one of two things: peace or war. Would they say that Britannia should go across the ocean bearing the olive branch in her hand? or would they lift up their voices that night and say that this war ought to continue, and our wretchedness along with it? From his own experience of America, he believed that respect for English opinion was more deeply and firmly rooted in the hearts of the American people than in that of all the world beside. The expression of the feeling of England would most certainly have some influence with her wayward children. If England would exert that influence and be the means of bringing this fearful struggle to a termination, there would be no page in her history that would shine more gloriously before the world. (Loud cheering.)

The following amendment was moved, but rejected:—

"That this meeting views with satisfaction the policy hitherto pursued by Her Majesty's Government, with regard to the American war, and hereby expresses a hope that Her Majesty's Ministers will maintain the same policy to the termination of that deplorable struggle; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Earl Russell."

The proceedings, which were characterised by the greatest enthusiasm, terminated with the formal adoption of the petition to the House of Commons.

With winter close upon us, the distress is exhibiting symptoms of an alarming increase. At the weekly meeting of the Relief Committee on Monday last, the Earl of Derby in the chair, Mr. Commissioner Farnall reported that in seventeen out of the twenty-seven unions in the cotton districts pauperism had been gradually spreading during the past month, and the ratio was increasing from week to week. In commenting upon the unfavourable character of his report, Mr. Farnall assured the committee that, if that which was generally anticipated—namely, a hard winter—should come upon us, with perhaps four or five weeks of frost, not a single able-bodied man would be found employed on the public works; and as those now employed on them had had no opportunity of putting anything by from their scanty earnings, they must, in the case referred to, fall upon the rates. It was true that a considerable sum was still in the hands of the committee, but no such amount would be sufficient to save the unemployed operatives from much privation and hardship. There could be no doubt, he said, that the high price of cotton rendered the position of the manufacturers extremely perilous, and little work was being done by them, except to order. But there was an impression abroad that our difficulties were almost overcome, and that we had nothing to do but to get through the coming winter as comfortably as possible. He trusted that what he had stated would tend to remove any such misapprehension as to our real condition and prospects. Colonel Wilson Pattee said it would be interesting to know whether the increase in pauperism arose from the total or partial stoppage of factories, or from other



causes? Mr. G. L. Ashworth (Mayor of Rochdale) said that in his town alone there was an increase of three hundred in the number of cases relieved by the guardians, while there was also a considerable increase in the number of cases on the books of the Relief Committee; and almost the whole of the increase in both instances arose from a diminution of work in the cotton-mills. Mr. Ashton said that at Hyde, without the total stoppage of a single mill, there were four hundred more people out of work now than during the previous week, owing to the fact that many manufacturers had found it necessary to stop portions of their machinery. The Earl of Derby: So that there are so many fewer people employed in the mills?—Mr. Ashton: Yes; and probably the number actually thrown out of work is greater than the returns show.

While such was the complexion of the deliberations within the Town-hall, there was an ominous commentary upon them kept up outside. A crowd of distressed operatives thronged the street in front of the building, to demand, as they had done last week, an interview with the Mayor. On one of the banners displayed in the procession were printed these words:—"WE HOLD A NUMBER OF NAMES OF FAMILIES WHO ARE STARVING TO DEATH."

One of the leaders, pointing to those words, said it was truly deplorable that, with truth, they could parade such an announcement through the streets of Manchester; but it was true that hundreds that very day were literally in a state of starvation, through the meagre allowance of the board of guardians. The board had behaved better to them last winter; but families who were then allowed 10s. a week were now knocked down to 4s. a week. There was a man (he continued) who was going before the Mayor that day, and he had a family of nine children, and last winter he was allowed 8s. a week to keep house with; but last week when he went before the board they knocked him down to 4s., and he was told that if he wanted any more he must go into the workhouse. He intended to get his workhouse order, and when he got it he would take it to the New-Cross, and publicly burn it as an example to evil-doers. Another of the leaders said that last Monday they gave three groans for the board of guardians, and three more for the detective police who were employed as spies; and he warned the newspaper reporters that if they were "guilty of holding back the true statement, they would receive the same treatment." A deputation consisting of three of the men eventually had an interview with the Mayor, and represented their grievances to him. The Mayor informed them that it was a matter of time to place the Public Works Act in operation, and that when in operation only those would be employed who were able and willing, and they would only be paid proportionately to the labour they performed. As to the guardians, he had no power over them whatever. The guardians were elected, as he and the council were, by the ratepayers, and their functions were entirely distinct. The deputation retired, and when the men rejoined their comrades in the street they marched to Stevenson-square, where the result of the interview with the Mayor was announced. Speaking was kept up until after one o'clock, and the result was a determination to hold a meeting on some future day.

On Friday last a steamer, partly in an unfinished state with fittings for an armament, but without any guns on board, entered the port of Calais, hoisting the Confederate colours and declaring her name to be the *Rappahannock*. Inquiry proved that before coming into the possession of her present owners she was the property of the British Government, then named the *Victor*, a corvette, which, with other vessels, had been publicly sold. Her repairs, so far as completed, were made in the Government dockyard at Sheerness. It was at first reported by telegraph that she had been seized by the Customs authorities at Calais, but later accounts prove that her present nationality is fully recognised by the French Government.

**THE TWO CONFEDERATE ARMIES.**—Coming, as I have, to the army of General Bragg, a stranger to its generals and familiar only with the Army of Virginia, where I have spent so many pleasant hours, I must profess my surprise at observing the want of harmony and the utter absence of enthusiasm which prevail in this Western camp. It is not that the men are one whit less brave for the division generals less able than those under General Lee; but, if I read matters aright, there is not at the head of this army that firm, mild, sagacious, temperate wisdom, before which petty differences are hushed, which daunts political intrigue and self-seeking, and which presents to every man, from the highest to the lowest, a living example of purity, unselfishness, and patriotism, before whose lustre all historical characters of modern times, except, perhaps, Wellington and Washington, pale their ineffectual fires. To the merits of General Bragg, by no means inconsiderable, I am far from being blind. But it is no injustice to him to say that he never can inspire enthusiasm such as is wanted in a mighty and unequal struggle of this kind in either his officers or his men. That this Western Confederate army if subjected to the command of a general whose character is electric, as was Stonewall Jackson's, might become the rival of the army of General Lee, I have no manner of doubt; but in its present condition its choicest achievements will be, when engaged, level battles like Murfreesboro, or unimproved and unrepaid victories like Chickamauga; and, when at rest, dissatisfaction, heart-burning, recrimination, such as have never been absent from the Federal armies, will continue to sweep like pestilence through its ranks, and disqualify it daily more and more for bringing its work to perfection.—*The Times Correspondent.*

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 2.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

THE tightening process in the Money Market is making way. The Bank directors have advanced the minimum rate to 7 per cent., and it is said they will in all probability go to 8. The external drain, if it goes forward in this manner, will eventually produce inconvenience, and though for the moment everything may seem sound and favourable, we shall before long have serious disasters. The strain upon trade will be great if the bullion movement should proceed much further. India, Brazil, and Egypt, will, it is conceived, still require large supplies of specie, principally in payment of cotton purchases.

Since the advance in the rate of discount, the brokers and discount houses have given notice that money at call has been increased from 4½ to 5 per cent., and at short notice, 5 to 5½ per cent., and money left for longer periods will be subject to special arrangement. The Joint Stock Banks are allowing 5 per cent. for deposits, and on the Stock Exchange, the quotation for advances is 6½ to 7 per cent.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

Another week has passed without any gold having been sent into the Bank, whilst on the other hand the withdrawals have again been large, amounting, with £205,000 taken this

afternoon for Egypt, to £333,000. At the same time the arrivals of specie have been fair, the total being about £402,543; but of this only £25,253 is from New York, the remainder being from the West Indies and the Brazils. The West India steamer *La Plata* took out to-day £31,890. The silver market has been particularly active this week, several large purchases having been made for export; two or three of the principal banks have been buyers, and the latest price quoted was 61½d. to 61¾d. Before the arrival of the Bombay telegrams announcing an advance in the exchange and the rate of interest, the quotation was 61½d., and without much business doing. The only gold-ship at present known to be at sea is the *Monarch*, with £247,500.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

In the early part of the week the market for the English funded securities was very well sustained, and a good business transacted. But since Monday there has been a decided change for the worse. The operators refused to transact business to any extent, and prices fell considerably, and to the latest moment not only was there no rally, but quotations closed with a further declining tendency. As compared with this day week the fall in Consols has been fully ¾ per cent., the last price being 90½ to 90½ ex. div. for money, and the same for the January account. Exchequer Bills have further declined, being now 10s. to 5s. dis. The Foreign Stock Market has been in a very agitated state during the last few days; prices for all the leading descriptions have been jumping about considerably, but in the end quotations are all lower. Greek has declined during the week ¼ per cent., but this is attributed to a letter which has just been published in one of the daily papers, on the subject of Greek Finance, which is not regarded very favourably. Mexican have received 2½ per cent., the present price being 35½ to 35½. Spanish Passives are down to 33 to 33½, and the Certificates, 13 to 13½. Turkish (1854), 89 to 89½, and do. (1862), 69½ to 70.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

There is still very little doing in American Government and railway securities, and the recent advices reporting the successes of the Confederate army have rendered dealers less disposed than ever to operate, even on the most retail scale. The transactions which have taken place have been almost entirely for investments in some of the most stable securities. The following comprise the dealings of the week:—United States Five per Cent, 60, 58½, and 59; Virginia State Six per Cent, 35 and 33; Atlantic and Great Western Railway New York Section, 76½ and 77½; Do. do. Pennsylvania Section, 76½, 76½, and 77; Erie \$100 Shares, all paid, 64 and 63½; Illinois Central, 82; Do. do. \$100 Shares, \$90 paid, 23½ and 23 dis.; Do. do., all paid, 69½; New York Central (Convertible Bonds), 80½; Do. do. \$100 Shares, 50; Pennsylvania Central Bonds First Mortgage (Convertible), 87.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The market for British railway securities has been very much depressed throughout the week, the unsettled state of the money market, and the threatening aspect of political affairs on the continent tending to make dealers extremely cautious. Although a rather large number of transactions are recorded, they have been generally for only trifling amounts. The chief feature of the week is the great fall in Metropolitan, which have declined not less than 6 per cent. In most of the other descriptions there has also been a decline, but not to the extent that might have been anticipated under the circumstances. As compared with this day week, there has been a fall in Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire of ½ per cent., and of ¼ per cent. in Great Eastern, Great Northern, Great Western, Lancashire and Yorkshire, London and South-Western, Midland, North-Eastern (Bewick), North Staffordshire, South Devon, and South-Eastern. In foreign railway shares, about an average business has been transacted, but at a decline in price; and shares in British Possessions have been operated in to a fair extent.

### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The market for this security has been steady all the week, advancing on purchases, the price alternating between 54, 55, 56, 58. To-day, with the advance in the Bank rate of discount, a panic appears to have seized all speculative stock, and with these Confederates have suffered, the closing prices being 50 to 52.

### TENDERS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 50,000,000 rupees in Bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were—to Calcutta, 27,000,000 rupees; to Bombay, 21,000,000 rupees, and to Madras, 2,000,000 rupees. The minimum price declared was, as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee in Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits amounted to 1½ lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 94 per cent.; on Bombay at 2s. 0½d. about 38 per cent.; Madras at 1s. 11½d. about 10 per cent.; and all above these prices in full.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The British Union Assurance Company is a new undertaking just brought forward. It is urged that a wide field still exists both at home and abroad for the extension of life and fire insurance, as shown by the fact that not more than one in twelve of the heads of families in the United Kingdom have provided for those dependent upon them by life assurance, and that the property insured against fire amounts to only about one-third of its real value. The fire and life branches are to be conducted separately, as regards liabilities and accounts, and the expenses of management are to be divided between them. In the life department operations are to be commenced immediately, the requisite arrangements having already been made. The proposed capital is £250,000, with power to increase to £1,000,000, in 25,000 shares of £10 each, but the first issue is to be limited to 10,000 shares.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the fifth ordinary general meeting of the East India Irrigation and Canal Company, the directors' report was unanimously adopted, and the chairman remarked that the progress made was equal to the expectations of the directors. The traffic receipts on the canal, so far as constructed already, amount to £3 per day; and it is admitted to be one of the most useful works ever devised in India. When all the canals are all completed, there will be altogether 153 miles of cheap uninterrupted water communication, affording a constant and remunerative return. A meeting has been held of the proprietors of the Victoria (London) Dock Company, at which a proposition was submitted by the lessees for the purchase of the stocks for transfer to the St. Katherine and London Dock Company. The terms offered were £107 10s. for every £100 stock, and £21 10s. for every £20 share. The proposition was unanimously agreed to. At the ninth annual Meeting of the Law Union Fire and Life Insurance Company, Mr. James Cadden in the chair, it was shown by the directors' report that, during the present year there had been an increase of 25 per cent. in the fire department, and 40 per cent. in the life department, over the new business of the previous year. The

total receipts for the year, exclusive of the sums received for duty, amounted to £54,063; and the balance of receipts over expenditure was £16,180, increasing the net assets of the company to £126,790.

### THE GREAT SHIP COMPANY.

Proceedings having been instituted to conduct the winding-up of the Great Ship Company, under the cognisance of the Court of Chancery, a large number of the shareholders have resolved to nominate Mr. R. P. Harding (Harding, Puller and Co.) to the office of official liquidator. It should be observed, however, that the Great Eastern is advertised to be sold by public auction at Liverpool early in January.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

With a further advance of 1 per cent. in the Bank of England rate of discount, the tendency to improvement noticed last week in some departments of the produce markets has disappeared, and we are again generally very quiet. Upon prices, however, it is only in exceptional instances that the effect has been in any way important. Cotton has perhaps been the most influenced, and, with a great indisposition to purchase, prices are down fully 1d. per lb., but, as it invariably occurs in reactions of this kind, quotations are very uncertain and irregular. The American provision trade is dull, good sizeable singed bacon sides now offer at 42s.; middles are all in second hands, and meet very little inquiry. American butter is the most saleable of any kind in this market, and is firm in price. Cheese sells steadily at late rates. The grain markets maintain an upward tendency. American wheats are quite 1s. per quarter higher, and fine flour, which is scarce, is 6d. per barrel dearer. Petroleum has given way 1d. to 2d. per gallon, in the face of excellent deliveries; 1s. 10d. to 1s. 10½d. is now the price for refined, and £17 per ton for crude. The depression in linseed oil still goes on, a further reduction of 1s. to 1s. 6d. having taken place. We reduce our quotations accordingly. Rosin keeps very firm here, but is dull at Liverpool. Turpentine maintains the previous value. Tallow has receded another 20s. per ton, and the market is heavy at the decline. The colonial wool sales, which closed yesterday, have evidenced a good demand on American account for qualities at and under 11½d. per lb. Very little has been done in jute, but at the sales to-day there was a good competition, and firm rates were paid. The tobacco trade is dull, and in some cases prices have favoured buyers, but the variations are not important. The sugar speculation has paused at last, whilst some small sales have been made at 1s. decline from the highest point. This, however, leaves the price of clayed Manila as much as 41s. per cwt. The metal trade has continued active, and in the face of dearer money Scotch pig iron has further advanced 1s. to 1s. 6d. per ton, whilst spelter is again higher, being to-day quoted £18 15s. per ton on the spot and £19 2s. 6d. January shipments. In dye and dyestuff articles the only new feature is some activity in lac dye, principally B. Mirzapore brand. The purchases are chiefly speculative. In chemicals, iodine is easier, citronelle and lemon-grass oils dearer.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 2.

THERE has been a fair amount of business transacted in the Cotton Market during the week, but within the last day or two there has been far less animation exhibited, in consequence of the uncertainty with regard to the Bank rate of discount. Holders do not appear disposed to force sales, and purchasers are equally apathetic. The total sales during the week have amounted to 57,000 bales, of which 26,000 were on speculation and for export. The total sales this year to the present time are 2,440,110 bales, and for the same period in 1862, 2,473,320 bales. The imports this year have reached 1,534,717 bales, and to the same period last year 1,089,573 bales. This year exports have so far been 436,405 bales, and to the same period in 1862, 403,565 bales. Taken for consumption this year, 1,231,500 bales; same time last year, 1,052,700 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 722,220 bales, same in 1862, 984,140 bales. Computed stocks at the present time, 256,130 bales, and at the same period in 1862, 272,270 bales. American cotton has been in good demand, at a rise of about 1d. per lb. In Sea Islands there has not been so much doing; for Egyptian there has been a good demand, and a large business has been done in Surats. To-day the market has been weak, at a further decline of from ¼d. to ½d. per lb. The closing quotations were Middling Orleans, 27d. to 28½d. Mobile, 27d. to 28½d. Upland, 27d. to 28½d. Estimated fair Egyptian, 23d. to 30d. Peruvians, 27½d. Bahia, 26½d., and Surat, 16d. to 26½d.

MANCHESTER, December 1.

From Tuesday to Saturday last our yarn and cloth market was very inanimate, buyers acting very cautiously and dealers anxious to sell. On Saturday, telegraphic advices came to hand from Bombay, dated November 7th, reporting an active demand there at an advance of fully 3s. per piece for shirtings on the prices of the fortnight previous. This intelligence caused some excitement, and a few orders were placed where sellers were not too extravagant in their demands.

On Monday, telegrams were received from Calcutta, dated 12th November, and Bombay the 14th idem, reporting a brisk business at advancing prices. The excitement prevailing here on receipt of this later intelligence, was checked by the quiet tone evinced by the Liverpool market, which, later, it was generally known, was only waiting for some such news as this to send it up in price higher than was ever attained before. The rate of exchange in Bombay having advanced to 2s. 2d. per rupee, clearly showed to the Liverpool dealers that large amounts of specie would have to be sent out by the next mail to India to meet the demand there, and that most probably the drain towards that quarter will be a continuous and excessive one for some time to come, and that the advance in the Bank rate of discount will not be delayed longer than next Thursday at the latest.

To-day, Tuesday, our market has been stagnant, owing to the small business doing in Liverpool, and to the serious decline in prices there. Buyers who were arranging contracts yesterday will do nothing at all to-day, but let all business lie in abeyance for the present.

Among the Contents of 'THE INDEX' of Nov. 26, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

FAIRIES' TOES.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTHIRE.

THE ADVOCACY OF THE SOUTHERN CAUSE.

WAR CRITICS AND THE WAR.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL V. NULLEN.

THE CASE OF THE ALEXANDRIA SPECIAL SUMMARISED REPORT.

THE HON. R. J. WALKER.

LITERARY NOTES.

DR. HUNT'S LECTURE ON THE NEGRO: HIS PLACE IN NATURE.

AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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**TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT OLD ENGLAND.** Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and fiendish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the deepest interests of our country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, our old arch-enemy, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kindred, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, insult added to injury, and the foulest duplicity and partiality, shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to the South, the South has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe, —and think, —on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice, her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest hardship, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. Exchange and intercourse have been our conduct towards the combatants—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give this blood-thirsty tyrant the cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner the support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of honesty and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North should blot out the South or not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the friends of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle them to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the "Confederate States of America" to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.  
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# THE INDEX

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## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND. NOVEMBER 7.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE FIGHT AT CHATTANOOGA.  
COTTON SHALL KING.  
THE CESSATION OF MILITARY EXCHANGES.  
THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.  
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FREEMANTLE ON THE SOUTH.  
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:—  
THE UNITED STATES STEAMER *KEARSAGE* AND HER RECRUITS.  
THE AMERICAN WAR AND THE SONDERBUND.  
THE DAILY NEWS AND YANKEE LYING.  
AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

SOME days must elapse before an authentic account reaches Europe of the late events at Chattanooga, and in the meantime we can only give the Federal version, pointing out those details which are palpably at variance with the truth. To what extent the army under General Bragg has suffered from the numerical superiority, or the excellent strategy, or the luck of General Grant, we know not; but the Federal reports, both official and newspaper, are so contradictory that they themselves give the lie direct to the sensational announcements of the total rout of the Confederate army, and that "Bragg's army is represented to be destroyed."

It appears that about the 15th or 17th of November, General Bragg commenced to withdraw his forces from his position fronting Chattanooga. For about a week this movement was concealed from the enemy; but on the 23rd, either from information or by accident, the Federals made a reconnaissance in force. They then discovered, what it was impossible to conceal, that Bragg had sent away the whole of his heavy artillery and could not reply to their cannonading. The Federals possessed themselves of the heights to their left, but beyond this no important movement was made on the 23rd. And now we are confronted by accounts which are conflicting as to dates as well as to events; but possibly the difference of dates is only a mistake of the telegraph, and that General Grant's reports should be dated the 25th, and not the 24th. What we shall do is to take the latest and fullest reports.

As soon as the Federal commander learnt the position of his enemy, there is no doubt he made all possible haste to bring up his forces for an assault. But armies are not moved in an hour; the Confederates were unmolested during the whole of the 24th, and on that night General Bragg evacuated Lookout Mountain. On the morning of the 25th the Federals occupied Lookout Mountain, and just two days after they had ascertained that their enemy was weakened they made an attack on the Confederate position at Missionary Ridge. Now it is manifest that on this occasion the Confederates could not have been surprised, although no doubt they were taken at a disadvantage. From the moment that they were unable to reply to the Federal artillery they knew that the enemy was aware of their position, and would as speedily as possible avail himself of it. The Confederates showed no sign of demoralization, but on the contrary twice repulsed the Federals, and it is said inflicted heavy loss upon their assailants. Sherman was largely reinforced, and the Confederates were then forced from their position and retreated southward.

Such is the story of the Federals, and assuming it to be true in every particular, it shows how little reliance we can place on the reports of captures of men and material, and demoralization of General Bragg's

forces. We repeat, the Confederates were not taken by surprise. For a week before the 23rd they were engaged in a retrograde movement. They then had two days' notice that their movement was discovered. We venture to say that there were few guns within reach of the Federals, except those which were not considered worth the trouble of removing. Troops which made such a gallant stand on the 25th, twice repulsing the enemy, were not likely to flee in panic, or surrender themselves by hundreds and by thousands. When the truth is known, it will be found that after having more than a week to carry out the plan of withdrawal from Chattanooga, General Bragg had not left a considerable part of his forces cut off from all support, and that the reported capture of 10,000 Confederates is upon a par with the Pope and Halleck capture of 10,000 after the evacuation of Corinth. The friends of the South may regret that it was necessary to withdraw from Chattanooga and that the movement was discovered by the enemy; but there is no reason why they should give the least credence to the report of the rout of Bragg's army. We can very well understand that "Grant's victory has created comparatively little popular enthusiasm or public demonstration throughout the North."

From Knoxville we have no definite intelligence. It is said that General Longstreet has advanced his rifle pits to the immediate neighbourhood of the Federal works, and that General Wheeler has cut off the Federal supply train between Cumberland Gap and Knoxville. It was also rumoured that the Confederate had occupied Knoxville. From Virginia the news indicates that an engagement is somewhat probable. General Meade has crossed the Rapidan, although the roads are represented to be in a wretched condition. Lee's forces have been reviewed by President Davis. The Confederates cavalry is as active as ever. General Mosby made a night attack on Brandy Station, destroyed the Federal forage and thirty or forty wagons, and captured 139 mules. How true it is that the Federals in the South only command as much territory as is covered by their encampments, we see from a body of guerilla troops making a descent upon a plantation scarcely six miles from Norfolk, and carrying off 100 slaves that had been previously captured by the Federals.

Advices from Charleston state that the Confederates are building bomb-proofs in the ruins of Sumter, and that General Gilmore does not intend "to take possession of the site of Sumter, he being satisfied that he could not hold it, but will content himself to completely destroy its aggressive and defensive power." Perhaps the grapes are sour, for on the 20th of November a demonstration against Fort Sumter was made on rafts, and repulsed.

Mobile despatches of the 19th ult. assert that General Taylor had defeated Franklin's forces and Weitzel's division. There is no news from Texas.

The object of the Texas expedition, at a time when the Washington Government required every available man elsewhere, has been an inextricable puzzle to military critics. The New York letter which we print elsewhere, gives what is no doubt the true solution of the mystery. By the treaty of admission in the Union at the time of her independent existence as a Republic, it was stipulated that Texas might, on certain conditions, be subsequently subdivided into four States. The fulfilment of the conditions matters little, so that the legerdemain of creating a State out of a few counties of Western Virginia can be repeated with any plausibility of pretext. The constitutional forms of electing a President are about the only remnant of the Consti-

tution which still has a hold on the minds and imaginations of the people of Federal America. Now it happens that all the really "loyal" States together form, either in the Electoral Colleges or in the House of Representatives, only the bare majority required for either mode of election. The slightest division, therefore, in the popular vote of the North, between more than one candidate, would render the election, or even re-election, of a President in 1864, by the forms of the Constitution, absolutely impossible. Could anything more clearly than this simple fact demonstrate the utter absence of all warrant in the Constitution for a war to coerce "rebel" States back to their "allegiance"? It is for this reason that unsettled territories are pushed for admission as States—that Western Virginia has been invested with that title, and that Texas is now invaded for the purpose of a nominal subdivision. Every other State where the Federals have a foothold, however slender, were it only a block-ading station on the coast, will, by a similar trick, be "restored" to the Union; and we have no doubt that, by virtue of the siege of Charleston and the encampments at Hilton Head and Morris Island, South Carolina will be made to appear as casting her vote for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln.

Our Richmond correspondent throws an unexpected light upon the recent events in Tennessee. It appears that already at the date of his letter, November 7th, the retreat of Bragg, if not actually decided on, was expected by all who understood the military situation. His statement of the feeling towards that commander, in the army and among the people, has at this moment a more pointed emphasis than he doubtless himself wished to give it. We have, however, retained what he says on this subject, because the great value of our Richmond correspondence is the intelligent fidelity with which it reflects public opinion in the Confederacy, and its unimpeachable truthfulness. The writer is not impartial—we should not wish him to be so; but he never knowingly conceals or colours unpleasant facts. General Bragg's unpopularity is, moreover, a matter of notoriety which has reached England through various channels already, and is in a great measure confirmed by the wholly unbiased opinions of military critics here. It is a misfortune, and most probably an undeserved one, on his part. He appears to lack what Napoleon prized more in his generals than talents, good luck; and he seems to lack, also, that faculty of inspiring his troops with enthusiasm and personal devotion which is nowhere more indispensable than in the commander of patriot armies like those of the South. In loyalty, self-sacrificing patriotism, and dauntless courage General Bragg has no superior; his abilities as a strategist are of a high order. It is doubtless the appreciation of these qualities that has caused the President, at the risk of his own popularity, to sustain the general against what he must have felt to be unjust and unfounded clamours. But the time may arrive when even this laudable firmness, so characteristic of President Davis, must give way to the conviction that a general who has once lost the implicit confidence of his troops, however little he may have deserved such a misfortune, has also lost his usefulness as the commander-in-chief of a great army.

The Federal ironclads do not appear to be very seaworthy or manageable. The monitor *Lehigh*, on picket duty near Charleston, grounded, and was considerably damaged. The *Sanguanon*, one of the new ironclads, started to join the fleet at Charleston, but her machinery broke down and she was obliged to return to Washington. A few days afterwards, whilst lying at



that place, she was discovered to be sinking, and was with difficulty saved from going to the bottom.

It is no compliment to a nation to say that it honours the sepulchre of those that have died in its service, for savages do that, but still it was meet and proper that the Federals should form a cemetery at Gettysburg for their soldiers who fell on that bloody field, and that at its consecration the nation should be represented by its chief magistrate and other high officials. We have before us in the *New York Herald* a full report of the ceremony, and we have read it with a feeling of mingled sorrow and disgust. When Mr. Lincoln left Washington on such a solemn errand we could not expect that he would be dignified, for all sense of dignity and propriety seems foreign to his nature; but it was to be expected that for once he would abstain from buffoonery and cease to play the part of a west-country jester. The expectation is disappointed. On the eve of the consecration of the last resting-place of his gallant soldiers, Mr. Lincoln arrived at Gettysburg and was serenaded. He stepped out on the balcony, and, within sight of the new-made graves, spoke as follows:—

I appear before you, fellow citizens, merely to thank you for this compliment. The inference is a very fair one that you would hear me, for a little while at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. The most substantial of these is, that I have no speech to make. (Laughter.) In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things.

A Voice.—If you can help it.

Mr. Lincoln.—It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. (Laughter.) Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg of you to excuse me from addressing you further.

After this, we see no reason to disbelieve the report that when Mr. Lincoln visited the battle-field, whilst the dead were yet unburied and many of the wounded were yet uncared for, he called upon an officer to sing a comic song.

The oration delivered by Mr. Edward Everett commenced eloquently and in a spirit that was worthy of the occasion; but he did not proceed far before he exhibited the rancour and mendacity which have disgraced the Federal cause from the first, but which were singularly disgraceful when manifested at the consecration of a cemetery. For his review of the campaigns that preceded the battle of Gettysburg, he was indebted to the imagination of General Halleck, and for his statement of the causes of the war he was indebted to Mr. Sumner and politicians of that class. After three years war, when even Mr. Seward no longer prates about Union feeling in the South—when the whole world has been surprised at the complete devotion of the people of the South to the Confederacy—Mr. Everett dared to assert that the majority of the Southerners were and always have been, in favour of reunion. He said:—

I do not believe there has been a day since the election of President Lincoln when, if an ordinance of secession could have been fairly submitted to the mass of the people in any single Southern State, a majority of ballots would have been given in its favour. No, not in South Carolina.

This quotation, though brief, is sufficient to show the character of the oration, and we will not weary our readers by refuting all his sophistries about the Constitution and the right of secession; and certainly we will not so far forget what is due to the reputation of the illustrious band of patriots to whom was entrusted the direction of Confederate affairs, as to reply to his impertinence and vilification. If there were no other reason, the ceremony of the consecration of the Gettysburg cemetery would amply justify secession, and explain the loathing the Southerner feels at the idea of any political association with the Yankee.

The exchange of prisoners is still delayed, and in the meantime a plot has been discovered to liberate the Federal prisoners at Richmond. The scheme was a very wild one, but the Confederate authorities have not neglected the warning. Since the discovery of the plot the guards have been doubled, the militia placed under orders, and every cannon on the heights turned upon Belle-Isle.

In reply to the charge that the Federal prisoners were half-starved, it has been stated on authority that they have been supplied with full rations. If there is any truth in the report that all guerillas when taken are ordered to be immediately shot, and the order is acted on, the Confederates will soon be relieved of the cost of keeping prisoners. In the first place, the guerilla bands are recognised by the Confederate Government as part of the national forces; and secondly, according to the law of nations, when a country is invaded every citizen who raises his hand against the invader can demand the treatment, if captured, that is accorded to a regular soldier, unless the place of his residence is in the actual military occupation of the enemy.

Mr. Wendell Phillips has delivered a lecture in Boston on political affairs. He said that Mr. Lincoln was not his first choice; he would have preferred Fremont, who was not a learner but a master, and whose education had not to be conducted in the presidential chair at a cost of \$25,000 per annum. Mr. Phillips observed, that "Lincoln hates slavery, but has no heart to befriend the negro." Still, he would support Mr. Lincoln, and content himself with getting rid of Mr. Seward. He said, "Seward has been the Marplot of every policy, the unbelieving Judas, the rock a-head of the ship of State, the nucleus around which gather the disloyalty, timidity, selfishness, baseness of the nation. Let us complete the

civil revolution. Let us put down the faithless Secretary and hold up the faithful President."

A Federal contractor of supplies for the subsistence department of the army has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary for delivering adulterated coffee. If Mr. Lincoln is to imprison all his fraudulent contractors, he will require some new gaols, and be deprived of the active support of his warmest and most reliable adherents.

The blockade-runner *Banshee*, has been captured. She had previously made eight successful voyages, which will, no doubt, leave her owners a handsome margin of profit.

A correspondent at Queenstown directs attention to what he justly calls one of the most extraordinary cases of confession and repentance, the restitution by the *Kearsage* of sixteen of the men openly enlisted in that port. The *Kearsage* returned to Queenstown on the 7th inst. for that purpose, and landed the men, dressed in the uniform of the Federal navy.

Private telegrams have been received by the last Cunard steamer to the effect, that the celebrated General Morgan had effected his escape from the penitentiary in Ohio, where he, a prisoner of war, had been confined and subjected to the same personal indignities as a convicted felon.

The labouring classes in the North are still agitating for higher wages, and the movement is likely to give some trouble to the Government.

Wall-street has been very much agitated by the military intelligence. On the 23rd November gold was 53½ premium. It then fell rapidly from day to day until it was quoted at 43½. On the 28th, our latest date, it advanced to 47½, owing to unfavourable military rumours. It has been reported, but not credited, that Mr. Chase has tendered his resignation of the Secretaryship of the Treasury to the President, in order to take the place of the Hon. Mr. Taney, who, it is said, has resigned the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. As there is to be an appeal to the Supreme Court respecting the validity of Mr. Chase's paper currency, that gentleman would, no doubt, find the position of judge very useful in defending his measures.

#### ENGLAND.

LORD WODEHOUSE left London last evening for Copenhagen to congratulate Christian X. on his accession to the throne. Instructions have been furnished to his lordship with respect to the policy of the British Government in the matter of the Danish monarchy and the affairs of Slesvig Holstein.

According to the latest advices from India, the Earl of Elgin was still alive, but daily growing weaker.

Sir George Clerk, who has been twice Governor of Bombay, will be appointed to the seat in the Indian Council vacated by the elevation of Sir John Lawrence to the viceroyalty.

It is announced that the Court of Exchequer will not give judgment in the *Alexandra* case until next term; that is to say, that judgment will be given on some day between the 11th and the 31st day of January, 1864.

All persons who venture to speak on politics before a public audience should endeavour to be accurate in their statements. They should be yet more careful in quotation, more careful again when quoting those whom they wish to censure, and even yet more careful when they know that some one has said something, but when they do not exactly know what was said or who said it. Lord Hartington, M.P., a member of Lord Palmerston's Administration, and perhaps as well known on the other side of the Atlantic as on this, made what is now called an "extra-Parliamentary utterance" at the meeting of the East Lancashire Union of Mechanics' and Literary Institutions and Evening Schools on Saturday last, and exhibited a most striking example of the fate of those who disregard the great classical injunction which bids all scholars "verify quotations." His lordship, while enlightening the men of Haslingden on education and things in general, said, "I was astonished the other day to read in the speech—I forget whether of Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright, at Rochdale, I think it was Mr. Cobden's—that not a citizen of the United States was the poorer for the war." Well, if Mr. Cobden ever had made such a statement his lordship might well be astonished; for though Mr. Cobden does perhaps display a little weakness when he gets on the seductive topic of Republicanism and the Federals, yet he is too good an economist to venture on an assertion of that nature. Lord Hartington will look in vain for these words in the speech of Mr. Cobden. Perhaps, however, he may hope to find them in Mr. Bright's oration. We, however, have read the effusions of both those honourable gentlemen and cannot discover the words. The only language at all similar is in a sentence at the conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech, wherein he says, "Notwithstanding this terrific struggle, their (the Federals) agriculture, their manufactures, and commerce, proceed with an uninterrupted success." Such language, however, is in perfect harmony with the view expressed by Mr. Cobden in his speech, where he says, "They (the

Federals) are mistaken if they think they can carry on a civil war like this, drawing a million men from productive industry, to be engaged merely in a process of destruction, and spending £200,000,000 or £300,000,000, without a terrible collapse sooner or later, and a great prostration in every part of the community." Lord Hartington has not only cast an imputation utterly groundless on Messrs. Cobden and Bright, but he has done worse even than that. He has despoiled a man of equal notoriety with either Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright of one of that man's undying declarations. It was Seward who gave birth to the phrase of the "irrepressible conflict;" it was Seward who limited the war to ninety days; and it was Seward who at Auburn early in November declared that "there was no State that had not been made stronger, and no citizen that had not been made richer, by the war." Doubtless these were the words present to the mind of Lord Hartington. They are words the author of which shall not be forgotten so far as lies within us. We look forward with calm anticipation to the day when the fruition of the prophecy shall be fully realised. Meanwhile we will jealously watch lest any one rob Seward of this the last and greatest of all his splendid predictions.

The Charing-Cross railway was provisionally opened on Wednesday, December the 2nd, and will be opened for traffic in about four weeks time. It is at once the first, and as far as can be judged the most important, of the series of undertakings which will eventually bring the railways of Great Britain into the heart of the Metropolis. At present the great blot of the system of railway travelling in England is the difficulty and delay incurred in a passage from the terminus of one railway to that of another. Thus the northern railways' termini are at least two miles distant from those stations south of the Thames which form the heads of the lines penetrating to the south, south-east and south-west of England. Similarly the western and eastern termini are five miles apart, and in nearly all cases the traveller must make his way through the most crowded and most impassable streets. Now the Charing-Cross railway consists at present of a short line from the London Bridge station to Charing-Cross. The station at London Bridge, on the south of the river, is the great point of departure for the Continent and the towns scattered over all the south-east of England, and is, therefore, the head of the line peculiarly frequented by the class of men to whom the annihilation of space is gold. The line starting then from this point runs almost due west, through the borough of Southwark to the South-Western railway station, thence it turns north and crosses the river on the west side of Waterloo Bridge on a bridge erected on the site of Hungerford Suspension Bridge, and the station is on the site of Hungerford Market. The line will also have a branch starting from a point situated at a short distance west of the London Bridge station, and crossing the river to Cannon-street, in the heart of the City. Assuming, as we justly may, that Charing-Cross is the centre of London and Cannon-street close upon the centre of the City, it is at once apparent that enormous strides are already made towards bringing all the southern railways to the very doors of our houses. It is further intended to connect the North-Western, Great Northern and Midland railways each by a double set of lines with Charing-Cross, open cuttings, with tunnels under the streets, being used. A traveller may then book himself through without changing carriages, if mortal endurance prove great enough, from Dover or Brighton to Glasgow or Aberdeen. The present line from Charing-Cross to London Bridge is not more than three miles in length. Its expense, however, has been enormous, amounting to no less than £1,000 per yard. The bridge across the Thames is twice the width of any railway bridge in the kingdom, with a foot bridge of fourteen feet in width. Its total length is 1,360 feet, its width between the main girders is 50 feet, which, together with the footway, makes a width of 64 feet; and there is a clear headway above high-water mark of 25 feet. It is laid for four lines of rails, and is of such strength that with the lines fully loaded and the footway thronged there will be a strain of only four tons to the sectional inch at the top of the girder, and five tons at the bottom. The most remarkable feature in the bridge is that at least one-third of it is railway station. This arises from the fact that if the station, and the vast hotel built at its northern end, had been pushed back to the end of the bridge, they would have abutted upon the Strand; consequently at the northern end the bridge spreads out in a fan-like form to a width of nearly 200 feet. There are two arrival and two departure platforms, and the interior of the station is 450 feet long, 100 feet high, and 170 feet wide. The entrances for the continental and metropolitan traffic will be distinct. The Cannon-street branch will not be open for some months; the bridge across the river on that line will be in five spans: three of 135 feet and two of 125 feet. It will laid for five lines, and be 64 feet in width. That these vast undertakings will reward the enterprise of the shareholders seems certain, after the unprecedented success of the Victoria line, and the Metropolitan (Underground) railway. In fact, there is no doubt that with lines specially adapted for passenger traffic from point to point in the metropolis, returns can be obtained exceeding enormously the produce of the best country lines.

During the terrific gales of last week 352 lives were saved by the boats of the National Lifeboat Institution, and 110 lives were saved by the Ramsgate life-boat. The institution now has 125 boats at various points of the coast, at a cost of £50 a year for each boat. Since the first establishment of the institution nearly 14,000 lives have been saved. The society depends entirely on private charity.

Mr. John Pringle, Lord Nelson's coxswain on board the *Victory*, died at his residence, Newton Bushel,



Devon, on Saturday last, at the age of 103 years and seven months. He was a Scotchman by birth, and joined the Royal Navy at the age of twenty-one. He was present at the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar, and many other celebrated engagements.

Much progress has been made in the scheme of providing a good education for the daughters of officers of Her Majesty's army who have fallen in war or by disease, and have left their families in straitened circumstances. This want in the naval service is supplied by the Royal Naval School at Richmond. The military institution is now so far advanced as to be in possession of a handsome building near Bath, formerly known as the Lansdowne Proprietary School. The edifice will accommodate 100 persons, and is surrounded by eight acres of ground. It is proposed that the daughters of officers of fairly competent means shall pay a small remunerative payment, the next grade in point of means to pay £12 a year, and a third class to receive a free education. The excellence of such an institution is self-evident; the only difficulty to be overcome is, of course, the lack of funds, but the committee look with confidence to the public for assistance.

By one and the same means the Londoners are being instructed and charmed in rural affairs, and the jovial farmers of England are tasting the pleasures of town. The Smithfield Cattle Club is holding its annual show at Islington Hall; the Londoners are gazing, in mingled delight and awe, at prodigies of carcase and fat, while the agriculturists are filling the theatres, music halls, supper rooms, and hotels. It would be difficult to strike the balance and declare whether the farmer, having harvested his crops, sown his wheat for 1864, and brought his oxen, sheep, and pigs to the perfection of Christmas meat, derives more pleasure from a little London dissipation in his own peculiar style, than does the true Londoner from fancying himself for three hours a judge of points, and an adept in the art of the mysterious "touch," never doubting his ability, equal only to his desire, to farm on his own account with the same marvellous results. Certainly this year the Show is a success, so far as the exhibition is concerned. The silver cup of £40, for the best steer or ox in the hall, was won by a Hereford, the property of Mr. Heath, of Lindham Hall, Norwich; while the cup for the best heifer or cow was won by a Shorthorn exhibited by Mr. Swaisland, of Crayford, Kent. The Herefords, Devons, and Shorthorns are extremely good, and the Scotch classes show an extraordinary amount of excellence. Two peculiarly fine crosses were exhibited, one with the Devon and Shorthorn, and another with a Shorthorn and Galloway. Altogether there are 240 head of cattle. In sheep, the number of Leicesters is small, and the quality good; Lord Berners, Colonel Lowther, and Mr. Foljambe being the most successful. Lord Walsingham and the Duke of Richmond have the principal honours in the Southdowns. In pigs, the gold medal is awarded to Major-General the Hon. A. N. Hood, of Cumberland Lodge, Windsor, who was also successful in Devon and Hereford cattle. The stock exhibited by him was reared on the model farm of the late Prince Consort, and of course from the breeds there cultivated by his Royal Highness. It must be observed that all the animals exhibited are supposed to be immediately ready for the butcher, and that in awarding the prizes the judges are bound to look not to the mere accumulation of fat and consequent weight of meat, but to a symmetrical development of all the flesh-bearing parts of the animal. This principle being understood, it follows that form and shape are the first and main requisites to success; these being attained, the process of putting on flesh is a natural consequence, provided that there be correct judgment and experience in preserving the health of the animal. As might be expected, the prizes are awarded in classes, not merely of breeds, but also with respect to age and sex, the higher orders of cattle being divided each into four classes, with three prizes to each class; while two, or even a single class, is sufficient for the more uncommon breeds. The same rules obtain with respect to the sheep and pigs. In point of value the prizes range between £40 and £5. There is also a fine exhibition in machinery and roots. Messrs. Howard, of Bedford, and Mr. Fowler, of Leeds, are especially great in the steam cultivating apparatus, exhibiting at Islington the systems of machinery which have made the former famous on the Continent, in India, and Egypt, and the latter in New Zealand, the Cape, Barbadoes, and Demerara. So, too, the stand of Ransomes and Simms, of Ipswich, displays that wonderful variety of engines, ploughs, crushers, corn-screens, and every other agricultural and domestic implement which has won them fame even in the heart of the Russian empire.

In seeds, Mr. Gibbs showed some mangold of beautiful quality, which gave fifty-eight tons per acre on the Royal Shore farm.

The Show was visited on the first day by the Prince of Wales, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Duke of Brabant. On the first public day there were 30,000 visitors; indeed, so far as the number of visitors is concerned, the crush is always disagreeably great.

The President of the Club for the present year is Lord Walsingham, and the Duke of Richmond is Vice-President. Lord Tredegar is the President-elect for next year.

In the account which appeared in our columns of the race for the Cambridgeshire stakes at Newmarket it was stated that Lord Stamford attributed the defeat of his mare *Limosina* to treachery, and in fact believed that she had been poisoned; a belief or rather a suspicion which at that time we held and still hold to be unfounded. Acting on that idea his lordship at once proclaimed that his whole stud should be sold by auction; and it was given out that his lordship was so disgusted

with the practices to which his turf experience had opened his eyes that he could no longer endure to be connected with the sport, and would wash his hands of the whole affair at once and for ever. Shrewd people, however, who were well acquainted with Newmarket and Lord Stamford, and who know how impossible it is for any one who has engaged deeply in racing to relinquish the sport entirely, simply because the vacancy in employment and amusement caused by such abandonment cannot be filled up, prophesied that the sale would be held, that the greater portion of the horses would be sold, and that a few of the young and choice animals would find their way back to his lordship, who would commence again on a smaller scale and with the assistance of a different trainer. How far such prophesies will be realised remains to be seen; at any rate the sale has taken place, and is deserving of a few remarks as being unprecedented in the history of racing. Sixty-seven horses were brought to the hammer last week by Messrs. Tattersall, and realised the enormous sum of 28,000 guineas. Their engagements alone amounted to £18,000, and the horses were to be sold "without reserve." They had in their veins the best blood in the world, boasting such sires as the immortal Orlando, Newminster, Stockwell, Rataplan, Leamington, Sweatmet, Voltigeur, the Flying Dutchman, the West Australian and the Cure; while among the dams the names of Elledale, Vivandière, Himalaya, the Arrow, Equation, and Mainbrace, the dam of Fisherman, shone conspicuously. Of the horses above two years of age, Oneasander by Newminster, aged three years, was sold for 1,000 guineas; Gemma, aged four years, for 750 guineas; and the now famous *Limosina*, the *cansa doloris*, for 500 guineas; while, by way of contrast, *Cenopides*, for whom Lord Stamford gave 1,100 guineas two years ago, went for 25 guineas. Coming next to the two year old colts and fillies, we find that Gowmsman, by Surplice, was sold for 625 guineas; Guardsman, by Orlando, for 850 guineas; Procella, by Leamington, for 650 guineas; Leicester, also by Leamington, for 960 guineas; and Acolyte, by Surplice, for 800 guineas. However, the wonder of wonders was Cambuscan, the winner of the July and the Chesterfield Stakes at Newmarket, and a good favourite for the "Two Thousand" and Derby of 1864, bred by Newminster out of The Arrow, who, after an exciting struggle between Lord William Powlett, the owner of Tim Whiffer, Captain White, and Lord Burleigh, fell to the last-named nobleman, the eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, for 5,100 guineas. The yearlings excited even yet more ardent competition, and achieved even greater results. Venus, by Orlando, produced 580 guineas; Sloth, by Idle Boy, 520 guineas; Cassiope, by Voltigeur, 700 guineas; Lily Lye, sister to Saccharometer, 600 guineas; and Thalassius, by Stockwell, 700 guineas. These figures seem sufficiently enormous, but three more followed still more extravagant. Londoner, by Stockwell out of Skit, was sold for 1,000 guineas; Hydaspes, own brother to Imaus, being by Newminster out of Himalaya, for 1,350 guineas; and Archimedes, by Newminster out of Equation, the dam of Diophantus, for 3,000 guineas. Such were the prices obtained for the finest of the stud, and the figures afford some slight indication of the money which English sportsmen are ready to spend on the most popular and the most exciting of all amusements. It is now stated on authority that Lord Stamford has re-purchased Cambuscan, Archimedes, and the best and most highly-priced among the remainder, and that these will be trained at Newmarket by Mr. W. Butler, who trained the horses of the late Duke of Bedford. It must be carefully observed that all the horses were to be sold without reserve; and this fact, coupled with the names of some of the purchasers, such as Lord Burleigh, at once forbids us to suppose that these horses were bought by their purchasers as agents for his lordship, or otherwise than by a *bond fide* sale and purchase. We are therefore driven to suppose that his lordship has re-purchased at a considerable advance on the prices realised at the sale, and that the magnitude of his offers has overcome the desire of the purchasers to retain in their hands the valuable creatures acquired at so great a cost and trouble. However this may be, it seems that the seventeen best horses have found their way back to his lordship's hands, and that the remaining inferior fifty have ceased to fill his stable, at the enormous cost and with the unsatisfactory results which, in the nature of things, must follow from so overgrown a stud, even under the skilful management of such a man as his lordship's late trainer.

The great fight between King and Heenan came off this morning in Kent. The Yankee was beaten in thirty-five minutes.

#### THE CONTINENT.

M. FOULD'S anxiously expected report has appeared. It is dated the 1st December, and commences by announcing that the budget for 1865 is now under examination by the Council of State, and will soon be laid before the Corps Législatif. It will not differ materially from that voted for 1864. Including in the account the supplementary credit of 93,000,000 francs, asked for in the bill recently presented to the Corps Législatif, a large portion of the funds to meet which are in the Minister's hands, the total deficit of the year 1863 will be only 43,000,000 francs, and that for 1862 being 22,000,000 francs, the excess of expenditure over income for the two years is only 75,000,000 francs, or £3,000,000 sterling, although the extraordinary expenses of the war in Mexico have amounted to 210,000,000 francs, and those of the Eastern expedition to 60,000,000 francs, or 270,000,000 francs; £11,000,000 sterling in all. Of the 195,000,000 of extra expenditure which have thus been already provided for, more than half has been supplied by the surplus of ordinary revenue. As this result has been attained in spite of an expendi-

ture in the two years of £10,000,000 sterling on public works, M. Fould with justice regards it as a proof of the elasticity of the French revenue. The Minister is further of opinion, that the receipts for 1864 will exceed his estimates, and supply the requisite resources for the maintenance of the Mexican expedition, if negotiation should not have before that time relieved France of that charge.

In spite, however, of this satisfactory situation, M. Fould proposes to raise a sum of 300,000,000 francs, or £12,000,000 sterling, by a loan. He is uneasy about the amount of the floating debt, although its sum is by no means so high as when he assumed the charge of French finances. The figures were then 1,050,000,000 of francs, or £42,000,000 sterling. The proceeds of the differences paid to the Government by the holders of the four and a-half per cent. rentes, which have been converted into three per cents—157,000,000 francs—reduced the amount of the debt to 896,000,000 francs, and adding to them the 75,000,000 for the deficits of the two years, the amount of the floating debt will stand at 971,000,000 francs, or nearly £39,000,000 sterling. M. Fould points out the inconvenience of a large floating debt, and proposes, as we have said, to reduce the sum by 300,000,000 francs. As more than 600,000,000 of the French floating debt consists of deposits made with the State by municipalities, of savings banks funds, caution moneys, and an advance free of interest from the Bank of France, the floating debt will thus be reduced to its lowest possible amount.

This measure of M. Fould is interpreted in favour of their own views, both by the prophets of war and of peace. On the one hand, it is said that M. Fould would never have come into the money-market at a time like the present merely to put the floating debt in a healthier condition; and that his object is, in reducing the floating debt to so small a sum, to provide himself with the means of raising 300,000,000 francs or so, quietly and gradually, so that the Emperor may have the sinews of war ready the moment he wants them. On the other hand, it is contended that France, in having recourse to a loan now, shows that she is not in a position to go to war, and that only some great necessity will drive her into such a dangerous course.

The Corps Législatif has concluded the verification of powers. In one of its last sittings the election of M. Boittelle, a brother of the Prefect of Police of Paris, for the *Département du Nord*, was annulled. Some curious revelations were given by the Marquis d'Havrincourt, one of the Emperor's chamberlains, who led the opposition to the proposal of the committee that the election should be validated. The sub-prefect did not show himself sufficiently active, and was compelled to take a holiday of fifteen days; licences hitherto steadily refused were given wholesale for *cabanets*, and the electors were promised that their sons should be exempted from the conscription. The election was annulled without a division.

The debate upon the Address will, it is expected, commence in the Senate this week, and in the Corps Législatif it will not be long delayed. The text of the address which will be proposed in the Senate has been published. It is, as addresses in reply to speeches from the throne invariably are, when there is no discord between the sovereign and the legislature, colourless and unimportant. In one of the debates upon a contested election M. Thiers rose to discuss the question of Government candidates (one of the representatives of the Government had quoted M. Thiers to show that, when a Minister under Louis Philippe, he had affirmed the necessity of Government candidates), but the general opinion of the Chamber; to which M. Thiers willingly yielded, was that the subject should be raised in the debate upon the Address.

The Emperor of Russia, in reply to the invitation to the Congress, says that the Emperor of the French has given expression to a thought which he has always entertained. All the acts of his, the Czar's reign, attest his desire to substitute relations of confidence and accord for the armed peace which weighs heavily on the people. He had taken the initiative of a considerable reduction of military forces; and it was only in the presence of eventualities which might have threatened the security and even the integrity of his states, that he departed from that path to which it is his most ardent desire to return. He should be happy if the proposition of Napoleon could conduct to a loyal understanding among the sovereigns; but he thinks it indispensable that the French Emperor should state precisely the questions which in his opinion must be the object of an understanding, and the basis upon which that understanding should be established. The letter is very courteous and conciliatory in its tone. The Queen of Spain has given an unconditional acceptance. Holland, it is said, is the only Power besides England which has given a refusal, and its refusal only consists in the assurance that it will take part in the Congress if all the other Powers invited do the same.

The Prussian Chamber of Deputies adopted by a very large majority, 231 to 63, the resolution proposed by its committee, "that the honour and interests of Germany require that all German States should protect the rights of the Duchies, recognise the hereditary Prince of Angustenburg as Duke of Slesvig Holstein, and give him effective support to make good his rights." The opposition was composed in nearly equal proportions of the ministerial supporters, who although in favour of active measures on behalf of Slesvig Holstein, wanted the House to pledge themselves to support the Government, and the extreme Liberals, who contented themselves with proposing that King Christian should not be recognised. The Democrats objected very vehemently to the policy of the majority, which would sacrifice,



they said, the rights of Prussia. If the Ministry, following the expression of opinion given by the House, should go to war for the Duchies, it would be impossible for the majority to refuse them supplies, and equally impossible to offer any further opposition to the reorganisation of the army. Moreover, the Democrats were by no means disposed to champion the Prince of Augustenburg.

The speeches of the orators of the majority show that on this question the Germans have completely lost their reason, and we must say, show, too, that the Prussian Deputies are utterly unfit to possess political power. One of their leaders, Von Sybel, the historian, declared the treaty null because it was contracted "against public morality, against laws, against the will of the people." Another, Loëve, took his stand "upon the right of a people to freely dispose of itself." Why did he not propose to surrender Posen and West Prussia? The Poles were never consulted about Prussian rule. They would vote at once against it. And so the debate proceeded, the speakers pouring floods of sham liberality and absurd grandiloquence. Schultze Delitzsch described the policy of England as "brutal," and "took note that the free press of England falsified the facts." The truth being, as is most painfully apparent to every one who, having an intimate knowledge of the question, reads the German press, that those German journals have lied systematically upon the question, and that not a day has passed since Frederick died on which in almost every one of them some mis-statement, some deliberate falsification, has not appeared. But Schultze cannot read English newspapers; and he takes the assurances of Prussian newspapers, which, unable to reply to the English press, abuse it.

In the course of the discussion the son of the Chevalier von Bunsen, who, as Prussian Minister in London, signed the Treaty of 1852, made some very apocryphal revelations about the treaty; the most important being that, during the Russian war, an offer was made to Prussia by the Western Powers that, if she would join them against Russia, she might settle the question of the Duchies according to the German view. Herr von Bismarck at once described this statement as an error, as did subsequently Von der Heydt, but Von Bunsen repeated his assertion. We do not believe that there is the slightest truth in it. It must be remembered that this pretended offer was made more than a year at the least after the Treaty of London was signed; and however lightly German statesmen may regard treaties, the Governments of France and England would not have bought the unreliable aid of Prussia at such a dishonourable price.

The parliamentary career of Herr von der Heydt has been cut short on the ground that the *Kreisblatt*, the local official journal, had announced that he would renounce his Diet money—"compensation"—in favour of the district. The 85th article of the Constitution prohibits a member from renouncing his Diet money, and the promise was moreover deemed an attempt at corruption. Herr von der Heydt protested that he had no knowledge of the announcement; but all in vain, his election was annulled by a very large majority.

The Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath has shown itself as enthusiastic about Slesvig Holstein as the Lower House of the Prussian Landtag. It has expressed itself dissatisfied—not by any formal vote, but by several vehement speeches—with the declaration of Count Rechberg on the subject. Count Rechberg admitted the validity of the London Treaty, but he pretends that the previous arrangements between Denmark and Germany form part of the London Treaty, and that if Denmark appeals to the Treaty she must fulfil these stipulations. We need hardly say that there is no ground for this contention, but Count Rechberg does not like to put himself directly against the tide of German feeling. Austria, he added, had urged immediate execution, and her troops were ready whenever required. He admitted that Lauenburg belonged incontestably to Denmark, and he declared finally that Austria was determined to act with Prussia to maintain right and treaties, and within the limits of right to act with all her power for the interests of Germany and the German race.

In reply to some criticisms of this declaration, the Count repeated that Austria considered the London Treaty only in so far binding as Denmark also fulfilled her engagements. He travelled in this speech beyond the Slesvig Holstein question. He observed that the object of Austria in the Polish question had been to preserve peace, whilst maintaining the integrity of the empire. He recognised the grandeur of the idea of a Congress, but thought a preliminary concert necessary, and asserted that the policy of Austria in Italy was the maintenance of peace and the establishment of friendly relations with Turin, but that those relations could not be established so long as the desire was not mutual.

There have been rumours that the Austrian ministry have been so much impressed by the debate in the Reichsrath, that they intended to resign as a body. This absurd *canard* has been formally contradicted. The Austrian Reichsrath has no doubt made itself an important power in the State, but it is not yet strong enough to make and unmake ministries.

The ferment in the other States of Germany on the Slesvig Holstein question shows a sign of abatement. Herr Samwer, a Holstein refugee, who has for a long time been one of the Ministers of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and has now assumed the part of Foreign Minister of the Pretender—whilst Francke, a Slesvig refugee, also until now a minister of Duke Ernest, has

undertaken the charge of the Interior—has addressed, through the Baden representative at the Diet, a note to the Danish Minister, summoning him to withdraw the Danish troops from the Duchies, and send the Slesvig Holstein troops back to the Duchies within fourteen days. This ridiculous letter was returned unopened.

The Pretender is wise enough to make his hay whilst the sun shines. He knows that the enthusiasm may soon decline—and is already raising a loan. That every patriotic German may have an opportunity of proving his zeal for the Duke and the Duchies, the bonds are for only twenty-five thalers each. Three pounds fifteen shillings! Who would not serve the cause of German nationality at so small a risk?

The German Diet is divided. Austria and Prussia have pressed for Federal Execution to establish the alleged constitutional rights of the Holsteiners and of the Diet—for the carrying out, in fact, of the measure already resolved upon. Bavaria, at the head of the smaller States, demanded that the Duchies should be occupied, with the view of holding them until the Diet shall determine who is their rightful sovereign. It is impossible to say from the telegram, which announces that "the Diet has passed, by a small majority, the resolution for Federal Execution in Holstein, reserving to itself the settlement of the question of the succession"—which of the two motions has been carried. Whilst this question was being debated the German newspapers and mob-orators, who wanted to have Prince Frederick installed at once, complained bitterly, and already declared that Germany is betrayed!

Meanwhile King Christian has taken a step which will add to the embarrassment of the Diet, and especially of the two great German Powers. He has, probably upon English representation, and to the great disgust of the Danes, who in their way are little less excited and intemperate than the Germans, revoked the ordinance of the 30th March, regulating the position of Holstein, to obtain the withdrawal of which was the object of the Execution already decreed. The pretence for Execution is thus taken away, unless, indeed, the new constitution for the Kingdom and Slesvig should be made one. In any case the Diet must deliberate afresh, unless it adopts the views of the smaller German States; but in doing so, and in occupying the Duchies with the avowed object of determining itself who is entitled to the succession, it would declare war against Denmark, and fairly enable her to demand the assistance of the Powers signatories of the treaties.

According to the *Dagbladet* of Copenhagen, the nobility and peasantry and the Legislative Assembly of the Duchy of Lauenburg held a meeting on Friday last, and passed a resolution declaring their intention to remain faithful to Denmark, and to recognise King Christian.

A very long document, professing to be a plan of the Polish revolution, sketched out and signed by Mieroslawski, so far back as March 1, 1861, has been published. It is said to have been found among the papers of Count Andrew Zamoyiski, to have been concealed in a quill, and to have been readable only by a strong magnifying glass. It is evidently a clumsy fabrication of the Russians. The plans of Mieroslawski would certainly not be sent to Zamoyiski; and the whole document is replete with absurdities. A Russian has built upon the Russian view of what the Poles have done a plan of what they intended to do.

The Austrian Government has suspended the publication of the *Czas* of Cracow for three months; and the Russian Government has sent the *Times* correspondent away from Warsaw. The cause of truth will not lose much by the former measure. The *Czas* published, not accounts of what really went on in Poland, but such accounts as might tell upon Europe. The *Times* correspondent, on the other hand, did—to the best of his means—justice to both sides.

The Greeks are justifying all the ill-fame they have so long enjoyed. They have resolved to cheat their creditors because nothing is to be got by recognising their obligations, and they are trying to cheat Great Britain. They knew very well that the destruction of the fortifications of Corfu was an indispensable condition—indispensable both in the interests of England and to obtain the consent of Austria of the cession of the Ionian islands—and they urged no objection to it. Now that England has taken all the necessary steps to get rid of the islands, and only keeps them at great inconvenience, they refuse to take them unless the fortifications are left; and the mob of Athens is, we are told, in a state of great excitement.

The Swedish Diet has been closed by a speech from the throne, in which the King said:—"Our interests are not yet immediately threatened, but they are connected with the maintenance of peace and the rights of nations in Europe. The Swedish nation feels deep sympathy and sorrow for the dangers which impend over the King and people of Denmark."

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has been discussing the condition of Sicily. The Government contends that all the measures complained of were absolutely necessary to re-establish public safety.

The discussion has not yet finished.

Mr. GEORGE M'HEWY has written to the *Star* denying that he is the author of the pamphlet entitled "A Familiar Epistle to Robert J. Walker," as reported by that journal.

## EXTRAORDINARY REPENTANCE.

THE U.S. STEAMER *KEARSAGE* AND HER RECRUITS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

QUEENSTOWN, December 8.

SIR,—Considerable curiosity and excitement were caused here yesterday by the reappearance of the United States steamer *Kearsage*, outside the harbour, where she landed sixteen men, dressed in the blue uniform of the Federal navy:—"stowaways," as the officers of the ship, with genuine Yankee humour, call them. You will remember the depictions of Kennedy and Lynch, published in the London papers only a week since, and which exposed to the public the open and wholesale system of enlistment practised by the *Kearsage* during her late visit to this port, and you will agree with me that the present is one of the most extraordinary cases of frank confession and sudden repentance. Can it be that Earl Russell has given a friendly warning to Mr. Adams that the British people were not quite prepared to stand such tricks as those of the *Kearsage* at Queenstown, and that playing them too openly might embarrass him and injure the *entente cordiale* which he has made so many sacrifices of British self-respect to establish?

Yours, &c.,

QUI VIVÉ.

## THE AMERICAN WAR AND THE SONDERBUND.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Permit me to direct your attention to the subjoined paragraph cut from the last number of the *Athenæum*. It is a fair specimen of the sort of "argument" with which the advocates of the Federal cause edify their adherents; and among these advocates the *Athenæum*—grossly misrepresenting the whole body of literary men in this country, has long since placed itself, openly and unblushingly. Says this indiscreet friend of the Yankees:—

Colonel Fremantle is of opinion that the South will never again unite with the North, and that the Confederacy can never be subdued into peace and friendship. We need not follow him into these speculations. The same thing was said of the Swiss during their civil war: yet the Sonderbund was conquered, and you must look very curiously about Freiburg and Lucerne if you would find any traces of that terrible animosity now.

To compare the trifling and transient disturbances among the little cantons of Switzerland, in which not a pitched battle was fought, no fortified place actually attacked; in which one party was never seriously in earnest, since its leaders fled with the public funds in the moment of crisis; in which all the casualties on both sides did not exceed, if they reached, 500—to compare this tempest in a tea-pot with the great convulsions in America, is sufficiently absurd. There is only this resemblance: that both Switzerland and the United States are confederations. But the cantons forming the Sonderbund did not propose secession or withdrawal from the Helvetic Confederation; they simply resisted reforms of the Federal Constitution. Nor did the cantons arrayed against them treat them as rebels or as provinces, or refuse to exchange prisoners, or threaten them with forfeiture of their cantonal rights, or with confiscation or extermination. In the general orders of the armies led against the Sonderbund, the word "enemy," even, was never used. Had it been simply a question of military force against a determined people in their mountain fastnesses, the issue would probably have been a very different one for the Valley cantons.

You will perceive, then, that if there is any analogy between the two cases it tells terribly against the *Athenæum's* friends.

Yours, &c.,

HELVETIUS.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, November 24th.

There was quite an excitement here yesterday, caused by telegraphic reports from Washington that McCade's army was on the move to cross the Rapidan—baggage sent to the rear—provisions cooked for ten days—the march to commence this morning—men in the finest spirits—Lee retreating or certain to be driven back—and a triumphal march into Richmond. This morning, doubts are thrown on the whole story, whether for the purpose of mystifying or not, it is impossible to say, and we are left in uncertainty whether this is any thing more than one of the sensation stories which have been flying from time to time to and fro between Washington and Wall Street. The elaboration of the story and the positive minuteness of the contradiction lead one to suspect that there is a design connecting them together, and that if the friends of Secretary Chase are not making a raid upon somebody's stocks, or to get rid of their own, there is a real intention to make a demonstration against Lee in Virginia. But I am not persuaded that, in the present and prospective condition of the roads, there is any purpose to advance with a serious design against Richmond. Both generals in Virginia are suspected of manoeuvring merely to cover their the greater movements in East Tennessee. Grant has been reinforced by Sherman and holds Chattanooga against Bragg. The question of supplies is not yet settled, and this increased force of at least twenty thousand men does not lessen the difficulty. In spite of the constant reiteration of assurances that every thing is going on well, enough leaks out to show that the army is provisioned with great difficulty and that it is now on short rations, while the activity of the Confederate



cavalry in the rear is a continual interruption to their single line of transportation. There have been several rumours of late that Grant would be compelled, and indeed that he had begun preparing, to fall back upon Nashville, but nothing certain has transpired. The Confederates are impressed with the belief that he must retreat, or come out of his entrenchments and give battle at a disadvantage, but that he will be decided in his plans by the result of the Confederate operations against Burnside's column, now commanded by General Foster, which is shut up in Knoxville in a very critical position. I judge his condition to be perilous, since among the paragraphs sent here from Washington for the press, there are assurances which sound melancholy, that Burnside (Foster) "still holds out," that he is confident of saving at least Knoxville, and the Government is "hopeful." The capture of Knoxville would compel the retreat of Grant, and the evacuation of East Tennessee and clearing out of Georgia and North Alabama.

Fort Sumter, which was "captured" by the Federals nearly two months ago, and has been "demolished" by an incessant bombardment by shot and shell, day and night, for week after week—still flies the Confederate flag in defiance. There are intimations that a combined attack by land and sea will not be long delayed. More shells have been thrown into the city, and the reason given why the bombardment by shelling has not been more vigorously prosecuted is that the big guns have proved defective.

The campaign in Western Louisiana is virtually abandoned, and the bulk of this force is withdrawn for service in another quarter, probably on the Rio Grande, to strengthen the army General Banks has just transported there to take Texas on the weak and undefended side. A corps has just been embarked at Brashear City, a place on the Louisiana coast of the Gulf, between New Orleans and the Saline, and will probably turn up at Point Isabel, at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

This expedition to Western Texas, and the occupation of Brownsville and the other places on the Texan side of the Rio Grande near its mouth by the forces of the United States, is the most important event of the week's news. Much mystery was attached to it before it sailed from New Orleans, and the impression was made that it was bound to the Sabine Pass; but it landed on the Rio Grande, and now confronts the risks of a hostile proximity to the French in Mexico, and is in its first days involved in a complicity with the Juarez Government, with which France is at war. The American forces had no sooner taken possession of Brownsville, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras, than their presence created a popular excitement among the contending factions in Mexico, and within three or four days there was a Mexican pronunciamento, or revolution, of which the source was on the American side of the river. A counter-revolution, which also had its head in Brownsville, a further execution of "traitors," and all the other symptoms of revolutionary disorders which have been chronic in Mexico, and which have justified in the eyes of Europe the French intervention for the restoration of order and the preservation of society from disintegration. In the accounts which the Federal reports bring us of these events it is made to appear that these disorderly proceedings are held to be part of the incipient struggle with the French for the control of the river and the possession of Matamoras and the State of Tamaulipas, of which it is the capital. The contending factions are classed as French, or in the interests of the United States as against French; and the Government at Washington is involved at once in the conflict, which was anticipated to be inevitable, if it should send its forces to the frontier, where they would come directly in contact with the tumultuous passions which mark the internal strifes of Mexico, and where their own pride, and passions, and interests are on the side of the anarchists. What with the scarcely disguised preparations to keep the French out of Tamaulipas and support the Juarez faction, and the inevitable quarrels over the interruption of the commerce on the river, which is a main object of the expedition, in order to arrest the introduction thereby of supplies, &c., into the Confederate States by Mexican routes, the chances for immediate collision with the French are infinite. If Napoleon has the slightest wish to accept a cause for quarrel with the United States his opportunities will be plenty.

To meet all these contingencies, General Banks must have a larger force than he took with him; and, besides the assistance expected from the Department in Louisiana, he is said to have made a call upon the Secretary for War for large reinforcements. The Confederate force retired before him, and he has probably men enough to hold Brownsville and the lower Rio Grande, but not to advance far into the interior, where the Confederates may soon gather a considerable army to obstruct his progress. He will possibly wait for more men, and for the determination of his course from Washington, in respect to the French complications in which he has so soon entangled himself.

He has been taught to expect material co-operation from that part of Texas. It has been often said that the German settlements in Western Texas, having no slaves, and being imbued with the European ideas of the supremacy of governments, sympathise extensively with the North, and may be expected to join the Union army. Some disorderly manifestations may be looked for in that region, but they are not apprehended to any serious extent, from the German settlers. It is a wild country, and abounds with the wild class of people usually found on remote frontiers, where civilised settlements are scarce and law is feeble—outcasts, adventurers, smugglers and refugees from justice, ready to do any deed of violence for

pay or gain or excitement. The Government of the United States pays high, and gives large license for plunder and liberal immunities for crime; and it may, therefore, and probably will, enlist on its side large numbers of these vagabonds, who may give trouble, and renew on the borders of Texas the licensed horrors of the Union rule in Kansas and Missouri; but there is no more doubt of the loyalty to the Confederacy of the great mass of the population of Texas, than of that of the people of South Carolina. A part of the State may be overrun, but the subjugation and retention is an utter impossibility.

The expedition to Texas has, however, other than military results, designed to be accomplished by military occupation of this particular region. It is a political *coup d'état*, and means more for the election of the next President than for the restoration of Union or the close of the war. Let me explain to you how the military occupation of a part of Texas is a material portion of a party programme for the election of a President.

By the Constitution of the United States it requires a majority of the electoral votes of all the States to effect a choice of President by electors in the first instance; failing the majority of electors, the President is chosen by the House of Representatives, each State casting one vote, and a majority of votes being necessary to effect an election.

Eleven States have declared themselves out of the Union, and made another government for themselves. The remaining States wage war upon them, on the ground that they could not constitutionally withdraw, but are still members of the Union, and may not renounce any duties or obligations as such.

There is therefore, this constitutional dilemma: if these States are still within the Union, they are to be counted as States, in the estimate of the majority required to make a presidential election valid, that is, a majority of the constitutional number of electoral votes in the thirty-five States, or at least eighteen States, in the House of Representatives. If they are excluded in the count, and a majority of the electoral votes in twenty-four States, or the votes of twelve States in the House of Representatives, is decided to be a constitutional majority, then the seceded States are constitutionally out of the Union.

The party dilemma is, that if the eleven States are ruled to be out of the Union for the purpose of an election, the Radicals may not have a majority of the remaining electoral votes, nor of the remaining States in the constitution of the Federal House of Representatives. It is their party interest that there should not be an effective majority of electoral votes as against them, in the first instance, and that there should be a majority of States in their favour in the House of Representatives. General Butler, who may be considered the exact exponent of the Radical party, expressed this idea in the following blunt way in one of his late electioneering addresses in Massachusetts.

"The rebel States must be regarded as destroyed, or it would be almost impossible to choose another President, for the reason that no candidate likely to be selected would receive such a support in the North as to give him a majority of the whole electoral college."

Here is the plan and the motive for it. The Administration cares little for votes in the electoral colleges, but wants new States in the House; and its policy this winter will be to hurry in the sparsely settled Western Territories, which are getting ready to apply for admission as States; and finds in the peculiar relations of Texas towards the Union a fund upon which it can draw for several new States, without compromising its position, that the old "rebel" States are extinguished. By the articles of agreement in the form of concurrent resolutions, accepted by Texas as an independent Republic, and the Government of the United States, in 1845, it was covenanted that Congress might, with the assent of the State, sub-divide the State into not more than four States, which shall be entitled to admission into the Union. It is just as easy to assume the consent of Texas to a subdivision, as it was to find that consent for division of Virginia already effected, or to pretermitt the question of assent altogether, on the ground that the sovereignty of Texas has been extinguished by rebellion, and that the United States only fulfil a compact of good faith in creating new States, with the preliminary condition that their organisation shall be strictly loyal to the authorities of the Union. The army is there to take care that the loyalty shall be personal as well as political, and by this *coup* it is already arranged in the programme of party, that there shall be at least three new States from Texas, if necessary, to secure the triumph of the party in power at the next presidential election.

You may ask, whether these monstrous abuses can be perpetrated under the forms of a Republic, and a minority be enabled by such audacious measures to fix itself in power, and there shall be no resistance or effectual obstruction. I can only answer that there is nothing in the aspects of the times or the temper of the people at the North to encourage the hope that there is any assignable limit to their submissiveness to anything which may be done by their leaders in this crusade for the destruction of the South.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 8.

In obedience to the injunction of the giant in the fairy tale, "*Belier, mon ami, commencez par le commencement*," I begin this letter by referring to the end of my last. On reading it in print I became painfully aware that in speaking of Mr. Slingsby's "Familiar Epistle," I had not used the plain language of which he has so happy a mastery. I had drawn the wires of what I fancied irony so awkwardly thin, that to a careless reader it might almost seem to have a meaning which I never meant to convey, as no one could be suspected of envying Mr. Walker his dirty work.

The financial question primes all others this week. The loan is formally announced, but although the smallest sum anticipated, £12,000,000 sterling is all that is asked for, the manner of raising it not having been indicated, ample room is still left for conjecture. M. Fould's report puts the floating debt at £39,000,000 sterling, or thereabouts, while the Treasury, to cover this, possesses a sum of £25,000,000 and a quarter, in the caution money deposited at 5 per cent. by the holders of places and privileges, such as the receivers general, the *agents de change*, and the proprietors of newspapers. When the £12,000,000 of Treasury bonds with which it is now proposed to deal are paid off, or funded by the loan, there will only remain about a £1,000,000 and a half of floating debt to be provided for. It seems to be a dogma with French financiers, that when a debt has been consolidated it is as if it had never existed, it is regularised, and the resources of France are assuredly sufficient to authorise the increase of debt, especially when, as M. Fould says, it is a mere change of title, paper at a short date being exchanged for paper at no date at all. But while Treasury bonds, even at 5 per cent., their present rate, are liable to reimbursement, they present also this advantage, that the rate of interest may be reduced according to the state of the market, but when exchanged for a 3 per cent. *rente* at 66 or even 67, they represent a permanent interest of 5 per cent., or a money value at the price of the day of 109 for every 100. This is the most, not the least favourable view of the subject as regards the financial condition of the country, quite apart from the question whether the loan be obtained by public subscription, or as rumour says through the great banker. This concerns not the general public, those who pay the interest, but the subscribers who receive it, for there is upwards of a £1,000,000 to be gained on the transaction, and it matters little to the taxpayer whether this goes into the coffers of the *Rue Lafite* or into the purses of less wealthy individuals. There is a far more serious point of view from which the measure may be regarded. By thus "regularising the situation," the Treasury is enabled to create another floating debt of at least equal amount to that which it gets rid of, so that Government has every facility for meeting any sudden contingency. M. Fould, it is well known, is averse to war, but his term of office depends on pleasure, and he may only be levelling the ground to make it easy for a successor. There is no limit to the issue of Treasury bonds, and this remark has created sufficient uneasiness in financial circles to induce the *France* of last night to state that the extinction of this portion of the floating debt is the guarantee that there will be no corresponding reissue.

There is still a very general feeling of uneasiness in regard to the prospects of peace, and this naturally aggravates the financial difficulties which are thickening around us. The indignation against England on account of her refusal to enter the Congress has in no degree abated; Government and Opposition papers join alike in the cry. The *Constitutionnel*, in half menacing tone, dilates on the egotism of England, the *Opinion* accuses, not the Whig Government, but the aristocracy which tyrannises over the English people with this act of *lese humanité* wind ing up with what some persons would think a positive insult, a eulogy on the country of "Cobden and Bright."

The Italian journals, balked, as they fancy, of Rome and Venice, are equally indignant, and in their ignorance accuse England of seeking a war; for which the *France* of last evening rebukes them, for England is too much interested in the maintenance of peace not to accept even the Congress rather than risk its being broken. The *Pays*, no longer an organ of the Foreign-office since its change of management, but still under the same régime as the *Constitutionnel*, comes out still more petulantly than its colleagues. It has found out a new subject of recrimination against the perfidious one, in the raising the rate of the bank discount to 8 per cent. on the very day that M. Fould's report appeared, of course, with the intention of preventing the otherwise certain rise in the funds here.

The avidity with which the debates in the Legislative Assembly have been watched by all classes, although they have only been occupied with the verification of powers, is also regarded by many as a sign of national unrest. That this feeling is ungrounded or exaggerated I do not doubt; and I am more inclined to ascribe this unwonted interest to the love of scandal, than to any other motive. The author of the deeds which have been stigmatised by the Assembly as well as by public opinion, M. de Persigny, was dismissed months ago, and it may be noticed that the election of the brother of the Prefect of Paris was quashed, owing in great part to the exertions of one of the Emperor's chamberlains, M. d'Havrincourt. From this it would seem that the Emperor is not averse to a certain liberty of expression, and all I hear leads me to believe that the Government is less to blame than its agents, and the agents of the candidates for the pressure which has been exercised.

From Sunday's *Patrie* I copy an extract from a New Orleans correspondent of the 14th November. It confirms much that has already been said on the present attitude of the French Government towards the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln. Speaking of the expedition to Texas as directed against the French occupation of Mexico, it says:—

"Nevertheless men of sense think this last motive childish, and doubt whether the Washington Cabinet entertains such an idea; for it seems now evident enough that, implicitly or explicitly, the French Government and President Lincoln have made mutual concessions—the one in abandoning the South as a prey to the North, without insisting on the intervention which it formerly proposed, and the other in giving up, or seeming to give up, for the present, the pretensions of the Monroe doctrine. This is so well understood that the Con-



federates trust now only in their own swords and their enduring to conquer their independence, which will be so much the more honourable when won."

Admiral Reynaud's successor on the American station is to be Admiral Roucière le Noury, an intimate of Prince Napoleon's. This may also be considered symptomatic of the policy of this Court.

The Spanish Government has a small dispute on the *tupis* with the United States, which it has offered to submit to the adjudication of the King of Belgium. It concerns the line of jurisdiction in the waters round Cuba. A cannon shot used to be interpreted three miles, but now that cannon carry further the Spaniards insist upon drawing the line, not from the shores of the mainland of Cuba, but from the islands and islets which surround it.

In the way of gossip, I may mention that the quarters of all the sovereigns expected at the Congress are said to have been marked out. The Emperor was to have stayed at St. Cloud. The Pope would have had the Tuileries all to himself, the Palace of the Council of State would have lodged the Queen of England, the Palais Bourbon the Emperor of Russia, and Austria would have been put up in the Luxembourg, of joyous memory. I may conclude with a trait of manners. Two gentlemen, both connected with the Paris press, had a difference some weeks ago, which, after long negotiations, resulted in a duel. (One was wounded; but the affair was not settled, and now that he is better, they are to begin again: and I read in a paper a few evenings ago the names in full, and the date of the intended encounter—this very day. Only the place and hour, and where tickets may be had, were not mentioned.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, December 9.

No more convincing proof could be afforded of the strength of Southern feeling in these districts than by the fact that, even in Rochdale, while the Northern speeches of Messrs. Cobden and Bright were yet the topics of the day, a counter-meeting was held within the walls of the self-same building, to enable the misrepresented portion of the constituency to express its sympathy with the Confederate cause. For it would be a great mistake (in which Mr. Cobden has the best reasons for not sharing,) to think that the honourable gentleman's recent speech reflected the opinions of any considerable number of the inhabitants of Rochdale, over and above those who went to hear him. That no serious opposition was offered to his remarks upon American affairs is due principally, of course, to the respect felt for his high personal character, and partly to the consideration that the "public meeting" was nothing more or less than a repetition of the annual interview, *cum privilegio*, between Mr. Cobden and Mr. Cobden's political friends. As for Mr. Bright, instead of stealthily making a speech under Mr. Cobden's protection, he ought to have been boldly confronting his Birmingham constituents—with whom, by the way, now that he has got the better of his horror of "those vile guns," the bellicose Quaker ought to be signally popular.

To return, however, to Rochdale. The meeting was necessarily of a stormy character, and by how much it damaged, so far as the show of unanimity went, the Bright-cum-Cobden demonstration, by so much was it galling to those who sympathised with the North. The lecturer, who was supported on the platform by many of the leading members of the Southern Independence Association, was Mr. T. B. Kershaw, of Manchester.

After some preliminary remarks, the lecturer said: He disclaimed any connection with the party differences in the borough of Rochdale. Whether the people were Northerners or Southerners, he begged to say he had come amongst them that evening from his work as a cotton operative, to speak to cotton operatives upon a question in which every cotton operative was interested; and if he did not communicate to them more information upon the American war than they were hitherto possessed of, they were at liberty when he went away to call him an impostor. He had come to them to exchange ideas upon the American question, and as they were distinguished among Lancashire constituencies in having Mr. Cobden for their representative, he expected they would show their intelligence by listening to what he had to say. On the continent of America there was now raging, in its third year, a gigantic civil war, before which all the civil wars of history were dwarfed into comparative insignificance. During the two years and a-half which had last passed away this war had entailed the sacrifice of a million of men, had made 300,000 women widows, and a million of children orphans. (At this statement, the Northern faction called for three cheers for Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; and without regard to the grotesque incongruity, or perhaps congruity, of the act, the cheers were given, followed by the counter cheers of the Southern portion of the meeting.) Such, continued the lecturer, were some of the effects of the war. (A voice: "What was the cause of the war?") They were told the other night that slavery—slavery—slavery, nothing but slavery,—was the cause of the war; but he had no hesitation in saying that that opinion was confined to Messrs. Bright and Cobden, and to those few Englishmen who had not studied the question. If slavery was the cause of the war why did it not take effect before 1860? The peculiar institution was established by England in 1620; why then had it taken 240 years to bear its natural fruit? The real cause of the war was to be found in the dissolution of the Union—the very Union whose dissolution had been threatened twenty times by the Northern party within the last seventy years. The lecturer then proceeded to quote from the report of the South Carolina Convention (25th December, 1860) in proof that, not slavery, but a long series of constitutional wrongs led to the secession of the Southern States. The right of self-government was set forth in the Declaration of Independence in language that could not be misunderstood. In 1777, when the confederation of the Colonies took place in accordance with the proposition of Benjamin Franklin, the Union was the bond, but the Constitution was the law under which that bond was to be preserved. It was the fundamental article of the Confederation that each State should be sovereign, free, and independent. To that declaration each State subscribed; and when in 1783 the United States were recognised by England, they were recognised as possessing each a sovereign and independent existence. A proof of their sovereignty and independence was not long in being supplied. Scarcely was the Union in being before a serious disagreement arose among certain of the States respecting the contracting of debts; and so early as 1786 the Northern States threatened to secede on that very account. When, at a subsequent period, a large number of amendments was incorporated with the Constitution—amendments which the Northern partisans overlooked when it

answered their purpose to do so—the State of Virginia, in ratifying the amended Constitution, solemnly declared, in the name and on behalf of her people, that the powers granted to the Federal Government might be resumed by the people whenever those powers should be perverted to their injury. In 1861, those powers were so perverted, and therefore Virginia was no rebel in resuming her sovereign rights. After quoting the Honourable William Rawle upon this subject, the lecturer was interrupted with some reference to Daniel Webster. Daniel Webster (he rejoined) was often quoted by the Northern party and perhaps they would be surprised to hear that Daniel Webster could argue "two ways about"—one way, when he was in want of money, and the other way when he was not. In the year 1839, Daniel Webster, who was then accredited to England, was consulted by Baring Brothers as to the legal and constitutional power of the American States to contract loans at home and abroad. And what did Daniel Webster say? He was of opinion that the Legislature of each State had the requisite power, and he uttered the dictum which has been repeated hundreds of times since his day—"That every State was an independent sovereign community, except so far as certain powers which they might otherwise have exercised, had been conferred on the General Government established under the general Constitution." Adverting once more to the question of slavery, the lecturer remarked that it slavery was the sole subject of the war, the Southerners need only have remained in the Union, and they would have had slavery ten times blest to them. The Committee of Thirty-three offered to concede to the Southerners everything they asked for in reference to slavery. Did that look as if slavery was the sole subject of the war? Abraham Lincoln said almost as much on the very steps of the Capitol, and he scarcely stopped short of adding that if the Southerners would remain in the Union, they would find in him the best slave President that ever existed; and the same personage had since admitted that the most foolish act of his life was that of proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves. Yet in spite of all this, Mr. Cobden told them the other evening that it was all slavery—slavery—slavery. Not so Earl Russell, not so Mr. Gladstone, not so Lord Brougham, who united in the sentiment that the North was fighting for empire, and the South for independence. But if they must needs talk of slavery, he would ask who began slavery, who profited by it, and who continued it? The institution was established by the mother country, against the will of the then colonists; and when the mother country abolished it in her own possessions the Yankees perpetuated it in America. According to the testimony of Lord Lyons, the Northern States, at a very recent date, had eighty-three slave ships afloat. What right, then, had the North (or rather Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden on behalf of the North) to taunt the South with slavery? But the inconsistency did not end here, for year after year we ourselves depended upon slave labour for sugar, cotton and rice, and at the same time we were abusing the institution with all the virtuous indignation we could muster for the purpose. But putting aside this spurious sentimentalism, he would ask what commercial interest had England in the success of the North? What had our trade with America amounted to during the first nine months of the present year? Simply £8,000,000 sterling, or at the rate of £12,000,000 per annum. And against that comparatively insignificant amount, what were they losing by the paralysis of the cotton trade? Supposing they were to realise in the forthcoming year all the cotton expected to arise from all parts of the world, £100,000,000 would have to be paid for what should cost but £25,000,000. Did they believe that the enormous difference of £75,000,000 could be lost to the capital of the country without causing a fearful derangement in its finances? For similar reasons, the question was peculiarly a working-man's question. During the two years and a half the war had been waged the cotton operatives had lost £10,000,000 in wages alone, and, according to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, there was the prospect before them of losing as much again; but there was this prospect also, that, when they had lost that amount twice over, the subjugation of the South would be as far off as ever. (The lecturer resumed his seat amid a mingled storm of groans, cheers, and counter cheers, the confusion lasting some minutes.)

The lecture was followed by a vigorous discussion, in the course of which, without putting forth much of his strength, Mr. Kershaw proved himself more than a match for his opponents. It was doubtless a bold stroke of policy on the part of the Southern Independence Association to attack the solitary stronghold of the Northern party in Lancashire—Rochdale; but the result showed that, even at Rochdale, and seemingly under the most disadvantageous circumstances of time as well as place, the Confederate cause is very well able to assert itself, despite the recent anathemas of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright.

The monster petition to Earl Russell, to which I referred some weeks ago, has been signed by 40,000 operatives, and will shortly be presented to his Lordship by a deputation of Lancashire weavers.

It is gratifying to find that the Southern movement here is commanding the attention of the London press. "The object," says the *Press*, "of the Southern Independence Association is widely to disseminate a series of papers showing that the right of secession is inherent in the Constitution of the States, and to hold meetings to petition Parliament to use such means as may lead to the conclusion of the war. It is believed that the recognition of the South by two or three of the great European Powers would produce this result. The large towns of the manufacturing districts are more easily moved to an authoritative expression of opinion than London is. De Quincy writes somewhere of the 'nation of London,' and the phrase is aptly chosen. London is a congeries of cities—a vast heterogeneous collection of different classes, whose pursuits and desires are widely separated. But the northern towns are homogeneous: the idea of trade is their one idea. Their inhabitants are bound together by an adamant chain, though its material is nothing but cotton. Already populous towns like Oldham and Ashton have spoken out in favour of the South; last week Preston followed them, and the war was carried by the indefatigable Mr. Spence as far as the city of Glasgow. The commencement of the session will see Parliament flooded with petitions from every town and from every mill throughout the north. A loud protest will arise against the faintest policy which declines to interfere while men of English blood are uselessly murdering each other by thousands, and while England's most important manufacture is thereby ruined.

It remains to be seen whether the voice of the North will have any effect upon the policy of the Government. It must, we should think, be rather galling to Lord Palmerston, among whose faults want of courage has never been numbered, to be pledged to a cowardly policy. Mr. Gladstone, who long since declared that "the South is a nation," and whose sympa-

thies are entirely with the Confederates in their gallant struggle can scarcely feel satisfied with the Foreign Minister's proceedings. If the Cabinet cannot discover some mode of intervening to promote peace without giving reasonable cause of offence to either party, its members have little right to be called statesmen. The Whigs are on their trial in this matter."

## THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

BY A. T. BLEDSOE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

No. I.

No one with the least taste or talent for historical research could witness the great revolution which now rages in North America, without having his mind roused to consider the astounding phenomena continually forced on his view, or the causes by which those phenomena have been produced. No one with the least tincture of humanity in his nature could behold a war so stupendous in its proportions, and characterised by so many features of the most appalling atrocity, without wishing to comprehend the dreadful secret of its existence. We naturally seek to know why society, why a whole continent, is overwhelmed with such a frightful deluge of miseries.

Hence every great revolution like the present has had its writers as well as its warriors. The Rebellion of 1641 had its Harrington, its Hobbes, its Milton, and its "Vindicie contra Tyrannos," as well as various other writers and writings which sprang from that grand and terrific movement of the human mind. In like manner, the Revolution of 1688 produced a Sidney, a Locke, a Hoadley, a Gordon, and a Plato Redivivus; all of whom discuss some of the great questions pertaining to the social condition and destiny of man. Other convulsions of society have been attended by like phenomena. The French Revolution, as everyone knows, gave rise to an infinity of speculations and theories respecting the origin of society, the foundation and the forms of government, and the causes of revolutions; or, more properly speaking, all these great revolutions, and the works which accompanied them, were produced by the same causes.

It would, then, bespeak a most disgraceful dearth of all capacity for such inquiries in this age, if the American Revolution of 1861 should call forth no serious attempt to comprehend its origin, to explain its causes, and exhibit, in a clear light, the great lessons which it is so well calculated to teach for the guidance and instruction of all future times.

By many persons, indeed, the war which now desolates North America was seen afar off, its distant approaches were more or less distinctly felt, while its manifold causes, visibly at work in the bosom of society, were more or less profoundly meditated. On the nature and the operation of these causes the present writer had bestowed much research and reflection, and had even reduced to writing many of the results of his investigation, long before the war was inaugurated. No prophet was needed to predict its appearance. Never was the explosion of volcano more certainly announced by the uneasy motions and tremblings of the earth. Yet there were men, and that, too, in high places, who were blind to what was about to happen; and when the revolution burst in the midst of thirty millions of people, disclosing all the horrors of war, they knew not what to make of it nor how to explain its appearance. These were interested and blind partisans, who were either unable or unwilling to perceive that the causes which had raised them into power were sinking their country into ruins.

When the Southern States seceded, it was alleged by such persons that this was because they had failed to elect a President, or because they could not always hold the power of the General Government. But this entirely overlooks all the causes which, for many years, had been at work in the bosom of American society, and which finally produced a dissolution of the Union. We should not, however, be surprised at such an error. For it always happens, that a great revolution is ascribed, by those who do not like it or do not understand it, to some insignificant or unjustifiable cause, in order to render it contemptible in the eyes of mankind. The Reformation, for example, was at first attributed to the blind rage and jealousy of a monk because the sale of indulgences had been committed to a different order from his own. But that tremendous reaction by which the foundations of the earth were shaken and the society of Europe disturbed for nearly two centuries, can hardly be explained by the wrath of an obscure monk. This was indeed merely a contemporary slander. No historian of the present day, whether a friend or an enemy of that great event, would condescend to discuss such a supposed cause of the Reformation. "That great contest," says Moehler, in his work on Symbolism, "had its rise in the inmost and deepest centre of human history, as it turned upon the mode whereby fallen man can regain fellowship with Christ, and become a partaker of the fruits of redemption." Other celebrated authors, such as Balme, who have written eloquent and able works against the Reformation, have also traced its roots down into "the deepest centre of human history." The sale of indulgences was merely the occasion of that tremendous revolution; the cause must be sought in the fact, that the age was most profoundly in conflict with itself, the one half warring with the other half.

In like manner, the great revolution of the present day is the result of no superficial or transient cause. It is the outburst of an age at war with itself, precisely at that point, or rather on that continent, in which this conflict has become the most violent and terrific. It was, for at least twenty years, a war of races, and ideas, and interests, and passions, and



words, before it became a war of deeds. History will show the truth of this statement, and for ever refute the poor cotemporary slander, born of the passions of the hour, that the Southern States withdrew from the Union merely because they had failed in a fair political contest for the Presidency, or because they could no longer have all things in their own way.

The authors of this accusation are, indeed, as inconsistent with themselves as they are superficial and unfair. They not only assign different causes for the war; but they vehemently deny on one side of the Atlantic what they as vehemently assert on the other. Thus, Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address, most solemnly declared that he had neither the disposition nor the power to interfere with slavery in the States; that the clause of the Constitution of the United States which enjoined the rendition of fugitive slaves was just as much a part of that instrument as any other; and that he was bound by his oath of office to see it faithfully executed. But while on one side of the Atlantic it has been denied that the war was waged for the extermination of slavery, and even admitted that such a thing could not be attempted without trampling under foot the Constitution and the oath of office, it is invariably vociferated on the other that it is a war against slavery. If this had been said in America, it would have been seen and felt that it is a war against the Constitution, and in direct violation of the President's oath of office. Hence this view of the war is reserved for the more ignorant parts of the population of Europe, who know nothing about the Constitution of the United States, and care nothing about the President's oath of office. But though the reasons, the motives, the causes assigned are in direct conflict, yet each is cunningly adapted to the meridian for which it is intended. It is some comfort to reflect, however, that such superficial and incoherent attempts to gull and deceive the civilised world cannot always prevail.

The truth is, if we weigh all the antecedents of any great revolution, if we consider all the influences which have brought it to pass, we shall find that the real causes are proportioned to the magnitude of the result. We shall certainly find, that the secession of the Southern States was not caused by the failure to elect a President or by the legitimate loss of political power. The real causes were far other and deeper than these. Springing from numerous sources, and all concurring in one tendency, the real causes swelled into a great torrent, by which the Government was gradually undermined, so that when the appointed hour came it furiously rushed to destruction.

Cæsar has often been censured, by a certain class of historians and schoolboys, for refusing to give freedom to Rome; and Washington has been as often praised for giving freedom to America. Both opinions are equally superficial and false. Cæsar and Washington were causes, it is true, as well as results; but still they were results rather than causes. The one was the product of a descending age, of which he was by no means the lowest type or shame; the other was the product of an ascending age, of which he was by far the highest type and glory. Washington, even if he had been so disposed, could no more have wrested from America the freedom towards which she had been struggling from the beginning of her career, than Cæsar could have withheld Rome from the despotism towards which, under the accumulated corruption of ages, she then gravitated with such fatal force. "It was necessary," says Montesquieu, in his "Grandeur et Decadence des Romains," "for the republic to perish; the only question was to know how and by whom it should fall."

Not otherwise has it been with the great republic of America. The causes under which it finally succumbed began, like those of the Roman republic, to operate in the moment of its existence, and only needed time to gain the ascendancy over the causes by which it was, for a brief period, elevated and rendered successful. States do not fall for trifles. Trifles may be the occasion of their fall, but the causes lie deeper, and are more powerful in their operation. These are not seen by superficial observers, or by blind partisans; but still they depress and ruin, as with the hand of fate. "There are general causes," says the author just quoted, "which, acting in each monarchy, either elevate, maintain, or precipitate it; all accidents are subjected to these causes, and if the hazard of a battle—that is to say, a particular cause—has ruined a state, there was a general cause, which furnished the reason why that state ought to perish by a single battle."\* The battle of Hastings decided the fate of England. It was supposed, by her enemies, that the first battle of Manassas would decide the fate of the South: but the South was not ready for a Northern yoke.

The late Sir G. C. Lewis, in his work on "Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics," commends Mr. Alison's analysis of the manifold causes of the French Revolution, and very justly holds it up as a model for all inquiries of the same kind. For every such revolution, as he alleges, is produced by "a multitude of converging causes," all of which terminate in the one grand result. This is most truly and emphatically the case with respect to the tremendous explosion on the continent of North America. To ascribe that event, which is fraught with such deep significance for all the nations of the civilised world, to one or two particular causes, would be as superficial and narrow as unphilosophical and blind, as it would be to find a similar origin for the French Revolution itself. The causes of both revolutions are, in fact, most intimately allied in nature, and in both cases "their name is legion."

\* "Grandeur et Decadence," chap. xviii.

#### EARL RUSSELL'S NEUTRALITY.

(From the *Morning Herald*, December 4th.)

THE partisans of Earl Russell would fain persuade us that the part which he has taken in the promotion of hostile measures against the Confederate States, by interfering with their purchases in this country, under pretence of a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, has been purely ministerial; that he has acted simply as an executive officer of the Queen, and not as a politician desiring, for personal or political reasons, to carry favour with the American Embassy, and to "make things pleasant" with the Federal Government. They would have us believe that he has an honest wish to be neutral and to enforce the neutrality of England; that he is influenced by no motives of servility towards the North or ill-will towards the South, but simply by a wish to maintain the rights of the Sovereign against usurpation on the part of her subjects or encroachment on the part of foreign agents, and to enforce the laws which restrain British subjects from lending aid and assistance in wars wherein Her Majesty is not engaged. Of course, it is difficult for any one to believe this story who has read Lord Russell's despatches—who has seen with what abject meekness he has tolerated the most outrageous acts of Federal officers; with what gross impertinence he has treated the remonstrances of Englishmen injured by those acts; how he has censored the Federal Legation, and by what rude and ungentlemanly discourtesies he has sought a quarrel with the Confederate Government. But let us give him the benefit of that rule of law which forbids the prosecution to call witnesses to the previous bad character of the prisoner, and judge him only by his conduct in the matter in hand—the enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Let us remember that he does not consider himself bound to enforce that Act; that he allowed its systematic violation by the agents of General Garibaldi, and submitted to its evasion by the agents of the Pope; that he never dreamt of putting it in force until solicited to do so for the benefit of Mr. Lincoln's Government, in a war of pure aggression against the sovereign States south of the Potomac. How has he proceeded since that solicitation was made? In the first place, how has he treated the Confederates? He caused the *Alexandra* to be seized on the deposition of certain witnesses. She was tried; it was shown on the trial—waiving all legal questions—that none of these witnesses were entitled to credit, and that some of them were egregious scoundrels, and the vessel was acquitted. How did the Government proceed? Did they release her, and apologise for acting on such flimsy pretences? Nothing of the sort. They entered on a deliberate course of delay and vexation; avowing their intention to carry the case from court to court, interposing every sort of delay in order to prevent the release of the vessel and impose expense on her owners; and this with the certainty before them that if every point of law were ruled in their favour, and a new trial granted, the character of their witnesses is such that no honest man would think of giving a verdict on their testimony. This is not all. With the result of the trial of the *Alexandra*, condemning all similar arrests for the future, Lord Russell has caused every other vessel against which informations have been laid to be seized; and not satisfied with this, he has added to the seizure every species of insult and menace he could offer to the builders; sending guards of marines on board, dismissing the workmen employed, and ordering a whole squadron of ships to watch, with fires banked up and with guns loaded, against the attempted escape of ships not yet ready for sea. And on what sort of evidence? On that of crimps, Confederate deserters, hired spies, and witnesses deliberately suborned to commit perjury by the agents of the Federal Government. For we find that in the case of the *Pampero* information against the suborners has actually been given by some of those with whom they had endeavoured to tamper; and no one doubts by what means the evidence which these men refused to give has been obtained from others. Such persons as those whose names have acquired publicity in connection with these cases do not come forward gratuitously to swear away their own characters as well as the property of others. If the Government do not take prompt measures to punish the offenders in the *Pampero* case, or if international courtesy exempt them from punishment, to demand their removal from England, then no one can pretend in future to believe in the honesty of its motives or the good faith of its "neutrality."

Again, how have the Government—that is to say, how has the noble lord at the head of the Foreign-office—dealt with the complaints preferred of Federal proceedings in violation of our law? These complaints have been frequent and notorious. Every one knows that the Federal navy is principally manned by British seamen; and Lord Russell himself, in an official despatch, has taken notice of the fact. Have any measures been taken to recall these men, now acting, according to the noble lord, in flagrant violation of the Queen's proclamation, or even to secure to them the right of withdrawing from a position which he declares to be unlawful? None whatever. Again, information was given that Federal recruiting agents were busy in Yorkshire. The Home Secretary—one of the closest allies of Lord Russell, and a Whig of the Whigs—took care to stifle the matter, and offer every possible discouragement to those who were endeavouring to have the law carried out; while at that very time English policemen were actively employed at Liverpool as spies in the service of the American Embassy. Recruiting for the Federal army has been going on in Ireland on the largest scale. Week after week a number of deluded subjects of the Queen are openly conveyed across the Atlantic, to assist in burning and plundering on Confederate soil, and finally to manure the fields of Virginia and Tennessee. Every effort has been made to induce the Government to put down this nefarious traffic; but the Government persists in giving it every facility, and has taken no steps whatever to interfere with it; accepting an evasive answer from Mr. Adams as conclusive disproof of a matter of public notoriety. Of course, while Government perseveres in such a policy, private individuals can do very little. Something, however, has been done. Positive and conclusive evidence of a legal nature has been obtained of a flagrant and glaring violation of British sovereignty; not by a secret agent, who might escape in time, and then be audaciously disavowed by Mr. Adams, but by the commander of a Federal man-of-war. Informations have been given before magistrates of the city of Cork of enlistments in Cork harbour by the captain of the *Kearsage*, the victims being Irish subjects of Her Majesty, and the informers eye-witnesses of the offence. The *Kearsage* is now, so far as our Government is concerned, in the same position in which the *Alabama* would have been had she sailed from Liverpool armed, equipped, and manned, ready for hostile operations. The former vessel was not, indeed, originally fitted out at Cork; but she there received an addition of force,

and this, in the eye of the law, is precisely the same thing. It is the duty of the Foreign Secretary to take the strongest measures to bring the Federal Government to see and atone for its conduct in this matter: first, because at the request of that Government we have taken such stringent measures against those who are alleged to have contemplated similar proceedings on the other side; and, secondly, because, on account of a minor offence of the same kind, our ambassador was, not ten years ago, contemptuously dismissed by that Government.

If an outrage of this kind be allowed to pass with impunity, it will be the duty of Parliament to make strict inquiry into the motives which actuate the Administration in treating two Powers, which stand in the same relation to us, in so very different a spirit. We must know what are the influences under which such an extraordinary departure from honourable neutrality and sound policy has been systematically and persistently committed by Her Majesty's advisers. Are they moved by the threats of foreign or of domestic foes; by the blandishments of Mr. Seward or the eloquence of Mr. Foster; by dread of war with the North or of a rupture with the Radicals? Do they tremble for their country, or for their offices? Are they controlled by those "influential friends of the North" of whom Mr. Beecher boasts—the Duke of Argyll, Lord Granville, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright? Or is that policy controlled by a yet lower influence; by an abject cowardice which dare not be impartial between the weak and the strong, and is as insensible to dishonour as sensitive to the very shadow of peril?

THE ALLEGED BREACH OF THE FOREIGN ENLISTMENT ACT.—The Federal sloop of war *Kearsage*, made her appearance off the harbour at an early hour yesterday morning, steaming up from the eastward, and having fallen in with a pilot-boat, she sent ashore fifteen of the men who had taken service on board at the time of her late visit to the port. The men were all in the uniform of the United States Navy, and each was allowed to bring away his clothes, packed in a haversack. They are said to have been sent to them by the commander of the *Kearsage*, on the pretence of their being stowaways, but such a pretext bears its own contradiction on the face of it. On landing the men were detained at the Custom-house, and were individually examined before the following officials:—Mr. Moore, Landing Surveyor, Cork Customs; Mr. Curgenven, R.N., Secretary to Admiral Sir Lewis T. Jones; Mr. Nicholas Seymour, Surveyor of Customs at Cork; Mr. Wickham, Acting Tide Surveyor; and Mr. Greaves, Sub-inspector of Constabulary. The general tenor of the men's statements appears to be that after they had been shipped at Queenstown the *Kearsage* proceeded to Brest; that there several of them had been given the option of taking service on board or leaving the ship; that they all consented to enter the United States service at 12 dols. per month; that they were then supplied with uniforms and assigned their respective posts on board; that they worked on board the ship up to her arrival off Queenstown yesterday morning, and that they were then, without any reason being assigned them, directed to pack up their clothes and were sent ashore. Their impression as to the cause of their dismissal was that it was to be attributed to some disagreement between the captain of the *Kearsage* and the admiral at this port. The statement of each was taken down in writing, and will probably be laid before Government. The landing of the men here after they had been only a few weeks on board (and all of them having been shipped here) is construed into an admission on the part of the commander of the *Kearsage* that he acted illegally in shipping them at all. The men are now at liberty and have returned to their friends in Queenstown, Ringaskiddy, and other parts of the harbour.—*Cork Daily Herald*, 8th inst.

THE FEDERAL SPY SYSTEM.—The following is one of the affidavits sworn before a justice of the peace by workmen in the employ of Messrs. J. and G. Thompson, shipbuilders, of Glasgow, in reference to the attempts made by the Yankee spies to suborn them to give evidence that might be used against the steamer *Pampero*.

#### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN GILCHRIST.

"On the 17th day of October last Mr. Archibald Brodie, formerly carver and gilder, Buchanan-street, Glasgow, called at my house in Govan, proposing to sell carved trusses, &c. On the Tuesday following he called again about the trusses; but before he left he introduced the subject of the steamship *Pampero*, which he proposed that I should call on him at Balloch to inspect the trusses. I did not go to Balloch. On the evening of the 23rd of October last, on going home from work, I found him waiting for me at my house. After waiting some time, I accompanied him on leaving, when he proposed we should adjourn to a tavern in Govan. When there he again introduced the subject of the steamship *Pampero*, and informed me he was commissioned to offer me a handsome sum, and also to pay my passage to North America, and guarantee me an excellent situation there, if I would give certain information about the above steamer; stating, as the reason of his proposal for my emigrating, 'that a party in my position giving such information in such a way would not get a situation anywhere on the Clyde.' Before parting we arranged to meet in T. Hannah's, Gordon-street, Glasgow, to settle the matter. According to that arrangement, I proceeded to Hannah's on the succeeding Saturday evening, when I found Brodie waiting for me. He there proposed the following arrangement—viz., that if I objected to emigrate, a sufficient sum to render me independent of work ever afterwards would be paid me at once; also, that I would leave my employers immediately, and enter their service here at a larger salary than I was receiving (over and above the before-mentioned sum of money). I understood the nature of the work to be that I would require to watch the *Pampero* and report. He also stated they had workmen as spies in Messrs. Thomson's yard reporting to them. Before parting we arranged that I should write my decision on the subject to him, which I did, declining the offer. On the following Monday, at two o'clock, while proceeding home to my dinner, I was informed a gentleman wanted me in a tavern in Govan, and on going there I found Mr. Brodie waiting, with my letter in his hand. He then begged me to reconsider the matter; but having obtained sufficient information to put my employers on their guard against these parties, I did not wait to discuss the matter, but shortly declined the proposals. All which is true.

"JOHN GILCHRIST.

"Clyde Bank Iron Ship-yard,  
30th November, 1863.

"Deposed before me at Glasgow, thirtieth November,  
Eighteen hundred and sixty-three years.  
(Signed) A. G. KIDSTON, J.P."



TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

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THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1863.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund acknowledges the following additional subscriptions—

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Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following additional contribution—

The Lady Louisa Fielding	..	..	£5	0	0
Through H. Hotze, Esq.					

The Fight at Chattanooga.

If we can credit the Federal accounts, the South has sustained the most disastrous defeat of the war in the action near Chattanooga, and a great army is lost to the Confederacy. This would be terrible news, if true; but a careful consideration of the facts, even as they present themselves fresh from the supervision of the Washington authorities, materially reduces their importance, and raises grave doubts as to the degree of credence to be attached to them. It must be borne in mind that there has never yet been a Confederate victory which has not been at first interpreted in New York as a Federal triumph; nor a drawn battle, which, according to Federal testimony, has not resulted in the demoralisation and rout of the Southern soldiers. When Beauregard retreated from Corinth, General Pope announced the break up of his army and the capture of 10,000 of his men; when two days after their victory at Sharpsburg the Confederates crossed the Potomac, Lee's army was announced to be flying, a panic-stricken rabble, into Virginia. At Gettysburg it was the same story. There was the usual flourish of trumpets, the usual exultation, because Meade's army had escaped destruction; and for days the columns of the Federal press teemed with reported captures of guns and trains and prisoners, which in the course of a week were found to be absolute inventions. The public, therefore, will do well to suspend its judgment now, and wait until from Southern sources something definite is learned respecting the condition and position of Bragg's army. That Bragg has sustained a serious reverse, we fear cannot be doubted. That his army is flying, scattered, and in hopeless panic, we utterly disbelieve. And the Federals themselves furnish quite sufficient ground for our withholding belief in these extravagant statements.

According to the accounts from Washington, and we have as yet none other, the action between Bragg's and Grant's armies took place on the 23rd and 26th

ult., very near to the scene of Bragg's and Rosecrans' encounter. On the 23rd the two armies held the ground they had occupied for the previous six weeks: the Confederates intrenched on the crest of Missionary Ridge and on Lookout Mountain, the Federals at no part of their line two miles distant, and here and there within shelling range of the Confederate batteries. But almost in proportion to the weakening of Bragg's line by the despatch of Longstreet's corps to Knoxville, had been the strengthening of Grant's position by the arrival of Sherman with two divisions of the Army of the Mississippi. His arrival must have brought up the Federal numbers to little less than 90,000 men, against which Bragg could not by any possibility muster more than 50,000. To add to the danger of an attack, the Federals under Hooker had gained a point whence they could secure the regular transport of supplies between Bridgeport and Chattanooga, so that within a very few days after reaching General Thomas, the Federal reinforcements were enabled to take the field. On the other hand, Bragg held a very strong position, which he had had plenty of time to intrench; so that the numerical superiority of the enemy may have been to some slight extent counterbalanced. It is tolerably certain that, prior to the 23rd, Bragg, fearing an attack, had determined on a retreat, and that Grant, having received intimation of his intended movement, resolved to anticipate him. Accordingly, Sherman's corps was moved from right to left, and extended so as to outflank the Confederate right on the east end of the Ridge; and on the morning of the 23rd a reconnaissance in force was executed by a division under General Frazer from the left centre, for the twofold purpose of ascertaining the strength of the Confederates in that quarter, and of occupying a slight eminence midway between the lines of the two armies, in order to protect the flank movement of General Sherman's corps. At the same time Hooker's corps closed up on the extreme right, and it was expected throughout both camps that a great battle was imminent on the morrow. Whether Bragg had moved away any considerable portion of his troops is doubtful; but it is believed that many of his guns of position were withdrawn previously to the engagement.

The 24th passed in comparative quiet, General Grant completing his dispositions for an attack along the whole line, and Bragg, in all probability, preparing for that most difficult of all operations, a retreat in the face of an attacking army. On the 25th, Sherman began the battle by attacking the Confederate right. His troops appear to have fought bravely, and were well led. But at twenty yards from the crest they broke under the terrible fire of the Confederates, and were driven back with heavy loss. Rallying on their supports and reinforced, they commenced the assault anew, but were again repulsed, the Confederates pursuing them to their reserves. But in his efforts to retain his right Bragg had been compelled to weaken his centre, and Grant, perceiving the chance, hurled two heavy divisions against it and pierced it. The main body pressed northward by the advancing Federals, and carrying with it the whole Confederate right, was finally driven eastward from the Ridge. In the meantime Hooker had attacked the Confederate left, with what success we can only guess. General Grant reports on the evening of the 24th that Lookout Point and the slopes had been carried; but on the 25th so far corrects himself as to write that Bragg retreated from Lookout Mountain only on the night of the 24th. On the 26th it was reported that Bragg's whole army was bivouacking on the south bank of Chickamauga creek, and General Grant claimed a complete victory. The Federal casualties are declared to be light: an obvious absurdity, considering Sherman's two repulses, the partial success of Hooker, the positions to be carried and the men who held them. But the Confederate losses in men and guns are, with the usual Yankee "bounce," placed at a very high figure. So far the affair is intelligible. Bragg's army had been attacked by a superior

force, and after a days' hard fighting been driven from its ground. A day intervenes; there is no fresh engagement, and we learn with astonishment that without striking another blow, without even being struck, Bragg's army has turned tail; leaving artillery, stores, caissons, and muskets, and literally flying in regular Bull Run fashion, to Dalton, some thirty miles distant, destroying bridges and everything else in its headlong panic. Now it is possible that Bragg's army has retreated, and that, like a prudent general, he has made the best use of his start. But what is there in the Federal accounts of the battle of the 24th to justify this sudden break-up of his army, or to induce us to believe that it was too badly handled to be worthy the name of an army? Bragg, it must be remembered, is falling back into a friendly country, upon his supplies and his basis of operations. Every mile of Grant's advance increases the difficulties and dangers of the Federals, and separates them by a larger interval from Burnside. We hesitate, therefore, before we credit either the precipitate flight of Bragg's army, or the perilous movement of Grant's army, into the heart of Georgia. Far more probable is the despatch of Federal troops northward to the relief of Burnside. At the latest date, that general held out, and Longstreet had planted his batteries to command the town. The bad news from Chattanooga would undoubtedly hasten a solution one way or the other. A protracted siege would give time for Federal reinforcements to come up, and would lose East Tennessee to the Confederates. A successful assault would far more than balance the disaster at Chattanooga, and render the Federal tenure of Tennessee an uncertainty. Any mail may relieve us of this terrible suspense.

For the moment our attention is divided between East Tennessee and Virginia. In all probability, long ere this, the armies of Virginia and the Potomac have once more closed in deadly conflict; possibly another great engagement may have been added to the decisive battles of history. Meade's army had recrossed the Rapidan in three divisions, making for Orange Court-house. Lee had offered no opposition. But it was known that his army was close at hand, and that a battle would be fought. Heavy cannonading had been heard. Alarming rumours were in circulation in Washington and New York. It was reported that Lee had marched upon Meade's communications and destroyed his trains and that a great disaster had befallen the invading army. Official silence confirmed the worst alarms of the public, and gold sprang suddenly from 43½ to 47½. And so the curtain falls upon this terrible tragedy, to rise in a few hours perhaps, upon fresh fields of carnage and new horrors, and yet bring us no nearer to the concluding act.

Cotton still King.

SOME of our contemporaries are inclined to congratulate the country on its supposed convalescence from the effects of the cotton famine: rejoicing that Lancashire has passed through her worst trials, and that the general prosperity of the country has not been impaired by the heaviest disaster ever suffered by a principal branch of its industry. To us these jubulations seem, to say the least of it, altogether premature. We do not see any cause for rejoicing either in the actual or the prospective state of Lancashire. It is true that a certain number of mills have been opened—that at the end of October one-half of the operatives still remaining in Lancashire were working full time, one-fifth half time, and only about thirty per cent. were wholly unemployed. But before we congratulate ourselves on this situation we ought to go a little further into details. First, what is the condition of the employed? In ordinary times, no doubt, a factory hand in full work is very well off. Paid by the piece, at the ordinary rate, and employed in middling Orleans, he can make a very comfortable living; and the joint earnings of a family suffice, not merely for present well-being, but for considerable savings. But we must remember, first, that nearly everything which these men previously possessed had been swept



away; their property sacrificed, their furniture sold, their clothing in pawn, their rents in arrears, their debt at the local shop swollen to the largest amount for which the shopkeeper could give credit, their last penny drawn out from the savings bank or co-operative store. They have had to begin the world again, as ruined men. Secondly, they are, in most cases, still paid at the old rates; but they do not earn the old wages. It is a very different task to spin a pound of yarn or weave a yard of cloth from Orleans and from Surat cotton. Even when the latter is at its best, its shortness of staple and general inferiority make it far less workable than American; and Surat now consists in great part of rubbish so dirty, worthless, and unworkable, that the spinners and weavers, when it is put into their hands, are ready to cry with vexation and despair. They cannot earn two-thirds of their former income, even by full work, on this detestable material. Those who have but half work have not, in ordinary times, more than a bare subsistence; and therefore, with Surat instead of Orleans, they can hardly keep the wolf from the doors. We need not say that the manufacturers are making no such profits as they used to make, and are thankful if, at the end of the year, they have not been losers. This is the case of those who are at work. The unemployed who depend on parochial or voluntary alms number 170,000; of whom 52,000 are wholly, and 38,000 partially, dependent on the relief committees; involving an expenditure of, we suppose, not less than £7,000 per week. Worst of all, their long dependence on charity, and the effects of despair—seeing that the fruits of thrift and forethought have been swept away, and that the most provident are now no better off than their neighbours—have fatally influenced the temper and character of the people. They have ceased to rely on themselves; they have lost that proud feeling of independence which was wont to distinguish them; they are becoming used to alms and idleness; and frequent complaints are preferred by employers that their operatives are as willing to depend on charity as to accept the scantily remunerated work which is all that can now be offered them.

Nor do we see any prospect of speedy improvement. Extravagantly sanguine estimates have been framed of next year's probable supply, which are not in the least likely to be realised. But the question of supply is at this moment secondary to the question of demand. Is there any reason to suppose that there will be a market for even half of what Lancashire could produce, at prices that will make production remunerative? We think not. In the first place, a great number of consumers of cotton goods cannot afford to pay such prices; and the decrease of demand from this cause alone will probably so contract the market as not to leave room for one-half of an ordinary year's production. Secondly, the risks are now so great that only speculative men dare incur them. Thirdly, the price of calico has now been raised so enormously, and its quality so much deteriorated, that it will probably, for many uses, be superseded by linen. Fourthly, the enhanced price of the raw material will of itself suffice to keep the smaller manufacturers out of the market. In former days, when cotton cost one-fourth of its present price, they had only just sufficient capital to work. For the last three years their capital has been wasting away, and they now find that the amount required to carry on their business—the floating capital demanded, irrespective of that sunk in buildings and machinery—is at least thrice as great as formerly. They are unable to go on. Their richer neighbours suffer, though in a lesser degree, from the same cause. And generally—since the floating capital of Lancashire has not increased, since the larger portion of it was always required for the purchase of cotton, and since the amount needed for that purpose is now at least quadrupled, it is quite plain that—unless the profits of the trade were such as to attract capital from other quarters, which they notoriously are not—its operations must be contracted from mere want of means to extend them to their former dimensions. Taking all these things into account, we see not the

least reason to anticipate an increase of employment in Lancashire for many months to come; and we are not at all surprised to learn that during the last month there has been a considerable diminution; that the number employed at full time has decreased by some 17,000, and that of unemployed increased by 5,000.

Nor do we conceive that the country at large has escaped scatheless from the mischiefs wrought by the suspension of the supply on which its most important trade depended. A very large proportion of the income of the working-classes, and of the lower, middle-class, is spent in clothing, of which no inconsiderable part is of calico. That cotton clothing should have trebled, and all clothing greatly increased in price, is for this large part of the population a real and serious misfortune, and involves a considerable national loss. The distress of Lancashire, again, cannot but have affected injuriously the wages in all unskilled employment—already deplorably low. But, nevertheless, our contemporaries point exultingly to the Board of Trade tables, and seeing that the exports do not fall off, declare that the prosperity of the country is, on the whole, as great as ever. It would be sufficient, perhaps, to expose the utter futility of this assertion by pointing out that there is an actual increase in the value of cotton-yarn and cloth exported; so that, if this test were worth anything, we must pronounce the cotton trade to be as flourishing as ever. But we will look a little more closely into the matter.

Putting aside hardware, our chief exports during the ten months ending October 31st were cottons, woollens, and linens. The first furnished one-third of our total exports, and the two latter, together, about one-third of the remainder. It is, therefore, upon the value of these articles exported that the statement of our continued prosperity is based. Now, we must observe that the prosperity of the country is measured, not by the amount, but by the profit of its trade—by the wages and profits gained on the manufacture and sale of the things it exports, not by the total receipts from them. It is better for England to pay £20,000,000 for her raw material and receive £25,000,000 for her exported manufactures, than to pay £34,000,000 for the former and receive £36,000,000 for the latter. The value of our exported calico and cotton yarns consists principally of the value paid for their raw materials: and it is only the balance that represents any gain received by our workmen, manufacturers, or merchants. The fact really is, that while the nominal value of our exports has increased, the amount of goods exported has fallen off, and the profits received therefrom have fallen off in still greater proportion. If we wish to obtain, from a comparison of the present returns of the Board of Trade with those of previous years, a fair idea of our position, we must strike off at least two-thirds of the value of exported cottons, and 10 per cent. on that of woollens and linens, as due to causes which make the nation poorer and not richer. In very truth, instead of increasing, our actual exports seem to be falling off by something like 25 per cent.

And this is not all. We are now beginning to feel, in an unexpected direction, the pressure of the cotton famine. At first the almost total suppression of the trade of Lancashire increased the amount of capital in the market, and lowered the rate of interest. In the slang of the city "money was easy;" and accordingly, traders unaffected by the distresses of Lancashire, believed, readily enough, that the country was prosperous. The partial revival of the trade of Lancashire recalled thither all the capital that had been formerly employed therein; and withal a new circumstance, not duly considered by the moneyed world, began seriously to affect their markets. The enhanced price of cotton, being out of proportion to the reduction of supply, required a larger amount of capital to be employed in the import trade; and, from certain peculiarities in the condition of that trade, this absorption of capital took place in a way particularly alarming to the sensitiveness of the commercial community. Political economy tells us that a drain of bullion

ought not to produce a greater effect than a drain of capital in any other form upon the rate of interest—that is, upon the price which one man is willing to pay for the use of another man's capital. It is clear that this price would naturally depend, not upon the amount of the currency, but on that of the loanable capital of the country. However this may be, there is no question that, under the Bank Act of 1844, which limits the operations of the great fountain of credit by the stock of bullion it possesses, any considerable withdrawal of the precious metals from this country has always an immediate and very restrictive effect upon trade, by raising, sometimes to an enormous height, the rate charged by the Bank, and therefore by other dealers, for discounting bills. Now a drain of bullion does not, except in very peculiar cases, arise from an increase of payments to one of the civilised countries with which we trade. Such debts are generally discharged in other ways. But when we suddenly incur a heavy debt to a semi-civilised country, where there is a strong love for the precious metals, and an absence of those extensive commercial relations which enable us to set off our credit with one commercial country against our debt to another, we have generally to pay in gold and silver. And this has happened now. It is not merely that we pay more for cotton than we used to pay; it is that formerly we paid the price of our cotton to a civilised people, with whom we settled in a regular mercantile way, partly through their large consumption of our exports, and partly through their indebtedness to our debtors elsewhere; whereas now we are dealing with Orientals, who have few transactions with Europe, who will not increase their purchases from us, and who insist on being paid in cash. Hence the drain of bullion for the East; and hence the rapid rise in the rate of discount from 3 to 5, 6, and 8 per cent; a rise which has greatly hampered and still more greatly alarmed all commercial men, but the necessity of which was clear beyond doubt. The whole of the inconvenience thus entailed on English trade and industry is directly traceable to the interruption of the supply of cotton from the Southern States of America.

In conclusion, we may point out two further effects of this last result of that interruption which have escaped most observers—one actual and the other prospective. A rise in the rate of discount affects the price of all securities; but, for obvious reasons, it affects chiefly those of a "speculative" character, which may require the man who trades in them to hold for a considerable time in order to realise at a profit, and which consequently may oblige him to borrow large sums of money. The Confederate Cotton Loan is certainly classed, on the Stock Exchange, among such securities; and the serious and rapid fall it has sustained is as much attributable to the general state of the money market as to the alarm occasioned by recent news from America. On the other hand, the financial condition of Europe threatens the moneyed community of the Northern States with serious perils. Hitherto, whenever the rate of discount in London has been as high as at present, the cause has been manifest in a deficiency of the harvest, and the consequent necessity of importing a vast quantity of corn. Whatever inconvenience the North, as a trading country, might sustain from the dearthness of capital in Europe was more than counterbalanced by her gains, as a corn-growing country, from the high price of bread-stuffs. Now, for the first time, capital is dear and corn is cheap; the rate of discount is 8, and will soon be 10, per cent., while the price of wheat is lower than it has been for many years. Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that the news of the enhanced value of money in London will create something like a panic in New York—a panic which may prove fatal to the stability of Mr. Chase's flimsy financial edifice. And thus, not improbably, we may "see the engineer hoist with his own petard," and retribution wrought upon the authors of so much mischief and misery, not by the hand of man, but simply by that reaction of their own misdeeds, which is the chosen instrument of Providence for the chastisement of evildoers.



## The Cessation of Military Exchanges.

AMONG the amenities introduced by Christianity and chivalry into the practice of modern warfare, one of the most important relates to the exchange of prisoners. No such usage seems to have obtained in ancient times, save in an irregular manner and in exceptional instances. The rule of war before the ages of chivalry was one of simple and unmitigated savagery, extending not unfrequently to absolute extermination. This was natural enough where the object was not the redress of a wrong, but the destruction of a foe; where the end sought was not the submission of an enemy to reasonable terms of peace, but either the conquest of a great part of his dominions or his absolute reduction to a state of vassalage. Warriors who did not hesitate to slaughter the men and enslave the women and children of a captured town were not likely to give any other option to prisoners of war than between death and slavery. And there seems to have been no great disposition on the part of warlike nations to redeem the captives taken from them; who were deemed to have forfeited their manhood and tarnished their honour by submission to the enemy. The strict military code of Sparta forbade alike retreat and surrender; and the capitulation of Sphacteria, which would have been considered by any modern nation a matter of simple duty to save a useless effusion of blood, was regarded with horror at Sparta, and surprise throughout Greece. The austere virtue of Roman conservatives long cherished a similar distrust of men who had once given up their swords—

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli  
Dissentientis conditionibus  
Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti  
Perniciem veniens in ævum,  
Si non periret immiserabilis  
Captiva pubes.

Christian civilization has introduced a milder code. It is no longer held that soldiers disgrace themselves by surrendering when defence has clearly become hopeless, and further resistance can only end in purposeless slaughter. And in the same spirit the refusal of quarter, except under extraordinary circumstances, has come to be regarded as utterly inadmissible in a war between Christian nations. Similar feelings have introduced the rule of exchange of prisoners. To detain the enemy's soldiers in captivity for the mere purpose of making them suffer, while keeping at the same time an equal number of its own troops in the enemy's prisons, is held, in a Christian government, an unpardonable outrage on civilisation. The violation of this rule is scandalous, even in domestic strife, when once insurrection has acquired the proportions and permanence of civil war. In the rebellion against Charles I. both parties at first exchanged prisoners or released them on parole; and it was not until the rebels felt that victory had declared on their side that they gave vent to the malignity of the Puritan nature by murdering their captives. In the war of 1745, Charles Edward refused to hold his prisoners even as hostages for the safety of his partisans; and the manner in which this generosity was requited in the civil war, history has stigmatized as a crime. England did not refuse to exchange prisoners with her revolted Colonies, and that the French republicans did so in La Vendée was justly held to cast an additional stain even on the infamous reputation of that horde of assassins. At the outbreak of the present war in America the North manifested a disposition to refuse exchanges, until compelled to give way by the execrations of Europe and by the captures effected at Manassas. This was in perfect accordance with the character of the war on which it had entered and the spirit by which it was actuated. No modern nation ever before deliberately set itself to conquer and reduce to vassalage eleven sovereign States, or deliberately proposed, as the means of conquest, the gradual exhaustion of the whole male population of the enemy's country on the field of battle. It is right and natural that, in a war undertaken and waged on heathen principles, Christian precedents and civilised usages should be set aside; that the hostile territory should be wasted by fire and sword; that women should be outraged, old men and children murdered, houses fired over the head of their owners, slaves incited to rebellion and murder, and to every crime of which the lowest races of mankind are capable, when drunk with blood and lust. It is quite natural that a people waging such war in such fashion should begin by threatening to hang their prisoners; should be frightened out of this diabolical intent by finding that they were likely to lose more prisoners than they could take; should then agree to exchange; should take every opportunity, despite that arrangement, of murdering their captives in cold blood—as Butler, and McNeil, and Burnside have done; and, finally, the moment they found, or imagined, a pre-

ponderance of prisoners in their favour, should without plea or excuse have immediately suspended the exchange, and take advantage of its suspension to inflict every insult and mortification that vulgar spite—the spite of a cowardly and malignant race—can devise upon the bravest and most distinguished of their captives. There is nothing in all this of which other barbarians have not been guilty; and nothing, therefore, which was not to be expected from the subjects of Abraham Lincoln.

Their advocates in this country, however, have now and then the grace to be ashamed of them; and desperate efforts are made either to conceal or to palliate their brutal excesses, sometimes by an impudent denial of notorious facts, and sometimes by counter-charges against the Confederates of acts supposed to provoke and justify the atrocities committed by the Yankees. When we remember what has been the invariable practice of the Southern Government, generals, and soldiery, as recorded by every reliable witness, we know how to estimate the probability of these stories. It is in evidence that, in two invasions of Northern territory, the Southern army has never retaliated the outrages inflicted on Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Mississippi. No wanton ravage has ever been committed; no Northern home has suffered the fate of Mr. Mason's pleasant and hospitable dwelling; no Northern town has shared the doom of Jackson and Darien; no Federal captives have been shot in cold blood; no Northern woman has been insulted; no vengeance for the horrible scenes of Beckham's Landing has been taken on Northern soil. While the Yankees have robbed and murdered in the manner of Sepoys, the Southerners have behaved with even more than the forbearance displayed by English troops in European warfare. The discipline enforced by Lee and Johnston is as strict as that maintained by the Iron Duke, under provocations which, thank God, England has never suffered. And yet some Federal organs have had the impudence to maintain that the cessation of the exchange of prisoners is due to the conduct of the Confederates.

The fact, as proved to demonstration by the published correspondence, is, that this cessation was the act of the Federal Government; and that the Confederate Commissioner has done his utmost to reopen the exchange on the basis laid down by the orders of the War Department of the United States, but has received a peremptory refusal: also, that this refusal was not given until the Federal Government conceived that it had everything to gain by the interruption, inasmuch as it found itself in possession of an unprecedented number of Southern prisoners, and believed that the maintenance of its captives was a heavy burden on the resources of the Confederacy.

It has been pretended that the refusal of the South to exchange coloured prisoners was the reason for the rupture of the arrangement previously concluded by the North. If this were so, the Federal Government would still remain without excuse. When the arrangement was made, it was never contemplated that it should include runaway slaves; nor is it in accordance with the laws of war that men of this sort should be entitled to the privileges of soldiers. The North has, in the first place, no right so to extend a military compact as to make it cover a class of cases not originally included in it, and which, as is admitted on all hands, no Southern negotiator ever dreamt of including. Secondly, these so-called negro soldiers are not soldiers at all, or employed as such; in point of fact, they are simply labourers in the Northern camp, bandits and murderers out of it. In point of law, they are, by the law of the States in which they are found, slaves; by the law of nations, traitors; by no law or pretence of law are they either citizens or soldiers. If the Southerners choose to shoot them whenever they take them they are fully justified in doing so, for these wretched creatures are exactly in the position of deserters. It is not for their seducers to take advantage of their own wrong, and plead on their own behalf the compulsion employed and the utter incapacity of their victims to understand the nature of their acts or the risks they incurred. These things constitute the negro's claim to the mercy of his captors, but they give him no status and no rights under the laws of war. By those laws he is a criminal deserving of death, and the proposal that he shall be exchanged is an outrageous insult and an impudent mockery. But it happens that the refusal to exchange fugitive slaves has nothing whatever to do with the interruption of the exchanges. It is brought in merely by an after-thought, as a convenient excuse. Not a word about it occurred in the original correspondence; and President Lincoln himself informed a petitioner on the subject that the exchanges should not be stopped on this ground—that runaway slaves and their officers knew the risk they were running, and must take their chance.

We regret exceedingly that the system of exchanging prisoners too sick or too severely wounded safely to endure the fatigues of transportation is

allowed to go on. But the fault lies entirely with the North, which persists in sending such prisoners across the lines. Some exchange must be made; and as the Confederates can hardly be asked to exchange convalescent for incurable invalids, we do not know how they can do otherwise than return in kind the horrible courtesies of the enemy.

Charges and counter-charges of maltreatment of prisoners are made on both sides. Without entering into details, we call the attention of our readers to a few principal facts on this subject. First.—It is proved by the unexceptionable testimony of Colonel Fremantle and a host of concurrent witnesses, that Yankee prisoners are never insulted or reviled in the South, either by the army or by the people: while it is notorious that the Confederate prisoners have on more than one occasion been actually mobbed by the Northern rabble, and with difficulty rescued by their military guard. Second.—The prisoners at Richmond are lodged in the tobacco-warehouses of that city—the best accommodation that it affords, being necessarily weather-tight, and, by the nature of their ordinary contents, free from vermin. Third.—They are, according to abundant evidence, quite as well tended when sick or wounded, both by Southern doctors and by Southern ladies, as the Confederate soldiers; and this at a time when the North declares medicines contraband of war. Fourth.—It is notorious that Confederate prisoners in Northern hospitals have been treated with the most cruel neglect, and on some occasions brutally insulted by women, the wives of Northern officers, even in their last moments. Fifth.—The prisoners at Richmond are as well fed as Confederate soldiers, as well as the supplies available will allow; and it has been confessed by Northern newspapers that the assertion put forward by the Federal Government, that it had been refused permission to send rations to them, was an utter and unmitigated falsehood; the only thing refused being permission to send Federal spies in charge of those rations. Sixth.—No personal constraint or ill-usage has been put on any Yankee officers prisoners in the South. Southern officers in the North, on the contrary, have been subjected to the foulest outrages. General Morgan, one of the most brilliant officers in the Confederacy—the Garibaldi of America—is at this moment confined as a felon, having been taken prisoner during an invasion of Ohio. The United States Government being called to account for this atrocity, replied that General Morgan was thus treated in retaliation for the similar usage of one Colonel Straight, captured by the Confederates. It was answered that Colonel Straight was in no way treated differently from any other prisoner of war; whereupon the Federal authorities withdrew their former answer, admitting it to be a lie, and declared that General Morgan was not in their custody, but in that of the State of Ohio! We waive all comment on this story; it is in itself a sufficient comment on the allegations of the Federal advocates, and a complete answer to all their complaints as to the treatment of Yankee prisoners in the Confederate States.

## The Negro's Place in Nature.

THE very able, learned, and truly philosophic paper lately read by Dr. Hunt before the Anthropological Society, and which was published in the last two numbers of THE INDEX, cannot fail to command the critical attention of the scientific world, and the consequent discussion thereon will, it is to be hoped, do much towards solving the problem on which it treats. But it will be unfortunate if only those who are professed anthropologists should give heed to this valuable contribution to a hitherto greatly neglected, but highly important, subject. In the investigation of the negro's place in nature the statesman, the philanthropist, and the Christian are not less interested than the philosopher. The truism that nothing has been created in vain, is especially applicable to man, the noblest work of the Creator. In the same country and among the same race there are diversities of gifts, and the general welfare of the community is best advanced, not by vainly striving to bring about an equality, but by each class occupying itself in the sphere of usefulness for which it is especially adapted. And this principle appertains to all the different races that inhabit the earth. The golden rule for the individual, for the nation, for all the peoples of the globe, is, that happiness and progress depend upon the right man being in the right place. Dr. Hunt justly deprecates the misery that has arisen from ignorance and neglect of this law, and from this cause the negro has suffered more than any other race. Instead, then, of using the negro as a political shuttlecock; it is the bounden duty of all those who desire to promote his welfare to first find out his proper place



in nature, and then to employ all legitimate means to see that he is where he should be.

But this inquiry cannot be prosecuted with any measure of success unless we are actuated by the motive that evidently prompted Dr. Hunt—an earnest, single desire to discover the truth. So long as the beam of prejudice is in the eye we cannot discern the truth, be it ever so palpable and manifest to the unclouded vision. We are never tired of reciting the marvellous progress of physical science since the days of Bacon. To what do we owe the mighty revolution? To what do we owe the wonders of modern chemistry, and the steam-engine, and the electric telegraph? To men of science becoming teachable instead of continuing dogmatic, and instead of seeking for facts to support pet theories, that they discarded all theories that were not based upon ascertained facts. If we adopt the like course with respect to moral and social science, the results will be equally satisfactory. In proof of this we may adduce the essay we are considering. Dr. Hunt's facts, taken separately, are sometimes antagonistic to favourite theories, but yet the impartial conclusions derived from the whole of them are evidently true and useful, and so far from distressing are eminently calculated to comfort and reassure the philanthropist.

The leading facts about the negro are few in number, but they are sufficient to enable us to discern clearly his place in nature. The anatomist points out the differences between the conformation of the negro and the white races, and tells us that the brain of the negro is of smaller capacity. This class of evidence, though very important, is principally useful as an explanation of other phenomena. If anatomists had been silent we should still have known that the negro is inferior to the white man, though we should not have been aware of the immediate organic cause. If the negro race had been equal or nearly equal to other races, it would, like them, have had an independent history; but the negro has no history. When we trace his existence out of Africa in all ages we find him occupying a servile position, and at home his existence has been a blank. The negroes have never done anything in literature or science, not even to the extent of inventing a grammar. How is this? The negro has increased and multiplied as fast as other races and has had the same extraneous advantages. There is no other explanation than that the negro is indubitably inferior in intellect.

The next fact which we have to look at is the condition of the race in Africa. It is utterly impossible to exaggerate the savage barbarity and the utter degradation of the negro at home. Upon this point we have ample and concurrent testimony. Slavery of the most hideous kind prevails; human sacrifices are the rule, not the exception, and there is an almost inconceivable depth of immorality. All the accounts we have from numerous and intelligent travellers are truly horrible. And moreover, the numerous efforts that have been made to civilise and Christianise the negro in Africa have proved disastrous failures. It is, of course, not to be inferred from this that we should cease our endeavours, but the fact assists us in arriving at a conclusion as to the negro's place in nature.

What in modern times has been the condition of the negro abroad? In the West Indies the experiment has been tried of giving the negro full independence, and the result has been that a garden has become a wilderness, because the negro, except under compulsion, will not labour. In the Confederate States the negro race has been in subordination to the white race, and the result is, that it has made wonderful progress—that the savage has become a docile labourer, and that the heathen has become a Christian.

What, then, is the conclusion from these facts? Not, perhaps, that the negro should remain in perpetual slavery, but surely that the guidance and the intellect and the will of the white man are indispensable to him.

The negro is far from being devoid of good qualities. In the Confederate States we see that the domestic virtues may be instilled into him, and that he, like the rest of mankind, is capable of receiving and profiting by the Christian religion. If any better kind of subordination can be devised than the *de facto*, not the theoretical, system of slavery which exists in the South, by all means let that plan be propounded. But it must be apparent to the philanthropist and the Christian that the best condition of life in which the negro has until now been placed is that in which he is found in the Confederate States. Let it be distinctly understood that we are not engaged in defending or even in treating of slavery in the abstract. It would be illogical for us to assert from the above premises that the peculiar institution of the South is the only system that meets the requirements of the negro. What we do say is, that for the negro to be happy and useful he must be in immediate subordination to a superior race. And it is right that we should

remark that we do not pretend to speculate as to the future of the negro. We take him as he is. So wonderful has been the progress of the coloured race under the mild, humane, and Christian rule of the Southerners, it has so greatly improved physically and morally, it has become so Christianised, and all in the space of half a century, that, supposing that the negro does not become the victim of New England cupidity, there is a fair prospect, not of the coloured race becoming the equal of the white race, but of so improving as to make the very mildest form of subordination sufficient.

One of the prejudices that makes the reception of the truth about the negro very difficult is, that—intellectual and social equality are indispensable to happiness, and, therefore, to admit that the negro must always be in subordination to the white race is to condemn him to perpetual unhappiness. There never was a prejudice more unfounded. Is the child under proper control less happy than the urchin of the streets of London who is free from all control? Or to take a more general illustration. It will be conceded that women are less intellectual than men, and that physically, politically, and even socially, they are subordinate to the sex which is physically and intellectually stronger. But are women, therefore, unhappy? Would women be happier if the Yankee notion of the equality of the sexes was carried out? On the contrary, society would suffer from women being taken from their proper sphere of subordination, and women would be less happy. We are not, of course, instituting any comparison between women and negroes, but only showing that intellectual inferiority, and consequent physical, political, and social subordination, are not incompatible with happiness, which does not consist in equality, but in each one performing the part adapted to his or her capacity.

Illustrations are however hardly necessary, because we have the negro in the Confederate States in subordination to the white race, and we can see how he fares under such circumstances. In Africa, as we have already observed, the negro is a savage and a heathen, and in a state of inconceivable degradation. In the West Indies he is idle and dissolute. In the Southern States he is, so every traveller avers, industrious, thriving and Christianised; there is not on the face of the earth a class of labourers so happy. All his wants are supplied, and he enjoys the comforts of religion. What more can the Christian or the philanthropist desire for him? Do we want the negro to continue as he is in Africa, a savage and a heathen? Do we want him to be as he is in the West Indies, a curse and an encumbrance? The philanthropist and the Christian must reply that it is better that he should be as he is in the Southern States, blest and a blessing. We may admit then, whether we are or are not emancipationists, fully and without hesitation, the conclusions that are suggested by Dr. Hunt's painstaking and clever essay. The negro's place in nature is in subordination to the white race; but let us be glad, that subordination, the result of intellectual inferiority, does not preclude happiness in this world, and thank God that no intellectual qualification is necessary for eternal Salvation.

#### LIEUT.-COL. FREMANTLE ON THE SOUTH.\*

WITH his eyes open, and without hunting for queer sights and listening for queer stories to make matter for a book, Colonel Fremantle passed three months in the Confederate States. What he saw—he tells very little of what he heard—he jotted down, as occasion served, in a diary, and this diary he has published without any dressing, and with very few comments and opinions of his own. Colonel Fremantle is, so far as the transatlantic struggle is concerned, a representative Englishman. When the war broke out he was neutral, with a slight bias in favour of the North, because of the Southern institution of slavery; but as the war went on he became disgusted with the conduct of the Northerners, and felt an earnest sympathy with the gallantry and determination of the Southerners. His visit to the Confederate States has fully confirmed his favourable impression of the people who are now, at great odds and without a friend in the world—we mean a friend who renders any practical aid—fighting right nobly the battle of national independence. We warn the Federal Government to do what they can to perfect the blockade. If the South were open to travellers, if other people could readily perform the journey accomplished by Colonel Fremantle, and the Confederate States could be seen as they are, we venture to say that the moral sympathy for the Confederates would become so strong, and the detestation of Federal duplicity would become so intense, that it would be considered infamous, as it is now considered unmanly and ungentlemanly, to side with the North, and not to cordially wish the South success. Thousands, however, will read the impartial testimony of Colonel Fremantle, and none but Northern hirelings can do so without their hearts paying a tribute of admiration to the nation that is now being tried in the furnace of affliction, and which scornfully refuses to purchase immunity from suffering

by surrendering the liberties bequeathed to them by and purchased by the blood of their English forefathers. It is not so much republican institutions that are on trial, as whether the freedom of the English race is stout enough to repel the assaults of mercenary hordes, led by men who, under the guidance of a sham fanaticism, are striving to found a despotism which will not fail to reward their zeal with the spoils of the vanquished.

Colonel Fremantle arrived at Brownsville on the 2nd of April, and after passing a few days between that town and Matamoras, he set out on his journey through Texas on the 13th of the month. He travelled in a four-wheeled carriage covered with a canvas roof, and drawn by four mules. His companions were Mr. McCarthy, a merchant, and a Hebrew merchant. His driver, Sargent, is an eccentric character, but not more so than the assistant mule-driver called the "Judge," and who really was a magistrate in his own district. Sargent and the Judge were a little too fond of strong liquors to be pleasant servitors, and embraced every opportunity of getting drunk and quarrelling. Mule travelling over bad roads is slow and monotonous work. From morning to night the driver was swearing profusely at the animals, except when he was beating them, but neither oaths nor whip increased their speed. The Judge rode in front on a sorry nag, for the purpose of encouraging the mules, but the device was not very effective. Mr. Sargent is, however, a patriot after his kind, and over and over again expressed his regret that he had not the opportunity of driving Uncle Abe. Our author says: "His idea of perfect happiness seems to be to have Messrs. Lincoln and Seward in the shafts." And so far as hatred of the North and devotion to the South are concerned, Mr. Sargent was a rough type of all the persons Colonel Fremantle encountered in Texas. In the whole of the vast wild region of Texas there was no Union sentiment to be found, except, perhaps, in Brownsville, which being a border town, was to some extent infected by intercourse with the dregs of Mexican society. At San Antonio Colonel Fremantle parted with the mule conveyance. Mr. Sargent and the Judge got drunk on the occasion, and the former told a story of how he cruelly treated a refractory negro girl, much to the disgust of the colonel's companions. On this our author remarks "Mr. Sargent is a Northerner by birth, and is without any of the kind feeling which is nearly always felt by Southerners for negroes." The negroes are aware of this, and dread nothing so much as passing under the dominion of a Yankee immigrant. In this journal we had lately occasion to narrate from a Northern official report, how infamously the Federal contractors were treating the negroes they had seized on some *model* plantations, of which they had military possession, in Louisiana. Colonel Fremantle noticed the good feeling subsisting between the negroes and their masters; and that the Southerners talked to him freely about their peculiar institution, and wished him to see as much of it as he could, so that he might learn from observation how grossly the Northerners have slandered them. He took advantage of these offers. When in Mississippi, he says:—

"I asked Mr. Harrold to take me over the quarters of his slaves, which he did immediately. The huts were comfortable and very clean; the negroes seemed fond of their master, but he told me they were suffering dreadfully from the effects of the war—he had so much difficulty in providing them with clothes and shoes. I saw an old woman in one of the huts, who had been suffering from an incurable disease for thirteen years, and was utterly useless. She was evidently well cared for, and was treated with affection and care. At all events, she must have benefited largely by the 'peculiar institution.' I have often told these planters that I thought the word 'slave' was the most repulsive part of the institution, and I have always observed they invariably shirk using it themselves. They speak of their servant, their boy, or their negroes, but never of their slaves. They address a negro as boy or girl, or uncle or aunty."

The colonel was told that "A man who is known to ill-treat his negroes is hated by all the rest of the community." Now, ill-treating a negro does not mean whipping him after the manner of a Legree, or, indeed, whipping him at all, but that he is not treated with tender consideration and paternal kindness. To ill-treat negroes in the way represented by Northern slanderers is an offence unknown in the South, and not to care for all the negro's wants, not to use them kindly, not to be solicitous to promote their happiness, are offences of rare occurrence, which are punished by the bitter contempt of the community.

Our author considers the Texans good soldiers, and he tells a curious anecdote about them. He says:—"At the outbreak of the war it was found very difficult to raise infantry in Texas, as no Texan walks a yard if he can help it. Many mounted regiments were therefore organised and afterwards dismounted." We believe that this case is unique, which is not so with an incident which occurred in Alabama, where it is reported a gentleman raised a troop of dragoons, and was obliged to embody them in the infantry because horses were not forthcoming on which to mount them. Whilst Colonel Fremantle was in Brownsville he was unpleasantly impressed with a case of lynching, though it must be confessed the victim deserved the gallows; but, as our author saw more of the people, he found that this kind of rude justice was confined to the borders, that he was as safe as he would have been in London; and that in the event of a quarrel it would have been a point of honour to defend the stranger. He found that the roughness of the Texan clothed hearty good-nature; he found that the Southerners, though ready to resent an insult, re-

\* Three Months in the Confederate States. April—June, 1863. By Lieut.-Col. Fremantle, Coldstream Guards. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.



garded it as a crime to give one without just cause, and he also remarked that, though it is the fashion to carry arms and to settle a quarrel by a duel, quarrels were very rare, and duels very infrequent. Duelling, no doubt, is a check upon malconduct.

On the 11th of May, Colonel Fremantle reached Louisiana, being thus nearly a month in passing through Texas. To overrun such a country will require a larger army than General Banks has at his command; and considering the animosity of the Texans, its subjugation and military occupation are simply impossible. With some difficulty our author crossed the Mississippi, and as soon as he was over heard that the Federals were in possession of Jackson, and shortly afterwards that they had evacuated the place, which he then determined to visit. He proceeded by railway till within nine miles of the town, where the railway track was torn up, and he had to go on foot the rest of the distance; a boy on horseback carrying his saddlebags. He had not been long in the place when he was arrested by a Mr. Smythe, who could not understand why a British officer should choose to visit Jackson under such circumstances, and he was taken to the Bowmont Hotel to be examined by some citizens who had just been plundered by the enemy. They thought he was "mighty young" for a lieutenant-colonel, and evidently made up their minds he was a spy. "Every thing," says our author, "now looked very threatening, and it became evident to me that nothing would relieve the minds of these men as a hanging match. I looked in vain for some one to take my part, and I could not even get any person to examine my papers." At this crisis, an Irishman, named Dr. Russell, came in, examined his papers, and pronounced them genuine. Even this did not satisfy the citizens, and an officer—Captain Yerger—was sent for, who at once released him from his unpleasant situation. The citizens were then satisfied, and "insisted on shaking hands, and 'liquoring up' in horrible whisky"—except Smythe, who would not relent, and who still believed our author was a spy. Federal partisans have sought to discredit Southern accounts of Northern outrages in Jackson, we will therefore cite the testimony of Colonel Fremantle, who was an eyewitness:—

"Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, is a place of great importance. Four railroads meet here, and have been destroyed in each direction for a distance of from three to five miles. All the numerous factories have been burnt down by the enemy, who were of course justified in doing so; but during the short space of thirty-six hours, in which General Grant occupied the city, his troops had wantonly pillaged nearly all the private houses. They had gutted all the stores, and destroyed what they could not carry away. All this must have been done under the very eyes of General Grant, whose name was in the book of the Bowmont House Hotel. I saw the ruins of the Roman Catholic church, the priest's house, and the principal hotel, which were still smoking, together with many other buildings which could in no way be identified with the Confederate Government. The whole town was a miserable wreck, and presented a deplorable aspect. Nothing could exceed the intense hatred and fury with which its excited citizens speak of the outrages they have undergone—for their desire for a bloody revenge, and of their hope that the Black Flag might be raised."

When our author reached the head-quarters of General J. E. Johnston, Vicksburg was closely invested by Grant with 75,000 men, and the Confederate commander had but 11,000 men, hardly any cavalry, and only sixteen pieces of cannon. This accounts for what newspaper critics call Johnston's inactivity. Colonel Fremantle, foreseeing that nothing would be done against Vicksburg, continued his journey, stopping at every camp in his way, and having at all times facilities afforded him for observing the condition of military affairs and the morale of the troops. A lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards is, we may be sure, somewhat hypercritical with respect to drill and discipline, and we are, therefore, surprised at the few faults our author finds with the Confederate army, which, though baptised in blood, is still a new army. He condemns the practice of straggling, and ascribes it to the officers not halting their men frequently enough and halting them for too long a time. He found some troops that were reviewed before him could not be put through the manual, that is to say, they had only been taught those evolutions which are of service to them in the present war. He also says that in his opinion the Confederates have reaped so few advantages from their numerous victories, because, when the battle was gained, the Confederate soldiers thought their task was over, and became to some extent disorganised. We are happy to have the colonel's word that this fault is being mended. From the views our author gives us of the mode of life among the Confederate officers, it appears that distinction of rank does not imply much difference in comfort, and that luxuries are unknown. The private and general fare very much alike. For instance, General Johnston and his staff had one fork between them, and this was politely placed at the service of the guest. And the officers have their full share of the dangers as well as of the hardships of the campaign. They literally lead their men into action, and their influence greatly depends upon the manifestation of unflinching pluck. Colonel Grenfell, an Englishman in the Confederate army, says, "every atom of authority has to be purchased by a drop of your blood." Yet the Confederate soldiers are not only distinguished by their physical endurance and their dauntless courage. Everywhere the colonel saw evidences of deep-felt and unostentatious piety. In a word, he found the Confederate army was, in the highest and best sense, an army of patriots. Nor can we be surprised at the spirit of the troops when we learn how self-sacrificing are the people. General Polk relates that a woman in humble circumstances lost three sons in battle, and that she had only one

left, a boy of sixteen. Under these circumstances he went to comfort her. The bereaved mother replied to his condolences by observing, "As soon as I can get a few things together you shall have Harry too." When General Polk told this affecting story tears came into his eyes, and he asked, "How can you subdue such a nation as this?" The book before us abounds with evidences of long-suffering and heroic determination. Our author says that the wounded are not discharged but only get leave of absence, and that the women hurry them back to the field as soon as possible; that the wounded and maimed are not exempted from labour, and that he saw a man who had had both hands blown off, with a curry-comb and brush fitted into his stumps, engaged in grooming artillery horses with considerable skill; that he met boys of sixteen who "were minus arms and legs, of which deficiencies they evidently were very vain." He tells us that "the obedience of the soldiers and their forbearance in success, their discipline under disaster, their patience under suffering, under hardships, or when wounded, and their boundless devotion to their country under all circumstances, are beyond all praise." As for the patriotism manifested by the women of the South, no words can do it justice. No wonder the colonel should believe in the future of the Confederate States. There is no lack in the South, he tells us, of military stores. The Southerners, unlike the Northerners, are ready to fight, and the natural increase of the population will, says our author, in the opinion of Confederates, enable them "to keep their armies recruited up to their present strength for several years; and if the worst comes to the worst they can always fall back upon their negroes as a last resort; but I do not think they contemplate such a necessity as likely to arise for a considerable time." Upon this question Colonel Fremantle says:—

"The more I think of all that I have seen in the Confederate States of the devotion of the whole population, the more I feel inclined to say with General Polk—How can you subjugate such a people as this? and even supposing that their extermination were a feasible plan, as some Northerners have suggested, I never can believe that in the nineteenth century the civilised world will be condemned to witness the destruction of such a gallant race."

Our author bears emphatic witness to the perfect civil freedom that prevails in the midst of war. Colonel Grenfell, already referred to, is a pet with the army, but that did not save him from a sharp and even harsh civil prosecution. Our author notes, "I find it is a great mistake to suppose that the press is gagged in the South, as I constantly see the most violent attacks upon the President, upon the different generals and their measures, \* \* \* Most certainly the civil law is not overruled by the military, except in cases of the strongest emergency. The press is allowed unlimited freedom and even license."

The colonel gives a pleasant account of his visit to Richmond, where he was courteously received by Mr. Benjamin and the President. Mr. Davis expressed great commiseration with the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen:—

"When I spoke to him of the wretched scenes I had witnessed in his own State (Mississippi), and of the miserable, almost desperate, situation in which I had found so many unfortunate women, who had been left behind by their male relations, and when I alluded in admiration to the quiet, calm, uncomplaining manner in which they bore their sufferings and their grief, he said, with much feeling, that he always considered *silent despair* the most painful description of misery to witness, in the same way that he thought *mute insanity* was the most awful form of madness."

In reference to the oft-refuted charge of Federal prisoners being ill-treated, our author says, "notwithstanding the exasperation with which every Southerner speaks of a Yankee, and all the talk about the black flag and no quarter, yet I never saw a Federal prisoner ill-treated or insulted in any way, although I have travelled hundreds of miles in their company." Upon this subject the President remarked to Colonel Fremantle, that although there had been a black-flag-and-no-quarter agitation, "I have yet to hear of Confederate soldiers putting men to death who have thrown down their arms and held up their hands."

Upon the narrative of the campaign in Pennsylvania and the battle of Gettysburg we do not comment, as it was noticed by us when it appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, but it will be read with renewed zest in this present volume.

We pity the Northern critic who is ordered to cut this book up. Indeed, it cannot be done effectively, though an effort must be made, because it is a book that will increase the sympathy for the South, and, if it were possible, add to the contempt felt for the North by all that is respectable and honest in Europe. When a distinguished English officer says he saw so and so, the bare denial of a thousand Federal partisans will be of no avail; and yet, what Lieutenant-Colonel Fremantle saw is honourable to the Confederates, and is full of promise of ultimate triumph. Nor can the partisan critic fall back upon the style of the book. He is denied this poor consolation, for it is written in excellent English. The description of the journey through Texas would not discredit the pen of a Dickens, so far as the lifelike humour is concerned; and the description of Gettysburg has already been pronounced one of the most graphic accounts of an American battle hitherto published. Although Colonel Fremantle's narrative is one of the best and truest books that have appeared on the war, and while it will gratify the people of the Confederate States, and show them that the sympathies of Englishmen must not be judged by the actions of our Government, it will, we are sure, be heartily welcomed by our countrymen as a worthy exposition of their sentiments.

THE "DAILY NEWS" AND YANKEE LYING.—As probably the most disgraceful case of impertinence and wilful falsehood that has ever occurred in English journalism, we put on record the following paragraph from the *Daily News* of to-day:—

We have received from Mr. BERESFORD HOPE the Constitution of the Southern Independence Association:

CHAIRMAN.  
A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq.  
VICE-CHAIRMAN.  
W. S. Lindsay, Esq., M.P.  
John Laird, Esq., M.P.  
HONORARY TREASURERS.  
J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M.P.  
John Orrell Lever, Esq., M.P.  
Edgar P. Stringer, Esq.  
HONORARY SECRETARIES.  
James Spence, Esq.  
George E. Seymour, Esq.  
PAID SECRETARY.  
Henry Hotze, Esq.

It is unnecessary to inform our readers that the names, in the connection in which they are used, are wholly supposititious. The *Daily News* publishes elsewhere the "Constitution of the Southern Independence Association," "received from Mr. Beresford Hope," and the remark by which it introduces its gratuitous invention is, therefore, more than the insinuation of a lie: it is the lie direct.

## LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, November 7.

It is absolutely impossible for anybody, however well acquainted with the geography of the country, to form a correct idea of what is passing in the neighbourhood of Chattanooga from the telegrams, always vague, often absurd and contradictory, which we receive daily from that quarter. Heavy fighting took place in Lookout Valley on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of last week, the 28th, 29th and 30th of October, with what actual results, between what particular corps, under what plan of battle, we are but very poorly advised. As far as can be gathered from the confused accounts that have been published in Confederate journals, and a careful comparison of these with the statements of Yankee correspondents, the *res gesta* were after the manner following, to wit:—On the night of Monday, the 26th ultimo, the enemy sent a strong force two miles or more down the river, to a point at which there had been a ferry, where they landed; and finding the Confederate pickets, both videttes and infantry, asleep, quietly made them prisoners, and proceeded to occupy a hill near by. A single sentry, "faithful found among the faithless," fired his gun, and roused a regiment, which quickly formed ranks and fought the Yankees for a short time, till overpowered, and then fell back. A bridge was immediately thrown across the river at the deserted ferry, and there poured over regiment after regiment of Yankees, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and before the light of Tuesday morning was strong enough to enable our men on Lookout Mountain to descry the country below them with distinctness, the opposing hillside was covered with earthworks and almost bristled with batteries. It is said that General Bragg at first supposed that this energetic movement of the enemy was made to cover the retreat of the main body of the army from Chattanooga, but they did not permit him to remain long under this delusion. A column from the command of Fighting Joe Hooker was marched up the river-side from Bridgeport, and a second bridge was constructed near Shell Mound, twelve or fifteen miles distant from Chattanooga. Meanwhile an attack was ordered on the enemy to dislodge them from their position assumed on the night of the 26th, and if possible regain the ferry. The attack was made with great gallantry by the brigade of General Jenkins on the 29th, and was for the time successful, but large reinforcements continually arriving from the main body of Thomas, our troops were at last driven back. A pouring rain, which set in on Thursday, and continued without intermission for forty-eight hours, would seem to have put a stop to the fighting; and with the rain all intelligence from our army abated. The Tennessee river was in flood, and the Plavii Hyades might be accepted as welcome allies of Longstreet; but although the enemy's bridges were swept away, and they must have suffered other considerable damage from the storm, we hear that they still maintained their foothold on the Southern bank, and the only cheerful news is that our troops were in excellent condition notwithstanding their drenching, and desired nothing better than to engage the Yankees again in the open field. It is undeniable that the enemy's advantage in these operations has been great and decided. We need say nothing of the casualties in the skirmishes which took place. We may suppose, indeed, that their loss in killed and wounded largely exceeded our own, though the reverse is probably the fact. It remains that the Yankees have undisputed possession of the river on both sides, from Bridgeport to the ferry, and are no longer dependent, as heretofore, upon the railroad for their supplies. Their troops now rejoice in full rations. They can convey subsistence by water to a point within two-and-a-half miles of Chattanooga. If it pleases Grant so to do, he may winter in that city without further foreboding about his commissariat. The great end for which the battle of Chicka-



mauga was fought—the expulsion of the Yankees from Tennessee—has therefore been lost for a considerable time to come. Indeed, it is believed that Bragg will be compelled speedily to fall back upon Rome, in Northern Georgia, and the Richmond reader takes up his newspaper in the morning with the uncomfortable misgiving that he will find in the telegraphic column the tidings that this retrograde movement has been commenced. The advance of the enemy in powerful columns will be mute without loss of time to take Atlanta, and the great battle of the River of Death will have to be fought over again on another field.

This is, indeed, discouraging—the more so, as the feeling is strong, both with the army and the people, that had not Bragg been in the chief command, the army of Moscares would have been driven out of Tennessee before another general had arrived at head-quarters. It matters little whether this conviction is well or ill founded. That it is deep-rooted and abiding is enough almost to paralyse the usefulness of General Bragg in the future. Nor can it be concealed that the popular heart is profoundly moved against President Davis for his persistent retention of General Bragg at the head of the Army of Tennessee. The people of the Confederate States greatly admire and respect their chief magistrate, as has been shown in the spontaneous expressions of good feeling which have attended his recent journeyings from point to point in the South-west. They know him to be pure, able, fearless incorruptible, and they rejoice that he stands before the world in strong and effective contrast to the coarse creature who rules at Washington, and tempers his despotism, not with epigrams, but with the ribaldry of the flatboatman. It is with great reluctance that they are compelled to regard his firmness in friendship as verging upon obstinacy. Not to yield to popular clamour is one thing; utterly to disregard the unanimous sentiment of a great people is quite another. I confess I write with some restraint on this matter, which is handled by the acute and vigorous journalists of the opposition press with a freedom that sufficiently proves the unrestricted license of printing in the Confederate States, and closely resembles the lively manner in which Peter Plymley of old celebrated the personal worth and domestic virtues of Mr. Percival and Mr. Canning; but, as a veracious correspondent, I cannot but record the growing dissatisfaction of the people with the President's course as connected with General Bragg, and I am very confident that this feeling will be made manifest at an early period of the approaching session of Congress.

The bombardment of Sumter goes on with unabated wrath and expenditure of ammunition. At the expiration of the war we shall probably have iron enough among the ruins of the dismantled fortification to re-lay all the railroads in the Southern States and sheathe with armour all the new vessels of war of the Confederate navy. The latest telegram gives us the pleasing information that the cannonade has reduced the walls of Sumter to a condition in which every new shot that strikes but adds to the strength of the work, and increases our ability to hold it. The sight of the Confederate flag high above the debris, still unfolding its pure field to the sea-breeze, and flaunting that battle cross which has become an object of terror to the Yankees on the land, is galling to the hosts that swarm on Morris Island; and the letter-writers from the fleet describe with admirable minuteness the appearance of the streets of Charleston and the provoking composure with which the citizens saunter along the Battery Promenade and look into the open throats of Gilmore's guns. They still declare that Charleston shall become "a mass of fire-scorched and crumbling ruins," and their threats may possibly be carried out to the letter, but as the siege is protracted, the spirit of the defenders of the place rises higher and higher, and the lofty words of President Davis, in response to the speech of welcome made by Mayor Macbeth, met with an enthusiastic response in the breasts of the Charlestonians. The indications now are that the destruction of the city by the Yankees will be attempted during next week, when the "Swamp Angel" and the monster parrots and all the tremendous ordnance of Gregg and Wagner will be opened with "such a bombardment" (so the Yankees boast) "as the wars of the world have not yet paralleled." Wonderful Yankees! They have the greatest "Rebellion" to manage that the world has yet seen; they have accumulated the largest debt that ever nation yet assumed to pay, and the collapse of their Republic, which is not distant, will enable them to brag of the most magnificent "burst-up" that the indignant muse of history has yet been called upon to record. If bigness constituted greatness, if size were synonymous with strength, if multitude meant the same thing with might, then would they be the most extraordinary people on the face of the earth, except, perhaps, the Chinese.

The army of General Lee remains on the line of the Rapidan, and nothing has been done since the date of my last letter on either side to indicate an approaching general engagement. There is an evident pressure on Meade to attempt the reduction of Richmond within the "ninety days," and should he make no movement, he may possibly be removed from the command. Rumours have obtained of the landing of a large force at Newport News, and of the appearance of the Yankees in dark masses on the hills of Stafford, opposite Fredericksburg; but it is not probable that the enemy will soon try either of these different roads again; and any demonstration they may make in either quarter will be a feint to cover the serious design elsewhere. The great battle for Richmond may yet be fought in the Peninsula, and I have long been of opinion that this will be the ground of the enemy's final effort for the capital—but not yet. If troops are

landing in force at Newport News, which is by no means certain, I shall expect an attack on Weldon, North Carolina; if flocks of blue-birds cover the Stafford heights, from which Burnside with an opera-glass saw his legions mown down last year, it means an advance upon the position of General Lee; a little time will show.

There is something like a panic just now in Richmond, in connection with the matter of food. Flour is offered for sale in very small quantities, and brings \$120 a barrel. The belief gains strength every day that the stock on hand is nearly exhausted, and that the high price is due in chief to stint in the article. I cannot think so. Defective railway transportation and the Government impressments of produce have brought down the supply of flour on sale or storage in Richmond to a minimum never before reached, but I am confident that there is grain enough in the country, nay, even in Virginia, to avert famine, and that a judicious policy on the part of the authorities will bring it into town. The steady depreciation of the currency must not be left out of the account in regarding this enormous price for flour. Property of all kinds, real and personal, necessities and luxuries, all that we eat, drink and wear, can be produced only by paying largely of Mr. Memminger's issues. A piano-forte last week sold for \$3000; a lady's bonnet for \$800; brandy brings \$200 the gallon, and the like measure of oysters \$12. You will recollect Sidney Smith's sad reflection at Combe Florey (I believe) that he was twelve miles from a lemon; our case is even more distressing; the lemons are here in abundance, but he who would have punch must pay \$5 a-piece for them.

There is a "sensational" account in the local columns of the daily papers of a plot, happily discovered in time, among the Yankee prisoners, to rise upon the guard on Belle-Isle, night before last, arm themselves and take the city, liberating the officers from the Libby Prison, and inviting the General at Fortress Monroe to walk in and occupy the seat of the Confederate Government. One of the sentries overheard a conversation among the prisoners, in which vague threats were thrown out of an intended revolt, and doubly efficient measures were very properly taken to prevent such a thing on the night in question; but the talk of the prisoners was probably an idle menace. At all events Richmond is not to be taken by these "interesting captives."

The President was expected home last night by the regular train from the South, and a large multitude, with military escort and music, assembled at the Southern Depot (as we call the railway station) to greet him; but his Excellency did not arrive, and soldiers and citizens dispersed in disappointment. He will probably reach town this evening by special train from Wilmington.

The weather is very charming—we are under the soft sway of the Indian summer—and all nature is beautiful in its radiance.

#### THE MARYLAND ELECTIONS.

(From the *Richmond Examiner*, November 11.)

SOMEONE has defined the French monarchy to have been a despotism tempered by epigrams. It is unfortunate that as much cannot be said for the arbitrary Power which arrays itself complacently in the robes of republicanism upon the other side of the Potomac. Occasionally, it is true, a covert sarcasm or a serious diatribe is indulged in by Opposition journals; but the satire lacks the raciness only to be drawn from an atmosphere untainted by the dread of punishment, and the invective generally smacks of the passion which is born of personal disappointment. The sharp edge of mocking ridicule, and the point of scornful wit, and the eloquence of intellectual indignation, are wanting. The country is not yet sufficiently habituated to willing slavery to have acquired that stoical philosophy peculiar to absolute governments, in which prudent submission is blended with dexterous ratiocination, and the sting of oppression mitigated by the palliative of the suppressed yet visible contempt which belongs to "light philosophy."

Had not the sense of the ridiculous yielded in that people to the imperious voice of self-interest, or been stifled by the fear of their rulers, we cannot imagine that they would gravely chronicle the result of the recent elections in Maryland, and intone the song of triumph upon that "Union" victory. Cicero said he could never understand how two soothsayers could look upon each other without laughing. Is it possible to understand how Lincoln, Seward, Bradford, and their allies can congratulate each other on the victory in Maryland without a quiet grin? There must certainly be a roguish twinkle of the eye, an expression of that placid happiness with which Fagin witnessed the skilful performance of the Artful Dodger, and hailed the improvement of Oliver in the noble art of picking pockets.

The election is heralded throughout the land as a triumph of the glorious cause of the Union. Not a smile is observed upon the face of the press, and a superficial observer is puzzled. He thinks, perhaps, the people have no appreciation of a joke. This is an entire mistake. They possess that highest style of humour which delights in the most grotesque ideas with redoubled gravity of countenance. Even now they chuckle at the astonishment of the outer world while observing the great change of sentiment in Maryland, or else they scream with private laughter when the old fogies of Europe, taking it seriously, descend upon the tyranny which forces an expression of popular will.

The Yankees may enjoy this triumph at the expense of Europe, but they need not flatter themselves that the people

of the South are to be hoodwinked in that way. We can appreciate a joke even if we do not admire the spirit that gives it birth. Practical jests, according to Macaulay, are indications of a bad heart. We are inclined to that opinion; and even if we laugh at the absurdity of a mock election it is because we are disgusted at the tyranny which requires it. The absurdity of an election, in a State where the whole Legislature was imprisoned on the suspicion that it was going to oppose the Government, strikes forcibly on the attention. The exquisite humour of proclaiming universal suffrage and guaranteeing freedom of opinion by the use of the ballot, and at the same time imposing a preliminary test-oath of loyalty, is thoroughly appreciated, yet we think of those who are unfortunately doomed to look upon the reverse of the medal, and we cannot fully yield ourselves to "laughter, shaking both his sides." Lincoln, the American *Æsop*, might surely concoct a story, with a moral to it, on this peculiar exhibition of American liberty. For the present, however, political reasons will restrict its circulation to a few chosen friends. The world in general must wait for his posthumous memoirs in order to enjoy it.

#### FEDERAL KIDNAPPING IN CANADA.

A correspondent of the *Montreal Gazette* writes from Freleighsburg, C.E., November 16th, as follows:—

Our usually quiet village was on Saturday morning last thrown into an unusual state of excitement, consequent upon the disappearance of an American by the name of Joseph Lackey, who had been for the past three or four months in the employ of Mr. Thomas B. Carpenter, proprietor of the International Hotel in this village. From the rumours now in circulation, it appears that Lackey had deserted from the Federal army of the United States, was captured, court-martialled, and sentenced to be shot, and that while waiting the execution of his sentence he again made his escape. Rumour further says, that a reward of \$1,000 is offered for his apprehension by the Federal authorities. During the morning of Saturday it was ascertained that Mr. Carpenter had received a letter in reference to Lackey, of which the following is an exact copy:—"Thomas Carpenter, Esq.: Dear sir,—Will you do me the favour to say to Mr. Joseph Lackey that I will be at your place on Friday afternoon, and I want him to be there to take a trip with me into the French country to do some business? And if he is out of town when you get this, you will please send after him and have him there ready, without fail, and oblige, respectfully yours, (signed) H. P. Duclos." The letter, as you will see, is without date, and was received by Mr. Carpenter on the 12th inst. On the following day Mr. H. P. Duclos, of St. Albans, Vermont, came to Mr. Carpenter's office. Quite late in the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Duclos took Mr. Lackey into his wagon, and saying he had to go by Seaton's (namely, of Abercorn, Sutton,) as he, Duclos, had some business with Mr. Seaton, the Collector of Customs of that village, they went to Sutton. Subsequently, in the afternoon of Saturday, information was received here that Lackey was then in Sutton, with Duclos and others from Vermont, who, it was thought, meant to run Lackey across the Line after dark—that they were evidently filling their victim with liquor preparatory to starting, in order to throw him off his guard, that, once across, they might pocket the reward. Immediately after a few friends of order and justice assembled in council; whereupon it was agreed that no time should be lost in going to Lackey's rescue. Accordingly, four or five persons started for Abercorn, and upon their arrival found Lackey in the wagon of Duclos, starting for the Province Line, distant about eighty rods, under the impression that he was going to Dunham. Duclos told Lackey at different times they were two and a half miles from the Line, and there was no danger. As the party from Freleighsburg came up, Lackey, on request of two of them, got out of the wagon in which he then was, crossed the field some thirty or forty rods, came into the road, met the other wagon, into which he got, and returned to Freleighsburg. There is no doubt that the intention of those seeking to kidnap Lackey was to have him drive across the Line himself, and they would follow, and make the arrest after the crossing, in the place of rendezvous, where Duclos, McGowan, and four or five others, all from Vermont, and who evidently had a joint interest in the capture, were enjoying themselves over the bottle, and, as it were, revelling in anticipations to be realised from the price of the blood of their fellow-man. The chagrin of these Vermont men can be more easily imagined than described upon finding their victim had been rescued from them, and many and anxious were their inquiries as to what Lackey could have done that his rescuers should have come out to his aid. Yesterday morning, about 8 A.M., Mr. John McGowan and his companion, name unknown, passed through our village, evidently upon a reconnoitering expedition, and upon inquiring "What was up?" "What was going on?" and receiving a rather emphatic warning to decamp, acting on the advice, lost no time in finding the south side of 45°. No doubt, had the nefarious scheme of Messrs. Duclos and Co. been successful, poor Lackey would now be in the custody of the Federal authorities, and his kidnappers revelling in the fruit of the spoil. As it is, we trust that the foregoing sketch of their failure may be to them a warning—such an one as may prevent them making a similar attempt on this side of the Line.

It is reported that the Governor of Maryland will refuse to grant commissions to the newly elected Congress-men.

#### AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DEC. 9.

##### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

LAST week we appeared to be in the midst of a panic. Now there seems some prospect of getting through without difficulty. The Bank went from 6 to 7, and then to 8 per cent., in a few days, and it was feared before this the committee would have carried the price to 9, if not 10 per cent. The intermediate figure of 8 seems to have been sufficient to have arrested the progress of the large exports of specie contemplated to India and Brazil; and although it is not at present certain whether a further rise may not take place, the aspect for the moment is less discouraging. The cotton famine is at the bottom of this business, and notwithstanding speculation has been partially repressed by the high value of money, and the apprehension that increased terms would be enforced, we are not so sure that the quotations of the staple itself will be much



better. We have also had a mania for public companies, which has absorbed a considerable proportion of floating capital, and until the effect of this is ascertained in the spring, we may be considered to be surrounded by peril. Occasional failures we shall have among the mercantile classes, and no trade, however legitimately it may be conducted, can stand the pressure of an 8 or 9 per cent. rate; while at present, it must be confessed, the advantage is all on the side of the Bank, and none on that of the public. This afternoon the latest and best feature was the disposition of the discount houses to negotiate paper more freely—even six months bills were taken at 8 per cent, the Bank minimum; yesterday or the day before they would not have been touched under 9 or 10 per cent. No faith will be put in an ameliorated condition of things until the Bank directors shall have been enabled to lower the rate themselves.

#### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

A small amount of gold has found its way into the Bank this week, the total being £33,500; but against this there has been withdrawn for transmission abroad £324,000. To-day there has been nothing withdrawn from, neither has there been anything sent into, the Bank. The arrivals of specie this week have also been comparatively trifling, the total being £144,391, all of which was from New York, with the exception of £2,600 from Alexandria. Bar silver has been in great demand for Bombay, and there have also been increased inquiries for silver for the mail of the 12th inst., which raised the price to 61½; but a relapse has since taken place, in consequence of the increased rate of discount, and the silver by the last East India packet has been taken at 61½. Mexican dollars have further declined, and some small parcels have been disposed of at 5s. 2d., and the tendency of the market is downward. Telegraphic advices from Australia announce the transmission since the last mail of 94,500 ounces of gold, valued at £378,000. The *Monarch* is still out at sea, with £247,500 on board.

#### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

Although the state of business in the English Stock Market has been of a rather more quiet character than for some time past, the unsettled state of the money market has had a prejudicial effect upon dealings, and prevented the rise in quotations which would otherwise undoubtedly have taken place. Still, the tendency is towards improvement; but the advance on the week has been only about ¼ per cent., consols closing this evening at 90½ to ¾ ex. div. for money, and 91½ ex. div. for the account. Exchequer Bills have further declined, and are now quoted 12s. to 7s. dis. The foreign Stock Market has been comparatively quiet, the dealers, in the present state of affairs, appearing to operate with more caution. Prices on the whole have been better maintained, perhaps, than might have been expected under the circumstances, but still the tendency has been unfavourable. The chief fall has been in Mexican, which are 2½ per cent. lower; but Greek and Spanish have declined only about ¼. After business hours this evening, a generally better feeling prevailed in all departments, with a tendency to more buoyancy in prices. Greek closed at 25½ to 26; Mexican, 33 to 33½; Spanish Passives, 32½ to 33½; ditto Certificates, 13 to 13½; Turkish (1854), 88½ to 89½; and ditto (1862), 69 to 70.

#### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

There has been rather more animation exhibited in the market for American Government and Railway Securities, owing to the recently reported successes on the part of the Federal army, but notwithstanding prices do not show any improvement; on the contrary, quotations in some instances are lower, and still show a declining tendency. The transactions have been as follows:—Virginia State Six per Cent., 34. Atlantic and Great Western (New York Section), 78, 79, 79½ and 70. Do. do. (Pennsylvania Section), 77½, 77½, 77½, 76½, 77½, 77½, 77, 77 and 77½. Erie, \$100 shares, all paid, 62, 63½ and 64½. Do. Seven per Cents., third mortgage, 64½. Illinois Central Six per Cents., 83. Do. do., \$100 shares, 890 paid, 24, 25, 24 and 23½ dis. Do. do., all paid, 70, 69 and 70. Pennsylvania Central Bonds, second mortgage, 87½ and 87.

#### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

There has been a rather extensive business transacted during the week in British Railway Securities, but the tightness of the money market has effectually prevented any material rally in prices. Some few descriptions continue steady at the prices of this day week, but in many instances there has been a decline. In Edinburgh and Glasgow and Great Northern the fall has been 1 per cent., and in Bristol and Exeter, Great Western, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, London, Chatham, and Dover, and North British, ½ per cent.; but in Brighton the drop has been fully 3 per cent. On the other hand, however, London and North-Western show an improvement of 1 per cent., and Midland ¾ per cent. In foreign Railway Shares business has been extremely quiet, and the variations in prices have been immaterial. For shares in British Possessions only a limited demand has existed, but quotations have been maintained with uniform steadiness.

#### CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The market for this Security has been very heavy all the week, the war news being, so far as is yet known, unfavourable to the Southern cause in the South-west. This, combined with a continuance of dear money, has brought pressing sellers into the market, and a steady decline is the result. The latest quotation was yesterday, 35; numerous purchases to-day have produced a firmer tone, and now close at 28 to 40.

#### MERCANTILE SUSPENSION.

The suspension was announced on Tuesday afternoon of Mr. W. N. de Mattos, of Leadenhall-street, engaged in the coal export trade; but it is stated that recently engagements had been formed in the shipping trade, which have proved unprofitable. The liabilities are estimated at nearly £500,000, and it is feared that the assets will not turn out very favourable. This afternoon the following circular was issued:—

“27, Leadenhall-street, London, December 9, 1863.

“It is with feelings of deep respect that I have to announce to you that I have been compelled to suspend payment. I have called in the services of Messrs. Coleman, Turquand, Youngs and Co., by whom a statement of my affairs will be forthwith prepared and submitted to my creditors. In the meantime, soliciting your forbearance, I am, your obedient servant,  
“W. N. DE MATTOS.”

#### BANK MEETINGS.

A special meeting of the shareholders of the London Bank of Scotland has just been held, for the purpose of considering the advisability of obtaining Parliamentary power to issue bank notes in Scotland. The chair was taken by Sir John Hay, Bart., M.P., and it was stated by the directors that the advantages to be derived from the possession of such power were exceedingly great. It was, in fact, a privilege possessed and exercised by nearly every existing Scotch bank, and which entered largely into all banking transactions carried on in that

country; and after careful deliberation the board had come to the conclusion that it would be of the utmost importance to the interests of the bank, and that it would be desirable that measures should be taken with the least possible delay for obtaining the necessary authorisation for this purpose, either by Parliamentary sanction or through the medium of arrangements with some bank already established in Scotland. The chairman stated that the bank had commenced business on the 2nd of November last in London and Scotland; the commercial classes of the North had very liberally accorded their support to the institution, and the directors accordingly entertain sanguine expectations of success. The necessary resolutions were carried, authorising the directors to apply for power for the bank to issue its own notes in Scotland.—At a general meeting of the proprietors of the Bank of British North America, held at the offices, St. Helen's-place, Bishopsgate-street, Mr. Robert Carter in the chair, the report of the directors submitted to the shareholders stated that the business of the bank had in some degree recovered from the depression noticed at the last meeting, although it was still injuriously affected by the civil war in the United States. By the failures which had recently occurred in Canada, the bank would sustain some loss. The branches in Victoria and Vancouver had been satisfactory in their progress and the profits realised; and after providing for the losses on the Canadian failures, the directors would be enabled to declare, out of the estimated net profits of the year, the usual half-yearly dividend at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, free of income-tax. The report was adopted, and the dividend recommended declared. The meeting was then made special, and Messrs. Henry Boggs and A. H. Philpotts were elected directors in the place of Mr. H. Barnwell, deceased, and Mr. William Chapman, who had retired.

#### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, the report of the directors was unanimously adopted, and a dividend equal to 7 per cent., free of income-tax, was declared. The chairman (Mr. A. Anderson) drew the attention of the shareholders to an improvement of about £70,000 in the revenue, and to a considerable decrease in the expenditure. The improvement in the revenue, it was true, arose from temporary causes, more particularly the demand for specie for India, and the demand for Indian cotton in this country—a state of things which could not be expected to continue in the same degree after the termination of the American war. The new trade with Japan had not been overlooked by the board; a vessel had been despatched there, and the Company's principal agent in that part of the world was making arrangements for establishing a regular communication in connection with the line to China.—At the half yearly meeting of the Aerated Bread Company a dividend at the rate of 12½ per cent. per annum, was declared. £426 was placed to the reserve fund, and a balance of £739 was carried to the current account. It was stated by the chairman that the result of the half-year's business having been so satisfactory, the directors propose extending the operations of the Company as originally contemplated.

#### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

A prospectus has been issued of the Guildhall Hotel Company, with a capital of £50,000, in shares of £10 each. The object is to purchase and extend the Guildhall Hotel, King-street, but the terms are not stated. A prospectus has been issued of the Llanrhidian Bituminous Colliery Company, with a capital of £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each, a dividend of 7½ per cent. being guaranteed for the first twelve months. The mineral rights of the property have been secured and are held at low royalties for long periods. The object of the Company is to develop and extend the working of the mine; and a tabular statement shows that a profit of £33 per day can be realised upon the opening out of the colliery. The prospectus has also been issued of the Darren Consolidated Silver and Lead Mining Company. The object of the undertaking is to acquire and extend the operations of those rich mineral properties situate in the county of Cardigan, about six miles from the port of Aberystwith. The proposed capital is £30,000, in 15,000 shares of £2 each. The General Floating Dock Company (Limited) is another undertaking just brought forward, the object being the construction of Floating Docks—chiefly in France; but also elsewhere—upon the principle invented and patented by Mr. Couran, the well-known ship-builder, so as to profit by the exclusive privileges and concessions conferred upon that gentleman's firm. It is proposed to commence by constructing a dock capable of accommodating vessels of the largest size at the important port of Bordeaux, whilst the Company are also earnestly invited to avail themselves of the openings offered to them at Nantes, Marseilles, and other noteworthy places. The proposed capital is £200,000, in 20,000 shares of £10 each, with power to increase. The first issue will be £120,000, in 12,000 shares. Deposit on application £1 per share; and £1 on allotment.

#### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The markets for nearly all classes of produce have been extremely dull since our last, from the influence of dear money. Purchases, as a rule, are kept within the narrowest limits possible. As usually is the case under the circumstances, prices have a drooping tendency; but it is only in exceptional cases that sales are in the smallest degree pressed, and any serious or general decline is by this means prevented. The cotton trade is without activity, but the downward movement in prices noticed last week has not made any further progress. The American provision trade has not undergone much change. Transactions continue upon a limited scale for the most part, at about previous rates. The grain markets have lost their recent buoyancy, and wheat must be quoted 1s. lower, for any but the choicest qualities. Flour is 6d. per barrel lower. The trade has been larger buyers of American refined petroleum, and the price has improved 1d. to 1½d. per gallon; closing this afternoon at 1s. 11½d. to 2s. Crude is quoted £17 10s. to £17 15s. per tun. Lined oil is still depressed by sales on the part of speculative holders; 35s. 9d., 36s., were the last quotations. To-day fish oils are very dull; American sperm offering at £17 per tun. Turpentine has varied between 63s. and 64s. per cwt., for French; in American there has not been any business to establish quotations. The tallow market has shown renewed depression; but this afternoon there was a rally, and the decline was pretty well recovered, leaving current rates much about the same as last week. Lute has given way 20s. per ton, and the demand is only very moderate at the reduction. There is a fair amount of business passing in tobacco at the recent decline. The sugar market is dull and unsettled. After an almost entire cessation of dealings for several days a transaction or two took place on Friday, at 38s. for clayed Manilla of old import, being a loss of about 3s. 6d. from the highest point. To-day business has been at 39s. 6d. for new import, showing

a fair recovery of 1s. per cwt. In metals there is less doing, but quotations are in most cases well sustained. Scotch pig iron, after touching 66s., fell to 63s. 9d., and closes at 64s. 3d., with rather a good demand. Spelter is firm at £18 15s. to £18 17s. 6d. Lead, at £20 10s. to £20 15s., is dearer, and straits tin very steady, at £113 10s. cash.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, gd. ord. to fr.	0 1 10	0 2 4½	0 1 8	0 2 3
CHEMICALS—				
Tartaric, crystal, lb.	0 1 5½	0 1 5½	0 1 7½	0 1 7½
Arsenic, lump, cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 4½
Potash, Bicarbonate, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 7½	0 0 4½	0 0 8
Hydrochloric, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	0 0 5	0 0 5½
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 6 0	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 7 3
DRUGS—				
Aloes, Cape, cwt.	1 15 0	2 10 0	1 6 0	2 10 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 3	..
.. Peru, lb.	0 4 9	0 4 10	0 5 0	0 5 3
Bark, Quercetron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 10 0	0 8 0	0 10 6
.. Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 0	0 4 0
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 6	0 0 4½	0 0 7½
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	4 15 0	5 0 0	5 12 0	5 15 0
.. Brown, cwt.	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 5 0	5 10 0
Oil, Peppermint, lb.	0 9 0	0 14 9	0 8 6	0 12 0
.. Lemon-grass, oz.	0 0 10	0 0 11½	0 0 6½	0 0 7
.. Orange, lb.	0 6 0	0 7 0	0 5 0	0 6 6
.. Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5½	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 7
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 13 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	1 0 0
Senna, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3½	0 0 2½	0 0 3½
.. Alexandria, lb.	0 0 3½	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6
Suakeroor, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	..
Spermaceti, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 1
DYES—				
Shallflower	4 5 0	7 10 0	3 10 0	7 10 0
Turmeric, Bengal	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
.. Malacca	1 10 0	1 15 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	5 0 0
GUMS, cwt.—				
Animal, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gutta	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 6 0	1 7 0
Kowrie	2 10 0	2 12 0	1 15 9	1 15 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	3 4 0	3 6 3	2 16 9	..
Iron, Scotch, Pig	113 0 0	..	115 0 0	..
Tin, English	..	..	..	..
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	75 0 0	78 0 0	81 0 0	..
Lard	38 0 0	..	42 0 0	..
Rock Oil, Crude	17 10 0	17 15 0	..	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	4 10 0	5 4 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do., fine	2 6 0	2 18 6	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 8 0	2 3 0	1 18 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	1 10 0	2 1 0	..	..
South do.	2 0 0	2 1 6	2 7 0	2 8 3
Wax do.	8 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	..
TOBACCO, lb.—				
Maryland	0 0 5½	0 0 9	0 0 4½	0 0 9
Virginia	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5½	0 1 0
Kentucky	0 0 6½	0 1 7	0 0 4½	0 1 1

#### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 9.

Business in the cotton market has not been particularly brisk during the past week, the late rise in the rate of discount having had an additional depressing tendency, and sales could only be effected at a further reduction in prices. The supplies on the whole, have been very fair for almost every description, but neither buyers nor sellers seem disposed to press business. The sales during the week have amounted to only 23,000 bales, of which 9,200 have been taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 2,491,690 bales, against 2,526,030 bales to the same period last year. The total imports this year, so far, have reached 1,558,338, and to the corresponding date in 1862, 1,114,448 bales. There have been exported this year 441,224 bales, and to the same period last year, 405,139 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,257,200 bales, and in 1862, 1,084,200 bales. In the present year there have been taken on speculation 737,440 bales, and down to the like period last year 1,001,100 bales. At present the computed stocks are 249,260 bales, and at the same time in 1862 they were 254,050 bales. The fluctuation in prices during the past week has been rather considerable; at one time East Indian was at least 3d. per lb. lower, Egyptian 2d., and American and Brazil from 1d. to 1½d. per lb. There is, however, now a rather better feeling, and prices have somewhat recovered. The latest quotations were American of various descriptions, from 26½d. to 27d., according to quality; Pernambuco, 28d.; Maranhau, 28d. to 28½d.; Egyptian, 26½d. to 29d.; Smyrna, 20d. to 23d.; and Surats from 16d. to 24½d. Egyptians for December shipment have been done at 26½d; for January, 25½d., to 26½d.; for February, 25½d., and for April, 26½d.

MANCHESTER, December 8.

The advance in the Bank rate of discount on Monday last to 7 per cent., and again on Thursday to 8 per cent., brought business to a standstill for the moment, and caused timid dealers to submit lower offers in the hope of attracting buyers.

On Friday there was great irregularity in quotations for home trade yarns. The disparity in some cases being as much as 4d. per lb. between one seller and another, for the same class of yarn.

Cloth, although affected by dearer money, is not so weakly held as yarn is.

To-day, Tuesday, has been an exceedingly quiet market day. The fear that we shall yet see a further rise in the Bank rate is making buyers cautious and dealers anxious to sell. The Bombay telegraphic news up to the 16th November, notwithstanding its being to a certain extent of a cheering character, has produced little effect here, as it is pretty generally believed to be in response to our highest prices, and that the next advices from India will be of a different character.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Dec. 3, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CRISIS IN TENNESSEE.  
THE CLOVEN FOOT.  
ENGLAND AND THE CONGRESS.  
MRS. GREENHOW'S IMPRISONMENT.  
THANKSGIVING ENTERTAINMENT AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.  
DR. HUNT'S LECTURE ON THE NEGRO: HIS PLACE IN NATURE.—(continued.)  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



### SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE ASSOCIATION.

PRESIDENT—Right Hon. Lord WHARFCLIFFE.  
CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Thomas Hornby Birley, Esq.  
VICE-CHAIRMAN—W. Romaine Callender, jun., Esq.  
TREASURER—Thomas Briggs, Esq.  
HONORARY SECRETARIES—James Nield and T. M. Walker.

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**TO THE PEOPLE OF GALLANT**

OLD ENGLAND. Awake! awake! Arise from your lethargy, and shake off the dew-drops that glitter on your garments, and look well to the signs of the times. Events fraught with the most momentous questions, involving no less a consideration than our liberties, are threatening to overwhelm us at this moment. For two years and a half a most wicked and foolish war has been waged against the Confederate States of America, which war has received its chief support from this country, in violation of every law, human and Divine, the Queen's Proclamation, and against the dearest interests of this country. Strange and incomprehensible as it may seem, the Federal States, each and every one, without the slightest hindrance or objection from the English Government, has received every appliance of war, even to Greek fire, from us. During this very period a neutralizing neutrality has been practised with impunity, our friends, natural allies, and kinsmen, have been slandered, abused, and libelled beyond any civilised people on earth, in addition to the most flagrant and foul duplicity and partiality, shielded and armoured-plated with the cry of neutrality, in opposition to the sympathies of all true-hearted Christians, have been practised against them. When urged to do justice to the South, the reply has always been "Neutrality!" while, at the same time the Government of the Federal States has really been aided in every possible way. We do not know that there has been an understanding between the Cabinets of England and Washington, and should be loth to believe it, —and think, on the contrary, that the voice and true feeling of the country has only to be firmly made known, to induce a different course, but we do know that their actions have to a great degree been harmonious with regard to the Confederate States: both agreeing to an inefficient blockade, and therefore both opposed to any supplies going over from this country, both opposed to Recognition, and seemingly both agreed in allowing the capture of English vessels, even when bound to a neutral port. The Yankees have blockaded the Southern ports at great expense, but England at a much greater sacrifice her commercial interests to a fear of War with the North. The so-called "neutrality" practised against the South has been their greatest shield, and inflicted a deeper wound than if England had sent an army of one hundred thousand men, to aid the Northern States to subjugate and starve out their Southern brethren. How strange and inexplicable has been our conduct towards the combatants!—the Confederate States having declared their ports open to us and their readiness to exchange cotton for manufactures, and in every case shown a continued desire for the most cordial relations with us, which hitherto we have refused. The Federal Government, on the contrary, has threatened, menaced, and insulted us almost continually, and openly declared that as soon as the South is conquered, they would declare war with us and take "Canada." President JEFFERSON DAVIS has stretched out the right hand of friendship to us with an olive branch, and we have given a serpent. President LINCOLN has approached us in a most hostile and warlike manner, with a drawn sword in one hand and an ignited thunderbolt charged with Greek fire in the other. Yet we give the "Canada" the better for cordial hand of fellowship, and maintain the most friendly relations with him in his ignominious crusade of fire and sword on this fairest portion of the earth. The sooner that support is withdrawn from the Washington Government, and the independence of the Confederate States of America recognised by us, the better for England's future prosperity, happiness, and character. Let us, therefore, co-operate in the common interest of humanity and justice in procuring the Recognition of a brave and suffering people. We are morally bound to finally decide what position we will occupy in regard to the great American war. From fear of offence to the North, we have acted as if the South ought not to be considered as having a right to existence: nay, we have, during this entire unprecedented struggle, given succour and support to the North, and remain her friendly ally. The time has arrived when we must decide whether in our opinion the North is right, or whether the South is not, or whether the South ought to have her independence. The "London Confederate States Commercial League" firmly believes that a large majority of the freemen of this great nation are anxious to grasp the lion-hearted South in their arms, and welcome her into the family of nations. If the high character, bravery, honour, and heroic defence of their country entitle men to be free, then surely they merit our consideration. Who will be first to welcome them to the honours so richly merited? We invite all those that are in "favour of the Recognition of the Independence of the Confederate States of America," to unite with us in adopting the best means to accomplish that end. The importance of concert of action among the friends of this movement is earnestly urged by the "London Confederate States Commercial League," who are anxious to communicate with other associations, clubs, and friends as to the best means of a General Demonstration throughout the Empire.

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September 14th, 1863.

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

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# THE INDEX

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LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 17, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, NOV. 14, OCT. 24, 31.  
TENNESSEE AND VIRGINIA.  
STATE OF AFFAIRS NORTH AND SOUTH.  
EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY UTTERANCES.  
THE COTTON LOAN: LETTER FROM THE HON. J. C. McRAE.  
THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.  
CHARLES THE BOLD.  
LITERARY NOTES.  
MR. CORDEN AND THE "TIMES."  
AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

GENERAL MEADE'S last and very brief campaign has come to a disastrous conclusion, and loud is the outcry against the luckless commander. All the excuses put forth by the Government and his friends are treated with contempt. The truth is too plain to be concealed. Meade, obeying instructions from Washington, pressed forward only to learn that the reports about the weakness of General Lee were false. His forces under General French were repulsed with loss, and his cavalry has been severely handled. His head-quarters near Culpepper were burnt by General Mosby, and his ammunition wagons in his rear were captured. No wonder Meade was tired of playing the game of "On to Richmond!" and that he retreated to the north of the Rappahannock. It is asserted that he has now given up active operations, and instead of trying to capture the Confederate capital, will go into winter-quarters near Washington. This policy may be necessary, but it cannot fail to seriously damage the Government. It is currently supposed that General Meade will not long be in command, and that he will be replaced by General Sedgwick. If the war lasts much longer, pretty nearly every general in the Federal service will have the honour of commanding the Army of the Potomac.

Just as we anticipated, General Grant's victory at Chattanooga turns out to be a much less important affair than was announced, and there was not the least pretence for asserting that the army of General Bragg was routed. We are still without Southern accounts, but a Northern official report contradicts the story of the capture of 10,000 Confederates, and reduces the number of guns that was taken to thirty. The only result of the affair is, that so many were killed and so many wounded; and seeing that the Confederate commander had made every preparation for withdrawal, seeing that the Federal attack was twice repulsed, it is more than probable that the statement which, according to the telegraphic news, is made by the Southern press, is true, that the Federal loss was comparatively greater than that of the Confederates. General Johnston is reported to have reached Dalton with his forces.

Meantime we have the intelligence of an important battle fought at Ringgold, Georgia. This was not a skirmish but a regular engagement, and the Northern accounts show that it was a Northern defeat, and fully explain why General Grant declined to pursue the Confederates and retreated with all convenient speed to Chattanooga. The loss of the Federals must have been enormous. The division under Osterhaus stood its ground for some time under a terrific fire, and was then obliged to retire. Colonel Creighton, leading Canby's brigade, and Lieut.-Colonel Crane were killed. The

7th Ohio came out of action under the command of a lieutenant, all the rest of its officers being *hors de combat*. At one time the Federal right was turned. At length Grant brought up heavy reinforcements, and the Confederates retired—that is, continued their march without further molestation from the enemy. We shall be glad to get Southern accounts of this battle, in which General Bragg seems to have displayed excellent generalship, and the Confederates great pluck and endurance.

It is said that General Bragg has been superseded by General Hardee, and that offensive operations will be immediately resumed. If this change in command has taken place it will no doubt be acceptable to the Confederate forces, with whom General Hardee is a favourite. What are the reasons that have at length induced President Davis to consent to the removal of General Bragg we know not, but in his retirement he will carry with him the respect of his countrymen. His patriotic devotion and his high courage are unquestionable; he has rendered his country good service, and the victory at Chickamauga will always be associated with his name.

In the absence of news from Knoxville, we have plenty of Federal rumours. On the 30th ult. it was reported in New York that General Longstreet had raised the siege and had started for Dalton. A few days later it was announced that he had made an attack and had been repulsed. These statements are about equally credible. The latter may be true, but in the absence of further intelligence it is no more reliable than any other Federal announcement. It is also reported that General Longstreet has been reinforced by two divisions.

We beg to call particular attention to an important letter with which we have been favoured from the Hon. J. C. McRae, the Financial Agent of the Confederate Government in Europe. Mr. McRae replies to the various insinuations that the enemies of the Confederate Cotton Loan have thrown out to shake the confidence of the holders. He shows that the Confederate Government is able and willing to redeem its obligations, and that every proper and necessary facility is afforded to the bond-holders to obtain cotton. Mr. McRae remarks that the receipts of American cotton at Liverpool from the 1st of January last to the 1st of August amounted to 100,000 bales, and since the 1st of August to about 50,000 bales; which proves that cotton under the Loan can be brought out, if the bondholders desire it.

In connection with the facilities for obtaining American cotton, a letter from Charleston on "The Blockade of the South," which we reprint from the *Morning Herald*, is worthy of attention. In the first ten months of the present year no less than 133 cargoes have arrived in steamers at the two ports of Charleston and Wilmington. On the 19th ult, thirteen vessels ran the blockade of Wilmington.

The Charleston correspondent comments severely on England and France continuing to recognise such an ineffective blockade, after asking the Confederate Government to adopt the principles of the Treaty of Paris, and which the Confederate Government consented to do.

The Rev. Ward Beecher addressed a crowded audience at the Academy of Music, at New York, on his experiences in England, where he says he was "a missionary and colporteur among the heathen," and that his province was to inculcate "representative American ideas." Mr. Beecher dwelt at great length upon the freedom,

happiness, and prosperity of the United States, and expressed his conviction that the prosperity of the Union would have such an influence upon this side of the Atlantic as that "just as sure as there is a Providence or a God, it will compel Europe from end to end to reform or revolutionise." After a great deal more of such talk, Mr. Beecher observed that he had heard Lord Brougham's speech at Edinburgh, "for among the other trials which Providence submitted him to was that of listening to his address." We have no doubt it must have been very painful to Mr. Beecher to have been compelled to listen to words of soberness and truth.

We elsewhere publish three letters from our Richmond correspondent. The one of the 14th November narrates some of the reverses that have lately been sustained by the Confederate army, but our correspondent is wrong in supposing that his letter will be considered gloomy. The persistent fabrications of the North as to Southern exhaustion render his communication triumphant by comparison, and particularly as it arrives at the moment when the telegraph brings us intelligence of Meade's disaster and retreat. The spirit of the Southern people is all that could be desired.

The other letters of our correspondent are of an earlier date, but we cannot say their news has been altogether anticipated, and they will be read with interest.

President Lincoln is ill with the small-pox. He has a robust constitution, and, therefore, no doubt is felt about his speedy recovery. His message to Congress is on its way to Europe, and it is needless to speculate on its tone. The *New York Herald* says:—

It is understood that the President's message will be intensely radical in character; so much so as to settle the question of the Republican nomination for the Presidency. The President regards the slavery question as practically closed, and that the legislation of the country should treat it as a thing that is passing away for ever, leaving only the debris of a broken down institution to be disposed of. He will urge that now is the time to make a final disposition of this great political curse upon the nation, while the war shall be prosecuted most vigorously for the preservation of the national life and the integrity of the Union.

General Gilmore has abandoned the attack upon Sumter, and is throwing twenty shells per diem into Charleston. This moderation will effect a considerable saving of Federal ammunition.

The escape of General Morgan and of Captains Bennet, Sheldon, Haines, Hackersmith, and Magee, was managed very cleverly; the only tools they had being small pocket knives. They left the following note behind them:—

Castle Merion, Cell No. 20,  
November 27, 1863.

To Captain Merion, Warden of the Penitentiary,—  
Commencement, November 4th, 1863: Conclusion, November 20th, 1863. Number of hours of labour per day, three. Tools, two small knives.

*La Patience est amère mais son fruit est doux.*  
Translation: Patience is bitter, but its fruit is sweet.

By order of my six honourable Confederates.

J. HENRY HAINES,  
Captain Confederate States Army.

The anniversary of Polish independence has been celebrated at the Cooper Institute, New York. The principal speaker declared that Poland and Ireland were equally oppressed, and another speaker presented to the meeting a black flag, which he explained to be symbolical of "Irish independence or death."

The following passage from a letter of the London correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, shows how



identical are the opinions and sentiments of Mr. Bright and the Yankees:—

The masses of English poverty are too stolid, too ignorant, and too utterly helpless to get out of their misery. They scarcely know that there is such a country as America. Where it is, and how to get there, is quite beyond their comprehension. Nothing can be done with them or for them. One in every six in London dies in hospital, prison, or poor-house. I think the proportion is quite as large in the country. There are millions of Englishmen who have no resource but the workhouse. While they can work, they may get enough for a bare subsistence, but if sick they go to "the house," they die in "the house," and the parish authorities

"Rattle his bones  
Over the stones  
He's only a pauper that nobody owns."

As the South cannot be conquered, the Northerners are again asking the Southern people to submit. The *New York Herald* says, by so doing "they may still rescue from capture or destruction cotton to the extent of four or five hundred millions of dollars in value, and a remnant of their institution of slavery equal at least to four or five hundred millions more."

General Hurlburt, commanding in Tennessee and Kentucky, has issued an order impressing into the Federal military service all the able-bodied men in his department. It is very easy to issue such an order, but the General forgets that the hare must be caught before it can be cooked.

Mr. C. G. Gunther, a Peace Democrat, has been elected Mayor of New York.

The Conservative Union National Committee, at a meeting held in Cincinnati, nominated General McClellan for the next Presidency.

There has been an advance in the price of gold in New York. On the 5th of December it was quoted at 51½ premium.

## ENGLAND.

Of the two great fights of the week, the most remarkable, that between Mr. Cobden and the *Times*, is treated at some length in another part of our columns by a correspondent. Mr. Cobden, of Yankee proclivities, like Mr. Heenan has been terribly cut up, but not by precisely the same process. Mr. Heenan was punished by his opponent whilst Mr. Cobden has been permitted to knock himself into a mummy in a vain effort to damage the *Times*. Mr. Delane, the editor of that journal, has accepted Mr. Cobden's personal challenge, and in so doing administered a rebuke with which no one with a spark of gentlemanly feeling can fail to sympathise. We have heard a great deal about the immorality of the prize ring, and of the roughness and the coarseness of the characters that constitute it, but we hope it is not so bad as to permit the use of such vulgar abuse as that which Mr. Cobden has been guilty of. The *Times* has made a calculation that the member for Rochdale has indulged in his two letters in no less than fifty offensive epithets. Only scolding fish-fags will envy the honourable member's fluency in such language.

The fight between Heenan and King was from all accounts very unscientific, but those who are fond of tracing analogies may discover in it a good deal of national character. The Yankee was boastful and confident of triumph; the Englishman was nervous, and only anxious to use every means in his power to secure victory. The Yankee tried to win the fight by a dodge, that of wrestling; the Englishman relied on hard blows. The fight was over in thirty-five minutes; King was the victor, and everybody was surprised how little he had suffered and how terribly Heenan had been cut up. There has been, as usual, an outcry against the prize-ring, but it is certain, from the eagerness with which the accounts of the battle were read and commented on, that many persons who protest against it are delighted to hear all about the fight. If our Foreign Secretary had been out of doors last Thursday evening he would have undoubtedly changed his opinion that the majority of his countrymen side with the Federals. People of all sorts and conditions were pleased at King's victory, not that they disliked Heenan personally or liked King, but merely because Heenan is a Yankee. Rather a strange feature in the affair was the preparations made to insure a comfortable start for those who went to witness the encounter. Prize-fighting is unlawful and fights are continually being stopped by the intervention of the police, the constables acting under the authority of a warrant granted by a magistrate whose jurisdiction extends to the place where the fight is going on. Now last Thursday morning there were a hundred of the metropolitan police at the London bridge station to facilitate and protect the departure of the combatants and their friends, well knowing, of course, that the object of the excursion was an evasion and infraction of the law. We suppose that in Scotland-yard it is held perfectly right to be an accessory before the fact in the perpetration of an offence.

In our last number we directed attention to an error in the speech of the Marquis of Hartington, in which his lordship ascribed to Mr. Cobden a statement made by Mr. Seward. Mr. Cobden has written a letter which is so full of his intense and grotesque egotism that we reproduce it:—

Midhurst, 9th Dec., 1863.

MY LORD.—You will, perhaps, be good enough to take an early opportunity of correcting publicly, your recent—I had almost said address—perversion of the remarks which fell from my mouth in American affairs at Rochdale. While with my pen in hand, permit me to add, that, with better opportunities than your lordship of studying the system of popular education and the state of society in the New England States,

I did not recognise much greater accuracy in what you stated to the Haslingden meeting on those subjects than in what you said of myself.

I have, &c.,

R. COBDEN.

Whether Mr. Cobden knows more about American affairs than the Marquis of Hartington is a matter of opinion, and we are under the impression that he does not know so much. We do not dispute that he has had better opportunities for observation, but a man blinded by prejudices cannot use such opportunities. Of course, Mr. Cobden could not write half-a-dozen lines to a gentleman without being abusive, therefore he imputes the error of the Marquis to design and calls it a reckless perversion. This is really intolerable, for nothing can be more natural than that an Englishman should confound the utterances of Messrs. Cobden and Seward and of Messrs. Bright and Sumner: their sentiments being so completely identical. They equally profess intense love for the Union, and equally find fault with English institutions and everything that is English. There was nothing in the speeches of Messrs. Cobden and Bright at Rochdale that Messrs. Seward and Sumner might not have said without inconsistency.

Mr. Justice Wightman died suddenly on Thursday last whilst on circuit. The deceased was in his 80th year, but no one seeing him on the bench would have supposed him to have been so old. It is, however, not surprising that our judges retain to extreme old age their physical strength and mental faculties. Only men with iron constitutions can stand the wear and tear of professional life that must in this country be the prelude to a judgeship. No one on the bench was more esteemed by the bar than Mr. Justice Wightman.

His successor is Mr. Sergeant Shee: an appointment which meets with very general and cordial approval. It was supposed, and not without reason, that the learned gentleman's religion, he being a Roman Catholic, was a bar to his advancement. We are glad that the supposition was erroneous, and that in this free and protestant country theological opinions are not made the test of fitness for the public service. Mr. Shee is the first Roman Catholic that has for centuries sat on the bench.

A contemporary, the *Western Morning News*, gives an account of the legal patronage of Lord Palmerston's Government since 1855. There have been three lord chancellors, eleven new common law judges, two judges of the divorce court, four attorneys and six solicitor-generals. Lord Palmerston's administration has had abundant opportunities of recompensing its legal supporters, but it is fair to add that its legal appointments have met with the approval of the public and the profession, and that some of them—such as that of Baron Bramwell, who was never in Parliament and took no part in politics—have been made irrespective of party.

A telegram has been received at the India Office announcing the death of Lord Elgin on the 20th November, at Dhurumsalla. Although the melancholy intelligence was expected it nevertheless was received with sincere regret.

A horrible murder was committed in Lambeth on Sunday; the unhappy victim being a woman named Maria Green. She was murdered by Samuel Wright, a brick-layer by trade, with whom she cohabited, by cutting her throat. Wright was arrested immediately and before the woman expired she charged him with the crime. It happens that the Sessions of the Central Criminal Court are on, and Wright was brought up yesterday, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to be hanged. Thus in three days after committing the murder the perpetrator is sentenced to death. We believe this is the most extraordinary case of speedy justice on record. Generally such speed would be dangerous, but when the guilt is so clear, quick punishment may prove a salutary example.

George Victor Townley, who sometime since barbarously murdered Miss Goodwin, a young woman to whom he had been affianced, has been tried, found guilty, and condemned to death. A defence was set up that he was insane, and it was sought to prove the plea of insanity by producing evidence of the prisoner's general moral derangement. Dr. Forbes Winslow, who had twice seen the prisoner since his incarceration, was of opinion that he is insane. Baron Martin, the presiding judge, demolished this plea by telling the jury that assuming "that the prisoner's mind was diseased on the 21st of August, yet, if he knew the act he did would probably cause death, and that what he was doing was against the law of God and the subject of legal punishment, he is responsible for his act."

On Saturday last the *Minotaur*, the largest of our iron-clad fleet, was launched at Blackwall. She is 6802 tons burthen, her engines 1350 horse-power and she has five iron masts. Her iron plating is 5½ inches, backed by 9 inches of teak. At her lowest trim her portsills will never be less than nine feet from the water; that is, more than three feet higher out than the vessels of the *La Gloire* class.

Mr. Baron Pigott has distinguished his accession to the bench by a little ebullition of temper which is not exactly dignified. When his lordship arrived in Exeter it was nearly dark, and therefore the authorities—that is, the Dean and Chapter—refused to have service in the cathedral, despite the intimation of the learned judge that he wanted to get through that part of his duties on the evening of his arrival. Addressing the grand jury, he said,—"I must apologise for some delay occasioned this morning. We might have attended the

cathedral last evening, but the arrangements I made seem to have been set aside by some authorities in the town, merely because they would not go to the expense of half-a-crown in putting candles in the chandeliers. This would have saved half a day, but we shall get through the business, I dare say, by sitting rather late." It was not to save candles that the canons did not obey the behest of his lordship, but they properly refused to permit the crowd which follows a judge of assize on his entrance into a town, to go into the cathedral when it was in darkness, and when to light up the nave was impossible. To speak of the chapter as "some authorities of the town," was disrespectful to that learned body, and the charge of meanness was ridiculous as well as insulting. Nothing can exceed the respect with which our judges are treated on circuit by all classes of the community, and it is rare, indeed, that they are not courteous and considerate in return. The learned Baron spoke hastily, we presume, and we daresay regrets it.

Mr. Layard, M.P. for Southwark, addressed his constituents on Thursday last, and considering his position, that is, the representative of a radical constituency in office, he got through his task pretty well. He said he was in favour of an extension of the franchise; but stoutly denied the assertions of Messrs. Cobden and Bright as to the comparative misery and ignorance of the working classes of this country; he not being so illogical as Mr. Bright, who always accompanies an appeal for an extended franchise with strenuous declarations of the unfitness of the people, by reason of their degradation and ignorance, to exercise it. The honourable gentleman referred to some attacks that had been made upon him by Mr. Goldwin Smith, of Oxford, who, he said, had "prostituted the chair of history, by mingling in the dirty arena of party strife." He defended the proceedings at Kagosima; but his arguments do not convince us that the partial destruction of that town was justifiable. He said very little about America, and what he did say was not very convincing. He observed that the Government "were blamed for not recognising the South and for stopping the steam-rams. Ought he not to infer from that that their opponents would pursue the opposite course and plunge the country into war with the United States?" Whether the Government is or is not justified in stopping the steam-rams, is a question to be decided by a court of law; but people do complain of the partiality of Earl Russell in being ready, upon the most flimsy evidence, to take proceedings against the possible violation of the law in favour of the Confederates, whilst he evinces great apathy respecting Federal violations of the law. Mr. Layard complacently concludes, that to recognise the Confederate States would involve war with the North. We do not agree with him, but, on the contrary, think that step would be much more likely to consolidate and ensure peace.

A dispute has arisen which engages the attention of all those who desire the welfare of the Church of England. The Rev. Dr. Stanley has been appointed Dean of Westminster, and the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, one of the canons residentiary of Westminster Abbey, has issued a protest in reference to his admission. Dr. Wordsworth, whilst professing personal regard for Dr. Stanley and a sincere admiration for his talents, feels it his duty to call attention to certain passages in Dr. Stanley's published works, which tend to discredit the inspiration of the Old Testament. In conclusion, Dr. Wordsworth thus states the forms and ceremonies attendant on the admission of a Dean. He says:—

He is first introduced into the Jerusalem Chamber, and he there pledges himself by his own hand to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and declares by his own signature that he "acknowledges all and every of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion to be agreeable to the Word of God," and he signs with his own hand a declaration that he does "willingly and from his heart" subscribe to those Articles, and "to all things contained in them." (Dr. Stanley, I believe, has recently published a pamphlet advocating the abolition of some of these subscriptions. He will pardon me, I hope, for saying that his own case proves the need of retaining them.) He is then conducted into the Abbey church, and there, on the threshold of the choir, in the presence of Almighty God, he takes a solemn oath that he will regard the authority of Holy Scripture as paramount to human opinions; that he will take his rule of life and doctrine from the Word of God, and will consider all other things as merely human which cannot be proved from God's Word, and that he will govern according to the statutes of the said Church of Westminster, which impose severe penalties on those of its members who are charged and convicted of erroneous and unsound doctrine. Nor is this all. He is admitted into his office on the condition that within a certain time after his admission he shall "openly, publicly, and solemnly read the morning and evening prayers on some Lord's day" in the church of Westminster, and there in the presence of the assembled congregation make the following declaration:—"I, A. B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intitled 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England.'" If Dr. Stanley is admitted to the place of Dean in this Church, it will be upon these terms. He will make these subscriptions with his own hand. He will bind himself by that solemn oath to which I have referred. He will be subject to the laws and statutes of the ancient foundation. He will make these public declarations in the presence of Almighty God and of His people. There may be—I fear there are—some passages in his writings which, to many minds at least, seem to be at variance with some of these solemn engagements. Many extracts have been made from them and published by others to the world which appear to be scarcely reconcilable with the received doctrines of the Church of England in her Articles and her Book of Common Prayer. But Christian charity "believeth all things and hopeth all things." He is doubtless aware of the solemn engagements by which he is about to bind himself before his admission. He cannot be ignorant of the



solemn profession of faith which he will be required to make. He will be received in the church of Westminster on the faith of those engagements and professions. He will not be received on the ground of his own writings, but he will be admitted on his publicly declared assent and consent to the formularies, and on his subscription to the Articles, of the Church of England; and that assent and consent may, we would fain believe, be charitably construed into a public retraction and recantation of whatever in his writings can be shown by fair and reasonable demonstration to be at variance with those formularies and Articles of the Church. I publish these statements and remarks in order that all may know, who desire to do so, what the terms and conditions are under which a person is admitted to the office of Dean in this Church. The member of the Chapter who admits him is enjoined by the statutes to instal him in his seat in the church with these words:—"Take thou this chief seat, in order that thou mayest promote the glory of God by thy authority and example, and that thou mayest diligently take heed to edify the body of Christ in this church, which that thou mayest effectually perform, may the Lord give thee the grace of the Holy Spirit. Amen." In this prayer, when offered up in Dr. Stanley's behalf, none will join more heartily than the writer of these lines.

A most horrible story of the ill-treatment of a lunatic has just been brought to light in a letter to the *Times*, by Mr. Sydney Hodges, of Falmouth. He writes:—

For some years past rumours have been current that the brother of a mason named Porter, living in comfortable circumstances, had been kept for many years in close confinement in a small room at the back of the premises in which Porter and his family reside. Heartrending cries and howls have been repeatedly heard by the neighbours, especially on cold winter nights; but, although the sympathy of many was aroused, no one deemed it his duty to inquire into the circumstances of the case, not dreaming, probably, of the horrors that were to be revealed. Rather more than a year ago Dr. Byrne, a well-known medical practitioner from the county of Durham, now residing in this town, was compelled to seek the warm climate of Flushing for his health, and incidentally heard these rumours. Not satisfied to allow the matter to remain uninvestigated, he collected all the evidence he could, and was so satisfied that the case was one demanding a strict inquiry that, with a most praiseworthy decision, he communicated the facts to the Home Secretary, who at once appointed him special commissioner, and sent down two other commissioners, who, in company with Dr. Byrne, went to Porter's house on Thursday last and demanded admission to his brother. Porter himself was absent, but, after some little parley with the other inmates, Dr. Byrne, who had obtained some insight into the plan of the premises, led the way through the house across a yard and up a flight of steps, where, concealed from view around a corner, they found a door, which admitted them to the den in which the lunatic was confined. The sight which met their gaze was too revolting to be described with all its horrid details. The place consisted of four bare, wet, plaster walls, with a small window on one side, and the door by which they had entered; a doorway opposite, formerly communicating with the house, was plastered up, so as to cut off all communication, except by the flight of steps at the back. In one corner of the room was a wretched truckle bedstead, with cross pieces of wood, rotten with filth, about six inches wide and the same distance apart. On these bare boards was crouched a being more resembling a baboon than a man, drawn and cramped, from long exposure and suffering, out of all form of humanity, stark naked, and with only two old rotten bags for a coverlet. I have said like a baboon, from the peculiar form into which the limbs were drawn; the knees almost touched the chin, and were pressed close down upon the chest, I imagine for warmth; the feet close together and bent down one over the other, also, I imagine, for warmth; the hands clinched and brought up close to the chin; the arms closely pressed against the sides. The knee and hip joints were ankylosed; the elbow joints were also stiffening. The floor and the walls were one mass of accumulated filth, the floor rotten with it, the stench horrible; and there are other circumstances of the case too dreadful for publication. For upwards of twenty years the tender mercies of his nearest relatives have consigned him to this living tomb—not a rag to lie upon, not even a wisp of straw; nothing but the naked board, and the two old bags to cover him.

Any comment on the foregoing is needless; but we are sorry to add that it appears it is not an isolated case of such inhumanity. Since the above statement was published, about six days ago, several other instances of the maltreatment of lunatics have been brought forward. No doubt, when Parliament meets, a stringent measure will be passed for the punishment of atrocities that shame our boasted civilisation and are a disgrace to the community.

## THE CONTINENT.

THE division in the German Diet upon the question of Execution or Occupation was a very close one. Austria and Prussia had proposed that, without prejudice to the views entertained by some of the members of the Diet upon the succession question, the Execution already ordered should be carried out. The committee of the Diet of which the Bavarian minister was the reporter had recommended that the Diet should take possession of the two Duchies, to hold them until it had itself decided to whom they rightfully belonged. The first question discussed in the sitting of the Diet was, whether a vote should be taken upon the Austro-Prussian or the Committee's proposition first; and, in spite of the efforts of the ministers of Bavaria and Baden, it was resolved that the Austro-Prussian motion should be put to the vote. In the vote, the numbers were at first equal; seven votes—those of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Electoral Hesse, the 15th, 16th, and 17th *Curie*, composed respectively for the 15th, of Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwarzburg; for the 16th of Liechtenstein, the two Reusses, Schwarzburg, Lippe, Waldeck, and Hesse-Homburg; and for the 17th of the Free Towns—were given for the Austro-Prussian proposition. The votes of these *Curie* were decided by majorities within themselves; Oldenburg, in the 15th, having been out-voted; Waldeck and the younger Reuss in the 16th, whilst in the 17th it is said Hamburg and Lubeck were for Execution, Bremen and Frankfurt for occupation; but Lubeck having this

year the representation in the Diet, the vote was given for Execution.

For the occupation, the votes of Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the Kingdom of Saxony, the Saxon Duchies, and the 13th *Curie*—Brunswick and Nassau combined—were given. The Mecklenburg representative had at first declined to vote, on the ground that he had no instructions, but he changed his mind and gave the Execution a majority, to which the Grand Duchy of Hesse and the Saxon States ultimately acceded, preferring Execution to no steps at all.

This triumph of the Austro-Prussian resolution was brought about by the pressure which these Governments exercised upon some of the smaller courts. An identical note addressed by the two Powers to all the courts put in a strong light the dangers of the course advocated by Saxony, Baden, and Bavaria. It pointed out that the two great Powers could not, whether under the name of intervention or occupation, oppose the Treaty of London with arms so long as they recognise its validity. They had made the recognition of King Christian conditional; but they entertained the most serious hesitation about exposing Germany and themselves, without urgent necessity, to the eventuality of a war, whose dimensions would be incalculable, but the results and dangers of which would especially fall upon the two great German Powers. They reminded the Confederation that if it wished to preserve its position in Europe, it must regulate it, in European questions, from a European and political point of view. The note further observed, that the Governments are not asked to give up their opinions on the succession question; these might be distinctly reserved.

This appeal, as the voting shows, was successful with the minor States. The resolution of the Diet has, however, occasioned much discontent. The partisans of Austria and Prussia accuse, the one the Austrian, the other the Prussian Government, of betraying Germany, and in one or two of the petty chambers indignant resolutions have been passed. In Wurtemberg, for instance, which is bound by the treaty, this dissatisfaction has found expression in a series of resolutions expressing deep regret at the resolution of the Bund, and a protest against the adherence of Austria and Prussia to the London protocol. The same thing has taken place in Saxony, which was also a party to the treaty. It would have been deemed impossible a few months ago that such scandalous bad faith could be thus solemnly and unanimously advocated in the German Legislatures.

The Governments charged with the Execution are taking active measures to execute the commission. They have summoned the Danish Government to withdraw its troops from the Duchies within seven days. Austria and Prussia will not only supply a reserve, which is to consist of 45,000 men, but will take part, each with 5,000 men, in the Execution, thus making the army of Execution 22,000 strong. The Saxons, it is said, will be the first troops to enter the Duchies, and it is rumoured that the whole force will be placed under the command of Prince Frederick Charles, the nephew of the King of Prussia, and one of the leading spirits of the Prussian reactionary party. The Diet, in its sitting of Monday, agreed upon the instructions to the civil commissioners who are to administer the Duchies in its name, and voted 17,000,000 thalers, about £2,500,000 sterling, towards the expenses of the Execution—a sum which will be raised from the States, members of the Confederation, according to a scale based mainly upon the amount of their population in the Federal limits.

The Hanoverian soldiers, who have been waiting for the orders to march, have been committing great excesses; all, as the fervid Slesvig-Holsteiners assure us, arising out of their intense anxiety to be led against the Danes.

The Prussian Government has asked the Chamber of Deputies for authority to contract a loan of 12,000,000 thalers—£1,800,000—to provide for the expenditure which the Execution may occasion. It appears to be certain, however, that it will not obtain the money. The Liberal majority of the House is in favour of an open rupture of the Treaty of London and war with Denmark, and unless the Minister will adopt its policy it will refuse him the money. The majority intend to address the King an explanation of its refusal, and to dictate to his Majesty the course he is to take. The draft which has been proposed, after declaring that in the hands of the present Ministry the means demanded of the House would not be applied in the interest of the Crown or the country, solicits the King to withdraw from the London protocol, to recognise the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Slesvig-Holstein; and further, to use his endeavours that the Diet may render the Prince effectual assistance in every possession of his hereditary dominions. Can the King resist the temptation thus put in his way? He has only to break faith with Europe and his people will yield all the points so long in dispute.

The Government and the House are upon very bad terms. In the discussion upon the budget, an item of 31,000 thalers asked for the secret press fund, was struck out. The great reason actuating the majority being apparently this—that the newspapers supported with these funds will be devoted to attacking them. The refusal is not, however, a matter of much importance to the Government: it will appropriate the money all the same.

Count Eulenburg, the Minister of the Interior, signified himself in this debate by a remarkable display of ignorance. He said, "How is it that the English press has for years taken so hostile an attitude towards Germany? Because the Danish Government has for years had sufficient money to secure the English news-

papers for its interest. If the Prussian Government had the same means at its disposition as the Danish Government has, general opinion in England would be quite different." The Prussian Government did once try to buy the English press for its views. Its agents contrived to get articles inserted in a daily paper, the conductors of which opened their columns to any one who would pay them; but the paper had not the slightest influence, and the only use the Prussian minister could make of it was to publish a translation of the articles in the Government newspaper of Berlin, as a proof of the great esteem felt in England for the Manteuffel régime.

Rumours are still current of a Ministerial crisis in Austria; but the cause is now found in the illness of Herr von Schmerling. It has been said that this able minister, whose maintainers in office it is much to be desired for the sake of the development of the new Austrian institutions, had tendered his resignation; but we are glad to see that this rumour is so actively contradicted.

The project of a World Exhibition in Vienna in 1866 has been definitively abandoned.

The Municipal Council of Vienna received a severe rebuff from the Emperor upon its presentation of an address in favour of Slesvig-Holstein. The Emperor, who also showed his dissatisfaction by his manner, told the deputation that he should conscientiously fulfil his duties as a German Federal Prince and labor with all his strength for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the Duchies; but that it would be better for the council, instead of busying itself with questions of higher politics or subjects which do not belong to its sphere of action, to devote itself to municipal affairs. This rebuke, some of the recent proceedings of the council have, it is said, well earned.

The Pretender has addressed from Gotha a very ridiculous proclamation to the Slesvig-Holsteiners, in which he assures them that he is busying himself with the creation of a Slesvig-Holstein army, and declares that the rights of legitimacy, the privileges of the Duchies, National claims, and the demands of humanity, are all united in his person; and assures everybody that when the Duchies are under his sway they will be for Germany and Europe a guarantee of peace and order.

Lord Wodehouse, who has been sent on an extraordinary mission to the new King of Denmark, has passed round by Berlin on his way to Copenhagen. He has seen Herr von Bismarck and the King. Two other extraordinary ministers, General Fleury, on the part of the Emperor of the French, and M. Ewers from the Czar, will meet him there.

We hope that these ministers, instead of urging upon the King of Denmark further concessions, which will only discontent his people without satisfying Germany, will be able to give him an assurance of the resolve of their courts to protect him.

The Danish newspapers have made the startling announcement that Sweden has retired from her alliance with Denmark, on the ground that as the quarrel now turns upon the London Treaty, Sweden must act with the other Powers. It is difficult to credit this story, which, if true, shows that Sweden must be plotting against the integrity of Denmark, although the speech of the King of Sweden, in which he deprecates drawing the sword for Denmark, seems to give it some corroboration. It is certainly more credible than this despatch published subsequently by a Copenhagen journal. "Twenty-two thousand Swedes are arming. The King accompanies them in person." If the Swedes are arming they will not come in quite such a hasty manner. The summons of the Powers charged with the Execution would, it is supposed, reach Copenhagen on the 13th. In that case, if no fresh delay intervene, the German troops would enter Holstein on the 24th. It is not yet known what course the Danish Government will take. The concentration of troops in Holstein looks like resistance; on the other hand it is not probable that it would defy, single-handed, the strength of Germany, and it is doubtful whether it can obtain aid to resist Execution.

More replies to the Emperor's invitation to the Congress have been published. The answer of the Emperor of Austria was accompanied by a despatch in which the necessity of a previous settlement of the programme was strongly urged. The Pope expressed the hope that the principles of justice, now trodden under feet, would be recognised and violated rights re-established—i.e., that his Holiness would get his provinces back from Piedmont—and further, that in Catholic countries the real pre-eminence which belongs naturally to the Catholic religion as the only true one, would be re-established. The King of Denmark accepts the proposal without reserve and with great delight, and is profuse in his professions of friendship. The King of Italy also accepts without reserve. The other answers are not worth special notice.

The bill for the new loan has been laid before the Corps Législatif, and the discussion upon the Address has commenced in the Senate. The Marquis de Boisvieux made a remarkable speech, attacking the *entourage* of the Emperor, denouncing the Mexican expedition, protesting against war for Poland, and, as usual, abusing England. The effect of the speech seems to have been great.

M. de la Guéronnière criticised the conduct of the Administration in the elections, and protested against the restrictions upon the liberty of the press. M. Rouher, the Minister of State, stated, in reply, that if the liberty, so ardently demanded were given, "the edifice



would soon crumble beneath the blows" of the old political parties; and protested against the assertion of the Marquis de Boissy that "ill-omened and pestiferous persons surround the Emperor."

M. Pelletau, the Opposition candidate for the seat for Paris, which he had to vacate for a formal error, has been returned by a large majority over M. Picard, the candidate of the Government. An Opposition candidate has also been returned for Dijon.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies concluded the debate on Sicily by this resolution, carried by 206 to 52 votes. "The Chamber, approving the conduct of the Government, passes to the order of the day." The finance minister, Minghetti, has made a financial statement, which, although it was received with great applause, seems to have been, as far as telegraphic summary will show, a very unsatisfactory one. We must reserve our judgment, however, until we get the whole of the figures.

The Warsaw police are very active, and seem now to have everything their own way. They are closing shops, and, as usual, arresting wholesale. Their labours do not seem, however, to be now interrupted by assassination. The decrees of the National Government are no longer executed.

The Madrid newspapers have resolved not to appear in the gallery, or to publish any reports of the proceedings of the Congress, or any comments upon them, except the official summary, until certain measures derogatory to their dignity have been revoked by the President.

## INDIA.

LORD ELGIN died on the 20th November.

The expedition despatched against the Sitana fanatics on the Punjab frontier finds that it has a difficult work to accomplish. All the Hill tribes have, it is said, risen against British rule, and a serious engagement took place on the 20th November. The rebels were the assailants. They attacked the British position with much determination, and, although repulsed, inflicted a serious loss upon the British. Two officers were killed, and five, including Sir Neville Chamberlain, the general in command of the expedition, wounded; 128 British and native rank and file were killed and wounded. The repulse seems to have seriously daunted the natives.

## CHINA AND JAPAN.

BURGEVINE and the other foreigners whose adoption of the rebel cause at one time occasioned some uneasiness, have been induced by promises of pardon to abandon it. The fact is rather creditable to the rebels. It would seem to show that they do not give their partisans those opportunities of profit and plunder, by which the imperialists have purchased the service of these English, French, and American mercenaries. Major Gordon, late an officer in the English army, who now commands the Chinese, is besieging Soochow with artillery lent him by the British general; and Captain Sherard Osborne, another British officer, who has accepted the pay of the Chinese Government, will soon co-operate with a fleet of gun-boats.

From Japan there is a strange story about a meeting of the Daimios, at which it was decided by 65 to 47 votes, that there were no grounds for declaring war against the foreigners. Where reporters present? Has the division list been published? The tales should have been made complete. We ought to have had the speeches and the names of the voters. One would have looked with some curiosity to see on which side Satsuma's vote was recorded.

## NEW ZEALAND.

The last mail brings the intelligence of several small but severe fights with the natives, who, although thoroughly beaten in every encounter, inflicted heavy losses upon the troops and settlers, and fought with the utmost pluck and pertinacity. General Cameron is concentrating his forces for an attack upon the main position of the Maories, and it is hoped that if a signal defeat is then inflicted upon them they will be dispirited and begin to ask for peace.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 15.

THE *Times* remarks very truly that the answers of England and Austria to the invitation to a Congress differ only in style, as the three energetic monosyllables of the pot-house differ from the well-bred "I beg your pardon" of the drawing-room. The effect produced on ears so well-bred as those of France is such as might have been foreseen, and the desire of the whole nation being very sincerely for peace, it is good policy to insist on the selfishness of the country which in such plain (in French, brutal) language refuses to help in maintaining it. The warmest admirers of the present English Administration must regret that the Foreign Minister, who is so little strong in action, should be still less *suave* in manner. He may do no immediate harm, thanks to the impulsive wisdom which rules French destinies, but he keeps up the the acrid irritation which, if it be extinguished in the mouths of all but Cabinet Ministers on your side of the Channel, is ever ready to blaze out here.

For a month or two the disappointment which the frustration of this plan has occasioned will vent itself in public and

private in abuse of England. As yet, at all events, no warlike feeling has been roused. The address proposed to the Senate for adoption is studiously pacific, and it is understood that at a meeting of the Liberal members of the Assembly it was resolved to offer no amendment which should point to war. The tone of the Assembly's address will be as peaceful as that of the Senate; but a bad feeling towards England has been very gratuitously produced, for the Congress was not aimed against her, and that cordial understanding which was the best guarantee of European peace, has again, as it was a year ago, on the subject of mediation, been interrupted with little cause.

The Continental press seems to be again turning its attention to the American war. Even that of Italy, abandoning at last "questions of sacristy," has lately shown itself alyce to the world-wide importance of the struggle. It is a hopeful and unhopd-for sign of vitality in the Italian Liberal press, that it studies a question so full of instruction for us all in so fair a spirit. Of several articles which have appeared in the last ten days, I enclose you one, in the hope that you will find room for it, from the *Discussione*, a Liberal paper, whose motto is "Unity and Independence." It is by far the most remarkable article I have ever seen on the subject in a continental newspaper, as it deals with it in a thoroughly constitutional spirit. If it tells us nothing new about America, it gives us news, and very cheering news, of Italy.

Nor is the French press altogether silent. I have before this called your attention to a weekly paper, the *Mémorial Diplomatique*, whose connection with the Foreign-offices of Paris and Vienna must be now known to all your readers. This week's number contains four columns of review of Mr. Walker's "Familiar Epistle." I mean the epistle which must be by this time familiar to him, the opening paragraphs of which I translate. Like the bishop's apology for the Bible, of which George III. said he had never supposed that it needed one, they are an admirable apology for the epistle to the Walkers. The reviewer, like a skilful playwright, reveals in the last paragraph the secret of its authorship—a secret which, as in all plays, must have already made itself evident to whoever read it.

"Of all the arms which the Northerners employ to kill the young Confederate branch which has fallen away from them, and in which all the sap of the old Union tree seems to have taken refuge, calumny is that which they have used with most success.

"If during the three years that one of the most important political revolutions and one of the greatest wars of our times have lasted, no political or military leader of eminence has appeared on the side of the Northerners, they have at all events produced numerous and brilliant masters in the difficult, if little honourable art, of the Basilisks.

"Had McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, gained all the battles they have lost, they would have done less for the Federal cause than it has derived from the thousands of knowing calumnies which the press of the North daily puts into circulation, and which the partisans of the Federal Government propagate with such zeal. In Europe, it is chiefly in England and France that the zeal of their calumny-mongers has done good service to the Union. By false representations cleverly made, by perfidious insinuations casually put forth, these agents have managed to deceive a part of the public opinion of Europe by persuading it that in the American conflict the North represents justice, right, and, above all, Democracy.

"Had the South not had these calumnies to fight down it would have been long since victorious. Europe, enlightened as to the real objects of the North, would have given the Confederates that sympathy which has been wanting to them till now, and strong in the moral force which this encouragement would have given them, they would long since have secured their independence and proved to the world that the only republicans in America are to be found in the South.

"But calumny is like the hundred-headed Hydra of fable. As fast as one is cut off another springs up, and the Southerners, who have a hundred, a thousand times, destroyed those directed against them, are still condemned to recommence the ungrateful task, and still they do not lose patience.

"Once again it is undertaken, and this time with greater talent and cleverness than ever. A Southern patriot, but a friend of truth, who seeks to hide his name under the pseudonym of Jonathan Slingsby, but who can hide neither his wit nor his pungent causticity, has just published in London a remarkable pamphlet, in which the principal calumnies directed against the South and its leaders are taken up one after another, and refuted with an abundance of proofs and an energy of language which leave henceforward little chance of success to those who may seek to revive them.

"We hope that we are not indiscreet in announcing that this odd "Jonathan Slingsby" is the transparent mask which covers one of the most distinguished Southerners in Paris; one who, by the untiring activity he displays in attacking the calumnies and lies aimed at his country and his fellow-citizens, has rendered the most effective services to the Confederate States. It is easy to guess the real name of this witty and caustic writer."

The first masked ball at the opera took place on Saturday night. Those who were there found it, as usual, very dull, which will not prevent their returning. It is an ever new deception, but not without its use. One of the small newspapers which have of late had such success here, gives

curious statistics of the movements of money these balls give rise to. That of Saturday night gave a receipt, money taken at the door and for refreshments, of £1,215, and calculates the money spent in this way, and for masks, dominoes, and hire of dresses, &c., at £5,800 for each ball. Fourteen are given in the season, making a total expenditure in this one kind of amusement of nearly £80,000.

The first debate on the Address in the Senate took place on Monday. It must have been very amusing for the privileged hearers (the Senate debates with closed doors), for even in the dry leaves of the *Moniteur* it stands out in lively contrast with the usual dullness of that grave official. The eccentric Anglo-phobe, the Marquis de Boissy, furnished the entertainment, aided by occasional interruptions from the President and various members of the august body. Each interruption, whether by one or many senators, only served to strengthen the antæan verve of the speaker, who told his colleagues some hard truths on many subjects. He laid before them, if not new, at least seldom expressed, opinions of the Poles, to whom he conceded only the merit of having fought almost as bravely as Frenchmen. Some one said "Quite as bravely." "No," said the Marquis, "not quite; for I will never allow that foreigners, whoever they be, can equal us in anything whatever."

The dialogue went on with this style of sparring till the President, seeing perhaps that he and others were getting the worst of it, rebuked one M. Vincent, for interrupting, with this *naïve* remark:—"You think you are embarrassing M. de Boissy by interrupting, by not doing so you would probably embarrass him more." After a well-earned rest of ten minutes the speaker continued, calling attention to the ambiguous phrase in which England's rejection of the Congress is noticed. In hardy language, he blames the servility of the flatterers who surround the Emperor. He ends by saying that he had no intention of making an Opposition speech: he had done so, and on his honour he was sorry for it. "I have but one object, it is to serve my country and the Emperor in rising to tell him the truth. This will serve him better than flatteries—better than if I came impudently lying to him and said:—"Yes! the policy of your Government is dear to France, the policy of your Government is approved by the country, the Emperor has grown in the affections of his people. I do not say so, and I shall not say so." These are but a few of the flowers of eloquence with which this speech is thickly strewn. No wonder M. de Boissy was interrupted. It says something for the French Senate that he was able to make himself heard; but he is, as you see, very amusing, and, although so hard a hitter, he is a general favourite.

M. Pelletau, the Liberal member for Paris, who was ousted in consequence of an informality in his election, has been re-elected by an immense majority. The Government candidate had far fewer votes than at the general election, which seems to contradict the report that great pressure had been brought to bear upon the electors.

The expectations of a great relaxation, if not entire liberty, in the *régime* of the press, raised by M. de Girardin's visit to Compiègne and the well-known opinions of the Duc de Morny, seem doomed to disappointment. Nothing has been done in this matter, and as it is well known that the condition of the press is a topic on which a large minority will vote with the Opposition in the debates on the Address in the Legislative Assembly, nothing will now be done. The strongest argument for the proposed concessions was the disarming the Opposition on the subject on which it is most unanimous. The Bill for the new loan has been introduced; but, notwithstanding this, there are rumours of a further one being in contemplation. I mention, without giving much credit, for the moment at least, to the rumour.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE

(From our Special Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, December 16.

AN important meeting of delegates from the several Southern Societies in these districts was held last evening at the Clarence, for the purpose of conferring with the Executive Committee of the Central Association and with each other, as to the best means of bringing the influence of public feeling to bear upon Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the recognition of the Confederate States. The attendance of representatives was numerous, and the greatest interest was manifested throughout the proceedings. Manchester was represented by Mr. W. R. Callender (Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee), and by Messrs. Pooley, J. H. Clarke, T. Briggs, Rev. Geo. Huntington, Rev. W. Whitelegge, Messrs. Armstrong, Stutter, Neild, Crowther, Sten-house, Parker, Hough, W. Potter, Bromley, &c. Mr. Mortimer Collins, the Secretary of the Association, was also present. The districts were severally represented by the following gentlemen: Stockport—Messrs. Constantine and Leigh; Rochdale—Mr. Thos. Staley; Bradford—Mr. J. Leach; Hyde—Messrs. Wild and Fletcher; Glossop—Mr. C. Schofield; Oldham—Messrs. Whittaker, Steeple, and Counsellor Harrop; Delf and Saddleworth—Mr. Lees, J.P.; Macclesfield—Messrs. Cheetham and Bridge; Heywood—Mr. Fairbrother; Middleton—Mr. Woolstencroft; Alderley (Chorley)—Mr. J. Beesley, &c., &c.

Mr. W. R. Callender presided.

The Chairman, after referring to the practical uses of a gathering of that description, and having briefly reviewed the successful labours of the association he had the honour to be identified with, remarked that the field of their operations was



a wide one, while the time they had at their disposal was brief, and should therefore be made the most of. The object of the Southern Independence Association was expressed in the title of that society. They sought to assist, by the legitimate exercise of their moral influence, the Southern States of America in their struggle for independence. They did not ask one another which side was to blame in having led to this fearful war; whether the North precipitated hostilities by a breach of faith and the warlike occupation of Southern territory, or whether the South was in fault in firing the shot at Fort Sumter. Nor did they ask themselves under what circumstances the disruption of the Republic had its origin,—whether slavery was the cause of it, or whether it arose through a series of constitutional wrongs on the part of the Federal Government. Nor need they concern themselves as to one another's motives in uniting under the title of the Southern Independence Association. Whether they acted for political feeling, or from religious feeling, or from a national feeling in regard to what they considered the best interests of their own country, or whether from a dislike of the principles and conduct of the Union and Emancipation Society. Nor was it their business to fix upon the proper time or the proper mode for the British Government to take action between the contending parties. That was a matter of which Her Majesty's Ministers were the constituted and responsible judges, and it was not doubted that they would be held strictly to account as the custodians of the national honour. The chief object, as he apprehended, of their Association was to counteract the designs and correct the misstatements of the partisans of the North, and to give a denial to Earl Russell's assertion as to the tendency of English feeling. They would leave it to the Government to select the time and opportunity for the recognition of the South, but they would also take measures to assure Her Majesty's Ministers that when the time did come, they would only be expressing the wishes of the majority of the people of this country by receiving the Confederacy as a member of the family of nations. Englishmen were opposed to the continuance of the war on many grounds. As philanthropists, they could not but regret the untold horrors that were enacting on that unhappy continent. As a free people, they regretted the continuance of a state of things under which free institutions had given way—which had led to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the ultimate issue of which might be a military despotism. As political economists, they were opposed to the drawing away of hundreds of thousands of people from the development of the material interests of the country, to the prosecution of a devastating war. As friends of the negro, they desired that the struggle should cease, not, however, by a reconstruction of the Union under which slavery had thriven, but by separation of the States, which, he believed, would infallibly tend to the abolition of slavery. And lastly, they wished for peace for the sake of their own people, who were suffering so grievously from the evils of cotton famine—evils, he believed, which could be remedied in no other way than by the Southern States obtaining their independence. The subjugation of the South he believed to be impossible, and the reconstruction of the Union by a compromise he believed to be equally impossible and undesirable.

Mr. Mortimer Collins addressed the meeting. He reviewed the recent events of the war, and heavily discounted the reported Federal successes at Chattanooga. He also spoke warmly of the depth and heartiness of Confederate sympathy in England, and after reporting upon the successful efforts of the Association in giving expression to the real feeling in the manufacturing districts, he concluded by inviting the delegates to a discussion of the various matters that would be brought before them in committee.

The meeting accordingly resolved itself into committee, and a variety of important suggestions were considered and adopted.

But while the Southern Independence Association is thus concentrating its forces at home, it must not be supposed that its energies are chiefly confined to this city, or even to the county palatine of Lancaster. The most populous of the manufacturing towns in Cheshire have long since made common cause with us. Yorkshire is showing symptoms of actively following suit, and Mr. Forster will soon learn that he represents Bradford with as considerable "a difference" as Mr. Cobden represents Rochdale. In the Potteries, too, the movement is spreading with unqualified success, and preparations are on foot for hoisting the Confederate flag (Mr. Bright notwithstanding) in the "hardware" metropolis of the midland counties. But the most signal triumph gained by the Association outside of Lancashire was achieved last week in the county town of Leicester, on the occasion of a lecture being delivered there by a gentleman (Mr. J. H. Smith) who has himself stood in the battle between North and South, and whose denunciation of the barbarities of Federal warfare produced a thrilling effect upon his hearers. A clique of Unionists did their utmost to interrupt the unwelcome narrative, but without avail.

At the conclusion of the lecture the following resolution was moved, but rejected by an overwhelming majority:—

"That the object of Mr. Smith's lectures being to organise English opinion on behalf of Southern Independence, this meeting entirely dissents from such a movement (loud and general cries of 'No, no,') as being utterly subversive of that judicious neutrality which has hitherto been observed by the English Government." (A voice: "They'll get their independence without the opinion of this meeting.")—Cheers.

The Northern party then attempted to raise the question of slavery, but the meeting indignantly repudiated this as a false issue, at the same time, however, recording its opinion upon that portion of the subject in the following terms:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the system of slavery in the United States of America is at variance with the principles of humanity and justice, and that its extinction will be best promoted by the separation of the Southern States from the Northern States—a conclusion which will be conducive to the material prosperity of America and England, and the peace of the world at large."

In supporting that resolution, the Rev. W. Woods (Independent Minister) said that in these days of War Christianity he felt he was not out of place in standing upon a political platform in the interests of peace. With regard to slavery,

he quite agreed with a previous speaker, who told them, while arguing on the side of the North, that slavery could not long exist if the area over which it existed were limited. He fully believed that; and, because he believed it, he would draw a line of demarcation between the Slave States and the Free States, and he would utter with a voice that should reach to the extremity of the Southern States, that every slave who crossed that line should be free. He maintained that such a line ought to be laid down, and the shield of American liberty thrown over the whole, instead of over a few of the States that had slaves in them. Some four or five Slave States were at this moment under the protection of President Lincoln. (Disapprobation from the Northerners.) If there were a single slave in those States which Abraham Lincoln protected, all he could say was that those who permitted him to do it, and insisted that he should do it, were not true to the principles of republicanism. Whilst he believed Abraham Lincoln to be an "honest man," he did not believe in Abraham Lincoln's government. He was not prepared as a man and a philanthropist—he was not prepared as a Christian—to support a bloody and cruel war for the liberation of the slave.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer and with the most cordial expressions of sympathy with the Confederate cause.

To-morrow evening (Thursday) an open meeting of the inhabitants of the important manufacturing town of Burnley is to be convened by his worship the Mayor, to take into consideration the policy of the English Government in regard to the war. Burnley, like Stockport, Oldham, Ashton, Preston, &c., is suffering acutely from the cotton famine. *Apropos* of Stockport, the Southerners in that town were so delighted with the speech recently delivered there by Mr. Spence, that they have had it reprinted, and copies of it, in simple wooden frames, are now hanging on the walls of many an humble dwelling in this locality.

## MR. COBDEN AND THE TIMES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—During the Corn-law agitation Mr. Cobden translated into platform vernacular important truths, enunciated by political economists and statisticians in less popular language, and by so doing he rendered a valuable service, for which he has been very liberally rewarded. The success of the honourable gentleman induced him and others to believe that he could originate as well as translate, and credit was given to him for being a master of common sense and the art of logic. Mr. Cobden's repeated failures have considerably shaken his reputation, and now he comes forward and in a most frank manner shows that he has no more claim to be ranked as a logician than Zadkiel was to be entitled a prophet. Allow me, sir, to put his confession in a readable form, for the amusement and instruction of your subscribers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Mr. Cobden is indignant with the *Times* because that journal charged Mr. Bright with proposing that the lands of the rich should be divided among the poor. What Mr. Bright did say was:—"But with laws such as we have, which are intended to bring vast tracts of land into the possession of one man, that one man may exercise great political power; that system is the curse of the country, and dooms the agricultural labourer to perpetual poverty and degradation." Seeing that land is perpetually changing owners in this country, that estates are constantly offered in the market, that there is no law to prevent any man, having the money, from buying land, and as Mr. Bright wants our laws altered, so that vast tracts of land may not be in one man's possession, and that the agricultural labourer may not consequently be in poverty and degradation, I submit that the construction of the *Times* was perfectly fair, and that, either consciously or unconsciously, Mr. Bright did propose or advocate a division among the poor of the lands of the rich. Mr. Cobden thinks differently; but instead of explaining the grounds of his opinion, he addressed an insolent, coarse, and foolish letter to the *Times*, which the editor of that paper refused to publish, but was so courteous as to write to Mr. Cobden a letter stating why his communication was rejected. Mr. Cobden was not to be baulked, but sent his letter to the other papers. The English press did not disgrace itself by printing it, but it found its way into the Anglo-Yankee press—to wit, the *Daily News* and the *Morning Star*.

You will perceive, sir, that the professed object of Mr. Cobden's letter was to vindicate his friend from the charge of demagoguism, and yet he writes "to say that it is a foul libel for which the writer is amenable to the law, were beside the question, because the object of the calumny would scorn any other court of appeal than that of public opinion." Can more arrant demagoguism be conceived? Here we are told, on the authority of Mr. Cobden, a self-constituted teacher of the people, that Mr. Bright, another self-constituted teacher of the people, scorns such protection as the laws of his country afford, and prefers an appeal to public opinion. This is certainly an odd defence.

Mr. Cobden, in very common billingsgate, falls foul of the *Times* and observes, "The writers are, I believe, betrayed into this tone mainly by their reliance on the shield of an impenetrable secrecy." In the next paragraph of his letter we read, "They who associate in the higher political circles of the metropolis, know that the chief editor and the manager of the *Times*, while still maintaining a strict *incognito* towards the public, drop the mask with very sufficient reasons in the presence of those powerful chiefs who are at once the dispensers of social distinction and (on which I might have something to say) of the patronage of the Government. We all know the man whose fortune is derived from the *Times*. We know its manager; its only avowed and responsible editor." What does Mr. Cobden mean? He objects to secrecy, and he objects to the secret being divulged. The *Times* is censured because

it maintains an impenetrable secrecy. The *Times* is exceedingly naughty because it reveals its personality to the people whom it attacks. Mr. Cobden threatens to summon "the responsible editor, manager, or proprietor to the bar of public opinion, and hold him up to the obloquy that awaits the traducer and calumniator in every other walk of political life;" and yet he admits that the editor, manager, and proprietor are known personally to the higher political circles, including Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and is very wroth at the circumstance. He knows, and Mr. Bright knows, who is responsible for the remark of which he complains in the *Times*; he says that that person does not seek concealment from Mr. Bright and the rest of those who constitute the higher political circles; and yet he asks, "Will he deny that if he were to meet Mr. Bright in the club, or in the House of Commons, with the knowledge that his secret was divulged, he would cover with conscious inferiority before the man he stabbed in the dark?" Mr. Cobden's logic amounts to this, that the *Times* reveals its personality to the leading politicians of the metropolis, including Messrs. Cobden and Bright; therefore the *Times* is encouraged to stab leading politicians, including Mr. Bright, in the dark.

So much for Mr. Cobden's logic; and now for his political morality. It is evident, I suppose, that the editors, managers, and proprietors of papers cannot avoid going into society, and that it would be impossible to conceal their identity. What they are bound to do, according to the etiquette of English journalism, is, to abstain from publicly declaring their connection with their papers; and the private society in which they mix is bound by common courtesy, and by honour, not to make public the *incognito* that is revealed to it. Mr. Cobden threatened to divulge the names of the proprietor, the manager, and the editor of the *Times*, thus violating a rule of social intercourse and taking a paltry, ungentlemanly, and unmanly advantage of the frank association maintained amongst the higher political circles of the metropolis. Now, sir, this is a public scandal. Nothing has so tended to prevent English party warfare degenerating into hate and faction as the friendly intercourse of the members of different parties in private life. The Earl of Derby and Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, are thrown together and converse together, but any one of them would as soon think of cutting off his right hand as abusing this mutual confidence. Mr. Cobden, so far as the editor of the *Times* is concerned, has carried out his threat, and no gentleman in Europe, nay, no person with a spark of manhood in his composition, will not denounce the act.

But Mr. Cobden is not only illogical, and a violator of the laws of society, but he is thoroughly impotent. The secret he threatens to reveal is generally known. As it happens, the names of the manager and the editor of the *Times* have been published, and are perfectly familiar to the public. The gentleman referred to as the proprietor—whether he is or is not the proprietor I am not aware—is known throughout the world as the son of the man who made the *Times* what it is, and to whose memory every English journalist and every friend of journalism pays respect. Mr. Cobden writes, "We all know the man whose fortune is derived from the *Times*." Pray, sir, can you tell me of any fortune more fairly acquired? By wonderful enterprise, by hard work, and by honest independence, the late proprietor of the *Times* made his fortune. He made his money by commerce, not by receiving special rewards for public services. Does Mr. Cobden forget the anecdote of a splendid present being sent to that proprietor from a foreign potentate, and after being admired by the family returned to the donor? Does Mr. Cobden forget that the *Times*, in his day, rendered a great and costly service to the commercial community, and instead of accepting the money collected as a recompense and testimonial, would receive nothing but a tablet, and that the rest of the money was employed to found some scholarships? Surely, sir, to make a fortune by commerce, and to refuse such rewards, is quite as honourable as working for a cause and then sending round the hat, or at all events accepting a fortune from the generous munificence of the public.

Mr. Cobden says, the *Times* "never enters my house except by the merest accident." Now, I happen to know that Mr. Bright never receives the *Times* into his house—that like myself, he is not in the habit of seeing it, except at the club during the session." Then, sir, would it not be well for the *Times* to cease giving full reports, or any reports, of the speeches of Messrs. Cobden and Bright? Why should that journal go to the expense of verbatim and prompt reports? The public does not care about wading through columns of Messrs. Cobden and Bright's talk, and we have the word of Mr. Cobden that neither he nor Mr. Bright considers the *Times* worth reading. How curious, by the way, that Mr. Cobden should be so enraged about the remark of a journal which he holds in such contempt.

And please, sir, to enlighten me on this point. Is Mr. Cobden the public censor of the press, and can he make journals insert what he likes? He writes: "In about sixty days, at the utmost, Parliament will be in session, and it will then be in the power of those whom he maligns and refuses a hearing (if they should be so disposed) to make the columns of his own paper the vehicle for a searching, detailed, and complete exposure of what I venture to call a flagrant public abuse." Suppose the *Times* refused to publish the speeches of the members for Rochdale and Birmingham, could Mr. Cobden imprison the proprietor, editor, and manager, or even cause those gentlemen to be publicly executed?

Mr. Cobden writes that he is "tending to the conviction that



here are three conditions only necessary to the success of any great project of reform; namely, a good cause, persevering advocates, and the hostility of the *Times*." I do not agree with him, but of this I am certain, that the advocacy of any cause, good or bad, by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, is sure to damn it. Whenever Mr. Bright comes out strong upon the question of peace, his constituents are in good spirits, for then that war is probable and that they may soon expect large orders for small arms. What made a Reform Bill unpopular? The advocacy of Messrs. Cobden and Bright. Be assured, sir, that the cause you uphold—that of the Confederate States—has practically few better friends than Messrs. Cobden and Bright; for everybody feels that they are sure to be on the wrong side, and that what they oppose deserves to prosper, and will ultimately triumph. However, Mr. Cobden will henceforth do little for friend or foe. He thought to injure the *Times* (a journal which gives plenty of opportunities for well-merited censures), but instead of so doing he has made himself ridiculous and contemptible.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

London, December 15th.

E. Q. V.

#### CHARLES THE BOLD.\*

OF the many extraordinary specimens of book-making that have come under our notice, the two ponderous volumes which constitute the first instalment of Mr. Kirk's *Charles the Bold* bear the palm. It is common enough for novelists to make much of scanty materials, and to be so diffuse that it demands wonderful patience and skill to discover their stories amidst masses of verbiage. But hitherto historians have been tolerably exempt from this fault, and for the very sufficient reason that the difficulty they have to encounter is a superabundance of matter relevant to their subjects. We cannot, however, apply any ordinary canon of criticism to Mr. Kirk's curious patch-work, in which the adventures of his nominal hero are only used to stitch together incongruous essays and common-place moral reflections. If Mr. Kirk's work had been called "The History of Charles the Bold and of Louis the XI., together with the Biographies of their Predecessors, with a Sketch of the War of the Roses in England, to which is added the Author's Reflections on Things in General," the title page would have given the reader a better, but still inadequate, conception of the multifarious contents of the book. The early life of Charles, including extracts from original documents, only occupies six pages, whilst about fifty pages are given to the War of the Roses, and in which nothing is related that is not familiar to every village schoolboy. Mr. Kirk's excuse for giving us this dose of English history is, that Charles of Burgundy sided with one party and Louis XI. with the other. We are only surprised that he did not begin with the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar, and explain to the benighted world by what changes it came to pass that this country fell under the dominion of the Normans. Was not Normandy a province over which Louis reigned, and which Charles endeavoured to wrest from his rival? Very often our author, with no better reason, introduces a chapter from history quite foreign to his subject. But still worse than his historical wanderings are his reflections and his moral deductions. Sometimes they are so obvious that they could not by any possibility fail to suggest themselves to the most casual reader without any prompting. Many of our author's little sermons are true and good, in their way, but then they are very trite. Here and there we are favoured with a little piece of morality, or a small contribution to what Mr. Kirk no doubt thinks is the philosophy of history, which is neither obvious nor trite; but then it is sure to be at variance with anything like a reasonable commentary on the narrative. As for Mr. Kirk's style, we can only say that it is much more fitted for the paragraphing of a country paper than for history. Instead of being terse, it is rambling in the extreme. Mr. Kirk tries to say as little as he can in as many words as possible. One extract will prove the justness of this criticism. During the War of the Public Weal Louis found it necessary to leave Paris in order that he might in person look after his Norman levies. After being told that there was a strong party in Paris in favour of the confederates, who were leagued against the King, it is plain enough that Louis would not, except under compulsion and very reluctantly, leave his capital. Yet this reluctance is explained in the following roundabout passage, which, as far as we can discover, serves no other purpose than to inform all whom it may concern that Mr. Kirk has read Shakspeare's play of the "Merchant of Venice," as well as a popular history of England:—

Yet the King is loath to go,—"right loth," as Shylock to leave his daughter and his money-bags while maskers are abroad, albeit he has given orders that his "house's ears" be stopped. He fears that, when his back is turned, Jessica will "clamber up to the casements;" that the prowler's steps will be quickened by beckoning and signals from within.

It is not without regret that we feel ourselves compelled to speak in these terms of a work which, with all its faults, evinces industry and a certain amount of talent. When, however, a writer comes before us as an historian, and claims to rank with some of the greatest minds that have ever adorned the republic of letters, justice must not be blinded by sympathy with disappointed vanity. Besides,

with a work of such pretensions the author has little to hope or fear from criticism. Friendly puffs cannot save it from oblivion if it has no merit, nor can undeserved censure injure it if it has merit. After all, it is the reader, not the reviewer, who determines the fate of a book; for the reviewer ceases to have power whenever he ceases to be representative. We doubt not that, if Mr. Kirk had contented himself with writing a one volume biography of Charles the Bold, he would have produced an acceptable and an agreeable narrative, and that if he were to delete from the work he has published all the extraneous episodes and reflections, the residue would be deserving of praise and not of censure. Mr. Kirk is evidently painstaking, scrupulously conscientious, writes with a noble purpose, and is inspired by a high toned morality. If he has not the gift of writing history it is a pity that his energies and time should be wasted in vain efforts to do so. If, on the contrary, he has that rare talent, it is a kindness to point the errors of judgment which render it useless.

No subject could be selected that offers greater advantages to an author than the history of Charles the Bold. The stage is crowded with well-defined and remarkable characters, and, in theatrical parlance, every supernumerary would, but from association with still more eminent personages, be the observed of all observers. There are the intriguing Croys; there is the ambitious Saint-Pol, scheming for place and pay; there is the king's brother, whom Louis uses as a chess-player does a pawn; there is Philip the Good, in his last days perpetrating the savage crime of destroying the town of Dinant, because some of the citizens had indulged in a sorry jest. One by one the vassals of the king of France play an important part in the drama. Now the Roman Church, still a mighty temporal power, appears; and anon Warwick the king-maker flits across the scene. Now we see Margaret and her son supplicating the protection of Louis, and shortly afterwards we behold Edward pleading for aid at the feet of Charles. And there are characters, such as Margaret and Isabella, which arouse a more tender interest. But our attention is fixed upon the two men who are the leaders in the great struggle. Much alike, and yet very unlike, are Charles and Louis. Both are ambitious, both are cruel and revengeful, and neither one nor the other deserves the admiration of posterity. But Louis the Astute was a cunning villain, who loved hypocrisy for hypocrisy's sake; to whom perjury was no offence; who would grovel in the dust and lick the shoes of those he hated; who was every inch a coward, both physically and morally; who feared himself even more than his victims feared him, and who was accursed as well as a curse. Now Charles the Bold, the remorseless destroyer of the innocent, the tyrant who mocked the victims of his wrath with a show of justice, was very different to his creeping, cringing rival. He was not a hypocrite; he did not delight in perjury; and at the worst crisis of his fortunes he never betrayed any trepidation, but demeaned himself as a prince.

And then the deeds, as well as the men, are a splendid theme for the historian. The age of chivalry had not passed away, though its days were numbered, and jousts and tournaments are mingled with actual warfare. The complications of the drama are manifold, and the interest never flags. Now it is the confederated vassals against the king, then it is Burgundy against all France; now England is the ally of Louis, and after awhile England is on the side of Charles. At one time Louis seems utterly crushed, and in the grasp of his powerful adversary; but just when we expect that his ruin will be consummated we find all is changed, and that the king is triumphant and Charles in jeopardy. So engrossed are we with the story, that we almost forget for what a splendid prize each was contending: Louis to be king indeed of France, and Charles to be the independent ruler over domains which would have made him the most puissant prince in Europe.

Mr. Kirk treats the contest between Charles and Louis as the great and final trial between feudalism and royalty. Strange it is that he should have fallen into such an error. He tells us over and over again that the Dukes of Burgundy were only nominally vassals; that Philip the Good had more than once refused the title of king; and he points out how Louis was compelled to tremble before his vassal Charles the Bold. It is just such hasty, erroneous conclusions as these that render the lessons of history useless, and that make us gain no more from the records of the past than a knowledge of names and dates, and an acquaintance with some stirring adventures. The feudal system was a necessity. In the times in which it flourished, the only means by which a monarch could govern a large territory was by dividing his power. It was natural that the king should be jealous of his vassal, and that the vassal should strive to be as independent as possible. This chronic conflict between the immediate lords of the soil and the lord paramount was the germ of national and social freedom, and prevented Europe from degenerating into abject submission to a few irresponsible potentates. In England it was the feudal barons who obtained for us our first charter of freedom; and, happily for this country, the feudal lords were severally too weak to become independent, and it was only by union and the formation of great parties that they were enabled to hold the sovereign in check. On the Continent, it was somewhat different: there some vassals attained sufficient power to set up for themselves. The Dukes of Burgundy, for example, owed allegiance to more than one throne, and held their dominions by a tenure that was for all practical purposes thoroughly kingly. They became sove-

reign in everything, excepting name, and their co-vassals followed their example as far as they could. They ceased to be vassals, and the feudal confederacy against which the power of the king of France could not prevail was destroyed, and in place of it there were a number of petty sovereigns, each jealous of the other. Louis XI. took advantage of the barrier of feudalism being broken down. The ducal throne of Burgundy was the greatest that had been erected on the ruins of the feudal system, and therefore the most envied, so that Louis found little difficulty in forming alliances, against it. The King of France did not conquer feudalism, but obtained power because feudalism had ceased to exist, except in name and empty form.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

MORE than once of late, when we had thought that some question had been argued to an end, and that nothing remained but to "divide" public opinion on the subject, and abide by the vote, a contemporary whose thoughtful and practical tone commands our respect—except for its agricultural articles, which are neither thoughtful, practical, nor fair, and for its literary criticisms, which are pervaded by a spirit of fanatical Abolitionism—has suddenly thrown a wholly new light upon the question, often decisive of its character, and always obliging us to reconsider it with the greatest care. This is always done by showing some practical consequence involved in the decision, rather than by going over again the theoretical argument. We certainly imagined that the topic of anonymous writing was exhausted; that as Mr. Cobden had nothing but abuse to offer on his side, so the press had none but state truisms to allege in reply. The *Economist*, however, has taken up a new view of the subject, and has treated it with its usual clearness and force. The rule of anonymity, it observes, is necessary to maintain the rights and secure the interests of the proprietors of journals. If the law were to require that every article should be signed, the public would become used, not, as now, to like a particular journal, but to admire a special writer; and that writer would have it in his power, by his secession, to ruin the journal with which he had been connected. His successor might write quite as well; but he would not have the advantage of a popular reputation, and he would have no readers. Thus a law of this kind would virtually transfer the control of nearly all our journals from proprietors to writers. It would be an edict of confiscation against the former; it would emancipate the latter from a very wholesome control; as they are very bad men of business, it would not, probably, in the long run, prove advantageous to their pecuniary interests; and it would exercise a deleterious effect on the character of journalism in England. At present, that character is eminently conservative—using the term in a social and political, not in a party sense; all newspapers that have any circulation or influence—that are good properties—are controlled by men having the instincts of a propertied class, averse to confusion, dreading radical changes, and abhorring socialism. The removal of this check on the vagaries and extravagances of writers, leaving each free to indulge his own crochets to the uttermost in his own name, would be disastrous alike to the character of the press and to the interests of the public. Our contemporary, in calling attention to this view of the question, has rendered a service to the literary world at large—to authors, editors, and owners of literary property—which ought not to pass unacknowledged.

"Legends of the Lintel and the Ley,"\* is a readable fireside book, containing a number of tales, more or less founded in fact, connected by passages of local description, well and quietly written. It is not exceedingly interesting, nor does it give promise of the highest order of talent; but it has a very pleasing, gentlemanly style, and a tone thoroughly suited to the nature of the work. Altogether, it is a much better book than many works of greater pretension.

The Western Coast of Africa, perhaps, the last region in which any one would travel for pleasure's sake: but the gentleman who prefers his title as Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society † to his own favourably known name contrives to make it pleasant to his fellow-travellers on paper. Gifted with a profound contempt for conventional opinions, which now and then, perhaps, seduces him into the opposite errors, and with a very unusual degree of moral courage, he speaks his mind on all subjects with a frankness which will frighten away not a few readers of weak nerves, and ensure him the honour of being heartily anathematised by Exeter Hall. The King of Dahomey and his horrible customs only provoked the remark—which will not be the less fiercely resented that it is literally true—that his Majesty "has no more power to abolish human sacrifices than the Prince of Wales to forbid morning service." And the writer is daring enough to think that, apart from some of its remoter consequences, the slave trade is not that unmitigated injury to the African race that it is supposed to be. The negro is a slave everywhere, and perhaps it is as well to be the slave of a Christian gentleman as of a heathen savage. The F.R.G.S. is likely to meet with less mercy than Dr. Colenso at the hands of the May meetings; and with less honour than he deserves from those who, thinking very much as he does, lack the courage which emboldens him to say what he thinks in the very plainest terms.

No one needs to be told that essays by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton contain many striking passages, or that they are extremely egotistical, and possess rather the appearance than the reality of depth and earnestness; or that they contain a frequent reference to the Useful and the Beautiful, always spelt with capital letters; or, in short, that they are marked by most of the peculiarities which abound in those philosophical disquisitions with which the great novelist interlards his fictions. "Caxtoniana" ‡ will never be one of his most popular works. Sir Edward is too clever and too industrious to commit an egregious failure in any walk of literature. Everything that

\* Legends of the Lintel and the Ley. By W. Cooper Dendy. London: Bell and Daldy. 1863.

† Wanderings in West Africa, from Liverpool to Fernando Po. By A.F.R.G.S. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1863.

‡ Caxtoniana: A series of Essays on Life, Literature, and Manners. By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. Author of "The Caxtons," &c. London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood. 1863.

\* History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. By John Foster Kirk. London: John Murray.



comes from his pen is sure to have great merits, and to be marked by a strong and honest individuality; sure, also, to have had great pains bestowed upon it, and to contain some new thought, or fact, or fancy, which will dwell in the remembrance of the reader. Above all, it is certain to have the charm which high scholarship and refined taste lend to the writings of one who is at once an original genius and an accomplished gentleman. Nevertheless, these essays will add nothing to their writer's fame. Some of them are very clever; one or two of them are gems of humour and good sense; all of them are readable and deserve to be read. But it is clear to every reader that the author's forte does not lie in essay writing. If we may, without offence, whisper a secret into the ear of an author for whom we entertain the highest admiration, and whom we like even more than we admire him, we would tell Sir Edward that we, and every one we know, invariably skip those parts of his novels which are in the nature of essays. We don't learn anything from them, and they make us yawn horribly. We may give two reasons for our opinion that the author of the *Caxtons* can add nothing to his fame by *Caxtoniana*. First, he is not, though he tries to be, a philosophical thinker; what he means for philosophy is a mixture of metaphysics and sentiment, and when sifted and sounded is found to consist, like a cloud, of nothing but vapour, without any bottom whatsoever. Secondly, the charm of an essay lies in its style; and Sir Edward's style is his weakest point. We don't mean to say that it is bad, that it is in any degree comparable to that horrible jargon which sickens us in the works of Dickens, or has anything in common with the dialect of sensation novelists or magazine-mongers. Between the Bradtons and Salas, the Kingsleys and Yateses, and Sir Edward, there raves a gulf like that between the *New York Herald* and the *Quarterly Review*, the *Telegraph* and the *Times*. But for all that Sir Edward's style is one of his drawbacks; and greatly improved as it is since the days of "*Pelham*," it is not such as to lend charms to an essay. Indeed, we have no one living who can write a really good essay, unless it be Mr. Thackeray; and we confess ourselves unable to relish the terribly strong flavour of stychnine which pervades that author's most genial performances. Nevertheless, we need not say that we have read *Caxtoniana* with much pleasure, and that we expect all our readers to do the like. For the benefit of those, however, who may be too late to get hold of it this week at Mudie's or Hookham's, we extract the following very characteristic and very remarkable passage from an essay on the Clairvoyance of the Imagination:—

"Nothing is more frequent among novelists, even third-rate and fourth-rate, than 'to see through other organs than their eyes.' Clairvoyance is the badge of all their tribe. They can describe scenes they have never witnessed, more faithfully than the native who has *lived* amid those scenes from his cradle.

"I could cite many indisputable proofs of this phenomenon amongst my brethren in the masonry of fiction; but as I here contend that the gift, so far from being a rare attribute of genius, is shared, in a greater or lesser degree by all who concentrate imagination on particular objects, I abstain from a reference that would not convey the homage of a compliment but the affront of a disparagement. And, therefore, neither in self-conceit nor in self-depreciation, but just as a chemist who suggests a theory naturally adds to his suggestion the statement of his own experiments, I offer my personal evidence in favour of the doctrine I advance—viz., that there is nothing so rare as to excite our incredulous wonder in the faculty of seeing 'through other organs than the eyes.' I have had sometimes to describe minutely scenes which, at the time of describing, I had never witnessed. I visited those scenes later. I then examined them, with a natural apprehension that I must have committed some notable mistake, to be carefully corrected in any subsequent edition of the work in which such descriptions had been temerarily adventured. In no single instance could I ever find, after the most rigid scrutiny, that the clairvoyance of imagination had deceived me. I found nothing in the scenery I witnessed to induce me to retouch an outline or a colouring in the scenery I had imagined. I am not sure, indeed, that I could not describe the things I imagine more exactly than the things I habitually see. I am not sure that I could not give a more truthful picture of the Nile, which I have never beheld except in my dreams, than I could of the little lake at the bottom of my own park, on the banks of which I loitered on my school-boy holidays, and (could I but hallow their turf as Christian burial-ground) would desire to choose my grave."

The Ring of Amasis\* has afforded us one of the severest literary disappointments we ever sustained. We had hoped that in a romance of the mystical sort Owen Meredith would have shown himself capable of rivaling "*Zanoni*," and this work falls below the level of "*A Strange Story*." It is incoherent, purposeless, unconnected; very horrible, no doubt, and capable in some passages of exciting an interest of the most painful character; but thoroughly unsatisfactory and unworthy of the author's really remarkable genius. We feel it almost as a personal wrong that the poet whom we have read with so much pleasure should have failed so signally and completely in a work peculiarly congenial to his talents, and in which we had expected to take so much delight. The failure is total and unquestionable, and we can only hope that it may be retrieved by some future work, to which the author shall give more care, and in which he shall restrain within due bounds his dislike to painstaking elaboration, and his passion for unintelligible rhapsody.

Dr. Doran's two enormous volumes† of dramatic anecdotes and biographies defy the attempts of a busy man to read them, or even to glance through them. But if they find favour, as they deserve to do, with the many women and few men who are not busy, they will probably fulfil their author's purpose, and will certainly satisfy the publisher's most sanguine aspirations. After all, better 1200 pages of large print than half that quantity of the diminutive type in fashion at present, to the sore annoyance of rational readers and the no small profit of opticians and oculists.

Dr. Wordsworth's *Journal*‡ in Italy is tinged throughout with a tone of prejudice which destroys much of the value of the author's observations on the state and prospects of religion in that country. It is written, however, in a much more gentlemanly and Christian tone than usually characterises Protestant works on Popery; and we recommend it to all who wish to see how a Protestant, who desires to remember that he is a gentleman, ought to write of Catholicism.

Miss Braddon is publishing novels so fast that we cannot pretend to remember their titles, much less their characters and several histories. John Marchmont's *Legacy*\* is one of her best; not more sensational than *Aurora Floyd*, with circumstances and actors not more unnatural than is necessary to the sensational character of the novel; and, in *fact*, much more readable than many infinitely better works.

The *Last of the Cavaliers*,† now published in a cheap form, is, in our humble judgment, an historical romance of first-rate excellence. John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, is the hero of the tale; and in the manner in which his history is interwoven with that of the humble and unhistorical personages whose loves and sorrows are its chief theme the author has displayed very remarkable skill and tact. Among the works of the followers of Scott this is the only one we have read which seems not wholly unworthy of the master, and we commend it to our readers with the greater freedom that we have not the least idea to whose hand we owe the pleasure that, on a second and even a third perusal, we still find in its pages.

THE "*MARGARET AND JESSIE*."—Our readers will recollect the gross outrage that was some months ago committed by a Federal cruiser on a vessel in British waters. This flagrant violation of neutral rights has been again brought under our notice by an able article in the *Morning Herald*, founded upon the official correspondence. Our contemporary gives the following history of the affair, which we reproduce as being a faithful version of a matter which loudly demands investigation and reparation:—"The Confederate steamer *Margaret and Jessie* left Charleston on the 27th of May, laden with a cargo of cotton, and having on board sixteen passengers, for Nassau. She had succeeded in running the blockade, but when about twenty-five miles from Nassau it was found that she was being chased by a steamer, upon which she was immediately headed for the land. The steamer was unable to decrease the distance between them, till the *Margaret and Jessie* had arrived within four or five miles of the Island of Eleuthera, one of the Bahama group, when the steamer opened fire upon her. However, she managed to continue her course without receiving material damage, until she had run within three or four hundred yards of the land, which was as near as she could get to it. She then, keeping within that distance of the shore, took a westerly course, and was followed *pari passu* by the steamer, which was compelled by her draught of water to remain at a distance of about a thousand yards from the land. This appears to have continued for something like an hour and a half, when the crew of the *Margaret and Jessie* were actually able to converse with people on the shore. During the whole of this time the steamer kept turning round, and delivering continuous broadsides alternately from each side at her unarmed victim. Most of the shot and shell passed over their object, and some of both buried themselves in the soil of the island. One of the witnesses speaks to the fact of a shot having entered the roof of her house, and others to the splintered trees and to the panic which these missiles caused to the inhabitants of the town of James Cestern, making them fly from their dwellings to the sea side of the adjoining hills. Others, too, who were fishing on the other coast of the island, which was there only two miles in breadth, depose that some shot came right over the island, and splashed into the sea beside them. This evidence affords conclusive proof of the proximity of the attacking steamer to the opposite coast. At last the *Margaret and Jessie*—when still within 300 yards of the shore, and, therefore, when within the maritime territorial jurisdiction of Her Majesty—was struck by a shell from the steamer, which reduced her to a sinking condition. Upon this—and, according to one of the witnesses, within eight minutes of this shell having struck the *Margaret and Jessie*, thus showing how near the two vessels were to each other—a boat pulled off from the steamer within speaking distance, and the persons in the boat declared that she was the United States ship *Savannah*. This turned out to be untrue, as her name was afterwards ascertained and admitted to be the *Rhode Island*—a false assertion which could have had no other object than to put the authorities upon the wrong scent as to the perpetrator of this flagrant violation of the sovereignty of a neutral state, and which also proves that the officers of the attacking vessel were conscious of the illegality of their proceedings. If additional proof of this is required, it is to be found in the fact that there was no attempt made by the *Rhode Island* to board the sinking ship, which would certainly have been done if she had been considered to be a lawful prize. The *Margaret and Jessie* was then abandoned by her crew. She soon afterwards settled in the water, but was subsequently raised and given up to the wreckers, and part of her cargo was saved. The total damages thus caused by salvage, by loss on cargo and on freight, and by the cost of repairs, were estimated at 69,138l. 6s. 9d., which is the amount claimed as compensation. The foregoing story is authenticated by the evidence, duly taken before a notary public, of the crew and passengers, and of several of the inhabitants of the island, who witnessed what took place, and whose testimony can hardly be other than disinterested, and therefore unimpeachable,

THE BLOCKADE OF THE SOTUH.

(From the *Morning Herald*, December 16.)

CHARLESTON, S. C., August 1, 1862.

In July, 1861, the British (Mr. Bunch) and French (Mr. Belligny) consuls here, received instructions from their Governments to ask the Confederate Government to adopt the principles of the Treaty of Paris of the 16th April, 1856, so far as the same referred to the maritime rights of neutrals and to the establishment of blockades.

This was agreed to by the Confederate Government, and an Act in accordance passed by their Congress, and approved by President Davis, 13th August, 1861. Their assent to the first Article, in relation to privateering, not being asked.

The stipulations of the Treaty of Paris are as follows:—"Article No. 1.—Privateering is, and remains, abolished. "Article No. 2.—The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

"Article No. 3.—Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

"Article No. 4.—Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

\* John Marchmont's *Legacy*. By the Author of "*Lady Audley's Secret*." London: Tinsley Brothers. 1863.  
† *The Last of the Cavaliers*.

The parties then remained mutually bound to observe and enforce the second, third, and fourth Articles of the treaty.

The word "*really*," used in the 4th Article, must mean that the condition thus explained should be interpreted in the strictest manner, both as to the letter and to the spirit—or else the word means nothing at all.

Appended herewith are lists of the arrivals of steamers with cargoes from foreign ports, at Charleston (43) and Wilmington (49) from commencement of the present year, that is, for seven months; there were also numerous arrivals of small sailing vessels, of which we have no memorandum. The arrivals at the other ports in the Confederacy we have not here the means of furnishing.

Now, how can England acknowledge the blockade of these two ports of Charleston and Wilmington to be effective, with the fourth clause of the treaty before them in one hand, and these long lists of "access to the coast of the enemy" in the other?

The Confederates say that England, in acknowledging this blockade to be effective, dishonours her signature treacherously, inasmuch as she disclaims the obligation entailed on her by her signature, after she had asked and obtained the Confederate Government to adopt the treaty, thereby securing to herself the advantages accorded to neutrals under the second and third clauses; whilst she treacherously declines carrying out the fourth clause, the honest enforcement of which was the inducement to the Confederacy for granting the concessions asked for, and contained in the second and third clauses. (See Consul Bunch's Despatch to Lord Lyons, dated Charleston, August 16, 1861.)

And the Confederates further say, that the conduct of England in the matter is most unjust, inasmuch as by her thus shirking fulfilment of her written obligation a serious advantage is secured to the Northern Government.

In hope of calling the attention of the British public to this particular point this statement is laid before them, from which they can clearly understand the responsibility of England in the matter, and see how that responsibility is evaded by her present Government.

ARRIVALS OF STEAMERS WITH CARGOES FROM FOREIGN PORTS IN CHARLESTON.

January, 1863.	May.
— Herald.	11. Britannia.
22. Calypso.	13. Antonica.
28. Flora.	—, Norseman.
27. Douglas.	15. Calypso.
29. Thistle.	20. Margaret and Jessie.
February.	20. Ella and Annie.
14. Leopard.	20. Kate.
14. Ruby.	22. Beauregard.
14. Annie Childs.	23. Orion.
24. Havelock.	25. Britannia.
March.	26. Atlantic.
1. Ruby.	June.
1. Margaret and Jessie.	11. Antonica.
15. Flora.	11. Racoon.
16. Gertrude.	16. Margaret and Jessie.
17. Ruby.	27. Alice.
18. Calypso.	28. Fannie.
23. Antonica.	July.
24. Eagle.	8. Juno.
24. Margaret and Jessie.	10. Antonica.
April.	20. Margaret and Jessie.
10. Ella and Annie.	22. Alice.
12. Havelock.	23. Fannie.
26. Eagle.	
28. Alla and Annie.	
Total .. .. .	43.

ARRIVALS OF STEAMERS WITH CARGOES FROM FOREIGN PORTS IN WILMINGTON, N.C.

January, 1863.	July.
— Cornubia.	13. Fet.
— Giraffe.	14. Cornubia.
February.	16. Cronstadt.
— Cornubia.	17. Phantom.
— Giraffe.	28. R. E. Lee.
20. Eagle.	August.
21. Douro.	14. Banshee.
22. Emma.	18. Venus.
25. Granite City.	— Eugenie.
March.	— Cornubia.
3. Cornubia.	19. Flora.
15. Britannia.	— Ad. Vance.
19. Giraffe.	20. Mary Anne.
23. Lizzie.	22. Beauregard.
29. Emma.	— Gibraltar.
April.	— Hausa.
1. Cornubia.	— Margaret and Jessie
15. Flora.	25. Don.
— Pet.	— Elizabeth.
23. Margaret and Jessie.	26. Flora.
— Merrimac.	27. Arabian.
— Charleston.	September.
30. R. E. Lee.	10. Banshee.
May.	12. R. E. Lee.
13. Banshee.	— Eugenie.
— Pet.	17. Pet.
— Cornubia.	18. Juno.
18. Victory.	21. Spunkie.
— Emma.	— Venus.
— Eugenia.	— Hansa.
22. Flora.	23. Antonica.
26. Sirius.	24. Cornubia.
28. Banshee.	28. Don.
June.	29. Fannie.
10. R. E. Lee.	— Alice.
— Cornubia.	October.
12. Gladiator.	3. Douro.
14. Banshee.	— Margaret and Jessie
15. Eugenie.	8. Flora.
17. Arabian.	10. Dec.
18. Venus.	16. Ad. Vance.
22. Flora.	19. Beauregard.
28. Clyde.	— Hansa.
July.	— Spunkie.
7. Banshee.	— Virginia.
11. Ella and Annie.	— Banshee.
— Elizabeth.	22. Fannie.
— Hebe.	— Alice.
— Emma.	23. Pet.
13. Eugenie.	
Total .. .. .	132.

For ten months, from January 1 to October 23, 1861, 135 cases of "access to the coast of the enemy" by steamers alone, to the two ports.

\* The Ring of Amasis. From the Papers of a German Physician. Edited by Owen Meredith. London: Chapman and Hall. 1863.

† Their Majesties' Servants: Annals of the English Stage. By Dr. Doran. Author of "*Table Traits*," &c. London: W. H. Allen. 1863.

‡ *Journal of a Tour in Italy*. By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, LONDON E.C.

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At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1863.

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following additional contributions:—

John Wilkie, Esq. . . . .	£5	0	0
Edward Thompson, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0
Charles F. Sise, Esq. . . . .	10	0	0

## Tennessee and Virginia.

It is characteristic of the stubbornness of the American people, whether North or South, that since this cruel war began there has been no long uninterrupted series of triumphs for either army to boast of. Possibly a great military genius, like the first Napoleon, might have found opportunities for following up blow by blow, converting defeat into a rout, and a rout into an irretrievable disaster. But as yet, from some cause or other, possibly from a variety of causes of which no European commander could have any experience, the greatest battle of this war has proved comparatively resultless—a few thousand men killed and wounded, a crest of hills won or lost, a retreat of twenty miles upon a strong position; then a month or two of rest; and the bloody game is renewed, and year after year, when winter puts an end to the operations in the field, one is puzzled to know what progress has been made, save that here and there Federal garrisons are ensconced behind fortifications on Confederate soil within range of their gunboats, and that on one or two points Federal armies have conquered the ground on which they are encamped. The last battle at Chattanooga is no exception to the rule. As the truth becomes known the magnificence of the vision presented to the mental gaze of the New Yorkers is sadly blurred and dimmed; and the latest victory of General Grant, which was to have put an end to the war in the South-West, turns out to be another of those indecisive conflicts which have made the whole strategy of the war appear rather a matter of brute force and lucky accident, rather than of skill and settled design. We cannot deny General Grant's success. He has undoubtedly driven the enemy away from his front; and he has perhaps secured Chattanooga for the winter. But this is all, and it is very little to have accomplished with an army of 90,000 men. It is now known that the victory was only partial. Instead of Bragg's whole force having been driven *pêle mêle* from the field, a portion of it, the right wing, held its ground during the whole of the last day's fight, after repulsing repeated attacks. A graphic correspondence in the *New York Herald* describes three separate assaults on the Confederate right, the two last delivered with increased numbers and with redoubled fury—and as many failures; and still, until nightfall, that position was held. Only when the attack had ceased was the order for evacuation given. This at once disposes of the rout and demoralisation of Bragg's army. But the latest accounts tell us more than this. They have left no doubt that Grant had sufficient reasons for discon-

tinuing the campaign in Georgia, and that General Hooker's corps has had bitter experience of the prowess of a "demoralised" army. We now learn for the first time that Hooker fought a battle on the 27th, in which two Ohio regiments suffered severely. What the extent of their sufferings was it is impossible as yet to say; but that Hooker was roughly handled is obvious from the fact that immediately afterwards he evacuated Ringgold, after burning every large building, and we quite expect to hear from Southern sources that he has sustained a severe check. In the meantime it is satisfactory to know that Bragg's losses in the late encounters have been more than made up by the arrival of reinforcements under General Joe Johnston, near Dalton, and that the Confederate army is preparing to resume the offensive, under Bragg's successor, General Hardee. We confess to view with regret the suspension of General Bragg, but we do not see how it was to be avoided. We doubt neither his ability nor his patriotism. He has displayed both too frequently to admit of suspicion of the one or denial of the other. But he is unlucky; and ill-luck is perhaps the gravest charge that can be made against a general. Moreover he has lost the confidence of the soldiers whom he commands and of the officers who fight under him, and President Davis had no alternative but to follow the universal opinion and appoint a successor. It is difficult, thousands of miles away, and in comparative ignorance of the disposition and organisation of the forces under his command, to form a just estimate of Bragg's strategy for the last two months. But it would certainly seem that the Confederate army was kept idle before Chattanooga for weeks, when there was a fair opportunity of driving General Thomas from Chattanooga, or of overwhelming General Burnside at Knoxville; and that when General Longstreet marched off against Burnside, the army before Chattanooga was dangerously weakened, considering the constant accessions of strength that were reaching the Federal camp. Whether Bragg is to be held responsible for these tactics we know not; but *prima facie*, they betoken a sad want of that energy and rapidity which the Confederates needed to enable them to meet the superior resources of the invader.

The news from Knoxville continues conflicting. On the 20th Burnside still held his ground, and an assault by Longstreet on the 29th had been repulsed, according to Federal accounts, with considerable loss. But there is no authority for the report that the siege was abandoned, and Longstreet retreating. On the contrary, the Confederate General had been reinforced by two divisions, under Bushrod and Johnson, and was not only able to maintain his threatening position before Knoxville, but to despatch troops to intercept General Foster, and the reinforcements coming from Cumberland Gap. An engagement had taken place two miles from the Gap, in which the Federal cavalry had been repulsed; and it was tolerably certain that Longstreet had nothing to fear except from the approach of Sherman's division from the South. How far the roads between Missionary Ridge and Knoxville were practicable, what obstacles the Confederates could place in the way, we have to learn. But we have as yet no news of the Federals having reached Cleveland, and between Cleveland and Chattanooga there are a hundred miles of hilly country to traverse—no easy task for an army exposed to the attacks of a superior force of cavalry, and compelled to carry with it all its supplies. Add to this, that the advance of the Confederates from Dalton will give General Grant work for all the troops he commands; and it is not difficult to see that Burnside's position is still critical. If the Confederates can prevent the entrance of supplies a week or two beyond the latest date of the news from Knoxville, we might still expect to see East Tennessee re-won to the Confederacy, and all the advantages of Grant's success neutralised.

Meade's campaign is pronounced a failure by the *Washington Star*, and well it may be; for with an army double the strength of that opposed to him,

he has simply emulated the fame of the king of France, who—

"With twenty thousand men,  
Marched up the hill, and then marched down again."

A gleam of success at starting, when the Confederate outposts on the Rappahannock were overwhelmed and captured, and since that nothing but tedious marching and disastrous repulse. For it can no longer be concealed that Meade has suffered a repulse. In the first place, his cavalry were driven through Raccoon Ford by Fitzhugh Lee; in the second, his whole army was brought to a standstill before Lee's strong position in Mine Run Valley, and, although the secret has been hitherto well kept, there is little reason to doubt that General Warren had better reasons than a mere estimate of the enemy's strength for retiring so suddenly from the attack which was the whole object of Meade's movement. The Federals have now in their turn retreated: and it is reported that, with a wholesome dread of Lee's capabilities of annoyance, they are once more in full cry for Washington. It is significant that the Confederate cavalry has regained its old ascendancy. One day we hear of General Mosby's beating up and firing Meade's head-quarters; the next day Rosser falls upon his rear, and "gobbles up" ammunition wagons and horses. Plainly the vicinity of the Rapidan is not safe for the Federals, and they do wisely to put some miles between their baffled general and the defenders of Richmond. The Virginia campaign is, then, at an end, leaving matters very much as they were twelve months ago: the Southern capital still safe, and Lee's army still gloriously defiant of the invader. But the fights of Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, have weakened the Northern army by some 70,000 or 80,000 of its best troops, and the road to Richmond is harder to travel than ever.

The State of Affairs  
North and South.

Two men are suffering from fever. One looks pale and sickly, his pulse is not nearly so strong as it was in the time of health, he is somewhat restless but not violent, he is perhaps needlessly dispirited but he is not delirious, his face is never puckered with laughter, and his voice is subdued and like unto the voice of suffering. Now look at the other patient. On his cheek is a hectic flush, and his eyes gleam with unwonted brightness. His voice is sonorous, and ever and anon he rises from his couch and performs some gymnastics that even in health would be hard tests of strength. Far from desponding, he rejoices in his sickness. Fever, he shouts, will not hurt him, but do him good. In so many days he predicts he will be convalescent, and infinitely stronger from the malady, whilst his fellow-patient will surely die. Any inexperienced person seeing these two men would conclude that the first we have described was in extreme danger, and that the other had ample reasons for his exulting confidence. But the physician would think differently. He would know that over the man apparently strong, fever had obtained the mastery, and that the man seemingly weaker was keeping fever in subjection. He would be aware that the hectic flush, the bright eye, and all the appearances of health in sickness, were but the livery in which insidious and triumphant disease dressed up its victim for the embrace of death; whilst the pallor, the sadness and the other signs of suffering, were the symptoms and the sure promises of future health.

Now what is true of individuals is often applicable to nations, and it seems to us that the foregoing amply illustrates the state of affairs North and South.

The Northern press teems with articles which represent in glowing terms the condition of the country as one of unprecedented prosperity. Mr. Seward lately declared that every State was stronger and every citizen richer in consequence of the war. The Rev. Ward Beecher at a meeting in New York



was greeted with vehement applause when he said, "no wonder the advocates of absolutism take sides against us, for just as sure as prophecy or fate, the continued example of this people in their prosperity under their Governments and under their American ideas—just as sure as there is a Providence or a God, it will compel Europe from end to end either to reform or to revolutionise;" and he added, that the reason of the war was "because it was necessary for God to teach them one lesson more: that a self-governed, free and religious people could go through a revolution and come out of it stronger than when they went into it." Perhaps Northern editors, the Federal Secretary of State, and the accredited agitator of New England do not believe what they say, but unless they were certain that such statements were acceptable to, and to some extent credited by the people, they would not dare to give them utterance. And are there not evidences on every side of Northern prosperity? New York, once the centre of a vast commerce, has become the centre—not indeed of fashion—but of display. Costly equipages, rich dresses, and glittering jewels abound. Men with colossal fortunes are met with at every turn. Business has so increased that the day is not long enough for its transaction, and an "Evening Exchange" has been established. And it is not alone in New York that the growth of wealth has been so rapid. Other cities and towns are rejoicing in new-born riches, that have come to them they know not how. What of that? They have their heart's desire, and since ignorance is blissful, they choose to be ignorant.

It must then in fairness be admitted that there is some apparent excuse for the delusion with which the Northerners are so enchanted. When war broke out they heard from Europe dismal forebodings of its attendant miseries. War was to bring in its train, scarcity, poverty, and oppressive taxation. At the unsheathing of the sword commerce was to dwindle and national insolvency was to ensue. Idle stories! Instead of scarcity and poverty, the land is smiling with plenty. Instead of oppressive taxation, the Government has filled the pockets of the people with money. So far from commerce dwindling, it has wonderfully increased. Railways never paid such large dividends, manufacturers were never so busy, store-keepers were never so thriving, and working-men never received such high wages. Let European financiers blush to find how little they know about the science they profess. Paper—at all events that which passes through Mr. Chase's presses—is an excellent and sufficient substitute for gold. Well, are we Europeans wrong? Is the prosperity of the North real, or is it, like the hectic flush upon the cheek of the sick man, only the herald of approaching dissolution? If, indeed, the vaunted prosperity of the North is not illusive, then Mr. Beecher only uttered a truth in profane language when he said, "As sure as there is a Providence or a God, it" (the example of the United States) "will compel Europe, from end to end, either to reform or to revolutionise." We shall have to get rid of our old-fashioned ideas, and instead of "Peace and Plenty" inscribe upon our banners "War and Prosperity." New England has called for an anti-slavery Bible, and we must learn to clamour for a religion that is opposed to peace. We must henceforth regard as the enemies of our race those who counsel peace, and hold those to be benefactors of mankind who are for war. Is war such an unmixed blessing? Let us glance at the state of affairs in the South.

Very different is the picture. War has not visited the Confederate States disguised as a blessing, but it has come with those horrors that have been associated with it in all ages and in all countries. In a word, the South is in the normal condition of a warring and blockaded country. The precious metals, although not exported, have disappeared from circulation, and the paper currency, though the people are patriotic, and freely offer up their lives in defence of their national independence, has become so inflated that internal commerce is seriously crippled. Despite an abundant harvest, here and there there is a deficient supply, and although the Government employs a large amount of labour, the demand for labour is not excessive. It is highly probable that the Confederate Congress will devise means for decreasing the inflation of the currency, and thereby to some extent revive commerce and diminish the sufferings of the people. But we have no hope that the South will, nay, we have no wish, that it should in time of warfare be like unto a nation enjoying the fruits of peace.

How are we to account for the prosperity of the North and for the adversity of the South? The Federals have had the opportunity of selling their produce and of changing their gold for necessities or luxuries. They started solvent, and they have not scrupled to accumulate an enormous debt with-

out making adequate provision even for the payment of interest. But beyond these, they have no special advantages, and are even in some respects less favourably situated than the Confederates. They are not invaded; but then it is more costly to carry on war in an enemy's country than at home. In the North, every soldier put in the field takes away a labourer who would otherwise be a producer of the necessities of life, whilst in the South the war makes no demand upon the tillers of the soil; and inasmuch as it discourages the cultivation of cotton, it adds to the number of those who can turn their attention to the cultivation of food. It might, then, be very fairly supposed that the South is better able than the North to carry on a long war. And so it is, for Northern prosperity is a huge sham, and Southern adversity but a natural and transitory incident of warfare.

Yes, in spite of Yankee boasting, the experience of the world and the teachings of Christianity are true. However necessary, however lawful, however fraught with future benefit, war, whilst it is being waged, is a curse and not a blessing. By withdrawing a million of men from peaceful avocations; by piling up a colossal national debt; by substituting for the worship of the metallic dollar the worship of the paper dollar, the citizens of the North are not richer, but poorer. And if we look a little deeply into the matter—if we read carefully the speeches of Mr. Seward and Mr. Beecher, and the articles in the Northern papers—we find that there is a skeleton at the feast, and that the Federals, from the dizzy height of their fictitious prosperity, see yawning beneath them the gulf of ruin. Ceaseless is the clamour for the continuation of the war, and rather than have peace they are content to sacrifice liberty and every vestige of self-respect. They bear patiently, although they discern clearly, the shortcomings of their Government, and they support that Government zealously because they believe that whilst it remains in power peace is impossible. And why is this longing for a continued war? Not from martial ardour, for the Yankees will not fight, and have to pay a high price for mercenaries. Not from a passion for military glory, for the successful Wall-street gambler is thought as much of as the successful general; and, indeed, Federal officers are far from being the lions of society. No; the clamour for war, for war without end, were that possible, arises from the consciousness that peace will inevitably plunge the nation into financial ruin, and inaugurate an era of anarchy. The ruin must come, but it may last the war out, and the war may drag on for a year or two longer. On the other hand, the South earnestly desires peace, for then her condition, now at the worst, will immediately improve. The precious metals will come forth from their hiding-places, and the currency will be restored to its normal condition. From the open ports will be shipped the long-stored produce to yearning markets. It may be that a large quantity of cotton will be spoiled and burnt; but so much the more valuable will be the residue. Thus it is that the South fights for peace, and the North strives to prolong the war; but the end must come. And this nearly concerns Europe, and particularly this country; for when the North is, consequent upon peace, in the throes of anarchy and ruin there will be an outcry for another war to bring about another period of fictitious prosperity. Who then will be the chosen antagonist?

### Extra-Parliamentary Utterances.

Such is the title given by the *Times* to those speeches of supererogation wherewith it has of late years become the fashion to diversify the autumn amusements of our hardworked legislators. Like most political innovations, the fashion had its origin in ideas not very consistent with the constitutional theory or practice of our ancestors; but it serves, nevertheless, some useful purposes. It gratifies the restless vanity of metropolitan boroughs, whose members are allowed, on condition of making a yearly appearance at the bar of public opinion, to exercise their functions during the session without the constant supervision of a standing committee from the local vestry. It is better to have to flatter the publicans of Marylebone once a year than to be bullied, lectured, and instructed by them once a week—which is probably the alternative. In the manufacturing districts, a more serious purpose is served by this new practice. The artisans of Lancashire and the West-Riding really think on political questions, if not wisely or soberly, yet with much earnestness and a certain degree of logical consistency, and it is well that they should, by this species of formal intercourse with their representatives, be reminded of the fact, which such men as Bright and Cobden constantly ignore,—that they

really enjoy a certain influence in the State, and have their fair share, if not more, in influencing the counsels of Parliament. To members generally, the necessity of annually flattering their constituents and praising themselves is an unmitigated bore. But there are exceptions to this rule. The great demagogue, who is made to feel his own insignificance in an assembly of gentlemen met to do business, where an orator who is neither a gentleman nor a man of business can exercise little or no power, finds himself at home before an excited audience of half-educated labourers, who don't mind his talking nonsense, and are unable to detect the untruthfulness of his statements and the impracticability of his proposals. The little demagogue, who has perhaps scrambled into Parliament by the aid of a long purse, and escaped the judgment of an election committee "by the skin of his teeth"—who has fancied himself a statesman because his sister had married a stump-orator, until he found that he could never catch Mr. Speaker's eye on any occasion more important than the third reading of a railway bill, and that when he got on his legs his colleagues went to dinner—rejoices to have a platform to himself, whereon to vent the suppressed speeches of a whole session, and the gall and venom wherewith disappointment and envy have filled his spirit.

The man who feels that his gift lies rather in talk than work, but who has been condemned by a subordinate official position to make very few speeches, and those few of a cautious and business-like character, is delighted to throw off his fetters and speak where there is no chief to check him and no watchful adversary ready to seize on every unguarded word. Better to speak to Southwark than sit silent in St. Stephens. And those who have the good fortune to represent a constituency of the better class, if they don't exactly enjoy the task of vacation speaking, at least have no great reason to complain of it. They are not called upon to stand forth upon a platform, in a big, ugly building, to address an audience assembled expressly to hear and to criticise them. They meet their friends, neighbours, and supporters in a friendly way—generally at the annual show of the chief agricultural society of the neighbourhood, or on the anniversary of some local charity—and they do not arise to deliver themselves of a carefully-prepared speech until their hearers have been put in good humour by prime beef and sound liquor, and have manifested their good-will by drinking their member's health. Under such circumstances a man may say as much or as little as he likes. He is not only permitted, but expected, to avoid all topics likely to provoke dissent; and all that is required of him is to be cordial and clear, whether in abuse of his adversaries or in praise of his friends. A few good-humoured sarcasms and a good deal of sound sense, with a popular commonplace for conclusion, will make an excellent and effective "extra-parliamentary" utterance for an orator who has the happiness not to represent an overgrown borough or a "great commercial constituency."

Three typical men—a rabid Radical, an official Liberal, and a Conservative of the younger and more moderate school—have each indulged us with an account of their views upon some of the chief questions of the day; and if none of them gave expression to anything very striking or very important; we may find something in each speech which is illustrative of the position of political parties. Mr. Leatham aptly uttered the views of that little school of English Yankees to which he belongs by marriage and by choice. He is personally, as they are politically, a disappointed man. He happens to be the brother-in-law of Mr. Bright; and as this is his sole connection with politics or public men of course he makes the most of it, and attaches himself to the standard of his distinguished and desperate relative. Not having any original ideas or any personal merit of his own, he has made it his study to present as servile a copy of that agitator as is possible with the materials which nature has bestowed upon him. Eloquence, even in vituperation, is beyond his reach; his oratory could never have induced even Huddersfield to send him to Parliament; but he was fortunate enough to escape a conviction for bribery, and having won his seat, he has a right by custom to be heard once a year in the town-hall of his constituency and in the columns of the *Times* upon things in general and his own virtues in particular. If he cannot imitate his prototype in anything else, he can adopt his views, imitate his temper, and mimic his tone; and he has done this with such success that we must pronounce him, next to Mr. Peter Taylor, the loudest scold out of Billingsgate. He might, we think, outtail a cabman to whom he had paid sixpence for driving him 1,700 yards; and, pen in hand, he might produce an article worthy of insertion in the *New York Herald*. Concerning the matter of his speech we need not say much. Four-



fifths of it consisted of the usual froth and falsehood about the American war, every word of which has been said before, at least a hundred times, by journals and orators quite as clever and as veracious as Mr. Leatham, and need not be answered over again because he chooses to repeat it. Of course he railed at Lord Palmerston; first, because the noble lord is eighty years old; next, because he has laughed Reform out of existence and Radicals into contempt; and thirdly, at least so we construe his rambling utterances, because he has not invited Mr. Bright to take charge of the War-office, nor shown any disposition to honour that gentleman's connections. The history of the Premier's relations with the Radicals is very simple. They blustered and brawled so loudly in 1858 that he was for a moment deluded into the idea that their support was necessary to him; and he offered them a fair price for it. They helped him into power, but neglected to seal the bargain by striking while the iron was hot; and in the meantime Lord Palmerston had found them out. If the country did not want Cobden in the Cabinet neither did he; if the nation did not care for universal suffrage, he was not going to force it down their throats. So he quietly dropped their acquaintance; and left them to discover their own impotence by the ludicrous result of their efforts to undo their own work. Thwarted in their policy, disappointed in their personal ambition, seeing the few men of capacity in their ranks judiciously silenced by minor official appointments; above all, conscious that the contempt with which they are treated in Parliament is merely the reflection of the regard in which they are held by the country, aware that all is over with them, and that neither caution nor bluster will any longer avail them, they give free vent to their feelings, and astonish the public by the fury of their vituperation, and the bitterness of their personal hatred towards the only man who could at this epoch maintain even the semblance of a Liberal Government. They do not even care to remember that they can do Lord Palmerston no greater service than by abusing him as the enemy of Progress—that is, of Yankee ideas. In a word, they are desperate; and every utterance of theirs, in or out of Parliament, betrays their conviction that they are doomed to hopeless exclusion from office and influence. They talk as English politicians never talk when they have any practical object, however remote, in view; they scold as even women never scold, except when they are quite aware that scolding is the only consolation left them in the face of irremediable defeat. A few words from Mr. Cave—the Conservative colleague of Mr. Fitzgerald in the representation of Horsham—aptly explain the present feeling of the American faction in the House of Commons:—

There were the troublesome members, who expected something from fishing in troubled waters, and did not like the affairs of the country to go on smoothly if by that means their power over the masses seemed likely to be diminished. (Hear, hear.) It reminded him of the story told of an English condottiere—Sir John Hawkwood. A monk who was afraid of him began by saying "*Pax vobiscum*." (Peace be with you.) The reply of Sir John was, "The devil take your blessing; don't you know I live by fighting?" (Laughter.) Something of this kind might be said of some of the speeches which had been delivered in the north of England. When the country was at peace and in prosperity, they said, "What is that to us? We don't want that; we want some stirring points to be brought forward, and to see the people thoroughly discontented."

Mr. Layard's speech at Southwark was clever and characteristic; chiefly devoted, as was natural, to a defence of the foreign policy of the Administration. But there was one remark on domestic matters which deserves remembrance, as showing the fund of good sense which underlies all the official insincerity and political unsoundness of the discoverer of Nineveh. Mr. Cobden had stated that the lower classes in England are less educated than in any other civilised country—a statement which we believe to be of that class which the honourable gentleman is wont to denounce as "outrages, libels, calumnies, gross, corrupt, and gratuitous falsehoods;" that is to say, not strictly and accurately true. But it has some show of truth; and deserved the quiet and perfectly correct criticism of Mr. Layard—that our comparative want of education is a consequence of our greater zeal for liberty. Abroad, the State—an abstraction known to Englishmen, thank Heaven, only in the dialect of political theorists, but which elsewhere has assumed, in the reverence and in the hopes of men, almost the place of Providence—provides an education after its own pattern and enforces it on all alike; allowing none either to be ignorant, or to be educated after another fashion. But we, who don't understand equality and who dote on liberty, must forego whatever advantages may be found in a system as subversive of the latter as it is favourable to the development of the former; nor, whatever Mr. Bright may urge in favour of a democratic despotism, are Englishmen likely to exchange the right to be ignorant or educated in their own fashion for the right to be educated, will they nill they,

at the pleasure as well as at the expense of the Government.

In their views on most foreign questions it would seem that Mr. Layard, Lord Russell's parliamentary sub., and Mr. Fitzgerald, Lord Derby's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, are much of one mind. The latter speaks out frankly about Slesvig Holstein, which difficult and dangerous ground is prudently shirked by his rival; but upon this subject, as upon that of Poland, he speaks only to commend what he supposes to be the policy of the Government. It is curious to notice what are the points selected by either speaker to justify their political antagonism. Mr. Layard is apologetic on the subject of Reform, parliamentary and ecclesiastical; but rests the claim of the Government to public confidence on the ground that it has seized the steam-rails and kept the peace with the United States, and on the assumption that the Conservatives would have done neither. It is scarcely necessary to remark on this that in dealing with a people like the Yankees the policy of conciliation is the policy most certain, eventually, to "plunge us into war." On the other hand, Mr. Fitzgerald reserves what he has to say on the American question for the House of Commons; but has a word or two to say on the domestic policy of the two great parties. He quotes, with smiling malice, the saying of a Tory friend:—

A friend of mine in Sussex said the other day, "I should be sorry to see Earl Russell and some of his friends removed from office, because I am certain that so long as they remain there we shall hear nothing of the question of reform." But this is very like what has happened in our immediate neighbourhood. There was a very enterprising man, who used to keep every keeper on the *qui vive*; no preserve was quiet. The whole country was in commotion on account of this man, who was called Little Barker. My friend said he believed it would be the same with Earl Russell and his friends as it was with Little Barker, and he added, "A friend of mine sent for Little Barker and said, 'I will make you my keeper,' and from that day to this the whole country has been quiet, our preserves have been at rest, our keepers have been able to sleep in their beds, and we have enjoyed peace and tranquillity. It is the same with these gentlemen as with Little Barker, and they will remain quiet as long as they are our keepers."

This feeling is very prevalent, both in Parliament and in the country, and the Little Barker of Downing-street owes more than he would willingly acknowledge to a general desire to keep him out of mischief. But if, now that he has ceased to poach in the preserves, he takes to robbing the hen-roost; if he forges his master's name to insolent letters to the neighbours; if he is found to be always on the lookout for a quarrel, and always ready to sneak out of it, to the great discredit and discomfort of the household, it may possibly be found better to discharge him at once, especially as his old associates will hardly join him again, and his power for mischief as a poacher will probably be insignificant, in comparison with that which he exercises as a confidential, though by no means trusted, servant.

## THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

LETTER FROM HON. C. J. McRAE.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Taking advantage of its present depressed condition, the enemies of the Confederate Cotton Loan have thrown out various insinuations intended to shake the confidence of the holders. I shall be obliged to you for so much of your space as will enable me to reply to some of the objections raised.

In the first place, doubts have been expressed whether the Confederate Government owned the quantity of cotton requisite to redeem its bonds. This is sufficiently disposed of by the following extract from a despatch received by me from the Hon. C. G. Memminger, the Secretary of the Confederate Treasury, dated Richmond, 15th of September. For obvious reasons, I leave two blanks.

Your recommendation that you be permitted to make such cotton as may be asked for under the Erlanger Loan deliverable in ——— or ———, is approved. The greater part of our cotton is in those two States, and it would be more convenient for us to make delivery in them. At present we have a sufficient quantity of cotton to meet all our engagements. The enemy, thus far, have captured about 20,000 (twenty thousand) bales, and we have been obliged to burn about as much more. But as our stock reaches over 400,000 (four hundred thousand) bales, our capacity to pay has not been seriously impaired.

Secondly, there are those who have not scrupled to say that the Confederate Government, if not actually placing obstacles in the way of the redemption of the bonds, has refused to the holders reasonable facilities for obtaining the cotton. So far from this being the truth, an arrangement has been made to

relieve the holders from the risk attending the transmission of their bonds through the blockade. The bonds may be deposited with the Commissioners of the Confederate Government in London or Paris, who will give certificates of deposit in quadruplicate, and these certificates have the same validity when presented at the Treasury Department in Richmond as the original bonds themselves. It is true, the Government has declined a proposition to give up to such claimants the one-third freight room which it reserves in private vessels clearing from its ports. This is for the obvious reason that a stipulation which is justifiable only on grounds of state necessity, and on these grounds is cheerfully submitted to, would become intolerable if the sacrifices exacted from one party were turned to the profit of other parties instead of the State. I do not hesitate, however, to say that bondholders, exporting the cotton in their own vessels, will be exempted from the condition imposed on other exporters, and I have strongly recommended this to the Treasury. I can further state, with perfect assurance, that every facility for bringing the cotton to the seaport, which does not actually interfere with the necessities of military transportation, will be everywhere accorded by the military and civil officers of the Government to such claimants. The great interest which the Government must naturally feel in sustaining its credit in Europe is an abundant guarantee for this assurance.

You will observe, therefore, that the only reason why cotton in redemption of bonds has not heretofore come to European markets, is because the holders of the bonds have not made the effort. Up to a recent period the impression was prevalent among them that the war would not be of much longer duration, in which case it was sound policy not to convert the bonds. The Loan was, in this point of view, simply a seven per cent. sterling stock, based on the national faith, and fluctuating with the vicissitudes of the war. Its cotton basis could only come into play when it was apparent that the struggle would be protracted. Up to this time only about £18,000 (eighteen thousand pounds) have been deposited for conversion, and the certificates were not sent forward until 1st November last, so that sufficient time has not yet elapsed to bring out the cotton. That the blockade will not seriously obstruct this transaction, on the largest scale on which it may be undertaken, is amply proved by the statistics of the Liverpool Cotton Market, from which it appears that the receipts of American cotton at that port from the 1st January last to the 1st August, amounted in round numbers to 100,000 bales, and since the 1st August to about 50,000 bales. It is plain that to be equally successful in bringing out cotton under the Loan, depends solely on the will of the bondholders.

A third objection is made against the Loan, which, though not actually true, has yet greater force than the preceding. It is said that cotton may be purchased at the present rate of exchange cheaper in the Confederacy with sterling than with the bonds of the Loan. In reply to this I have to state, that it is now under the consideration of the Government at Richmond, to prohibit altogether the exportation of cotton, except such as is pledged by its obligations. I have every reason to believe that this necessary and salutary measure will promptly be adopted. The total of such obligations, other than those of the Seven per cent. Cotton Loan, does not reach £200,000.

I remain, very respectfully,

C. J. McRAE,

Financial Agent of the Confed. Gov. in Europe.

48, Avenue Gabriel, Paris,

December 15th.

At a recent meeting of the Danish Reichsrath, the Ministry proposed that the salary of the Minister at Washington should be increased. The Finance Committee proposed, as an amendment, that the increase should be smaller than that suggested by the Government; and, during the debate, Mr. A. Hage stated, as a reason for adopting the amendment of the Committee, that a Minister might soon be required at the Confederate as well as at the Federal capital. Ultimately the proposal of the Committee was adopted.



## THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

BY A. T. BLEDSOE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS,  
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

No. 2.

THE causes of the first American war for Independence may, it has been said, be found in "a preamble." This is not true, unless, indeed, contrary to the meaning of its authors, the assertion be understood to refer to that great preamble to American institutions called "The Declaration of Independence." Nor is it true that the rebellion in question sprang, as is usually believed, solely from the power of taxation claimed by the Parliament of Great Britain. The Philippic of Dr. Johnson against the Colonies contains, at least in its title, only the simple truth that "Taxation is no tyranny." But although taxation is not necessarily tyranny, it may be imposed in a way or under circumstances, which would render it the most insufferable oppression. Hamilton,\* and Burke,† and Webster,‡ have shown that "American taxation" by the British Parliament was attempted under circumstances which would have made it a galling tyranny. Especially have Hamilton and Burke shown that Parliament had already imposed so many burdens and restrictions on the commerce of the Colonies for the exclusive advantage of the mother country, that to superadd taxation thereto would be an intolerable grievance. "Our British masters," says Hamilton, had shown that "the power of legislating for us, and of raising a revenue upon the articles of our commerce, would be a sufficient degree of slavery, without the power of taxing us against our consent." If such taxation were legal, says Burke, if such a principle were once established, then the "Government might rob a nation of its whole property."

Every revolution in the British Government, says Burke, has turned on the question of taxation. Hence, reasoning from the past, he predicted that the colonies would rebel if they were taxed. Nor was he mistaken. For, true to the traditions and the character of their ancestors, the Anglo-Americans refused to submit to taxation which they regarded as illegal and oppressive.

But scarcely had the battle of Independence been fought and won, than the North began to lay unjust, illegal, and still more oppressive burdens of taxation on the people of the South. In vain had the Constitution, the fundamental law of the land, expressly declared that taxation should be equal. One portion of the South, or less than one-fourth of the whole people of the Union, were made to pay at least three-fourths of all the taxes levied by the Federal Government. A senator,§ by no means friendly to the South, and bitterly hostile to Calhoun and his school of politics, declared, in his place in the Senate, that "Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia defrayed three-fourths of the annual expense of the Federal Government; and of this great sum, annually furnished by them, nothing, or next to nothing, is returned to them in the shape of Government expenditures. That expenditure, he continues, "flows northwardly in one uniform, uninterrupted, and perennial stream. Federal legislation does all this." Yes, Federal legislation did all this; and the great wonder is that all this was so long endured. Federal legislation crippled and impoverished the South, whilst it built up, fortified, and enriched the North. The bleak North smiled beneath its patronage; the fertile South withered beneath its power. In the one section, magnificent cities sprang up, as if by magic, under its influence; in the other, every branch of industry was discouraged and every source of wealth was drained. In all this, the North, or the Yankee race, was only true to the traditions and the character of their progenitors. For, as their history proves, they fled from England to America with two supreme objects in view: first, to escape from persecution, and, secondly, to enjoy the sweet privilege of persecuting. So, in like manner, they threw off the authority of the British Government, first, to escape the burden of unjust, illegal, and oppressive taxation, and, secondly, to enjoy the advantage of imposing that burden upon others. Inconsistent in all things, except in a total disregard of equal justice and fair-dealing, they pursued their own selfish interest regardless of consequences, and at all times insisted that their own arbitrary will should be the supreme law of the land. And not satisfied with having grown rich and waxed fat at the expense of the South, they contrived to fill the civilized world with their own contempt of the people on whom they had so unscrupulously practised all this systematic wrong.

Why, it may well be asked, did the South so long and so patiently endure all this outrage and wrong? Were they a weak and pusillanimous people? Such was, indeed, the belief of the North, and for that very reason they persisted in their career of meanness, rapacity, and insolence. They boasted, forsooth, that the South dare not secede, and if it should, it would be subjugated, or else blotted from existence, in less than ninety days. The world echoed the North, and the *Times* echoed the world.

But Edmund Burke understood the South, ay, the slave-holding South, far better than either the world or the world's great organ—the *Times*. It was precisely in relation to this question of taxation, that Edmund Burke pronounced the celebrated and oft-quoted opinion, that the spirit of liberty ran higher in the slave-holding States of the South than in the more boastful North. Why, then, did she so long and so

patiently submit to be unequally taxed by the Yankees, after she had cast from her that hated badge of British oppression? The answer is easy. She loved the Union, and, hollow though it was and heartless, she loved it far too well. That was one source of her patient and long-suffering submission to the proud dictation of the North.

Again, the great leader in whom she had confidence, Henry Clay, recommended this scheme of plunder to her under the captivating guise of the great "American system;" that is to say, it was designed to protect American manufactures and interests against the competition of Great Britain and free-trade. But its real home effect was to rob the South and to enrich the North. To this effect, however, the great Southern leader paid the less attention, because it bore but lightly on his own State, Kentucky, and because he had his eye fixed on that splendid and dazzling prize—the Presidency. The great Southern leaders, with one or two exceptions, bowed at the shrine of power; while, as Theodore Parker has so often and so well said, the great Yankee nation worshipped at the shrine of "the almighty dollar." Hence it was that, by a sort of unacknowledged compromise, or tacit arrangement, the great Southern leaders poured wealth into the lap of the North, and the North raised the great Southern leaders to the supreme seat of power.

But this game was destined to have an end. It is evident that it could last no longer than the South, by means of its equality in the Senate, held a check on the rapacity of the North. Hence, when this equality was destroyed by the great increase in the number of Northern States, this interchange of kind offices ceased. The love of money, on the one hand, and the love of power on the other, then ceased to cement the Union, and hold its two great hostile sections together. The Presidential power then became an apple of discord, rather than a bond of union and peace. For the North, having all power in its own hands, determined to dispense with all inconvenient compromises, and to take possession of all departments of the Federal Government, by which means it could quicken "the perennial stream" of wealth from the South into her own bosom. The South then showed that she was not deficient in the spirit of liberty or of heroic self-sacrifice in the cause of independence. On the contrary, she evinced the spirit of her sires, and threw off that tremendous burden of taxation, which was far more unjust, illegal, and oppressive than any ever imposed by the government of Great Britain on the Colonies.

Such was one great cause of the Secession of the Southern States, or, as the North is pleased to call it, of their "rebellion." The first rebellion was headed by Washington and Adams; the second is headed by Davis and Lee. If the first was not infamous, the second is glorious.

But if we would reach the greatest of all the great causes of the Revolution of 1776, we must regard it as a providential event. The world was then ready for the birth of a new empire, and consequently all minor causes were subordinated to the inevitable course of nature. The decree of dismemberment was written in heaven before it was enacted on earth. Even Englishmen, however earnestly they may have struggled to put "that cup of bitterness and humiliation" from their lips, as it is called by Mr. Gladstone, were soon led to regard it as having been administered by the hand of a wise and beneficent Providence. If George III. and his advisers had more wisely interpreted the signs of the times, they might have assisted at the birth of the new empire, and helped to give it a grander and more glorious destiny. As it was, however, the very first principles and laws of its being were warped and perverted and marred by the violent passions of war. Hence it was doomed to perish, and to furnish a striking illustration of the profound saying of Aristotle, that constitutions of government which spring from revolutions are seldom fitted to endure.

Thanks to the long-continued smile of a favouring Providence, the fruit of independence was ripe in 1776, and only awaited the influence of tempestuous times to fall from the parent stem. These times were furnished by the folly of George III. We say folly, because it tended so directly to defeat the object he had in view. But although the folly of an earthly king, it fulfilled the design of a wisdom infinitely higher than his own. In the reign of George II., the proposition to tax the Colonies had been made, and at once set aside as an experiment too dangerous to be tried. But when the danger became far more imminent, it ceased to be seen by the ruling power, and the rash experiment was blindly made. The Colonies were taxed, and the Revolution began. The wisdom of Chatham and Burke failed to open the eyes of the King. The earnest entreaties of the Colonies were despised by him and trampled under foot with imperial scorn, until remonstrance became resistance; and then resistance was denounced and treated by him as rebellion, until, under the havoc of war, the glorious rebellion became a successful revolution. Thus was accomplished the greatest event of the eighteenth century, except perhaps the French Revolution.

Of all the human agents, of all the blind instruments, that contributed to that great event, none was more conspicuous than the King of Great Britain himself. Every measure he adopted to defeat it only contributed to its existence. Every step he took to accomplish his own blind purpose only helped to fulfil the beneficent design of Providence. The "Plundering Act" itself, as it was called, by which "thirteen colonies were thrown out of the royal protection," was so far from awing them into submission, that it was hailed by them as "the Act of their Independence," or as the royal permission to take

care of themselves. The very heathen could say that "Fortune casts a mist before people's eyes when she would not have them oppose her designs."

In like manner, it will hereafter be seen by the Americans themselves, that it was an ordinance of heaven, a decree of nature, that the "Model Republic" should be dismembered. Mr. Lincoln declares that the people of America, of thirty-three Sovereign States, are destined to be one, because the territory is one. But has he never seen the map of Europe? Has he never read, nor heard, nor thought, nor dreamed of the many separate and distinct nationalities on its one territory? Has he never learned, in all the profound lessons of his wisdom has he never learned that something besides land is necessary to unite sovereign States in one, and that something besides oceans may separate them?

The simple truth is, that a Republic stretching from the Atlantic on the east to the Pacific on the west, from the eternal snows of the north to the perpetual summers of the south, and including in its own bosom thirty-three vast Republics, is of all political schemes the most wild and visionary. This "Model Republic," this monstrous Republic, was, in fact, doomed to perish, and Mr. Lincoln, with his silly notion about the "one territory," is one of the chosen instruments for its destruction. He may wage war, like George III.; but, after all, it will be found that he has only helped to fulfil the very decree of nature, against which he has so madly contended, and, in spite of himself, assisted at the birth of a new empire. Indeed, among the blind agents who have appeared on the theatre of history, Mr. Lincoln and his advisers deserve a conspicuous place. One portion of the Southern States they found out of the Union, and by their blind, false, and cruel measures to force them back, they drove the other out forever. They found the South a divided, and, under God, they made them a united people. How blindly soever some may have clung to the old Union, the long-cherished object of their insane idolatry, the sharp, incisive, and unconstitutional measures of these men cut the last tie that bound them to it, and they were free. Every step they took to preserve the Union, and awe the South into submission only promoted disunion, and extorted from free-born men a second "Declaration of Independence." The proclamation calling for 75,000 men, the very act intended to keep Virginia, and North Carolina, and Tennessee in the hollow union of a heartless compact, and to compel them to put forth the bloody hand of coercion against their sister States, was indignantly hailed by them as the act of their Independence, as the decree of their deliverance from the most odious and vulgar despotism of the modern world. Though blind himself, Mr. Lincoln has, indeed, opened the eyes of more men, and scattered more chronic delusions to the winds, than any other one man in America or in the world. If, indeed, he had been raised to power with the express design of putting infinite contempt on the doctrine of universal suffrage, he could not have been more admirably adapted to the purpose. The whole history of America had, it is true, demonstrated the grotesque absurdities of that monstrous doctrine; but still this crowning event, this final act in the grand drama of political folly, was needed to reveal its hidden mysteries to an astonished world.

"If there were a nation of gods," says Rousseau, "they might be governed by a democracy; but so perfect a government will not agree with men."\* How true! and yet how false! How true that a democracy, or the "Model Republic" of America, is fit only for a nation of gods, and not for a nation of Yankees! But it will not do to say with Rousseau, or according to a very prevalent fashion in America, that such a government is too perfect for men, and that its failure was due, not to its own fault, but to the fault of those for whom it was made. For government is not an end, but a means; and the very first condition of a good one is, that it should be adapted to the people for whom it is intended. If it be framed for men, and yet be "so perfect and so beautiful" as to be fit only "for gods," this is the fault of the government itself, and of those by whom it was constructed. Ten thousand times since the words were first uttered by Mr. Justice McKean in the ratifying Convention of Pennsylvania, the Government of the late Union has been pronounced "the most perfect ever seen;" and never has this sentiment been more frequently or more passionately uttered, than by the Black Republicans of the North under whose iron rule it has sunk into hopeless ruins. Even at the South, we sometimes hear the lingering echoes of this departed nonsense, that the late Government was "perfect in theory," but "bad in practice," because it was "too good for men." But if "the best Government ever seen" be so constructed as to fall into the worst hands ever known, while the best men are sternly excluded from office, does not this prove that its perfection is ideal only, and its imperfection real? Does not this prove, in other words, that it is as false in theory as it is foul in practice? If, indeed, men are created only to dream, and to dote with childish fondness on their idle dreams, then may we be expected to admire those very beautiful schemes of government which "are free in theory," while they are "despotisms in practice." But if we are made for higher ends, for nobler objects, and if governments are designed to protect us in the pursuit of virtue and happiness, then we hope to be excused if we refuse our admiration to the very fine theory of any government, however beautiful and free upon paper, under whose actual operation we may happen to be ground to powder.

\* "Social Contract," book iii., chap. iv.

\* Hamilton's Works, vol. 1, p. 80.

† Burke's Works, vol. 1, American: Taxation, p. 463, and Observations on the late State of the Nation, p. 313.

‡ Webster's Works, vol. 1, p. 20.

§ Mr. Benton.



## LETTERS FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, November 14.

SHALL we renew that dolorous story of the capture of Hoke's and Hays's brigades, of which you have read such wonderful accounts in the New York papers? Shall we recite how they were gobbled up by Meade's army, taken "intirely," and none ever permitted to recross the Rappahannock? Truth to say, it was a sorrowful affair enough, but not so bad, by any means, as those Sir John Mandevilles of off the Northern press would have you believe. We know very well what was our loss and how the matter came about, but the *guare* is less understood here than the *quomodo*. Some 1,100 or thereabouts of the very best troops in the army of General Lee were carried off by the Yankees, belonging to the brigades of Hoke and Hays as aforesaid, of Early's division. They had been sent across the river at the point where the railway bridge of the Orange and Alexandria Railway had formerly stood; Hays's brigade, to act as a picket guard, on Friday, the 6th instant, and Hoke's, as a support, on the following day, in the afternoon. It would seem that no videttes had been thrown out in the country beyond them, and when the enemy appeared on Saturday, extending his lines in the form of a half-moon so as to envelope our forces altogether, his right and left wings resting on the river above and below, it was in the nature of a surprise. Hays's brigade, which consisted principally of Louisiana troops, occupied a redoubt, which was part of a line of earthworks thrown up by the enemy last summer when he held the railway, and which commanded the Pontoon bridge, constituting their means of communication with the main body of Lee's army. Hoke's brigade crossed the river under a heavy fire of artillery, for the Yankee batteries had already opened furiously upon the Louisianians, and took position within the redoubt which the enemy was preparing to assault in triple lines of attack. We had but four pieces of artillery to oppose the numerous and well-posted batteries of the enemy, but the fire from the latter was returned with spirit until dusk gathered over the landscape. Then came the shock of the assault. It was met with admirable resolution, and the enemy's first line was torn to pieces and scattered in terrible disorder. But the second and third lines coming rapidly forward, the parapet was gained, and a hand-to-hand fight took place, in which the overpowering numbers of the assailants gained for them the mastery. Our brave fellows fought to the last with desperation, using their muskets as clubs. On our right, Colonel Godwin, commanding Hoke's brigade in the absence of the general, maintained the struggle, on the immediate brink of the river, for some little time after the redoubt had been carried, but was at last compelled to yield. The possession of the redoubt giving the Yankees the entire command of the Pontoon bridge, there was no other means of escape left to our men, but swimming the river, in which manner, perhaps, one-third of the original number reached the opposite bank in safety. Some were crowned in the attempt. All the rest, that had not fallen in the defence of the earthwork, became prisoners. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was severe, equalling probably our own in killed, wounded and prisoners.

I give you without comment the leading facts of the disaster. It only remains to be said that at midnight on Saturday General Lee commenced falling back, that the next day he formed line of battle beyond Culpepper Court-house, expecting confidently a forward movement of the whole Yankee army; but (although the Yankees had driven off the guard at Kelly's Ford, and compelled General Rodes to withdraw with a loss of 200 men in killed, wounded, and missing,) they did not come on, being apparently satisfied with their success of the evening previous. The menaces of Meade, and the blustering articles of the Yankee news papers have, probably, been meant only to prevent General Lee from sending off any more troops to reinforce Bragg, but while the enemy may really design no more active operations in that quarter, fearing to hazard another general engagement, General Lee may compel one at any moment. Such is the *status* of the campaign in northern Virginia at this particular juncture.

From Chattanooga we hear nothing of immediate importance, except that Longstreet's corps is in motion, and will probably engage some portion of Grant's army very speedily. The enemy was moving from right to left the day before yesterday, a step rendered necessary, perhaps, by the movement of Longstreet, or else made as a diversion to cover an attack upon Lookout Mountain, or yet again, for reinforcing Burnside. Time will develop its meaning. Meanwhile much gunpowder is wasted in interchange of cannon shot between our own and the enemy's heavy batteries posted on opposing heights. A correspondent of the *Dispatch*, writing from headquarters near Chattanooga, under date of the 5th, satisfactorily disposes of the persistent falsehoods of the Yankees, as to the overwhelming force of the Confederates at the battle of Chickamauga, by placing over against the 40,000 men which were under General Bragg, the following detailed estimate from official sources of the numbers commanded by Rosecrans:—

McCook's Corps, three divisions, (Sherman's Davis's and R. R. Johnson's) .. .. .	18,000
Thomas's Corps, four divisions, (Rousseau's, Negley's Brannan's and Reynolds's) .. .. .	25,000
Crittenden's Corps, three divisions, (Palmer's Van Cleve's, and Wood's) .. .. .	18,000
Granger's Reserve Corps, three divisions, (Morgan's Steadman's, and Granger's) .. .. .	15,000
	77,000

This is exclusive of Stanley's corps of cavalry, composed of three divisions. Some small detachments from this large force, says the *Dispatch*'s correspondent, were on duty in the rear—say 12,000 in all, leaving 65,000 fighting men on the Yankee side who were actually present and engaged in the battle.

Affairs have not gone on as prosperously as we could wish in Western Virginia. On Saturday, the 7th instant, an obstinate and bloody combat was fought, about twenty-five miles north of Lewisburg, in the county of Greenbrier, between the Confederates under General Echols, numbering about 2,000 men, and the Yankees under General Averill, numbering not less than 7,000. This great disparity of force made it necessary for General Echols to retreat, after a fight of two hours, leaving his killed and wounded in the enemy's hands. His loss was severe. At the last accounts General Echols was at Union, in the county of Monroe. The Yankees, turning in the direction of Covington, after the fight, were met two miles from that place by General Imboden, who was pressing forward to the relief of Echols, with a small force, consisting in part of the Home Guards of Rockbridge and the cadets of the Virginia Military Institute. Fire was immediately opened by Imboden upon the enemy's advance, which fell back; whereupon, not having strength enough to justify a pursuit of the Yankees, he also retreated upon Buffalo Gap, ten miles beyond Staunton, in the county of Augusta, blockading the road as he went. Imboden himself was slightly wounded in the skirmish, and is now in Staunton. Averill is reported as having since made his appearance in the county of Highland.

On the other hand, the Confederates have had a very gratifying success in Tennessee. On Saturday, the 7th inst., the brigades of Jones and Gilmer attacked the Yankees near Morristown, and, after a very short encounter, in which our loss was trifling, captured 850 prisoners, 1,000 horses, 60 wagons, and four pieces of artillery.

The bombardment of Sumter has been renewed with considerable activity within two days past, after an interval of comparative quiet, in which the Yankees were repairing damages to their fleet and allowing their guns to cool. The firing is now carried on chiefly at night, with the brilliant illumination of the harbour by calcium lights, but the damage is not greater than it has been heretofore. The enemy evidently wearies of the innocent expenditure of ammunition, and unless some great advantage is speedily gained, they will probably defer the reduction of Charleston till some more convenient season. The statistics of the cannonade are something extraordinary, and make a "big thing," delightful for the Yankee, in his pride of numbers, to contemplate.

The blockade of Wilmington is becoming more stringent, though it is far from being as yet effectual. Four fine steamers have been lost to us within four weeks: the *Venus*, mentioned in a former letter; the *Margaret and Jessie*, which was captured and carried into New York harbour; the *Cornubia*, which got ashore in trying to run the gauntlet of the fleet; and the *Robert E. Lee*, which was burned to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. We have no precise intelligence of the latter misfortune, and know nothing as to the fate of the passengers and crew. The loss of the steamers is of less moment to us than the loss of their cargoes, just now, at the beginning of winter, when the army is in sore want of clothing and supplies, with which the steamers were laden.

My letter, you will have perceived, is not a cheering one, and is little more than a record of reverses and disasters. But there is no despondency among our people. They have ceased to look abroad for help; they receive with composure the intelligence that the Emperor of France has ordered the seizure of rams supposed to be building for us in French dockyards; they are not dispirited by temporary successes of the Yankee arms in the field, nor is their philosophy borrowed from Wilkins Macawber, hopeful that "something will turn up." They do look forward with the deepest interest to the action of Congress on the question of the currency, in the buoyant conviction that when the evils that now afflict our monetary affairs have been even partially remedied, all will yet go well, and never despairing of the ultimate triumph of their cause under the ordering of Providence.

Further correspondence between the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners under the cartel, Judge Ould and General Meredith, is published. It is so strikingly demonstrative of the bad faith, shuffling, and prevarication of the Yankee authorities, that even the more respectable journals of the North, such as the *New York World*, comment upon it in terms of censure as regards their own part in the controversy. Meanwhile the number of prisoners in Richmond increases daily. This morning's report of the commandant of the Libby prison shows the following as the figures:—Prisoners of war, 12,747; citizen prisoners, 3; Yankee deserters, 3; negroes, 22; total, 12,775. Of these, 953 are commissioned officers of various grades, from brigadier-general down to third lieutenant. As by a concerted plan, the Yankee presses are making a dismal howling over the horrible sufferings and inhuman treatment of these unfortunate patriots. The commandant of the Libby prison, they say, is a monster of cruelty. This monster is a young man of three-and-twenty or thereabouts, of the slenderest frame and most amiable disposition. The prison itself is a sty of filth. Undoubtedly it is not so clean as the Star and Garter at Richmond, in Surrey; but when we consider what dirt, moral and material, 953 Yankees create within its walls, we have only to commiserate the officer whose business it is to keep it in order. I know some of these 953 officers are gentlemen of strict habits of personal cleanliness, but the great majority are of a different

sort. Moreover, say the Northern papers, the prisoners are actually compelled to drink the James river water! Yes; compelled to drink the same water which is carried through the President's house, and drunk by, all and single, the 100,000 inhabitants of Richmond. Cruel, indeed! Shall we call on the maids to serve these dainty Democrats, these thirsty souls, with the pure lymph from Bandusia? Or shall we give them of the fermentation of the Widow Clicquot? Or might a compromise on the triple X please all parties? Seriously, this howl over the cruelty of the Confederates is absurd, and will deceive nobody at home or abroad.

A few local items will conclude my letter. The President reached Richmond, on his return from the South-West, at a late hour on the night of Saturday, the 7th instant, in a special train from Wilmington. The lateness of his arrival, and the fact that it was not known by our citizens that he would certainly come, prevented a public reception.

The Common council of the city have made an appropriation of \$60,000 to purchase a house for the family of General Lee. The sum is inconsiderable for the purpose at the present value of Confederate money, but \$30,000 more has already been subscribed by private individuals, and the aggregate will suffice to procure a comfortable if not an elegant mansion.

The weather has been exceedingly capricious of late. Four days ago the mercury fell to 28 deg. Fahrenheit; to-day it is as mild as May, and scarcely less beautiful seems the autumnal than the vernal landscape.

RICHMOND, October 24.

The army of General Lee is again on this side of the Rappahannock. The rumour which prevailed at the time of my last writing with regard to a battle at Manassas was wholly without foundation. The retreat of Meade, facilitated by a railway and conducted in a right line, was so rapid, that the pursuit, which was of necessity by circuitous routes, proved unsuccessful, and the enemy escaped without being forced into a general engagement. The last conflict which has taken place between any considerable numbers in Northern Virginia, occurred on the 19th instant at Buckland Mills, on the borders of Prince William and Fauquier, where Stuart attacked Kilpatrick's cavalry in front, at the same moment that Fitz Lee assailed them in the rear, capturing 200 prisoners, with horse, arms and equipments, and eight wagons. Kilpatrick had been sent out to intercept Stuart, but our dashing leader frustrated his amiable intentions. It is believed that the retreat of Meade terminates the campaign in that quarter for the winter months. Meade is supposed to occupy Centreville and the region roundabout, and to be reconstructing the old earthworks there with a view to hybernation. Cavalry fights are likely enough to occur from time to time upon the debatable ground between the two great armies, but operations on a large scale are most probably at an end for the present.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Potomac General Imboden has been doing good service after his usual fashion. On Sunday, the 18th instant, he made a sudden descent upon the Yankees at Charlestown, in Jefferson county, eight miles south-west of Harper's Ferry and succeeded in carrying off 434 prisoners, though he was hotly pursued by a superior force of the enemy as far as Berryville, in the county of Clarke, twelve miles distant.

A similar success has been achieved in Tennessee by the cavalry of Major General Stevenson. On the 20th instant the brigades of Morrison and Dibbord attacked the enemy at Philadelphia on the line of the railroad connecting Knoxville with Chattanooga, and put them to rout, pursuing them six or eight miles to Loudon and taking six pieces of artillery, ten ambulances, fifty wagons laden with stores, a large number of horses and mules, and 700 prisoners. This movement of General Stevenson's command was made very seasonably, inasmuch as it necessitated the immediate withdrawal of a force of 8,000 men, which was advancing by way of Abingdon upon the salt-works of South-Western Virginia. The capture and destruction of these works has long been an object heartily cherished by the Yankees. They are well aware that the saline waters of Smyth and Washington counties furnish all the States of the Confederacy on this side the Mississippi with salt, and that no dependence can be placed upon any other supply. North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama have erected buildings on the spot, under contracts with the proprietors of the land, sunk wells to draw up the water which is subterranean, flowing in a copious stream thirty feet below the surface, and set up furnaces for the production of the salt by boiling and evaporation. Eight thousand bushels are produced daily. The capacities of transportation of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, greatly reduced as they have been by wear and tear of rails, engines, and rolling-stock since the commencement of the war, are taxed to their utmost to carry off the salt to the places of distribution in the several States. You may well suppose, therefore, that the news of an advance of the enemy in force upon the salt-works aroused the whole population of the surrounding country for their defence. Six hundred men promptly volunteered in Lynchburg, and moved with all haste to the scene. Four hundred and fifty more were sent from Petersburg. Five companies were under arms in this city—companies composed wholly of non-conscripts, from the mercantile, mechanical, and professional classes—and waited forty-eight hours for summons by telegraph to take a special train for the theatre of expected war. Happily, the success of Stevenson's cavalry in Eastern Tennessee compelled the enemy to retire, and it is not likely that any further attempt will be made, at least for months to come, to interfere with our salt manufacture.

There is no doubt, however, that it is the purpose of the enemy to hold as large a portion of Eastern Tennessee as possible. Of the troops withdrawn from the Army of the Potomac under General Meade, the greater part were sent to Knoxville, where Burnside is said to be still in command



Their object in this is two-fold—to cut off the supplies which the Confederates have heretofore drawn steadily from that fertile region, and to protect the left flank of Rosecrans by heavy columns, distributed along the railroad above and below Knoxville, within convenient supporting distances of each other, as they are endeavouring to protect his right flank by large masses of troops at Bridgeport and Stevenson, in north-eastern Alabama. And having accomplished this, they will probably make another invasion, should we remain inactive, in far greater force than before, by simultaneous movements from Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Bridgeport, into Northern Georgia, with the hope of reaching and occupying permanently the town of Atlanta, one of the most important points of the Confederacy. Such is the idea of the enemy's future intentions entertained by the most intelligent observers of the situation of affairs, and more particularly suggested in the Army Correspondence of Colonel Alexander from Lookout Mountain, published in the *Savannah Republican*.

What preparations are making at the head-quarters of General Bragg to thwart these schemes, we are not advised. Nothing has reached us from that point of late but the inspiring address of President Davis to the troops, issued just before taking leave of them, which of course goes not beyond the offer of his cordial thanks to them in the name of the country for their gallantry and devotion upon the plains of Chickamauga. A few days afterwards, however, at Selma, Alabama, where he was greeted upon his arrival by a large multitude of citizens with the heartiest enthusiasm, the President made, as reported in the telegrams of the *Associated Press*, a very significant statement, which indicates a change in the directing mind of the Western Army, and the formation of a project of active offensive warfare. Appealing to the non-conscripts of Northern Alabama to rally to the points of local defence in moments of peril, he said: "In this way most effective aid can be given to the gallant Wheeler and others, who are carrying out the plans of the noble Longstreet, under the supervision of the heroic Bragg." If the President be correctly reported, it seems reasonable that to Longstreet has been confided the future direction of affairs in the West, and we may therefore attach a considerable importance to the assurance which reaches us unofficially from Lookout Mountain, that momentous events are on the wing. If it shall appear that Longstreet is truly the chief director of military operations, and nothing decisive should be accomplished, the country will feel a lively confidence that their hopes were impracticable.

Comparative quiet still rests over the waters and sawhills around Charleston. At intervals the batteries of Beauregard and Gilmore break the silence of the Bay, but the great bombardment, for which such immense preparations have been made, is not yet begun. A reconnoitering party in barges was discovered approaching Sumter about midnight of the 20th inst., and driven away with grape-shot. Yankee officers may be seen on horseback riding about Morris Island, inspecting the works from day to day, and the finishing strokes are supposed to have been given to Gregg and Wagner. But the Greek fire still hangs fire. Perhaps Parrott might have opened upon the city on this very day but for a heavy north-easter which prevails, and which must make Morris Island about as uncomfortable as almost any other point along the Atlantic coast. It is not impossible that it may be submerged. The Yankee letter-writers say that the ocean gains upon them daily, and a heavy blow may at any moment put them under water.

Day before yesterday we were enlightened by a telegram from the eccentric, incomprehensible, and I fear demented operator at Jackson, Mississippi, announcing, upon the authority of statements made by refugees and other irresponsible persons, that General Dick Taylor, the ubiquitous, had gained a tremendous victory over Banks in Louisiana, capturing the redoubtable Yankee commander, his whole staff, and fifteen regiments of Federal troops, white and black. Apart from our past melancholy experience of the telegraphic tricks of this Jackson lunatic during the siege of Vicksburg, we should never be deluded into credence of any such wild story as the capture of Banks. With very excellent capacities for locomotion by nature, this great hero was educated, under Stonewall Jackson in the Valley of Virginia, to fly with a celerity that will save him from the capturing hands of any Confederate general however rapid in pursuit, and if he escapes the fevers of his campaign, will go back to Massachusetts a happy and uninjured Banks, to tell of "moving accidents by flood and field," and shine on trainin' days before the bewildered eyes of the Boston militia.

The Legislature of Virginia still remains in session. During the week the Senate has had a vote upon the Bill affixing a maximum of price to all articles of prime necessity as a cure for the evils of high prices arising out of the depreciation of the currency. Happily for Richmond, the Senate had the good sense to defeat the Bill by a majority of twenty-four to sixteen. If the Bill had passed both Houses and become law, it is demonstrable that we should have been driven very near starvation before Christmas. The growers of grain and producers of other provisions would not have sent an ounce of their bacon or a gill of their wheat to Richmond, to be paid for at the arbitrary standard of the Virginia Legislature. With regard to the inflation and consequent ruinous depreciation of the Confederate currency, a scheme has been reported from the Finance Committee of the House of Delegates which has attracted a large share of public attention and is thought by some to promise great relief to the country should it be carried into practical effect. The scheme is very similar to that suggested by ex-Governor Morehead, of North Carolina, in his recent letter on the finances addressed to President Davis. Both these projects assume that the circulation is in excess of the actual demands of the country for commercial purposes by 400,000,000 dollars. Both propose to reduce the currency to this extent by loans to the Government on the part of the States, corporations and private individuals, wherein they resemble somewhat the *Credit Mobilier* of France, for which loans the Secretary of the Treasury, cancelling the notes thus paid in, is to issue stock of the Confederate States which shall not be subject to taxation. The striking difference between the two schemes is, that Governor Morehead does not contemplate the negotiation of the loan until the whole amount of 400,000,000 shall have been raised in 4,000 shares of \$100,000 each; whereas the Finance Committee would commence with the States subscription for 15,000,000 of the stock, relying for the residue on the co-operation of the other States of the Confederacy and the patriotism of the people at large. The scheme of the Finance Committee is the work of the Hon. William H. Macfarland, President of the Farmers' Bank of Virginia; a gentleman whose financial ability has been abundantly proved in his successful administration of the affairs of that large banking establishment for many years past.

A correspondence is published this morning between Commissioners Ould and Meredith on the subject of the treatment to which General John Morgan and the officers of his command

have been subjected by the Federal authorities. The systematic bad faith of the enemy is strikingly shown in this correspondence. Meredith commences by informing Ould that Morgan and his officers will be placed in close confinement for Straight and his command, and ends by declaring that the Penitentiary outrages were unauthorised by the United States Government. He gives no assurance that they will be released from close confinement or treated hereafter as prisoners of war. Appended to the letters of the Commissioners is a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Alston, one of Morgan's officers, who was paroled and exchanged, giving an account of the most infamous violation of his plighted word of honour on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Hanson, who was captured at Lebanon, Kentucky, and paroled, at his own earnest request, on his promise that if his Government did not recognise his parole, he would report within the Confederate lines, and who, a few days afterwards, made prisoners of a small party of Confederate troops and treated them with the greatest indignity. But to what end expose the perfidy of the Yankees? Who cares? What good purpose is subserved by the demonstration?

We have the unpleasant intelligence of the total loss of the blockade-running steamer *Venus*, from Nassau to Wilmington, run ashore to escape the Federal fleet at the mouth of the Cape Fear River on the night of Tuesday, the 20th instant. The *Venus* was laden with a valuable cargo of Quartermaster's stores and had made a very quick run of seventy hours from Nassau, when just as she was abreast of a large Yankee vessel of war, which had not discovered her, some traitor of the crew rang the steamer's bell, giving the alarm to the enemy. Instantly a fire was opened by the Yankees in the direction of the sound, with such fatal success that at the first shot three men were killed on the deck of the *Venus*. Two other shots successively struck the steamer and it became necessary to beach her. She was then bearded and burned by the enemy. Twenty-two of the crew and passengers made their escape to shore in the launches of the *Venus*; twenty-eight were taken prisoners. The wretch who betrayed the steamer was doubtless among the latter, and has obtained his reward.

The barbarities of the Federal army go on unchecked, and every day affords some fresh illustration of their wanton ferocity and cruelty. During the recent occupation of Culpepper by General Meade, the citizens suffered a degree of oppression to which the tyranny of Pope itself was mild. Twenty-five hundred negroes were carried off by them. The whole country was lighted up by them on their retreat with the glare of burning dwellings, and the progress of Lee's army in the pursuit was over desolated fields and the ashes of scarce extinguished conflagrations. But it has been reserved for Colonel Spears of the 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry to write his name higher on the roll of infamy than any Federal minion other than Turellin, Butler, Milroy, and McNeil. Captain Beale, of the Confederate navy, with twelve men, recently made a most successful dash upon the small craft of the Yankees in the waters of Chesapeake Bay, and so excited the apprehensions of the enemy that ever so many gunboats were sent up the creeks and rivers to cut off his return, while several regiments of horse and foot scoured the Peninsula in search of the "pirates." Colonel Spears with his regiment overran the county of Mathews from Gloucester Point, visiting every house and committing all manner of depredations. An aged citizen, by name Sands Smith, who had been threatened by the Yankees on a previous visit, was chased by a party of Spears' dismounted men into the woods, where, at bay, he shot and killed one of his pursuers. Overpowered by numbers he was seized, pinioned, and dragged by a rope attached to his feet, through his own yard, in sight of his daughters, and subsequently put to death in the most cruel manner. He was forced to ride under a tree, with a rope around his neck, one end of which was fastened to a limb above, and the horse was driven from beneath him. The fall did not occasion death, and while in the agonies of strangulation, the unhappy man was despatched by a fusillade. The body was then buried near the tree, with the feet sticking out of the ground, and on a board driven in close at hand, the murderers left this disgusting inscription:—

"Warning to d——n bushwhackers. Every d——n man we catch with arms in the woods, we will hang so high that the birds will build nests in them. So take warning, such will be your fate, you d——n cowards. Here lies the body of an old bushwhacker."

I respectfully commend this official atrocity of a Yankee colonel to the notice of Mr. John Bright, and beg to nominate Colonel Spears, of the 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry as a member of the Peace Society.

Dr. William B. Racker, the traitor of Western Virginia, charged with the crime of murder as well as treason, escaped a few nights ago from Pittsylvania county gaol, and is yet at large.

There is little local news. The proprietors of the largest gambling hells are selling out their luxurious furniture, silver, statuettes, Bohemian ware, chandeliers, &c., to close business under the recent act of the Virginian Legislature for the suppression of gaming. The Yankee prisoners now in town amount to upwards of 12,000.

RICHMOND, October 31.

The action of the Ministry in seizing the steamers said to be in course of construction for the Confederate Government at Mr. Laird's shipyard created no surprise here, for the extraordinary speech of Earl Russell at Blairgowrie had prepared the public mind for this extraordinary measure of caution. We may say nothing of the violation of neutrality. It may seem to a mind like Earl Russell's entirely proper that the Yankees shall have all they want in the way of munitions of war, while the Confederates may get nothing, and the Irishman's one-sided reciprocity may appear to Ministers the fair thing. All this can be passed over. But to see the Premier of the proud realm of England lowering her dignity to the behests of Seward, and conforming the course of the first Power on earth to the wishes of the bragging Yankee, is a humiliation which every honest Englishman must deplore in bitterness of soul. How changed is the port of England from what it was, less than two years ago, when the insult to her flag, in the case of the *Trent*, roused the indignation of the island, from Cornwall to Caithness! England afraid of the dis-United States! The lion slinking away from the crippled and beleaguered eagle, that has neither a whole wing, nor a perfect talon, nor a dangerous beak! I know little of the politics of the United Kingdom, but I have greatly misapprehended the character of the British people if they are not indignant at the timorous policy of their Premier. The rifleman who organised themselves by the hundred thousand all over England into volunteer corps at the bare possibility of a French invasion, will not tamely see the

pride of their country humbled to the dust at the remote prospect of an American war; and the spirit, not less than the political taste of the Englishmen, will prefer the lyrics of Tennyson, who strikes the high note of preparation for battle, to the thrum-thrum of Tupper, who tunes his little lute for peace. How differently would Pitt have carried himself under the menaces of the Yankee, and with what imperial disdain would he not have said to Seward—*contempsi Cataline gladios*—I have scorned the bayonets of Napoleon, I am not frightened by yours. Earl Russell does not seem likely, in the decline of life, to enhance the respectability of his long political career; and his course with regard to the Confederate States is but the counterpart of his tergiversation in the Vienna conference. History is constantly repeating itself in individuals as in events. How appropriate, as applied to the new Earl, seems the language addressed by Junius to his great-grandfather!

"You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank, a splendid fortune, and the name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than you possess. From the first, you derived a constitutional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority; the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russell."

The removal of Rosecrans from the command of the Yankee army at Chattanooga will excite little astonishment in Europe, though he was unquestionably the best general the Yankees have had in the field since the opening of the war. It was necessary to punish somebody for the disaster at Chickamauga, and the commander-in-chief was too convenient a subject for sacrifice to be passed over. So Rosecrans, the military leader, has gone to join Scott, McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Fremont, Shields, Burnside in the shades. Burnside and Fighting Joe have, indeed, been summoned back from the limbo to which they were consigned, to take subordinate positions in the service, and it is likely enough that Rosecrans, after undergoing a six weeks disgrace, may be ordered to the command of an army corps, under the all-conquering Ulysses S. Grant, or a brigade under his immediate successor, George H. Thomas. But ugly charges are made against Rosecrans. As Mr. Kinglake, in his "History of the Crimean War," has demonstrated that the French Emperor is deficient in personal courage, it is, perhaps, not so remarkable that the Yankees should discover the late commander of their Army in the West to be a coward. Again, his removal is said to be a repetition of the sorrowful case of Michael Cassio. Rosecrans was drunk in Chattanooga, while Chickamauga was a fighting—drunk without hilarity, having embruted himself, not with whisky, to the festive sound of the "canakin clink," but with opium, as if in deference to the Chinese war policy of his Government. The most charitable reason assigned for his supersedeance is, that his devotion as a member of the Roman Catholic Church is excessive, to the detriment of his usefulness as a commander, and that he spent in aves and paternosters time that had been more profitably devoted to watching the movements of Bragg and Longstreet; in short, that his vigils, though unintermitted, were not of the right sort, and that he was better fitted to the position of his worthy brother, the worthy bishop of Cincinnati, who voted the other day for the first time in twenty-five years, in order that he might swell the Government majority against Vallandigham. Any one of these reasons might be considered sufficient to justify Lincoln in superseding him, but none of them was wanting. The Yankees stand ready to applaud the act in their generous loyalty to Old Abe. If instead of cutting off Rosecrans' official head, the Federal President had made a journey to Chattanooga to crown it with laurel, they would have cried out with one voice, "Bully for Rosecrans!"

It is a noteworthy circumstance, as if to make the contrast between Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as complete and striking as possible, that while the former removes his generals upon the very slightest provocation, the latter keeps his favorites in power, despite of all disasters to their commands and all popular clamour for a change. "Oh, what is love made for," says Mr. Davis, "if 'tis not the same, thro' grief and thro' danger, thro' glory and shame?" The fidelity of Mr. Moore's lovers was not more steadfast through his delightful anapaests than Mr. Davis's in the troubled current of our national affairs; he would not remove Lovell from New Orleans nor Pemberton from Vicksburg, and he is resolute in retaining Bragg at the head of the army of Tennessee. The telegraph deceived us, it would seem, in indicating that Longstreet was hereafter to direct the military operations in that quarter. All the generals, with one or two exceptions, who served under Bragg at Chickamauga, united in a memorial to the President that a change should be made in the supreme command. General Bragg himself besought His Excellency to be transferred to some other field of usefulness, but in vain; Mr. Davis would not hearken to it, and Bragg remains a monument on Lookout Mountain of Executive fondness and firmness. Let us hope that the President's superior sagacity may be fully established in the future conduct of the Western campaign.

After some weeks of inactivity there are signs of work in the neighbourhood of Chattanooga. Day before yesterday the enemy threw a division across the river at Brown's Ferry, three miles below the town, which at once occupied and commenced fortifying Raccoon Mountain, at the same time that a heavy continuous fire of shells was opened upon the Confederate camps on the western side of Lookout Mountain, and kept up throughout the day. A skirmish had taken place between the division of General Jenkins and a body of the enemy, in which we captured a few wagons and prisoners; and the Yankees were in force on the west bank of Lookout Creek, confronting Longstreet's troops, who held the east bank. This is the situation of affairs on our left wing, from which heavy fighting may be expected at any moment.

All is quiet on the Rapidan, and likely to remain so. On Monday last, the 26th inst., a fight took place at Bealton station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, in which Stuart's cavalry and a portion of General Edward Johnson's division engaged a considerable body of Yankee horse, from the commands of Buford and Fitzpatrick, and, after a sharp contest, repulsed them. Our cavalry were engaged in tearing up the track of the railroad and removing the iron, when they were attacked by superior numbers. General Johnson at once sent up a supporting force with artillery. The result was the flight of the enemy, leaving about a hundred prisoners in our hands. Our loss was eight killed and sixty wounded. All the iron that had been torn up—several car loads—was brought off, and our cavalry proceeded



with the demolition of the road. Combats like this between comparatively small numbers may occur from week to week, as long as Meade and Lee continue to maintain their present respective positions, but at this moment there appears little probability that a general engagement will soon be fought. Rumours of an advance on Richmond from Fredericksburg and from West Point on York River have been in circulation during the week, and the New York papers still talk of an "overwhelming demonstration in an unexpected quarter;" but Richmond is as little in their thoughts as Washington is in ours.

Their thoughts are chiefly bent on Charleston. Their pride and purse are so deeply involved in the reduction or destruction of Charleston that they regard all other matters as unimportant in the comparison, while Beauregard holds out defiantly against fleet and battery in Charleston harbour. The bombardment of Sumter has been resumed with unprecedented fury. During the twenty-four hours ending on Thursday, the 29th, at sunset, 1,215 shots, of all calibres, from 15-inch mortars to 300-pounder Parrotts, were hurled at the fort's sea-wall, and yesterday the fire was renewed, with an equal expenditure of projectiles, principally at the north-eastern angle; but the battering is said to have made the ruined pile of brick and mortar only more compact, and the injury to the garrison did not extend beyond the wounding of seven men belonging to the 12th Georgia regiment. Some shells had previously been thrown into the city, charged with the famous Greek fire, but they did not explode. A few were picked up and examined, others fell into cisterns of water. It is now believed that the capacity for mischief of their monster guns will be much diminished by their aptitude for explosion. Several have already burst within their works on Morris Island, and a rifled piece of long range has been blown into fragments in the turret of one of the monitors, thus rendering it unfit for further service in the siege.

You have received and duly pondered the Proclamation of Lincoln calling for 300,000 additional volunteers, to be mustered into service before the 5th of January next. Lincoln may call, like Owen Glendower, but the response in this matter is as problematical as that of the spirits of the vasty deep. The volunteers will certainly not come in the desired numbers, and then there will be a second draft, which will hardly be more successful than the first. Notwithstanding all which, the men will be raised. Congress will pass a law authorising Lincoln to seize upon all the soldiers whose enlistment shall expire next spring, and throw them back into their old regiments again. The possession of absolute and irresponsible power will enable the Yankee Government to muster its myrmidons for the war to the last syllable of Black Republican rule. Had the elections gone against Lincoln in Ohio and Pennsylvania, there might have been a hope of a break down in the Yankee army; as it is, the ranks will pretty surely be filled up as soon as they are thinned out by the expiration of enlistments.

The honourable position of Attorney-General in the Confederate Cabinet, made vacant by the election of the Hon. Thomas H. Watts as Governor of Alabama, was offered by President Davis to Hon. Gustavus A. Henry, one of the Senators from the State of Tennessee, and declined by that gentleman; it has been subsequently tendered to Charles J. Jenkins, of Georgia, President of the Supreme Court of Appeals of that State, who has not as yet decided upon his course in the matter. Judge Jenkins is a man of the highest character and ability, and his acceptance of the office would add much strength to the Administration.

Virginia has lost a valuable public servant in the sudden death of General Charles Dimmock, chief of ordnance in the State military organisation, which sad event took place at midnight of the 27th instant. The General was an *décoré* of West Point, where he was graduated in 1821, had served several years in the United States army, and afterwards filled many positions of usefulness and respectability; the last of which threw upon him all the labour of preparing the Virginia troops for the field upon the breaking out of the war. His funeral obsequies, which were conducted on the 29th instant, were as imposing as the shabby appearance of our troops would admit of, and abundantly testified the high esteem in which the deceased was held by all classes of our citizens.

The further exchange of prisoners of war has been indefinitely postponed. The belief gains ground that the refusal of the Yankee Government to carry on the exchange is based upon a deliberate calculation of the double hardship that will thus be forced upon us, in the temporary loss of a large number of excellent troops, and the maintenance, during a period of great stint, of a yet larger number of Yankee captives.

John Minor Botts, whose arrest by General Stuart and parole to appear in Richmond I mentioned in a previous letter, has been set at liberty by General Lee. In justice to him I ought to mention that his personal friends here deny that he ever entertained General Meade and staff at dinner, or attended a sword presentation at Federal head-quarters, and allege that on the contrary he has been exceedingly hospitable to Confederate officers, and that his house is at this moment given up to our wounded soldiers.

The weather has been unusually cold for the season for several days past. On the morning of the 27th instant the mercury stood at the freezing point.

P.S.—Since the foregoing was written, a telegram informs us that the sea-wall of Sumter fell in to-day, burying thirteen men beneath the ruins. The bombardment was maintained with redoubled energy, but the injury to the fort is not regarded as serious.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 16.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

The money market, generally speaking, is suffering from the sensitiveness usually manifested at the termination of the year. Though the late pressure and high rates have not produced any disasters of consequence, still the rise, rapid and sudden as it was, has entailed inconvenience, the effects of which may hereafter become visible. If it had not been for the confidence so generally apparent, and the exertions used to ward off unnecessary excitement, the result might have proved most serious. As it is, the panic has come and gone without stimulating anything like the ordinary amount of fear experienced in 1847-48 and 1857-58, and so much the better has it turned out for all those interested in trade and finance. Nevertheless there are yet symptoms which it is desirable to note and which must not be neglected, seeing that we have men to pass through between the end of this month and February. Gold will still be sent away to India, Brazil, and Egypt, the heavy railway deposits have to be provided for, and there remains to be witnessed the final culmination of the late speculations in stocks and shares. We may, or we may

not have found the highest rate of discount, but while refraining from uttering a prediction on this point, we cannot believe that any great reduction will yet take place in the terms for general accommodation, and therefore the closer business relations are narrowed the better. About 7½ to 8 per cent. constitutes the average of the quotations among the brokers, and the demand at the full figure is limited at the Bank.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The bullion movements at the Bank of England this week have been of a far more satisfactory character than for some time past; the gold sent in having reached £347,000, whilst the withdrawals have been only £30,000. The arrivals of specie have also been large, amounting to £708,980, of which £152,300 is from New York; £236,000 from Port Phillip, and £319,800 from the West Indies. There has been a good demand for bar silver for transmission to India, and prices have been well maintained. A large portion of the Mexican dollars brought by the previous West India steamer, has been disposed of for China at 61d. per ounce, being a decline of 1d. from the last price, and of 2½d. from the rate obtained for those brought by the earlier steamers. The amount of dollars shipped to China by the last few mails has been very small, and the low rates of exchange lately received, coupled with the interruption in the trade with Japan, have prevented any inquiry except at a reduction. The only gold-ships known to be now at sea from Melbourne are the *Minarch* with £247,000, and the *Prince of Wales* with £142,000. The former has been out ninety-nine days, and the latter sixty-six days. The *Transatlantic*, from Sydney, is also announced as bringing 15,000 sovereigns.

### BIDDINGS FOR BILLS ON INDIA.

The biddings for 40,000,000 rupees in Bills on India took place to-day at the Bank of England. The proportions allotted were—to Calcutta, 21,000,000 rupees; to Bombay, 17,000,000 rupees; and to Madras, 2,000,000. The minimum price declared was as before, 1s. 11½d. per rupee on Calcutta and Madras, and 1s. 11½d. on Bombay. The applications within the limits amounted to 124 lacs. Tenders on Calcutta at 1s. 11½d., will receive about 9 per cent.; on Bombay, at 2s. 0½d. will receive in full, and nothing will be allotted below that rate, and on Madras at 1s. 11½d. will receive about 60 per cent.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The English stock market in the earlier part of the week exhibited considerable buoyancy, and prices showed a general improvement; but within the last day or two there has been much less animation, caused chiefly by the Bank of France again showing a considerable falling off in the stock of bullion, and the probability in consequence thereof of the Bank of England being under the necessity of making a further advance in the minimum rate of discount. The dealers are, therefore, operating with more caution, hence the full rise exhibited in prices has been entirely lost. Consols closed this evening at 90½ to ½ ex. div. for money, and 91 ex. div. for the account, which is the same as on this day week. Exchequer Bills are slightly easier, being at present 11s. to 6s. dis. There was at one time considerable animation in the Foreign stock market, and prices were in the ascendant; but with the decline in Consols came a relapse, and prices descended as quickly as they had risen. But, notwithstanding, as compared with this day week, the changes are quite unimportant. Mexican show an improvement of about ¼ per cent.; Spanish a decline of ½ per cent.; whilst Greek and Turkish descriptions are without alteration. The closing quotations this evening were—Greek, 25½ to 26; Mexican, 33½ to 33½; Spanish Passives, 32½ to 32½; Ditto Certificates, 12½ to 13; Turkish (1854) 89 to 89½; and Ditto (1852) 70 to 70½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

The dealings in American government and railway securities have been rather more animated during the past week than for some time previous, but still the transactions have not been equal to the usual average. Prices, however, generally exhibit an improving tendency. The transactions have been as follows:—United States Six per Cents, 65; Virginia State Six per Cents, 32½; Atlantic and Great Western Railway, New York Section, 80½, 80½, and 80; Do. do, Pennsylvania Section, 77½, 78, 80, 78, 80, 79, 80, and 80½; Erie \$100 Shares, all paid, 66, 62, and 63; Do. Seven per Cent Preference, 60; Illinois Central Six per Cents, 82½, 83, and 84; Do. do, Seven per Cents, 72; Do. do, \$100 Shares, \$90 paid, 23½, 23½, 25½, and 26 dis.; Do. do, all paid, 70, 69½, 69, and 70; Panama Railway Second Mortgage, 105, 106, and 105½.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The market for English railway shares has been moderately active during the week, and for most of the leading descriptions prices have improved. Within the last day or two, however, business has been rather restricted, the dealers being chiefly occupied with the half-monthly settlement. The market closed this evening with less firmness, being in sympathy with the other departments. As compared with last week, however, there has been an improvement of 1 per cent. in Bristol and Exeter. Great Northern, London and Brighton and London and North-Western, of ½ per cent. in Chatham and Dover; Metropolitan, North-Eastern, (Berwick), and do. (York); and of ½ per cent. in North-Eastern (Leeds). On the other hand, there has been a decline of ½ per cent. in Great Eastern, and of ½ per cent. in Great Western, and Lancashire, and Yorkshire. In foreign railway shares, business has been more quiet, without any material alteration in quotations, and for shares in British Possessions the market has been anything but active; but nevertheless prices continue to be well sustained.

### THE OTTOMAN BANK.

At a meeting of the Directors of the Ottoman Bank, in liquidation, held to-day, it was decided to pay £4 upon each old, and 8s. upon each new share of paid up capital, on account of the reserve fund, and profits up to the closing of the business of the Bank, and a circular to the above effect will forthwith be sent to the shareholders.

### THE HEREFORDSHIRE BANKING COMPANY.

A first dividend is now in course of payment, by the official manager of the Herefordshire Banking Company, under the winding-up order in Chancery.

### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The stock has not undergone any material change since last week; the price has varied between 35 and 40—but on the whole little doing. The closing quotation is 35 to 37.

### SUSPENSION OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

A failure has just been announced at the Stock Exchange of an extensive dealer in Foreign Securities. He had a very large account open in Confederate Stock, Mexican and other speculative securities, and its not being anticipated that he was in an embarrassed position, he was enabled to sustain full credit to the last moment. It is stated that, there is a prospect of a fair dividend.

### BANK MEETING.

An extraordinary general meeting of the shareholders in the London and Birmingham Bank has just been held, at the Company's head offices in Cheapside, for the purpose of altering the articles of association, so as to enable the company to hold half-yearly meetings, and to make up the accounts to the 30th June and the 31st December. The proposition was agreed to, and the chairman made a statement as to the progress of the bank down to the present time, and which was of a highly satisfactory character.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Ceylon Company, the accounts showed that the amount of profits resulting from the operations of the half-year might be estimated at £7,550, out of which the directors declared an interim dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum on the capital paid on the 30th September, free of income tax. The dividend would absorb £4,593. The report was unanimously adopted.—At the first ordinary meeting of the South African Mortgage and Investment Company an interim dividend was declared out of the actual profits of the company at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum for the six months ending the 30th September.—At the ordinary general meeting to-day of the shareholders of the Crystal Palace Company, Mr. Farquhar in the chair, a report was read showing that the result of the years' working was a balance in favour of revenue of £42,674; and after paying all preference charges and interest, there remained £20,218 to be divided amongst the shareholders. Out of this a dividend of 2s. per share was recommended, after paying of which there would remain a balance of £164. An amendment to reduce the dividend to 1s. 6d. was moved, but ultimately withdrawn, and the recommendation of the directors adopted.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

There have not been any great fluctuations in these markets since our last. In most departments business is dull, partly in consequence of the advanced period of the season, and partly from monetary influences. There is not, however, any perceptible anxiety to realise stocks, which, although ample, are, by satisfactory deliveries for both consumption and export, in many cases somewhat diminished. The cotton trade has remained inactive, and prices have tended in buyers' favour, without being seriously depressed. American provisions meet a limited demand but are not pressed for sale upon easier terms. On the contrary, fine butters maintain their price rather firmly. The grain markets are still declining, in the face of very moderate supplies either of home or foreign produce. Wheat must again be called 's. per quarter cheaper. The recent advance in petroleum has not been fully sustained, refined having sold at 1s. 10½d. to 1s. 11d. per gallon, and crude at £16 10s. per ton. To-day the market was firmer on the American accounts of higher rates at ports of shipment.—Linsed oil has further receded 10s. to 15s. per ton, closing to-day at £35. Spermin oil is dull at £76 for American fishing. French turpentine has risen 6s. per cwt., 70s. having been paid to-day. In American we do not hear of business to fix quotations. The tallow market is firmer, but there is not much improvement in prices. It is reported that some large speculative purchases of jute have been made at a heavy decline. Tobacco has sold without essential change in prices. Sugar, at the close of last week, recovered to the highest point of the late advance, but is again flat, and some grocery, Madras, in public sale to-day went at 1s. to 2s. per cwt. decline. In drugs the principal feature is an advance of 10s. for camphor, which is now worth 45 10s. per cwt. Balsam, Peru, is dearer. Bengal turmeric has receded 2s. per cwt. There is a quiet demand for indigo at rather over the last quarterly sales' rates. Scotch Pig Iron has been largely dealt in, the price at one time touching £6 5s. 9d., but to-day it is fully 6l. lower. Spelter is firm at £18 17s. 6d. to £19. Lead also tends to higher prices, and generally the metal trade is rather active.

The following are the current prices of the principal articles of American commerce with this country, compared with the rates current at this time last year:—

ARTICLES.	PRICES.			
	1863.		1862.	
COTTON, per lb.—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
American, g. ord. to fr.	0 1 9	0 3 4	0 1 6	0 2 1
CHEMICALS—				
Barytes, crystal, lb.	0 1 5	0 1 5	0 1 7	0 1 7
Arsenic, imp., cwt.	0 16 6	0 17 0	0 17 6	0 18 6
Iodine, oz.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4
Potash, Bichromate, lb.	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 8
Hydriodate, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5
Sulphate, Quinine, oz.	0 5 10	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 7 3
DRUGS—				
Alca. Cape, cwt.	1 15 0	2 10 0	1 6 0	2 11 0
Balsam, Canada, lb.	0 0 11	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 0 11
Peru, lb.	0 0 10	0 0 11	0 5 0	0 5 3
Bark, Quercitron, cwt.	0 7 0	0 10 0	0 8 0	0 10 6
Quinine, lb.	0 3 0	0 3 8	0 3 0	0 3 6
Castor Oil, lb.	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7
Tartar, Grey, cwt.	4 15 0	5 0 0	5 12 0	5 15 0
Oil, Poppyseed, lb.	0 9 0	0 14 0	0 8 6	0 12 9
Lebanon-grass, oz.	0 0 10	0 0 11	0 0 6	0 0 7
Orange, lb.	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 5	0 0 6
Citronelle, oz.	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 7
Opium, Turkey, lb.	0 48 6	0 19 0	0 19 0	1 0 0
Seima, Bombay, lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 3
Essencia, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6
Sankeroet, lb.	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3
Spermaceet, lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 1
DYES, cwt.—				
Safflower	1 10 0	7 15 0	3 10 0	7 5 0
Turnerie, Bengal	1 8 0	1 19 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
Indigo, Mauritius	1 6 0	1 12 0	0 14 0	0 15 6
Yellow Berries	1 19 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	5 0 0
GUMS, cwt.—				
Amni, medium	7 10 0	9 0 0	8 10 0	9 10 0
Gutta	1 12 0	1 13 0	1 6 0	1 7 0
Kowrie	2 10 0	2 2 0	1 15 0	1 15 0
METALS, per ton—				
Copper, American	3 5 0	3 5 3	2 12 9	2 14 0
Iron, Scotch, pig	112 0 0	112 0 0	115 0 0	115 0 0
Bar, English	112 0 0	112 0 0	115 0 0	115 0 0
OILS, per ton—				
Sperm, American	76 0 0	78 0 0	84 0 0	84 0 0
Linsed	35 0 0	35 0 0	42 0 0	42 0 0
Rock Oil, Crude	16 10 0	16 10 0	14 0 0	14 0 0
PROVISIONS, cwt.—				
Butter, American, fine	3 10 0	3 4 0	3 14 0	4 4 0
Cheese, do, fine	2 6 0	2 18 0	2 0 0	2 12 0
Bacon Sides	1 8 0	2 2 0	1 18 0	2 4 0
TALLOW, per cwt.—				
North American	1 19 0	2 1 0	2 7 0	2 8 3
South do.	2 0 0	2 1 6	2 0 0	2 8 3
Wax, do.	3 10 0	8 15 0	8 10 0	8 10 0
TOMACOS, lb.—				
Naryna	0 0 5	0 0 9	0 0 3	0 0 9
Vinania	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 0 5	0 1 0
Kentucky	0 0 6	0 1 7	0 0 3	0 1 1

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The prospectus has been issued of the El-Chico Silver Mining and Reduction Company, Limited, with a capital of



£75,000, in 15,000 shares of £5 each; but it is not intended to call up more than £3 per share. The object of the undertaking is the purchase of a silver mine in the rich district of El-Chico, in Mexico, and with it, and almost adjoining, the extensive reduction and smelting works called the San Pascual Hacienda de Beneficio, which has been worked for many years with great success. The directors have agreed to purchase those properties for the sum of £28,500, being considerably less than has been expended upon them. From a careful estimate of the value of the properties, the directors anticipate a net revenue of from £20,000 to £30,000 per annum when the works are brought into full operation.

### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 16.

The demand for cotton has been only on a moderate scale throughout the week, but as the apprehensions diminished of a further rise in the Bank-rate, prices have generally become rather firmer again. The sales this week have again been but moderate, the total amounting to 26,500 bales, of which 12,500 were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have reached 2,523,910 bales, and to the same period in 1862 they were 2,592,210 bales. The total imports this year have been 1,585,250 bales, and to the same date last year 1,143,153 bales. There have been exported this year 448,480; to the same period in 1862, 412,074 bales. Taken

for consumption this year 1,272,900 bales; to the same time last year 1,116,600 bales. Taken on speculation this year 742,600 bales, and to the same time in 1862 1,001,100 bales. Computed stocks at the present time 253,230 bales, and to the same period last year 253,420 bales. Egyptians have been in fair request, at an advance from the lowest sales of last week of ½d. to ¾d. per lb. Maccio must be quoted ½d. to ¾d. lower. Pernams and Maranhams ½d. to ¾d. per lb. lower. The better classes of East Indian are saleable at ½d. per lb. advance. Bengal and Seinde have been advanced ½d. per lb. The latest quotations were:—American descriptions, 26d. to 27d.; Surats, 16½d. to 24½; Egyptians, 27½d. to 28½d.; Smyrna, 22d. to 22½d.; and Maranhams, 28½d.

MANCHESTER, December 15.

The demand for yarns and goods during the past week has been of a very sluggish character, and the aggregate amount of business transacted is small. Telegraphic advices from Bombay, dated 28th November, and Calcutta, 27th ditto, came to hand on Saturday. At the former place shirtings were quoted from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per piece lower, with nothing doing. Cotton 70 rupees for Candy lower, and Exchange at 2s. 3½d. This great alteration from the tone of previous reports from that quarter, is owing to advices from here to the effect that the Bank of England had raised its rate of discount to 6 per cent., and gives us an idea of what the effect will be on that market when they receive intelligence of the advance in the Bank rate to 8 per cent., especially when we take into consideration the fact that the active business out there during

the past few months has been to a large extent of a speculative character.

This great fall in the value of goods, combined with the rise in exchange, has put a stop on buying here, as far as shippers are concerned, and much lower prices would be taken in case of offers being made.

Now that we are on the downward turn many spinners and manufacturers are talking of closing their mills, which no doubt will have to be their recourse, in case of further adverse intelligence from India.

Yarns to day are quoted ½d. per lb. down below the price of a week ago; and goods, although nominally firm, have not been tested, owing to no offers having been made.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Dec. 10, are—

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
LETTER FROM RICHMOND, NOVEMBER 7.  
LETTER FROM NEW YORK.  
PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.  
THE FIGHT AT CHITTANOOGA.  
COTTON STILL KING.  
THE CESSATION OF MILITARY EXCHANGES.  
THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.  
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FREEMAN ON THE SOUTH.  
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:—  
THE UNITED STATES STEAMER KEARSARGE AND HER RECRUITS  
THE AMERICAN WAR AND THE SONDERBUND.  
THE DAILY NEWS AND YANKEE LYING.  
AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

### JAMES J. BENNETT & WAKE,

Steam-Ship Insurance  
and General Commission Agents,  
77, CORNHILL, LONDON.  
And JAMES J. BENNETT,  
Matamoros.

### REID AND STEWART,

Commission Merchants,  
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.  
Represented by  
ANDREW STEWART, 1, Runcorn-place,  
Liverpool.

### JAMES CHAPMAN,

Commission Merchant,  
CHARLESTON.

### J. E. HERTZ,

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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts  
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state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a  
picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life  
are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no raiment save that which is stark and stiffened  
with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the  
long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the  
bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly  
voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of  
their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their coun-  
trymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice  
embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the  
toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in  
its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies  
belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners, in the hands of  
the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot  
altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly 2,500 have been collected and  
expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the  
principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal  
render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may  
be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to  
the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or  
political conviction, who sympathize with the sufferings of their fellow-men.

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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III.—No. 87.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 24, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

THE EMBARGO ON COTTON.

PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.

THE TENDER MERCIES OF THE YANKEE.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

THE "ANGLAIS TIMIDE" AND DENMARK.

PARIS TOPICS.—A NEW WORK ON THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN ITALY.

THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.

AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

On the same day, the 7th December, the Confederate Congress met at Richmond and the Federal Congress at Washington. The respective capitals are about 100 miles apart, and this being remembered, and that the Confederate Legislature assembled from all parts of the country without hindrance, the Amnesty Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln must strike every one as one of the most ill-timed jokes ever perpetrated. We elsewhere reprint the text of the Confederate Message, and in this place we propose to give a brief summary of its contents.

President Davis commences with a review of the military situation. He deplores the reverses that befel the Confederate arms at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the unsuccessful assault on Helena, and the retreat from Little Rock, Arkansas, which gave to the Federals the control of the important valley of which it is the key. The temporary despondency incident to these events soon passed away, and on the Mississippi and in the States beyond the Mississippi frequent defeats were inflicted on the enemy, and, by the activity of troops and bodies of partisans, the Mississippi River was practically closed to commerce. After glancing at the determined and successful defence of Charleston, which, the President says, "affords an inspiring example of our ability to repel the attacks even of the iron-clad fleet on which they (the Federals) chiefly rely," his Excellency gives an account of the campaign in Virginia, remarking that the punishment administered to the enemy at Gettysburg had disabled them from renewing the campaign for some time, and that since then every demonstration of an advance has been invariably followed by a precipitate retreat. President Davis testifies warmly to the gallantry of the commanders and the soldiers who have fought for their country, but he does not hesitate to rebuke those who have from some cause or other failed to oppose proper resistance to the invader. He says that Cumberland Gap was an important and easily defensible pass, and that the country was "painfully surprised" by the intelligence of its surrender "upon the summons of a force still believed to be inadequate to its reduction, and when reinforcements were within supporting distance, and had been ordered to the aid of the officer in command." The battle of Chickamauga is described as one of the most brilliant and decisive victories of the war, and compelled the Federals to shut themselves up within their lines at Chattanooga. The Northern army, being heavily reinforced, attacked the Confederates. The conflict was of long duration, and the Federal carnage very heavy; but for the first time Confederate soldiers gave way to panic, and, whilst the line was victorious, some troops inexplicably evacuated positions of great strength, and by their disorderly retreat compelled General Bragg to withdraw his forces to a position twenty or thirty miles in his rear. When the Message was delivered the result

of General Longstreet's operations was not known, but information had been received of his withdrawal from Knoxville. The President concludes this part of his Message by reminding Congress that though the expectations confidently entertained at the commencement of the campaign have not been fully realised, yet the progress of the enemy has been checked, the losses in Tennessee and Arkansas are to some extent balanced by the successes in Louisiana and Texas, the Federals have exhausted themselves by vain efforts to capture Confederate ports, and on the Northern frontier have felt the pressure and dread the renewal of invasion. Such has been the indomitable courage and perseverance manifested by the people that, however obstinate and prodigal of money, life, and liberty may be the Federals "in the hope of enslaving us, the experience of mankind has too conclusively shown the superior endurance of those who fight for home, liberty, and independence to permit any doubt of the result."

President Davis gives an elaborate exposition of the foreign relations of the Confederacy. After observing that foreign Powers had left to England and France to take the initiative in all action touching the contest in America, he proceeds to show in what manner the British Government has maintained, or rather, violated, its neutral position.

1st. The British Government in May, 1861, informed the Federals that it had not "allowed any other than an intermediate position on the part of the Southern States," and that "the sympathies of Great Britain were rather with the North than with the South."

2nd. In June, 1861, the British Government interdicted the use of its ports "to armed ships, both of the United States and the so-called Confederate States, with their prizes;" and this neutral proceeding called forth an expression of satisfaction from Mr. Seward.

3rd. The United States Government complained of Earl Russell having interviews with Confederate Commissioners, and threatened to regard them "as hostile in spirit, and to require some corresponding action accordingly." Our Foreign Secretary did not resent this interference, but pacified Mr. Adams by the assurance that "he had no expectation of seeing them any more," and the discourtesy with which his lordship has treated the representative of the Confederate States enabled him to keep his promise.

4th. President Davis condemns the recognition of a paper blockade, despite the Treaty of Paris, to which we had invited and obtained the assent of the Confederate Government. Earl Russell has explicitly admitted the violation of the treaty, and has defended it on two grounds: that it would have been infamous to break the blockade because it would relieve the sufferings of Lancashire; to which President Davis rejoins, that he had never before heard of a Government considering it infamous to assert its rights because the invasion of those rights caused misery to its people. The other excuse for the violation of a solemn treaty and of the principles of international law urged by Earl Russell is, that Great Britain was guilty of the same offence in 1807, and therefore, in justice to the United States, we cannot complain of their illegal blockade in 1861. His Excellency remarks that the cases are not quite analogous, and that the offence of Great Britain was justified in her courts solely on the plea that our action was retaliatory; and he further protests against the disregard of the recognised principles of public law and of the existing compacts whenever our questionable conduct of former times can be cited as a precedent. To admit such a principle as that put forward by Earl Russell would make it impossible for us to make any valid treaties founded upon modern expositions of public law.

5th. Earl Russell has assured the United States that he will do everything which the law of nations permits to help them, and, if necessary, he will ask Parliament to sanction further measures.

In addition to these charges, all supported by unanswerable arguments, President Davis expresses his belief that the Emperor of the French, though not protesting against the paper blockade, has made a vain effort to induce the British Government to assent to a course of action more consonant with public law and justice. His Excellency dilates upon the partiality of the British Government in allowing the purchasing of arms by the Federal Government and the enlistment of soldiers in Ireland, whilst the law is strained and new laws proposed to prevent the Confederates purchasing vessels which are useless for belligerent purposes, unless hereafter armed and equipped outside the neutral jurisdiction of this country.

President Davis admits that the Confederates have no means of obtaining redress for this injustice. If they had, we may be sure Earl Russell would have given less cause for complaint. We doubt not, however, that the people of this country will not be unaffected by the charges so clearly established against Earl Russell. President Davis might declare the ports of the United States blockaded, and so retaliate for the paper blockade of the Southern ports, but this he does not recommend because it would be a violation of public law. Or the Confederate Government might withdraw its sanction to the Treaty of Paris, seeing that the consideration it was entitled to under that compact has not been accorded it; but President Davis deems it a higher policy to forego the right of retaliation rather "than to revoke our adhesion to principles that we approve."

Upon the subject of finance the Message is very full and lucid. At the time of secession it was not imagined that the North would attempt the conquest of the South, and when war was declared and it became necessary to make provision for the contest, it was proposed to borrow money, the interest to be paid in specie. This plan has been defeated by neutral Powers recognising a paper blockade. The currency is now three times greater than required by the commerce of the country, and the effects of this inflation are very serious and disastrous. The remedy suggested is taxation. For the details of the scheme Congress is referred to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which document has not yet reached Europe.

President Davis gives a very satisfactory account of the condition of the army, and every available means is to be adopted for the maintenance of its efficiency. In those departments where no fighting is involved negroes are to be employed. The formation of an invalid corps is recommended, so that those who are disabled from service in the field may still be available for the service of their country in other positions. The system of substitutes is to be abolished.

Accompanying the Message is the Report of the Secretary at War, which we have not yet received. The President refers to the infant navy of the Confederate States in terms that will be highly gratifying to the members of that service.

He next comments on the refusal of the Federals to continue the exchange of prisoners; with deep feeling he speaks of the terrible sufferings of the Confederates who are confined on Johnson's Island, exposed to all the rigours of a Northern climate, and where many of them must perish. In conclusion, the President denounces the barbarous mode of warfare of the Federals, and the inhumanity with which they treat the negro, as well as the white people, over whom they obtain power.

In this imperfect summary we have omitted even to



name some of the topics that are treated by President Davis; but the Message itself is before our readers, and they will see that no summary, however elaborate, can do justice to one of the ablest State papers ever published, in which there is not a superfluous word, and which charms by its eloquence while the reason is convinced by its arguments.

We intend next week to publish the text of Mr. Lincoln's Message, and, therefore, a very short notice of it will be sufficient, especially as we have devoted some space in our leader columns to its consideration. The President announces friendly relations with foreign Powers, and that the British Government and the Emperor of the French have refused to permit the departure of new "hostile expeditions" from their ports. We suppose "hostile expeditions" means unarmed vessels, and has no reference to the armaments of war and the Irish recruits shipped from British to Federal ports. The Message declares that there will be no modification of the Emancipation Proclamation, and as usual with all Federal official documents, declares that the rebellion is nearly crushed, though, rather inconsistently, Congress is requested to rely upon military force for its suppression. With regard to the finances of the North, the Message informs us that the disbursements from July 1862 to July 1863 amounted to \$895,796,630, and the receipts during the same period were \$901,125,674. Of the receipts, \$776,682,361 was derived from loans, leaving about 12 per cent. obtained from taxation. The Report of Mr. Chase, which accompanies the Message, we shall notice at a future opportunity. President Lincoln congratulates Congress on the success of his Emancipation Proclamation. He says that 100,000 negroes are now in the military service of the United States, half of them actually bearing arms, "thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labour from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men." Perhaps the negroes have not much stomach for fighting for a country in which Mr. Lincoln told them they were not welcome to live, and from which he advised them to depart.

Accompanying the Message of the Federal President is a Proclamation of Amnesty which we shall also publish in our next number. Every person of distinction in the Confederacy is excluded from the benefit of this decree. Mr. Lincoln says in effect to the people of the Confederate States, "If you will submit to my authority you shall not be treated worse than the most relentless Governments have treated conquered peoples." He has not been able to catch the hare, but he hopes to beguile it by promising to skin it alive if it will walk into his trap; or rather, he hopes by this offer to beguile his Democratic subjects; for he admits that Congress must not rely on the Amnesty but on the army. We do not remember any other instance of a Government offering mercy to a nation, and at the same time asking for more men and more money to help it to subdue that nation.

We are able to affirm the correctness of the report that the Federal Government has consented to allow a large quantity of tobacco stored in Richmond on account of the French *Régie*, to pass through the blockade. As it is the Federal and not the Confederate Government which proclaims a blockade, it is not presumed that the latter will interpose any obstacle. We have here a beautiful illustration of the effect produced on the authorities at Washington by the two lines of policy respectively pursued by France and England in reference to the South. The favours, and very important ones too, are all on the side of those who do not appear afraid of the Yankees. Contrast this with what happened at Mobile when the British Foreign-office was bullied into dismissing a consul for assisting, with the consent of the commander of the Federal blockading squadron, in shipping a small sum of money for interest due to English holders of a State debt incurred many years before the outbreak of the war.

The Cape mail brings us an account of an heroic action, as Mr. Welles would call it, on the part of the Federal navy, which will be peculiarly gratifying to the Northern people. The *Vanderbilt* has paid a visit to Angra Pequena, the Guano Islands, and destroyed or carried away a large quantity of coal stored on Penguin Island, which was two years ago annexed to Cape Colony. Then, within two miles of the shore, and consequently within the English or Portuguese jurisdiction, the *Vanderbilt* seized the British bark *Saxon*. The mate was shot by a Federal officer—a deed which, if the facts are as reported, is murder. The rest of the crew were put on board a coasting vessel and sent round to Table Bay. This occurrence will give Earl Russell another opportunity of showing how much dearer to him is the friendship of the Yankee Government than the honour of England.

The merchant steamer *Chesapeake*, whilst on a voyage from New York to Portland, was seized by sixteen Confederates who were passengers on board. The crew, excepting the captain and chief engineer, were landed at St. John's, New Brunswick, after which the *Chesapeake* proceeded in an easterly direction.

Mr. Lincoln, who says that the rebellion is nearly crushed, has recommended a general thanksgiving, on account of the siege of Knoxville being raised.

At a meeting of the Virginia Synod, the Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge gave an account of his late visit to England. He stated that he applied to the British and Foreign Bible Society to purchase religious works, but the board, presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, refused to sell him any books, but made him a magnificent donation of Bibles and other books suitable for soldiers. An attempt was made

by some members of the Board to clog the grant by conditions about distribution to the slaves; which to Dr. Hoge appeared to convey an offensive imputation. Being on this account rejected by him, the gift was then freed from all conditions. We may here state that Dr. Hoge is, like the rest of the Southern clergy, devoted to furthering the spiritual interests of the negroes, and esteems it a privilege to minister among them.

At a war meeting held in New York on the 3rd inst., General Sickles expressed his opinion that Mr. Seward would shortly be in a position to demand of the governments of Europe the revocation of the recognition of the Confederates as belligerents. It did not occur to this reputable individual that the governments of Europe could not do as he wished without at the same time refusing any longer to recognise the Northern blockade of Southern ports. It will, we think, be conceded that the Federals gain far more than the Confederates by the recognition of the latter as belligerents. General Sickles, to the great delight of his audience, intimated that Europe, and particularly England, were not instigated by any sense of justice, but solely from fear of the power of the Yankee nation. The aristocracy of Europe continued to wish for the prosperity of the South, but he added "You cannot have failed to remark that our victories and our iron-clads have made us lately a good many friends in Europe." We suppose General Sickles was not referring to the Army of the Potomac, in which he had a command; and so far as the iron-clads are concerned, they have not proved very formidable to the enemy and have an uncomfortable habit of going to the bottom. A letter from President Lincoln which was read to the meeting, suggested that honour was due to the citizen as well as to the soldier. "Honour to him—only less than to him who braves for the common good the storms of Heaven and the storms of battle." We suppose by "the storms of heaven," Mr. Lincoln means Virginia mud, and if so, we must say that his soldiers have manifested on all occasions a very marked indisposition to brave it.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* of Monday last, said:—"We consider ourselves in a position to state that Lord Lyons, in a despatch to Lord Russell, from Washington, announces that the war in America will be terminated within the next three months. The Confederates, being in the greatest extremities, will have speedily to propose an armistice. In our informant we have the fullest possible confidence. Possibly Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation has reference to the facts on which Lord Lyons grounded his conclusion." The *Globe* of Tuesday gives the following semi-official contradiction to the report:—"Some of our contemporaries reproduce, in a manner betokening their sense of its authenticity, the statement of a *Liverpool* journal, that 'Lord Lyons, in a despatch to Lord Russell from Washington, announces that the war in America will be terminated in three months,' and that 'the Confederates, being in the greatest extremities, will have speedily to propose an armistice.' We recommend our readers to receive such statements with reserve, and not too hastily to assume Lord Lyons's readiness to accept the ninety day's bills so often drawn by the more enthusiastic Federal sympathisers, and so often renewed at a heavy rate of interest."

The North has just found out that the South is not in a state of famine. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* announces that an abundant supply of provisions has reached Richmond and that all fears of scarcity have been removed. We need hardly remark, that in the Confederate capital there has not at any time been the slightest anxiety for food.

General Schenck has retired from the command of Baltimore, and has been succeeded by General Lockwood. The Federal Congress have not yet passed a vote of thanks to General Schenck for the gallantry he has displayed in his war upon the unarmed citizens and women and children of Baltimore.

The price of gold in New York has fluctuated considerably: on the 9th inst. it was at 48½ per cent. premium, on the 10th inst. it was quoted at 50½ per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

The war between Mr. Richard Cobden and the *Times* threatened at one time to be of as great duration and asperity as the war in America. We noticed last week all the effusions which had appeared up to the time of publication, since which period the readers of the *Times* have been favoured with a rejoinder from Mr. Cobden and a surrejoinder from Mr. J. T. Delane, followed again by two rebutters from Mr. Cobden and a surrebutter from Mr. J. T. Delane. Inasmuch, however, as a quarrel and a war require two parties to keep the game going, and inasmuch as Mr. Delane has now announced his intention to retire from the personal part of the controversy, we seem to see the end of the affair so far as the last-named gentleman is personally concerned. Whether Mr. Cobden will resume his offensive operations against the *Times* in its corporate capacity lies hidden as yet in the bosom of fate. Mr. Cobden's letter of 14th December, which was published in the *Times* on Friday last, really gave the world a shock from which it can scarcely yet have recovered. Mr. Cobden has probably been consulting some legal friend over his "port," for he has made the astounding and alarming discovery, that if it were proved that he and Mr. Bright had proposed a distribution of lands among the poor they would both have been liable to transportation for seven years under the 57th Geo. 3, c. 19. In case such a terrible fate does befall these gentlemen, let us hope that New York or Connecticut will consent to turn penal settlement for that especial purpose. After this statement Mr. Cobden tells us that he has as much self-possession in the presence of a public audience as in his

private closet. If by self-possession he means self-control, we at once believe the statement, for few men could be found who, before a public audience, would give vent to such language as Mr. Cobden has written in the recesses of his closet. The only other interesting fact in Mr. Cobden's letter of 14th December is that the *Times* thwarted him in his negotiations for the French treaty, and that he has hated and fought and sought to ruin the *Times* ever since. That being so, for the life of us we cannot imagine how the *Times* can be guilty of such unpardonable impudence as prolonging its condemned existence. Of Mr. Cobden's two rebutters one is not lively, but the other, which reveals the discovery by him of a passage in a leader of the *Times* of 26th November, shows the man of peace again in fighting attitude, talking about libellous outrages on members of the House of Commons, and characterising his opponent's language as a mockery and an untruth. Mr. Delane is of course, tranquil in his answers, but to us he seems a little too ready to make explanations and concessions, and to abandon somewhat the vantage ground on which he stood. He has now retired to the privacy from which Mr. Cobden so insultingly and unjustifiably dragged him; but he may be assured that his conduct *coram populo* has not been to his prejudice.

The Court-martial on Colonel Crawley of the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons, which commenced its sittings about the middle of November, was brought to a close on Friday last. It will be remembered that the charges against Colonel Crawley were, first, that he had caused certain orders, under which Sergeant-Major Lilley of the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons was confined under arrest, to be carried into effect with undue severity; and second, that the Colonel at a court-martial had publicly declared that the acts in question were the acts of Adjutant Fitzsimon, whereas in fact they were the result of the express orders of the Colonel. Lieut-General Sir S. A. Wetherall, K.C.B., presided at the court-martial; the prosecutor was Colonel Sir A. Horsford, K.C.B., and the accused was assisted in his defence by Mr. Vernon Harcourt. Sergeant-Major Lilley had been placed in arrest pending a court-martial on one Paymaster Smales, which was held at Mhow, and he was placed in arrest by the order of General Farrell, on the ground that he was connected with a conspiracy against Colonel Crawley, having for its object the giving of certain evidence prejudicial to the Colonel at the Mhow court-martial. It will be remembered that the story, as it reached England, told of a close confinement for forty days, in an Indian summer, in a bungalow unfit for human habitation, both of the Sergeant-Major and his wife—of the perpetual presence of the sentry in the room occupied by the unhappy couple, and the death of the Sergeant-Major. Now, to get at the truth of the whole matter, we will look first at the defence of Colonel Crawley at the court-martial, and then at the reply of the prosecutor. The Colonel contends that he merely carried out the orders of General Farrell, confirmed by Sir W. Mansfield, and that the sufferings of the sergeant, other than what were inseparable from close arrest, were due to the blunder of Lieutenant Fitzsimon. Sir W. Mansfield, in a letter, had ordered the "arrest," pending the Mhow Court-martial, and the word "arrest" in this letter was held to be equivalent to the "close arrest under sentries" prescribed by General Farrell. The society of his wife was an indulgence to the Sergeant, and, unless because a man is married therefore he was free from discipline, other and farther concessions were impossible. Mrs. Lilley's last letter expressed no sense of injustice. The bungalow was sufficient for comfort and privacy. If the close arrest was injurious, a representation ought to have been made by the surgeons. He adhered to his statement, which was endorsed by the Commander-in-Chief in India, that drinking brandy had accelerated the death of the Sergeant-major. The prosecutor, in reply, contended that the orders of General Farrell and Sir W. Mansfield were not peremptory directions to keep Lilley under close arrest while the court-martial was sitting, but that a discretionary power was given to Colonel Crawley both as to the period of arrest and the persons with whom the Sergeant-major might hold communication. Then, inasmuch as Lilley was the Colonel's own sergeant, and a man of high character, severity was doubly wrong. Moreover, if Lilley had evidence to give against the Colonel and in favour of Smales at the trial at Mhow, then on every principle of equity and justice Lilley had a right to have access to Smales. Indeed, to do an act of supreme equity, the Colonel ought to have even disobeyed orders. Instead of that, he had converted a mere preventive measure into a punishment of great severity. Above all, he had extended Lilley's arrest for fifteen days after all Smales's witnesses had been called, and, therefore, after the only cause of arrest had ceased to exist. The question seems to us to turn mainly on the existence of a discretionary power in the Colonel to modify the orders of his superior officers. Was he a mere instrument or not? If he was, then he must be acquitted, and any blame would fall partly on the superior officers and partly on the Lieutenant. On the other hand, if he was not a mere instrument, were his acts high-handed acts of tyranny, taking revenge on a man whose evidence against him was an object of dread? The Court has decided in favour of Colonel Crawley, and fully and honourably acquitted him of both the charges.

A case involving points of law and points of science in ship-building, both for warlike and mercantile purposes, has occupied the attention of the Court of Queen's Bench for eight days. Mr. Lindsay, M.P., is plaintiff in the action, and the defendants are the underwriters with whom Mr. Lindsay effected an insurance of the ship *Harbinger*. This vessel, being of some 800 tons burden, had been originally built as a war-steamer in 1847-8, and had been purchased by the plaintiff in 1857. At that time she appears to have been in good preservation, and was at once employed in the China trade. She sailed from Calcutta on her last voyage in March, 1859,



being then sound in her hull, but defective in her engines and woodwork. She was insured at that time for £15,000. On her way home she put in at Algoa Bay to coal and refit, and made thence two attempts to start, but was twice driven in by stress of weather. Previously to her run into Algoa Bay, she had sprung a leak, owing to a rivet falling out below the massive "sole plate" supporting the machinery, but this hole had been effectually plugged and secured. After she had put back for the second time into the Bay, she was examined by Mr. George Cook, chief engineer of H.M.S. *Perseverance*, and her captain thought it right to come to England and consult Mr. Lindsay. On his arrival, Mr. Lindsay made a claim on the underwriters for £4,000, and obtained that sum. During the absence of the captain, and particularly in October, 1859, heavy gales prevailed in Algoa Bay, but no apparent injury resulted from them. On the 27th December, after the return of the captain, a leak was discovered, the cause thereof being, as was supposed, a hole in the centre of one of the plates at the bottom of the vessel, described as abaft the engine-room—the second plate from the keelson. On the 3rd January, the captain wrote to Mr. Lindsay, and intimated his opinion that a total abandonment of the vessel would be necessary. Surveys were held by nautical men on the 16th January and 1st February, and Captain Simpson, harbour-master, from an impression that the plates might have been started in the gale, recommended that the vessel should be "hove down," i.e., turned on one side to examine her bottom. It did not appear that any of the surveyors recommended a total abandonment. The captain, however, finding that it would cost £3,000 to have her "hove down," gave notice of abandonment on the 3rd February, and on the 8th, having removed the engines, which were sent to England, advertised the hull for sale. The hull was sold for £200, the engines for £800, and the spars, &c., for a few hundreds more. Mr. Lindsay thereupon claimed the residue, nearly £14,000, of the underwriters; about twenty-six of them complied, and the remainder, about eighty in number, contested this action. It should be mentioned that Mr. Lindsay had written an answer to the captain's letter of 3rd January, had approved the course taken by the captain in rejecting a tender for "heaving down" the vessel in Algoa Bay at a cost of £3,000, had inferred from the hole a serious strain calculated to have seriously weakened the rivets and loosened the plates, and had concluded that the ship must be abandoned. He also approved the absence of any attempt to take the vessel to Simon's Bay, a three days' voyage. It was originally represented that the hole was under the "sole plate" in the engine-room, as stated in the log-book, and also that the hole was of a nature calculated to ruin the vessel; but this part of the case rather fell through, and was not relied on much by the counsel. The real stress of the case ultimately lay upon the extensive damage done generally to the rivets and plates by straining. The jury found that the ship was unseaworthy as to the hole in the plate and as to her rivets; and, while thinking that the hole might have been repaired, were doubtful as to the rivets; that "heaving down" was necessary, but that it was not practicable in Algoa Bay; that "heaving down" was practicable in Simon's Bay, but that she ought not to have been taken there without the consent of all parties. The jury also found that abandonment was not justified and that the sale was not necessary; but they also found that the injuries to the vessel arose "from the combined effects of wear-and-tear and sea damage." After these answers the jury was asked whether the amount paid into court, 7 per cent., was sufficient to make good the partial loss. On this point no verdict was obtained, and eventually the parties agreed each to pay their own costs, and the plaintiffs to have £4,500 out of £5,000 paid into court. The result, of course, was that the law points at issue were not determined, for it may easily be imagined that whatever the result before the jury might have been the case would have been prolonged through various stages until it had finally taken refuge in the House of Lords. But the case has another and a practical interest. The injury to the plate was said to have been caused by a blow from a piece of wreck, and such a view produces distrust in the safety of iron passenger ships and iron ships of war. It also seemed that a crack of a malignant nature in the iron plates ruined a vessel at sea, for the injury was supposed to be irreparable at sea. This view was on the whole refuted in the course of the trial. A theory was also involved that the rivets might be started by a strain, that the injury might be latent, and that the vessel might go out to sea and sink in an hour. All these theories, of course, are confined to iron ships and are therefore novel in regard to an inquiry of this nature. Indeed the second danger was not fully estimated at the trial; and the evidence was rather in favour of this alarming feature in iron ships, for Captain Simpson and Mr. Gladstone both declared that it would be clearly unsafe to run a ship out to sea with started rivets in order to test the existence of leakage. On the whole, the trial will be of much value in turning attention to these points in connection with the building and use of iron-plated vessels.

It is asserted that the Government employés at Sheerness who volunteered to fit out and equip the *Rappahannock* as a ship of war for the Confederate States have been discharged. It is understood also that the names of persons in the crews of the *Alabama*, *Georgia*, and *Florida* who belong to the Royal Naval Reserve, have been struck off the list, with the loss of all pay and pensions, and perpetual exclusion from the service.

Mr. Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham, in an address delivered last week at Royton, made some remarks with reference to the war in America. He said that his feelings were in favour of the South. He had read the speeches of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright at Rochdale, who

looked upon the war as a movement for the abolition of slavery. He (Mr. Cobbett) knew something of America himself, and from all he had read, and from all he had gathered from personal observation, it appeared to him that to emancipate these 4,000,000 poor creatures of slaves in the South would be the most cruel thing which could be done to them. It was too much to expect the people of the Southern States to give up their property; for this country really considered slaves to be property when they paid the West India planters for giving up their slaves. It was idle to talk of the Northern people being enthusiasts in the cause of emancipation, when they knew that President Lincoln, in his Message to Congress in 1861, said distinctly, with regard to emancipation, that he not only did not think of emancipating the slaves, but that he doubted if he had the constitutional right to do so. He afterwards apologised for his emancipation proclamation by calling it a war measure. He issued the proclamation as a war measure in order that he might damage the property of the Southern people. When they remembered that the war was carried on by the North to exterminate both white and black rather than give up the Union, it became a question whether they ought to do anything in favour of the North; and, in his opinion, if they did anything, it ought to be in favour of the South."

We have news from the Cape of Good Hope that Bishop Colenso's trial commenced on the 17th November, in St. George's Cathedral, before the metropolitan and two suffragans, the Bishop of Graham's Town and the Bishop of the Orange Free State. The accusing clergy, the Dean of Cape Town and the Archdeacons of Graham's Town and George Town, supported the charges. Dr. Bleek appeared for Bishop Colenso and read a letter from the bishop denying the jurisdiction of the court, and also handed in a formal protest. An appeal will lie to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in case of the condemnation of Bishop Colenso.

Summonses to appear before the bench of magistrates for the county of Sussex were served last week on Tom King and John Heenan the combatants, and Sayers, Macdonald, Nolan, and others, the seconds and leading managers, in the great prize-fight which was fought at Wadhurst a short time since between King and Heenan. The case was fixed for Tuesday last, and the defendants were charged "with riotous assembling with divers other persons, and disturbing the peace of Her Majesty the Queen." The individuals so charged met at London Bridge station early on Tuesday, and proceeded by train to Rotherfield to appear before the bench. They were excessively jolly, and even Heenan was again well and in high spirits. At the hearing, evidence of the fight and of the presence of the accused was given, and the parties were bound over in sums of £50 each, with bail for £50 besides, to appear at the next quarter sessions to answer any indictment for misdemeanour that might be preferred against them.

#### THE CONTINENT.

THE Federal troops will meet with no resistance in Holstein or Lauenburg. Both Duchies will probably be entirely in their hands before the end of the week. An attempt will no doubt be made in Holstein to proclaim the Prince of Augustenburg Duke, as soon as the Danes retire, and the interval between their disappearance and the arrival of the Federal troops with the commissioners charged with the administration, may be used to establish some kind of provisional government, which Europe will be asked to consider as the choice of the people and to treat with accordingly. The ferment in Germany does not diminish. The smaller States, governments, and people, are quite beside themselves with the prospect of this first glorious achievement of German unity—the humiliation of little Denmark.

The Prussian House of Deputies passed their Address to the King by 207 to 107 votes. It is not yet known whether the King will receive the deputation charged to present it. It is presumed that he will not. His Majesty is said to be vacillating between that modified regard for the Treaty of London which may be said to be personified in Herr von Bismarck, and the cry of the military and radical parties, for once united, for war on behalf of the Augustenburgers. The temptation to take the Radicals at their word, and proceed to a war which, in whatever way it might ultimately turn out, must at least carry through his own pet projects, must be great. On the other hand, the danger of such a policy is also great, and the King, with all his faults, is an honest man, to whom the breach of a treaty must be a very disagreeable act.

The Prussian Government will probably adhere to its recent declarations. They are unsatisfactory enough. If Herr von Bismarck admits the obligations imposed by the Treaty of Succession, he makes those obligations conditional upon the performance by the Danish Government of measures which it never promised and cannot possibly consent to; and he has hinted plainly enough that the execution once carried out, he will bethink himself what pretexts he can find for repudiating the Treaty.

The Prussian Herrenhaus has also voted an address to the King. It is favourable to the policy of the Government, and criticises sharply the conduct of the Lower House in refusing the loan.

An assembly of delegates from different German States—members of the respective Parliaments—has assembled at Frankfurt to determine what the nation should do in the Slesvig-Holstein question. The members are of course enthusiastic for war.

The Austrian Government has addressed a circular despatch to its representatives at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, defining its position in this question. After referring to the death of King Ferdinand and the excitement in Germany, it points out that Austria and

Prussia find themselves in a difficult position to conciliate their duties towards Germany with those towards their co-signatories of the London Treaty. Both Governments hope, however, to arrive at a peaceful solution, for which, however, they require the support of the other Powers whose advice has weight at Copenhagen. Count Rechberg hopes that France, England, and Russia will be so far in accord with the attitude of Austria, as to energetically insist that with the London stipulations the engagements towards the Duchies shall be carefully fulfilled. The execution was already determined by the Bund against Denmark VII. The publication of the Constitution is in contradiction to the former engagements. If King Christian will fulfil them, Austria and Prussia will scrupulously observe their engagements; but if he tramples under foot the rights of the Duchies he deprives himself of all right to the observance of the stipulations favourable to him. The two Powers are ready now, as in 1851, to respect the principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy.

The session of the Danish Rigsraad was closed on Monday by a message from the King, read by the President of the Ministry. It observed that the Constitution of the 18th November rested upon the same basis as the one already in existence, and that it would be no obstacle to the King's intention to give his Federal provinces the same freedom and independence. It proceeds (according to the telegraphic summary) thus:—

A desire to dismember the Danish monarchy has arisen in Germany. We hope, however, that Europe will nevertheless maintain our right to the hereditary succession. We have fulfilled every resolution of the Federal Diet concerning the Federal provinces. German troops have occupied Holstein and Lauenburg, although the latter has recently testified its satisfaction and loyalty to Denmark.

Although we do not recognise the execution on the part of the German Confederation as justifiable, we withdraw our troops to this side of the Eider, in order to avoid a collision.

The debate in the French Senate terminated by the adoption of the project of address presented by the Commission. It had been expected that Count Walewski and Prince Napoleon would speak, but the expectation was not fulfilled. The principal speakers, in addition to what we mentioned last week, were the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein and M. Dupin. Both protested very strongly against war for Poland. M. Dupin's speech was confined entirely to that topic, and was a masterpiece of epigrammatic oratory. He pointed out the difficulties of a crusade for Poland against Europe, and he protested against maiming France—against perilling France, the Empire, and the Emperor in such an effort. The Emperor received the address on Monday, and returned the following answer:—

Good is the sole motive of my actions. At home and abroad I desire the appeasement of passions, with concord and union. I direct all my wishes to the moment when the great questions which divide governments and peoples will be pacifically solved by European arbitration. This wish was that of the chief of my family when he wrote from St. Helena that "to fight in Europe is to make civil war." May not this great thought, an Utopia in the past, to-morrow become a reality? However this may be, it is always an honour to proclaim a principle tending to remove the prejudices of another age. Let us unite our efforts for this noble end, and let us only study obstacles to vanquish them, and incredulity to confound it.

The *Moniteur* publishes a circular, addressed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, on the 8th of December, to the heads of the diplomatic missions of France in Europe.

It says: "A single Power, England, has refused the invitation to the Congress. In these circumstances we must express to the British Cabinet our great regret; to the sovereigns who have accepted it without condition, our gratitude, and give an explanation to those who have demanded information." It points out, by a reference to the Danish question, the utility of the Congress. "A Congress alone could reconcile the duties of sovereigns bound by convention and the legitimate aspirations of the people. The refusal of England has rendered impossible a general Congress; there remains a restricted Congress. Whilst the proposition was for a general Congress the Emperor could not concert with certain of the Powers plans to be submitted to others, and thus spoil deliberations which it was desired should be entered into without preconceived ideas and private engagements. But now the assembly, being incomplete, will not have the arbitral authority of a European Congress. We understand, therefore, that previous to meeting the sovereigns will charge their ministers for foreign affairs to come to an understanding upon the questions which are to be discussed, in order that the Congress may have more chance of arriving at a practical result."

By a strange mistake, some of our provincial contemporaries have credited to the *Morning Herald*, instead of the *Daily News*, the forged document published by the latter, and purporting to be a list of the officers of the Southern Independence Association of London. We beg to direct the attention of our country friends, who have fallen into this error, to the letters of Mr. Beresford Hope, W. G. E. Seymour, and Mr. H. Hotze, exposing the forgery, and to the subjoined disclaimer by the journal which published it.—

(*Daily News*, 12th December.)

Knowing from the unsought information of friends who favour the cause of the South, and who had been asked to join the Southern Independence Association, that it was in course of formation, when a document of the Association—a copy of its printed articles—reached this office, "with Mr. Beresford Hope's compliments," we had no reason to suspect the authenticity of the list of names which accompanied it. We had no curiosity to know the composition or proceedings of the Southern Independence Association, nor have we invited information on the subject. In publishing the list we imagined that we had not only Mr. Hope's authority, but were gratifying his desire. We shall certainly give Mr. Beresford Hope every facility for discovering the person who has abused his name.



## PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States.

The necessity for legislative action, arising out of the important events that have marked the interval since your adjournment, and my desire to have the aid of your counsel on other matters of grave public interest, render your presence at this time more than ordinarily welcome. Indeed, but for serious obstacles to convoking you in extraordinary Session, and the necessity for my own temporary absence from the seat of Government, I would have invited you to an earlier meeting than that fixed at the date of your adjournment.

Grave reverses befell our arms soon after your departure from Richmond. Early in July our strongholds at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, together with their entire garrisons, capitulated to the combined land and naval forces of the enemy. The important interior position of Jackson next fell into their temporary possession. Our unsuccessful assault on the post of Helena was followed, at a later period, by the invasion of Arkansas, and the retreat of our army from Little Rock gave to the enemy the control of the important valley in which it is situated.

The resolute spirit of the people soon rose superior to the temporary dependency naturally resulting from these reverses. The gallant troops, so ably commanded in the States beyond the Mississippi, inflicted repeated defeats on the invading armies in Louisiana and on the coast of Texas. Detachments of troops and active bodies of partisans kept up so effective a war on the Mississippi River as practically to destroy its value as an avenue of commerce.

The determined and successful defence of Charleston against the land and naval operations of the enemy afforded an inspiring example of our ability to repel the attacks even of the ironclad fleet on which they chiefly rely; while on the Northern frontier our success was still more marked.

The able commander who conducted the campaign in Virginia determined to meet the threatened advance on Richmond, for which the enemy had made long and costly preparations, by forcing their armies to cross the Potomac and fight in defence of their own capital and homes. Transferring the battle-field to their own soil, he succeeded in compelling their rapid retreat from Virginia, and in the hard-fought battle of Gettysburg inflicted such severity of punishment as disabled them from early renewal of the campaign as originally projected. Unfortunately, the communications on which our general relied for receiving his supplies of munitions were interrupted by extraordinary floods, which so swelled the Potomac as to render impassable the fords by which his advance had been made, and he was thus forced to a withdrawal, which was conducted with deliberation, after securing large trains of captured supplies, and with a constant but unaccepted tender of battle. On more than one occasion the enemy has since made demonstrations of a purpose to advance, invariably followed by a precipitate retreat to intrenched lines on the approach of our forces.

The effective check thus opposed to the advance of invaders at all points was such as to afford hope of their early expulsion from portions of the territory previously occupied by them, when the country was painfully surprised by the intelligence that the officer in command of the Cumberland Gap had surrendered that important and easily defensible pass without firing a shot, upon the summons of a force still believed to have been inadequate to its reduction, and when reinforcements were within supporting distance, and had been ordered to his aid. The entire garrison, including the commander, being still held prisoners by the enemy, I am unable to suggest any explanation of this disaster, which laid open Eastern Tennessee and South-Western Virginia to hostile operations, and broke the line of communication between the seat of Government and Middle Tennessee. This easy success of the enemy was followed by an advance of General Rosecrans into Georgia, and our army evacuated Chattanooga, and availed itself of the opportunity thus afforded of winning on the field of Chickamauga one of the most brilliant and decisive victories of the war. This signal defeat of General Rosecrans was followed by his retreat into Chattanooga, where his imperilled position had the immediate effect of relieving the pressure of the invasion at other points, forcing the concentration for his relief of large bodies of troops withdrawn from the armies in the Mississippi Valley and in Northern Virginia. The combined forces thus accumulated against us in Tennessee so greatly outnumbered our army as to encourage the enemy to attack. After a long and severe battle, in which great carnage was inflicted on him, some of our troops inexplicably abandoned positions of great strength, and by a disorderly retreat compelled the commander to withdraw the forces elsewhere successful, and finally to retire with his whole army to a position some twenty or thirty miles to the rear. It is believed that if the troops who yielded to the assault had fought with the valour which they had displayed on previous occasions, and which was manifested in this battle on the other parts of the line, the enemy would have been repulsed with very great slaughter, and our country would have escaped the misfortune, and the army the mortification, of the first defeat that has resulted from misconduct by the troops. In the meantime, the army of General Burnside was driven from all its field positions in Eastern Tennessee, and forced to retreat into his entrenchments at Knoxville, where, for some weeks, it was threatened with capture by the forces under General Longstreet. No information has reached me of the final result of the operations of our commander, though intelligence has arrived of his withdrawal from that place.

While, therefore, our success in driving the enemy from our soil has not equalled the expectations confidently entertained at the commencement of the campaign, his further progress has been checked. If we are forced to regret losses in Tennessee and Arkansas, we are not without ground for congratulation on successes in Louisiana and Texas. On the seacoast he is exhausted by vain efforts to capture our ports, while on the northern frontier he has in turn felt the pressure and dreads the renewal of invasion. The indomitable courage and perseverance of the people in the defence of their homes have been nobly attested by the unanimity with which the Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia have recently given expression to the popular sentiment; and like manifestations may be anticipated from all the States. Whatever obstinacy may be displayed by the enemy in his desperate sacrifices of money, life, and liberty in the hope of enslaving us, the experience of mankind has too conclusively shown the superior endurance of those who fight for home, liberty, and independence to permit any doubt of the result.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS.

I regret to inform you that there has been no improvement in the state of our relations with foreign countries since my Message in January last. On the contrary, there has been a

greater divergence in the conduct of European nations from that practical impartiality which alone deserves the name of neutrality, and their action, in some cases, has assumed a character positively unfriendly.

You have heretofore been informed that, by common understanding, the initiative in all action touching the contest on this continent had been left by foreign Powers to the two great maritime nations of Western Europe, and that the two Governments of these two nations had agreed to take no measures without previous concert. The result of these arrangements has therefore placed it in the power of either France or England to obstruct at pleasure the recognition to which the Confederacy is justly entitled, or even to prolong the continuance of hostilities on this side of the Atlantic, if the policy of either could be promoted by the postponement of peace. Each, too, thus became possessed of great influence in so shaping the general exercise of neutral rights in Europe as to render them subservient to the purpose of aiding one of the belligerents to the detriment of the other. I referred, at your last Session, to some of the leading points in the course pursued by professed neutrals, which betrayed a partisan leaning to the side of our enemies; but events have since occurred which induce me to renew the subject in greater detail than was then deemed necessary. In calling to your attention the action of these Governments I shall refer to the documents appended to President Lincoln's Messages, and to their own correspondence, as disclosing the true nature of their policy and the motives which guided it. To this course no exception can be taken, inasmuch as our attention has been invited to those sources of information by their official publication.

In May, 1861, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty informed our enemies that it had not "allowed any other than an intermediate position on the part of the Southern States," and assured them "that the sympathies of this country (Great Britain) were rather with the North than with the South."

On the 1st day of June, 1861, the British Government interdicted the use of its ports "to armed ships and privateers both of the United States and the so-called Confederate States," with their prizes. The Secretary of State of the United States fully appreciated the character and motive of this interdiction, when he observed to Lord Lyons, who communicated it, "that this measure, and that of the same character which had been adopted by France, would probably prove a death-blow to Southern privateering."

On June 12th, 1861, the United States' Minister in London informed Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the fact of his having held interviews with the Commissioners of this Government had given "great dissatisfaction," and that a protraction of this relation would be viewed by the United States "as hostile in spirit, and to require some corresponding action accordingly." In response to this intimation, Her Majesty's Secretary assured the Minister that "he had no expectation of seeing them any more."

By proclamation, issued on the 19th and 27th of April, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the entire coast of the Confederacy, extending from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, embracing, according to the returns of the United States coast survey, a coast line of 3549 statute miles, on which the number of rivers, bays, harbours, inlets, sounds, and passes is 189. The navy possessed by the United States for enforcing this blockade was stated in the reports communicated by President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States to consist of twenty-four vessels of all classes in commission, of which half were in distant seas. The absurdity of the pretension of such a blockade in the face of the authoritative declaration of the maritime rights of neutrals made at Paris in 1856 was so glaring, that the attempt was regarded as an experiment on the forbearance of neutral Powers, which they would promptly resist. This conclusion was justified by the facts that the Governments of France and Great Britain determined that it was necessary for their interests to obtain from both belligerents "securities concerning the proper treatment of neutrals." In the instructions "which confided the negotiation on this matter" to the British Consul in Charleston he was informed that "the most perfect accord on this question exists between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Emperor of the French," and these instructions were accompanied by a copy of the despatch of the British Foreign Office of the 18th of May, 1861, stating that there was no difference of opinion between Great Britain and the United States as to the validity of the principles enunciated in the Fourth Article of the Declaration of Paris in reference to blockades. Your predecessors of the Provisional Congress had, therefore, no difficulty in proclaiming, nor I in approving, the resolutions which abandoned in favour of Great Britain and France our rights to capture enemy's property when covered by the flags of those Powers. The "securities" desired by those Governments were understood by us to be required from both belligerents. Neutrals were exposed, on our part, to the exercise of belligerent right of capturing their vessels when conveying the property of our enemies. They were exposed, on the part of the United States, to interruption in their unquestioned right of trading with us by the declaration of the paper blockade above referred to. We have no reason to doubt the good faith of the proposal made to us, nor to expect that we were to be the only parties bound by its acceptance. It is true that the instructions of the neutral Powers informed their agents that it was "essential under present circumstances that they should act with great caution in order to avoid raising the question of the recognition of the new Confederation," and that the understanding on the subject did not assume, for that reason, the shape of a formal Convention. But it was not deemed just by us to decline the arrangement on this ground, as little more than ninety days had then elapsed since the arrival of our Commissioners in Europe, and neutral nations were fairly entitled to a reasonable delay in acting on a subject of so much importance, and which, from their point of view, presented difficulties that we, perhaps, did not fully appreciate. Certain it is that the action of this Government on the occasion, and its faithful performance of its own engagements, have been such as to entitle it to expect on the part of those who sought in their own interests a mutual understanding the most scrupulous adherence to their own promises. I feel constrained to inform you that in this expectation we have been disappointed, and that not only have the Governments which entered into these arrangements yielded to the prohibition against commerce with us which has been dictated by the United States, in defiance of the law of nations, but that this concession of their neutral rights to our detriment has on more than one occasion been claimed in intercourse with our enemies as an evidence of friendly feeling towards them. A few extracts from the correspondence of Her Majesty's Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will suffice to show marked encouragement to the United States to persevere in its paper blockade, and unmistakable intimations that Her Majesty's Government would not contest its validity.

On the 21st of May, 1861, Earl Russell pointed out to the United States' Minister in London that "the blockade might, no doubt, be made effective, considering the small number of harbours on the Southern coast, even though the extent of 3000 miles were comprehended in the terms of that blockade."

On the 14th of January, 1862, Her Majesty's Minister in Washington communicated to his Government that, in the extenuation of the barbarous attempt to destroy the port of Charleston by sinking a stone fleet in the harbour, Mr. Seward had explained "that the Government of the United States had last spring, with a navy very little prepared for so extensive an operation, undertaken to blockade upwards of 3000 miles of coast. The Secretary of the Navy had reported that he could stop up the 'large bores' by means of his ships, but that he could not stop up the 'small ones.' It had been found necessary, therefore, to close some of the numerous small inlets by sinking vessels in the channel."

On the 6th of May, 1862, so far from claiming the right of British subjects as neutrals to trade with us as belligerents, and to disregard the blockade on the ground of this explicit confession by our enemy of his inability to render it effective, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs claimed credit with the United States for friendly action in respecting it.

His lordship stated that the United States' Government, on the allegation of a rebellion pervading from nine to eleven States of the Union, "have now for more than twelve months endeavoured to maintain a blockade of 3000 miles of coast. This blockade, kept up irregularly, but, when enforced, enforced severely, has seriously injured the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom. Thousands are now obliged to resort to the poor-rates for subsistence, owing to the blockade. Yet Her Majesty's Government have never sought to take advantage of the obvious imperfections of this blockade in order to declare it ineffective. They have, to the loss and detriment of the British nation, scrupulously observed the duties of Great Britain towards a friendly State."

Again, on September 22, 1862, the same noble earl asserted that the United States were "very far indeed" from being in "a condition to ask other nations to assume that every port of the coasts of the so-styled Confederate States is effectively blockaded."

When, in view of these facts—of the obligations of the British nation to adhere to the pledges made by their Government at Paris in 1856, and renewed to the Confederacy in 1861—and of these repeated and explicit avowals of the imperfections, irregularity, and inefficiency of the pretended blockade of the coast, I directed our Commissioner at London to call upon the British Government to redeem its promise and to withhold its aid and sanction from the flagrant violation of public law committed by our enemies, we were informed that Her Majesty's Government could not regard the blockade of the Southern ports as having been otherwise than "practically effective" in February, 1862, and that "the manner in which it has since been enforced gives to neutral Governments no excuse for asserting that the blockade has not been efficiently maintained." We were further informed, when we insisted that by the terms of our agreement no blockade was to be considered effective unless "sufficient really to prevent access to our coast," that the Declaration of Paris was, in truth, directed against blockades not sustained by any actual force, such as the occasional appearance of a man-of-war in the offing, or the like.

It was impossible that this mode of construing an agreement, so as to make its terms mean almost the reverse of what they plainly conveyed, could be considered otherwise than as a notification of the refusal of the British Government to remain bound by its agreement, or longer to respect those articles of the Declaration of Paris which had been repeatedly denounced by British statesmen, and had been characterised by Earl Russell as "very imprudent" and "most unsatisfactory."

If any doubt remained of the motives by which the British Ministry have been actuated in their conduct, it would be completely dissipated by the distinct avowals and explanations contained in the published speech recently made by Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In commenting on the remonstrances of this Government against the countenance given to an ineffective blockade, the following language is used:—"It is said we have, contrary to the Declarations of Paris, contrary to international law, permitted the blockade of 3000 miles of American coast. It is quite true we did so, and the presumable cause of complaint is quite true, that although the blockade is kept up by a sufficient number of ships, yet these ships were sent into the United States' navy in a hurry, and are ill-fitted for the purpose, and did not keep up so completely and effectively as was required an effective blockade."

This unequivocal confession of violation both of agreement with us and of international law is defended on grounds the validity of which we submit with confidence to the candid judgment of mankind.

These grounds are thus stated:—"Still, looking at the law of nations, it was a blockade we, as a great belligerent Power, in former times should have acknowledged. We, ourselves, had a blockade of upwards of 2000 miles, and it did seem to me that we were bound, in justice to the Federal States of America, to acknowledge that blockade. But there was another reason which weighed with me. Our people were suffering severely for the want of that material which was the main staff of their industry, and it was a question of self-interest whether we should not break the blockade. But, in my opinion, the men of England would have been for ever infamous if, for the sake of their own interest, they had violated the law of nations and made war in conjunction with these slaveholding States of America against the Federal States."

In the second of these reasons our rights are not involved, although it may be permitted to observe that the conduct of Governments has not heretofore, to my knowledge, been guided by the principle that it is infamous to assert their rights whenever the invasion of those rights create severe suffering among their people, and injuriously effects great interests. But the intimation that relations with these States would be discreditable because they are slaveholding, would probably have been omitted if the official personage who has published it to the world had remembered that these States were, when colonies, made slaveholding by the direct exercise of the power of Great Britain, whose dependencies they were, and whose interests in the slave trade were then supposed to require that her colonies should be made slave-holding.

But the other ground stated is of a very grave character. It asserts that a violation of the law of nations by Great Britain in 1807, when that Government declared a paper blockade of 2000 miles of coast (a violation then defended by her courts and jurists on the sole ground that her action was retaliatory), affords a justification for a similar outrage on neutral rights by the United States in 1861, for which no palliation can be suggested; and that Great Britain "is bound, in justice to the Federal States," to make return for the war



waged against her by the United States, in resistance of her illegal blockade in 1807, by an acquiescence in the Federal illegal blockade of 1861. The most alarming feature in this statement is its admission of a just claim on the part of the United States to require of Great Britain during this war a disregard of the recognised principles of modern public law and of her own compacts whenever any questionable conduct of Great Britain "in former times" can be cited as a precedent. It is not inconsistent with respect and admiration for the great people whose Government have given us this warning to suggest that their history, like that of mankind in general, offers exceptional instances of indefensible conduct "in former times;" and we may well deny the morality of violating recent engagements through deference to the evil precedents of the past.

After defending in the manner just stated the course of the British Government on the subject of the blockade, Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary takes care to leave no doubt of the further purpose of the British Government to prevent our purchase of vessels in Great Britain, while supplying our enemies with rifles and other munitions of war, and states the intention to apply to Parliament for the furtherance of this design. He gives to the United States the assurance that he will do in their favour not only "everything that the law of nations requires, everything that the present Foreign Enlistment Act requires," but that he will ask the sanction of Parliament "to further measures that Her Majesty's Ministers may still add." This language is so unmistakably an official exposition of the policy adopted by the British Government in relation to our affairs, that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution, of giving you from time to time "information of the state of the Confederacy" would not have been performed if I had failed to place it distinctly before you.

I refer you for fuller details on this whole subject to the correspondence of the State Department, which accompanies this message. The facts which I have briefly narrated are, I trust, sufficient to enable you to appreciate the true nature of the neutrality professed in this war. It is not in my power to apprise you to what extent the Government of France shares the views so unreservedly avowed by that of Great Britain, no published correspondence of the French Government on the subject having been received. No public protest nor opposition, however, has been made by his Imperial Majesty against the prohibition to trade with us imposed on French citizens by the paper blockade of the United States, although I have reason to believe that an unsuccessful attempt was made on his part to secure the assent of the British Government to a course of action more consonant with the dictates of public law and with the demands of justice towards us.

The partiality of Her Majesty's Government in favour of our enemies has been further evinced in the marked difference of its conduct on the subject of the purchase of supplies by the two belligerents. This difference has been conspicuous since the very commencement of the war. As early as the 1st of May, 1861, the British Minister in Washington was informed by the Secretary of State of the United States that he had sent agents to England, and that others would go to France, to purchase arms; and this fact was communicated to the British Foreign Office, which interposed no objection. Yet in October of the same year Earl Russell entertained the complaint of the United States' Minister in London, that the Confederate States were importing contraband of war from the island of Nassau, directed inquiry into the matter, and obtained a report from the authorities of the island denying the allegations, which report was enclosed to Mr. Adams, and received by him as satisfactory evidence to dissipate "the suspicions naturally thrown upon the authorities of Nassau by that unwarrantable act." So, too, when the Confederate Government purchased in Great Britain, as a neutral country (and with strict observance both of the law of nations and the municipal law of Great Britain), vessels which were subsequently armed and commissioned as vessels of war, after they had been far removed from English waters, the British Government, in violation of its own laws and in deference to the importunate demands of the United States, made an ineffectual attempt to seize one vessel, and did actually seize and detain another which touched at the island of Nassau, on her way to a Confederate port, and subjected her to an unfounded prosecution at the very time when cargoes of munitions of war were being openly shipped from British ports to New York to be used in warfare against us. Even now the public journals bring intelligence that the British Government has ordered the seizure, in a British port, of two vessels, on the suspicion that they have been sold to this Government, and that they may be hereafter armed and equipped in our service; while British subjects are engaged in Ireland by tens of thousands to proceed to the United States for warfare against the Confederacy, in defiance both of the law of nations and of the express terms of the British statutes, and are transported in British ships, without an effort at concealment, to the ports of the United States; there to be armed with rifles imported from Great Britain, and to be employed against our people in a war for conquest. No Royal prerogative is invoked, no executive interference is interposed against this flagrant breach of municipal and international law on the part of our enemies; while strained constructions are placed on existing statutes, new enactments proposed, and questionable expedients devised for precluding the possibility of purchase by this Government of vessels that are useless for belligerent purposes, unless hereafter armed and equipped outside the neutral jurisdiction of Great Britain.

For nearly three years this Government has exercised unquestioned jurisdiction over many millions of willing and united people. It has met and defeated vast armies of invaders, who have in vain sought its subversion. Supported by the confidence and affection of its citizens, the Confederacy has lacked no element which distinguishes an independent nation, according to the principles of public law. Its legislative, executive, and judicial departments, each in its sphere, have performed their appropriate functions with a regularity as undisturbed as in a time of profound peace, and the whole energies of the people have been developed in the organisation of vast armies, while their rights and liberties have rested secure under the protection of the courts of justice. This Confederacy is either independent, or it is a dependency, of the United States, for no other earthly power claims the right to govern it. Without one historic fact on which the pretension can rest, without one line or word of treaty or covenant which can give colour to title, the United States have asserted, and the British Government has chosen to concede that these sovereign States are dependencies of the Government which is administered at Washington. Great Britain has accordingly entertained with that Government the closest and most intimate relations, while refusing, on its demand, ordinary amicable intercourse with us, and has, under arrangements made with the other nations of Europe, not only denied our just claim of admission into the family of nations, but interposed a passive, though effectual, bar to the acknowledgment

of our rights by other Powers. So soon as it had become apparent, by the declarations of the British Ministers in the debates of the British Parliament in July last, that Her Majesty's Government was determined to persist indefinitely in a course of policy which, under professions of neutrality, had become subservient to the design of our enemy, I felt it my duty to recall the Commissioners formerly accredited to that Court, and the correspondence on the subject is submitted to you.

It is due to you and to our country that this full statement should be made of the just grounds which exist for dissatisfaction with the conduct of the British Government. I am well aware that we are unfortunately without adequate remedy for the injustice under which we have suffered at the hands of a powerful nation, at a juncture when our entire resources are absorbed in the defence of our lives, liberties, and independence, against an enemy possessed of greatly superior numbers and material resources. Claiming no favour, desiring no aid, conscious of our own ability to defend our own rights against the utmost efforts of an infuriated foe, we had thought it not extravagant to expect that assistance would be withheld from our enemies, and that the conduct of foreign nations would be marked by a genuine impartiality between the belligerents. It was not supposed that a professed neutrality would be so conducted as to justify the Foreign Secretary of the British nation in explaining, in correspondence with our enemies, how "the impartial observance of neutral obligations by Her Majesty's Government has thus been exceedingly advantageous to the cause of the more powerful of the two contending parties." The British Government may deem this war a favourable occasion for establishing, by the temporary sacrifice of their neutral rights, a precedent which shall justify the future exercise of those extreme belligerent pretensions that their naval power render so formidable. The opportunity for obtaining the tacit assent of European Governments to a line of conduct which ignores the obligations of the Declaration of Paris, and treats that instrument rather as a theoretical exposition of principles than a binding agreement, may be considered by the British Ministry as justifying them in seeking a great advantage for their own country at the expense of ours. But we cannot permit, without protest, the assertion that international law or morals regard as "impartial neutrality" conduct avowed to be "exceedingly advantageous" to one of the belligerents.

I have stated that we are without adequate remedy against the injustice under which we suffer. There are but two measures that seem applicable to the present condition of our relations with neutral Powers. One is, to imitate the wrong of which we complain, to retaliate by the declaration of a paper blockade of the coast of the United States, and to capture all neutral vessels trading with their ports that our cruisers can intercept on the high seas. This measure I cannot recommend. It is true that in so doing we should but follow the precedents set by Great Britain and France in the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in council at the beginning of the present century. But it must be remembered that we ourselves protested against these very measures as signal violations of the law of nations, and declared the attempt to excuse them on the ground of their being retaliatory utterly insufficient. These blockades are now quoted by writers on public law as a standing reproach on the good name of the nations who were betrayed by temporary exasperation into wrong-doing, and ought to be regarded rather as errors to be avoided than as examples to be followed.

The other measure is not open to this objection. The second article of the Declaration of Paris, which provides "that the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war," was a new concession by belligerents in favour of neutrals, and not simply the enunciation of an acknowledged pre-existing rule, like the fourth article which referred to blockades. To this concession we bound ourselves by the convention with Great Britain and France, which took the shape of the resolutions adopted by your predecessors on the 13th August, 1861. The consideration tendered us for that concession has been withheld. We have, therefore, the undeniable right to refuse longer to remain bound by a compact which the other party refuses to fulfil. But we should not forget that war is but temporary, and that we desire that peace shall be permanent. The future policy of the Confederacy must ever be to uphold neutral rights to their full extent. The principles of the Declaration of Paris commend themselves to our judgment as more just, more humane, and more consonant with modern civilisation than those belligerent pretensions which great naval Powers have heretofore sought to introduce into the maritime code. To forego our undeniable right to the exercise of those pretensions is a policy higher, worthier of us and of our cause, than to revoke our adhesion to principles that we approve. Let our hope for redress rest rather on a returning sense of justice, which cannot fail to awaken a great people to the consciousness that the war in which we are engaged ought rather to be made a reason for forbearance of advantage than an occasion for the unfriendly conduct of which we make just complaint.

#### MEXICO.

The events of the last year have produced important changes in the condition of our Southern neighbour. The occupation of the capital of Mexico by the French army, and the establishment of a Provisional Government, followed by a radical change in the Constitution of the country, have excited lively interest. Although preferring our own Government and institutions to those of other countries, we can have no disposition to contest the exercise by them of the same right of self-government which we assert for ourselves. If the Mexican people prefer a monarchy to a republic it is our plain duty cheerfully to acquiesce in their decision, and to evince a sincere and friendly interest in their prosperity. If, however, the Mexicans prefer maintaining their former institutions we have no reason to apprehend any obstacle to the free exercise of their choice. The Emperor of the French has solemnly disclaimed any purpose to impose on Mexico a form of government not acceptable to the nation, and the eminent personage to whom the throne has been tendered declines its acceptance, unless the offer be sanctioned by the suffrages of the people. In either event, therefore, we may confidently expect the continuance of those peaceful relations which have been maintained on the frontier, and even a large development of the commerce already existing to the mutual advantage of the two countries.

It has been found necessary since your adjournment to take action on the subject of certain foreign consuls within the Confederacy. The nature of this action, and the reasons on which it was based, are so fully exhibited in the correspondence of the State Department which is transmitted to you, that no additional comment is required.

In connection with this subject of our relations with foreign countries, it is deemed opportune to communicate my views in reference to the treaties made by the Government of the United States at a date anterior to our separation, and which

were consequently binding on us as well as foreign Powers when the separation took effect. It was partly with a view to entering into such arrangements as the change in our Government had made necessary that we felt it our duty to send Commissioners abroad, for the purpose of entering into the negotiations proper to fix the relative rights and obligations of the parties to those treaties. As this tender on our part has been declined, as foreign nations have refused us the benefit of the treaties to which we were parties, they certainly have ceased to be binding on us, and, in my opinion, our relations with European nations are, therefore, now controlled exclusively by the general rules of the law of nations. It is proper to add that these remarks are intended to apply solely to treaty obligations toward foreign Governments, and have no reference to rights of individuals.

#### FINANCES.

The state of the public finances is such as to demand your earliest and most earnest attention. I need hardly say that a prompt and efficacious remedy for the present condition of the currency is necessary to the successful performance of the functions of Government. Fortunately, the resources of our country are so ample, and the spirit of our people so devoted to its cause, that they are ready to make any necessary contribution. Relief is thus entirely within our reach if we have the wisdom to legislate in such manner as to render available the means at our disposal.

At the commencement of the war we were far from anticipating the magnitude and duration of the struggle in which we were engaged. The most sagacious foresight could not have predicted that the passions of the Northern people would lead them blindly to the sacrifice of life, treasure, and liberty in so vain a hope as that of subjugating thirteen independent States, inhabited by many millions of people, whose birthright of freedom is dearer to them than life. A long exemption from direct taxation by the general Government had created an aversion to its raising revenue by any other means than by duties on imports: and it was supposed that these duties would be ample for current peace expenditure, while the means for conducting the war could be raised almost exclusively by the use of the public credit.

The first action of the Provisional Congress was, therefore, confined to passing a tariff law and to raising a sum of \$15,000,000 by loan, with a pledge of a small export duty on cotton, to provide for the redemption of the debt.

At its second Session war was declared to exist between the Confederacy and the United States, and provision was made for the issue of \$20,000,000 in Treasury notes, and for borrowing \$30,000,000 on bonds. The tariff was revised, and preparatory measures taken to enable the Congress to levy internal taxation at its succeeding Session. These laws were passed in May, and the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas having joined the Confederacy, the Congress adjourned to meet in the city of Richmond in the following month of July.

Prior to the assembling of your predecessors in Richmond at their third Session, near the end of July, 1861, the President of the United States had developed in his Message the purpose "to make the contest a short and decisive one," and had called on Congress for 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. The Congress had exceeded the executive recommendation, and had authorised the levy of half a million of volunteers, besides largely increasing the regular land and naval forces of the United States. The necessity thus first became urgent that a financial scheme should be devised on a basis sufficiently large for the vast proportions of the contest with which we were threatened. Knowing that the struggle, instead of being "short and decisive," would be indefinite in duration, and could only end when the United States should awaken from their delusion of conquest, a permanent system was required, fully adapted to the great exigencies before us.

The plan devised by Congress at that time was based on the theory of issuing Treasury notes convertible at the pleasure of the holder into Eight per Cent. Bonds, the interest of which was to be payable in coin, and it was correctly assumed that any tendency to depreciation that might arise from over issue of the currency would be checked by the constant exercise of the holder's right to fund the notes at a liberal interest, payable in specie. This system depended for success on the continued ability of Government to pay the interest in specie; and means were, therefore, provided for that purpose in the law authorising the issues. An internal tax, termed a war tax, was levied, the proceeds of which, together with the revenue from imports, were deemed sufficient for the object designed. This scheme required for its operation that our commerce with foreign nations should not be suspended. It was not to be anticipated that such suspension would be permitted otherwise than by an effective blockade; and it was absurd to suppose that a blockade "sufficient really to prevent access" to our entire coast could be maintained.

We had the means, therefore (if neutral nations had not combined to aid our enemies by the sanction of an illegal prohibition on their commerce), to secure the receipt into the Treasury of coin sufficient to pay the interest on the bonds, and thus maintain the Treasury note at rates nearly equal to par in specie. So long as the interest continued to be thus paid with the reserve of coin pre-existing in our country, experience sustained the expectations of those who devised the system. Thus, on the 1st of the following December, coin had only reached a premium of about 20 per cent., although it had already become apparent that the commerce of the country was threatened with permanent suspension, by reason of the conduct of neutral nations, and that the necessary result must be the exhaustion of our specie reserve. Wheat, in the beginning of the year 1862, was selling at \$1.30c. per bushel—not exceeding, therefore, its average price in time of peace. The other agricultural products of the country were at similar moderate rates—thus indicating that there was no excess of circulation, and that the rate of premium on specie was heightened by the exceptional causes which tended to its exhaustion without the possibility of renewing the supply.

This review of the policy of your predecessors is given in justice to them, and it exhibits the condition of the finances at the date when the permanent Government was organised.

In the meantime, popular aversion to internal taxation by the general Government had influenced the legislation of the several States, and in only three of them, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas, were the taxes actually collected from the people. The quotas devolving upon the remaining States had been raised by the issue of bonds and State Treasury notes, and the public debt of the country was thus actually increased, instead of being diminished, by the taxation imposed by Congress.

Neither at the first nor second Session of the present Congress were means provided by taxation for maintaining the Government, the legislation being confined to authorising further sales of bonds and issues of Treasury notes. Although repeated efforts were made to frame a proper system of taxation, you were confronted with an obstacle which did not exist



for your predecessors, and which created grave embarrassment in devising any scheme of taxation. About two-thirds of the entire taxable property of the Confederate States consist of lands and slaves. The general power of taxation vested in Congress by the Provisional Constitution (which was to be only temporary in its operations) was not restricted by any other condition than that "all duties, imposts, and excises should be uniform throughout the States of the Confederacy." But the permanent Constitution, sanctioning the principle that taxation and representation ought to rest on the same basis, specially provides that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all slaves."

It was further ordered that a census should be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress, and that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken."

It is plain that, under these provisions, capitation and direct taxes must be levied in proportion to the census when made. It is also plain that the duty is imposed on Congress to provide for making a census prior to the 22nd of February, 1865. It may further be stated that, according to the received construction of the Constitution of the United States (a construction acquiesced in for upwards of sixty years), taxes on lands and slaves are direct taxes, and the conclusion seems necessarily to be that, in repeating without modification in our Constitution this language of the Constitution of 1787, our convention intended to attach to it the meaning which had been sanctioned by long and uninterrupted acquiescence.

So long as there seemed a probability of being able to carry out these provisions of the Constitution in their entirety, and in conformity with the intentions of its authors, there was an obvious difficulty of framing any system of taxation. A law which should exempt from the burden two-thirds of the property of the country would be as unfair to the owners of the remaining third as it would be inadequate to meet the requirements of the public service.

The urgency of the need was such, however, that, after very great embarrassment and more than three months of assiduous labour, you succeeded in framing the law of the 24th of April, 1863, by which you sought to reach, so far as was practicable, every resource of the country, except the capital invested in real estate and slaves, and by means of an income-tax and a tax in kind on the produce of the soil, as well as by licences on business occupations and professions, to command resources sufficient for the wants of the country. But a very large proportion of these resources could only be made available at the close of the present and the commencement of the ensuing year, while the intervening exigencies permitted no delay. In this state of affairs, superinduced almost unavoidably by the fortunes of the war in which we are engaged, the issues of Treasury notes have been increased until the currency in circulation amounts to more than \$600,000,000, or more than threefold the amount required by the business of the country.

I need not enlarge upon the evil effects of this condition of things. They are, unfortunately, but too apparent. In addition to the difficulty presented to the necessary operations of the Government, and the efficient conduct of the war, the most deplorable of all its results has been its corrupting influence on the morals of the people. The possession of large amounts of Treasury notes has naturally led to a desire for investment, and, with a constantly-increasing volume of currency, there has been an equally constant increase of price in all objects of investment. This effect has stimulated purchase by the apparent certainty of profit, and a spirit of speculation has been fostered, which has so debasing an influence and such ruinous consequences that it is our highest duty to remove the cause, and no measures directed to that end can be too prompt or too stringent.

Reverting to the constitutional provisions already cited, the question recurs whether it be possible to execute the duty of apportioning taxation in accordance with the census ordered to be made as a basis. So long as this appeared to be practicable none can deny the propriety of your course in abstaining from the imposition of direct taxes till you could exercise the power in the precise mode pointed out by the terms of the fundamental law. But it is obvious that there are many duties imposed by the Constitution which depend for their fulfilment on the undisturbed possession of the territory within which they are to be performed. The same instrument which orders a census to be made in all the States imposes the duty on the Confederacy "to guarantee to every State a Republican form of government." It enjoins on us "to protect each State from invasion;" and while declaring that its great objects and purposes are "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," it confers the means and thereby imposes on us the paramount duty of effecting its intent by "laying and collecting taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States."

None would pretend that the Constitution is violated because, by reason of the presence of hostile armies, we are unable to guarantee a Republican form of government to those States or portions of States now temporarily held by the enemy, and as little justice would there be in imputing blame for the failure to make the census, when that failure is attributable to causes not foreseen by the authors of the Constitution, and beyond our control. The general intent of our constitutional charter is unquestionably that the property of the country is to be taxed in order to raise revenue for the common defence, and the special mode provided for levying this tax is impracticable from unforeseen causes. It is, in my judgment, our primary duty to execute the general intent expressed by the terms of the instrument which we have sworn to obey; and we cannot excuse ourselves for the failure to fulfil this obligation on the ground that we are unable to perform it in the precise mode pointed out. Whenever it shall be possible to execute our duty in all its parts we must do so in exact compliance with the whole letter and spirit of the Constitution. Until that period shall arrive we must execute so much of it as our condition renders practicable. Whenever the withdrawal of the enemy shall place it in our power to make a census and apportionment of direct taxes, any other mode of levying them will be contrary to the will of the law-giver and incompatible with our obligation to obey that will; until that period the alternative left is to obey the paramount precept and to execute it according to the only other rule provided, which is to "make the tax uniform throughout the Confederate States."

The considerations just presented are greatly enforced by the reflection that any attempt to apportion taxes among States some of which are wholly or partially in the occupation of

hostile forces would subvert the whole intention of the framers of the Constitution and be productive of the most revolting injustice, instead of that just correlation between taxation and representation which it was their purpose to secure. With large portions of some of the States occupied by the enemy, what justice would there be in imposing on the remainder the whole amount of the taxation of the entire State in proportion to its representation? What else would this be in effect than to increase the burden of those who are the heaviest sufferers by the war, and to make our own inability to protect them from the invasion, as we are required to do by the Constitution, the ground for adding to their losses by an attempted adherence to the letter, in violation of the spirit, of that instrument? No such purpose would have been entertained, and no such result contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. It may add weight to these considerations if we reflect that although the Constitution provided that it should go into operation with a representation temporarily distributed among the States, it expressly ordains, after providing for a census within three years, that this temporary distribution of representative power to endure "until such enumeration shall be made." Would any one argue that because the census cannot be made within the fixed period the Government must at the expiration of that period perish for the want of a representative body? In any aspect in which the subject can be viewed I am led to the conclusion already announced, and which is understood to be in accordance with a vote taken in one or both Houses at your last Session. I shall, therefore, until we are able to pursue the precise mode required by the Constitution, deem it my duty to approve any law levying the taxation which you are bound to impose for the defence of the country, or of any other practicable mode which shall distribute the burden uniformly and impartially on the whole property of the people.

In your former legislation you have sought to avoid the increase in the volume of notes in circulation by offering inducements to voluntary funding. The measures adopted for that purpose have been but partially successful, and the evil has now reached such a magnitude as to permit no other remedy than the compulsory reduction of the currency to the amount required by the business of the country. This reduction should be accompanied by a pledge that under no stress of circumstances will that amount be exceeded. No possible mode of using the credit of the Government can be so disastrous as one which disturbs the basis of all exchanges, renders impossible all calculations of future values, augments in constantly increasing proportions the price of all commodities, and so depreciates all fixed wages, salaries, and incomes as to render them inadequate to bare subsistence. If to these be added the still more fatal influence on the morals and character of the people, to which I have already adverted, I am persuaded you will concur in the conclusion that an inflexible adherence to a limitation of the currency at a fixed sum is an indispensable element of any system of finance now to be adopted.

The holders of the currency now outstanding can only be protected in the recovery of their just claims by substituting for their notes some other security. If the currency is not greatly and promptly reduced, the present scale of inflated prices will not only continue to exist, but by the very fact of the large amounts thus made requisite in the conduct of the war, those prices will reach rates still more extravagant, and the whole system will fall under its own weight, thus rendering the redemption of the debt impossible, and destroying its whole value in the hands of the holder. If, on the contrary, a funded debt, with interest secured by adequate taxation, can be substituted for the outstanding currency, its entire amount will be made available to the holder, and the Government will be in a condition enabling it beyond the reach of any probable contingency to prosecute the war to a successful issue. It is, therefore, demanded, as well by the interest of the creditor as of the country at large, that the evidences of the public debt now outstanding in the shape of Treasury notes be converted into bonds bearing adequate interest, with a provision for taxation sufficient to insure punctual payment, and final redemption of the whole debt.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury presents the outlines of a system which, in conjunction with existing legislation, is intended to secure the several objects of a reduction of the circulation within fixed, reasonable limits; of providing for the future wants of the Government; of furnishing security for the punctual payment of interest, and final extinction of the principal of the public debt, and of placing the whole business of the country on a basis as near a specie standard as is possible during the continuance of the war. I earnestly recommend it to your consideration, and that no delay be permitted to intervene before your action on this vital subject. I trust that it will be suffered to engross your attention until you shall have disposed of it in a manner best adapted to attain the important results which your country anticipates from your legislation.

It may be added that, in considering this subject, the people ought steadily to keep in view, that the Government in contracting debt, is but their agent, that its debt is their debt. As the currency is held exclusively by ourselves, it is obvious that, if each person held Treasury notes in exact proportion to the value of his whole means, each would, in fact, owe himself the amount of the notes held by him, and were it possible to distribute the currency among the people in this exact proportion, a tax levied on the currency alone to an amount sufficient to reduce it to proper limits would afford the best of all remedies. Under such circumstances the notes remaining in the hands of each holder after the payment of his tax would be worth quite as much as the whole sum previously held, for it would purchase at least an equal amount of commodities. This result cannot be perfectly attained by any device of legislation, but it can be approximated by taxation. A tax on all values has for its effect not only to impose a due share of the burden on the noteholder, but to force those who have few or none of the notes to part with a share of their possessions to those who hold the notes in excess, in order to obtain the means of satisfying the demands of the tax-gatherer. This is the only mode by which it is practicable to make all contribute as equally as possible in the burden which all are bound to share, and it is for this reason that taxation adequate to the public exigencies under our present circumstances must be the basis of any funding system, or other remedy for restoring stability to our finances.

THE ARMY.  
To the Report of the Secretary of War you are referred for details relative to the condition of the army and the measures of legislation required for maintaining its efficiency, recruiting its numbers, and furnishing the supplies necessary for its support.

Though we have lost many of the best of our soldiers and most patriotic of our citizens (the sad but unavoidable result of the battles and toils of such a campaign as that which will render the year 1863 ever memorable in our annals), the army is believed to be in all respects in better condition than at any previous period of the war. Our gallant defenders, now veterans, familiar with danger, hardened by exposure,

and confident in themselves and their officers, endure privations with cheerful fortitude, and welcome battle with alacrity. The officers, by experience in field service, and the action of examining boards in relieving the incompetent, are now greatly more efficient than at the commencement of the war. The assertion is believed to be fully justified, that, regarded as a whole, for character, valour, efficiency, and patriotic devotion, our army has not been equalled by any like number of troops in the history of war.

In view of the large conscription recently ordered by the enemy, and their subsequent call for volunteers, to be followed, if ineffectual, by a still further draught, we are admonished that no effort must be spared to add largely to our effective force as promptly as possible. The sources of supply are to be found by restoring to the army all who are improperly absent, putting an end to substitution, modifying the exemption law, restricting details, and placing in the ranks such of the able-bodied men now employed as wagoners, nurses, cooks, and other employes as are doing service for which the negroes may be found competent.

The Act of the 16th of April, 1862, provides "that persons not liable for duty may be received as substitutes for those who are, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War." The policy of granting this privilege has not been sustained by experience. Not only has the numerical strength of the army been seriously impaired by the frequent desertions for which such substitutes have become notorious, but dissatisfaction has been excited among those who have been unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of avoiding the military service of their country.

I fully concur in the opinion expressed by the Secretary, that there is no ground for the objection that a new provision, to include those who furnished substitutes under the former call, would be a breach of contract. To accept a substitute was to confer a privilege, not to enter into a contract; and whenever the substitute is rendered liable to conscription it would seem to follow that the principal, whose place he had taken, should respond for him, as the Government had received no consideration for his exemption. Where, however, the new provision of law would fail to embrace a substitute now in the ranks, there appears, if the principal should again be conscripted, to be an equitable ground for compensation to the conscript, who then would have added to the service a soldier not otherwise liable to enrolment.

On the subject of exemptions it is believed that abuses cannot be checked unless the system is placed on a basis entirely different from that now provided by law. The object of your legislation has been, not to confer privileges on classes, but to exonerate from military duty such number of persons skilled in the various trades, professions, and mechanical pursuits as could render more valuable services to their country by labouring in their present occupation than by going into the ranks of the army. The policy is unquestionable, but the result would, it is thought, be better obtained by enrolling all such persons, and allowing details to be made of the number necessary to meet the wants of the country. Considerable numbers are believed to be now exempted from the military service who are not needful to the public in their civil vocation.

Certain duties are now performed throughout the country by details from the army which could be as well executed by persons above the present conscript age. An extension of the limit, so as to embrace persons over forty-five years, and physically fit for service in guarding posts, railroads, and bridges, in apprehending deserters, and, where practicable, assuming the place of younger men detailed for duty with the nitre, ordnance, commissary and quartermasters' bureau of the War Department, would, it is hoped, add largely to the effective force in the field without an undue burden on the population.

If to the above measures be added a law to enlarge the policy of the Act of the 21st April, 1862, so as to enable the department to replace not only enlisted cooks, but wagoners and other employes in the army, by negroes, it is hoped that the ranks of the army will be so strengthened for the ensuing campaign as to put at defiance the utmost efforts of the enemy.

In order to maintain unimpaired the existing organisation of the army until the close of the war, your legislation contemplated a frequent supply of recruits, and it was expected that before the expiration of three years, for which the men were enrolled under the Act of the 16th of April, 1862, the majority of men in each company would consist of those who joined it at different dates subsequent to the original muster of the company into service, and that the discharge of those who had completed their term would at no time be sufficient to leave the company with a less number than is required to enable it to retain organisation. The difficulty of obtaining recruits from certain localities, and the large number of exemptions from military service granted by different laws, have prevented sufficient accessions in many of the companies to preserve their organisation after the discharge of the original members. The advantage of retaining tried and well approved officers, and of mingling recruits with experienced soldiers, is so obvious, and the policy of such a course is so clearly indicated, that it is not deemed necessary to point out the evil consequences which would result from the destruction of the old organisations, or to dwell upon the benefits to be secured from filling up the veteran companies as long before the discharge of the early members as may be possible. In the cases where it may be found impracticable to maintain regiments in sufficient strength to justify the retention of the present organisation, economy and efficiency would be promoted by consolidation and reorganisation. This would involve the necessity of disbanding a part of the officers, and making regulations for securing the most judicious selection of those who are retained, while least wounding the feelings of those who are discharged.

Experience has shown the necessity for further legislation in relation to the horses of the cavalry. Many men lose their horses by casualties of service, which are not included in the provisions made to compensate the owner for the loss, and it may thus not unfrequently happen that the most efficient troopers, without fault of their own—indeed, it may be because of their zeal and activity—are lost to the cavalry service.

It would also seem proper that the Government should have complete control over every horse mustered into the service, with the limitation that the owner should not be deprived of his horse except upon due compensation being made therefor.

Otherwise, mounted men may not keep horses fit for the service; and whether they should serve mounted or on foot would depend, not upon the qualifications of the men, but the fact of their having horses.

Some provision is deemed requisite to correct the evils arising from the long continued absence of commissioned officers. Where it is without sufficient cause it would seem but just that the commission should be thereby vacated.

Where it results from capture by the enemy, which, under their barbarous refusal to exchange prisoners of war, may be regarded as absence for an indefinite time, there is a necessity



to support their places in their respective commands. This might be done by temporary appointments, to endure only until the return of the officers regularly commissioned. Where it results from permanent disability incurred in the line of their duty it would be proper to retire them, and fill the vacancies according to established mode. I would also suggest the organisation of an invalid corps, and that the retired officers be transferred to it. Such a corps, it is thought, could be made useful in various employments for which efficient officers and troops are now detached.

An organisation of the general staff of the army would be highly conducive to the efficiency of that most important branch of the service. The plan adopted for the military establishment furnishes a model for the staff of the provisional army, if it be deemed advisable to retain the distinction; but I recommend to your consideration the propriety of abolishing it, and providing for the organisation of the several staff corps, in such number and with such rank as will meet the wants of the service. To secure the requisite ability for the more important positions, it will be necessary to provide for officers of higher rank than is now authorised for these corps. To give to the officers the proper relation and co-intelligence in their respective corps, and to preserve in the chief of each, useful influence and control over his subordinates, there should be no gradation on the basis of the rank of the general with whom they might be serving by appointment. To the personal staff of a general it would seem proper to give a grade corresponding with his rank, and the number might be fixed to correspond with his command. To avoid the consequences of discharge upon a change of duty the variable portion of the personal staff might be taken from the line of the army, and allowed to retain their line commissions.

The disordered condition of the currency, to which I have already alluded, has imposed on the Government a system of supplying the wants of the army, which is so unequal in its operation, vexatious to the producer, injurious to the industrial interest, and productive of such discontent among the people, as only to be justified by the existence of an absolute necessity. The report of the Secretary on this point establishes conclusively that the necessity which has forced the bureaux of supply to provide for the army by impressment has resulted from the impossibility of purchase by contract or in the open market, except at such rapidly increased rates as would have rendered the appropriations inadequate to the wants of the army. Indeed, it is believed that the temptation to hoard supplies for the higher prices which could be anticipated with certainty, has been checked mainly by the fear of the operation of the impressment laws; and that commodities have been offered in the markets principally to escape impressment and obtain higher rates than those fixed by appraisement. The complaints against this vicious system had been well-founded, but the true cause of the evil has been misapprehended. The remedy is to be found, not in a change of the impressment law, but in the restoration of the currency to such a basis as will enable the department to purchase necessary supplies in the open market, and thus render impressment a rare exceptional process.

The same remedy will effect the result universally desired, of an augmentation of the pay of the army. The proposals made at our previous Sessions to increase the pay of the soldier by an additional amount of Treasury notes, would have conferred little benefit on him; but a radical reform of the currency will restore the pay to a value approximating that which it originally had, and materially improve his condition.

The reports from the Ordnance and Mining Bureaux are very gratifying, and the extension of our means of supply of arms and munitions of war from our home resources has been such as to insure our ability soon to become mainly, if not entirely, independent of supplies from foreign countries. The establishments for the casting of guns and projectiles, for the manufacture of small arms and of gunpowder, for the supply of nitre from artificial nitre beds, and mining operations generally, have been so distributed throughout the country as to place our resources beyond the reach of partial disasters.

The recommendations of the Secretary of War on other points are minutely detailed in his report, which is submitted to you, and extending, as they do, to almost every branch of the service, merit careful consideration.

#### EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

I regret to inform you that the enemy have returned to the barbarous policy with which they inaugurated the war, and that the exchange of prisoners has been for some time suspended. The correspondence of the Commissioners of Exchange is submitted to you by the Secretary of War, and it has already been published for the information of all now suffering useless imprisonment. The conduct of the authorities of the United States has been consistently perfidious on this subject. An agreement for exchange in the incipency of the war had just been concluded when the fall of Fort Donnellson reversed the previous state of things, and gave them an excess of prisoners. The agreement was immediately repudiated by them, and so remained until the fortune of war again placed us in possession of the larger number. A new cartel was then made, and under it for many months we restored to them many thousands of prisoners in excess of those whom they held for exchange, and encampments of the surplus paroled prisoners delivered up by us were established in the United States, where the men were able to receive the comforts and solace of constant communication with their homes and families. In July last the fortune of war again favoured the enemy, and they were enabled to exchange for duty the men previously delivered to them against those captured and paroled at Vicksburg and Fort Hudson. The prisoners taken at Gettysburg, however, remained in their hands, and should have been returned to our lines on parole, to await exchange. Instead of executing a duty imposed by the plainest dictates of justice and good faith, pretences were instantly sought for holding them in permanent captivity. General orders rapidly succeeded each other from the bureaux at Washington, placing new constructions on an agreement which had given rise to no dispute while we retained the advantage in the number of prisoners. With a disregard of honourable obligations almost unexampled, the enemy did not hesitate, in addition to retaining the prisoners captured by them, to declare null the paroles given by the prisoners captured by us in the same series of engagements, and liberated on condition of not again serving until exchanged. They have since openly insisted on treating the paroles given by their own soldiers as invalid, and those of our soldiers, given under precisely similar circumstances, as binding. A succession of similar unjust pretensions has been set up in a correspondence tediously prolonged, and every device employed to cover the disregard of an obligation which between belligerent nations is only to be enforced by a sense of honour.

No further comment is needed on this subject, but it may be permitted to direct your special attention to the close of the correspondence submitted to you, from which you will perceive that the final proposal made by the enemy, in settle-

ment of all disputes under the cartel, is that we should liberate all prisoners held by us without the offer to release from captivity any of those held by them.

In the meantime a systematic and concerted effort has been made to quiet the complaints in the United States of those relatives and friends of the prisoners in our hands who are unable to understand why the cartel is not executed in their favour, by the groundless assertion that we are the parties who refuse compliance. Attempts are also made to shield themselves from the execration excited by their own odious treatment of our officers and soldiers now captive in their hands, by mis-statements, such as that the prisoners held by us are deprived of food. To this last accusation the conclusive answer has been made, that in accordance with our law and the general orders of the department, the rations of the prisoners are precisely the same, in quantity and quality, as those served out to our own gallant soldiers in the field, and which have been found sufficient to support them in their arduous campaign; while it is not pretended by the enemy that they treat prisoners by the same generous rule. By an indulgence, perhaps unprecedented, we have even allowed the prisoners in our hands to be supplied by their friends at home with comforts not enjoyed by the men who captured them in battle. In contrast to this treatment, the most revolting inhumanity has characterised the conduct of the United States towards prisoners held by them. One prominent fact, which admits no denial nor palliation, must suffice as a test. The officers of our army—natives of Southern and semi-tropical climates, and unprepared for the cold of a Northern winter—have been conveyed for imprisonment, during the rigours of the present season, to the most northern and exposed situation that could be selected by the enemy. There, beyond the reach of comforts, and often even of news from home and family, exposed to the piercing cold of the Northern lakes, they are held by men who cannot be ignorant of, even if they do not design, the probable result. How many of our unfortunate friends and comrades, who have passed unscathed through numerous battles, will perish on Johnson's Island under the cruel trial to which they are subjected none but the Omnipotent can foretell. That they will endure this barbarous treatment with the same stern fortitude that they have ever evinced in their country's service we cannot doubt. But who can be found to believe the assertion that it is our refusal to execute the cartel, and not the malignity of the foe, which has caused the infliction of such intolerable cruelty on our own loved and honoured defenders?

#### TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT.

Regular and punctual communication with the trans-Mississippi is so obstructed as to render difficult a compliance with much of the legislation vesting authority in the Executive branch of the Government. To supply vacancies in office; to exercise discretion on certain matters connected with the military organisations; to control the distribution of the funds collected from taxation or remitted from the Treasury; to carry on the operations of the Post-office Department, and other like duties, require under the Constitution and existing laws, the action of the President and heads of departments. The necessities of the military service frequently forbid delay, and some legislation is required providing for the exercise of temporary authority, until regular action can be had at the seat of Government. I would suggest, especially in the Post-office Department, that an assistant be provided in the States beyond the Mississippi, with authority in the head of that Department to vest in his assistant all such powers now exercised by the Postmaster-General as may be requisite for provisional control of the funds of the department of those States, and their application to the payment of mail contractors; for superintendence of the local post-offices, and the contracts for carrying the mails; for the temporary employment of proper persons to fulfil the duties of postmasters and contractors in urgent cases, until appointments can be made, and for other like purposes. Without some legislative provision on the subject, there is serious risk of the destruction of the mail service, by reason of the delays and hardships suffered by contractors under the present system, which requires constant reference to Richmond of their accounts, as well as the returns of the local postmasters, before they can receive payment for services rendered. Like provision is also necessary in the Treasury Department; while, for military affairs, it would seem to be sufficient to authorise the President and Secretary for War to delegate to the commanding general so much of the discretionary powers vested in them by law as the exigencies of the service shall require.

#### NAVY.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy gives in detail the operations of that department since January last, embracing information of the disposition and employment of the vessels, officers, and men, and the construction of vessels at Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Selma, and on the rivers Roanoke, Neuse, Pedee, Chatahoochee, and Tombigbee; the accumulation of ship timber and supplies, and the manufacture of ordnance, ordnance stores, and equipments. The foundries and workshops have been greatly improved, and their capacity to supply all demands for heavy ordnance for coast and harbour defences is only limited by our deficiency in the requisite skilled labour. The want of such labour and of seamen seriously affects the operations of the department.

The skill, courage, and activity of our cruisers at sea cannot be too highly commended. They have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, without suffering a single disaster, and have seriously damaged the shipping interests of the United States by compelling their foreign commerce to seek the protection of neutral flags.

Your attention is invited to the suggestions of the report on the subjects of supplying seamen for the service, and of the provisions of the law in relation to the volunteer navy.

#### POST-OFFICE.

The Postmaster-General reports the receipts of that department for the fiscal year ending the 30th June last to have been \$3,337,853 01, and the expenditures for the same period \$2,662,804 67. The statement thus exhibits an excess of receipts amounting to \$675,048 44, instead of a deficiency of more than a million of dollars, as was the case in the preceding fiscal year. It is gratifying to perceive that the department has thus been made self-sustaining, in accordance with sound principle, and with the express requirements of the Constitution that its expenses should be paid out of its own revenues after the 1st March, 1863.

The report gives a full and satisfactory account of the operations of the Post-office Department for the last year, and explains the measures adopted for giving more certainty and regularity to the service in the States beyond the Mississippi, and on which reliance is placed for obviating the difficulties heretofore encountered in that service.

The statement of the accounts of the department is greatly delayed by reason of the inability of the first auditor to perform all the duties now imposed on him by law. The accounts of the Departments of State, of the Treasury, of the Navy, and

of Justice, are all supervised by that officer, and more than suffice to occupy his whole time. The necessity for a third auditor to examine and settle the accounts of a department so extensive as that of the Post Office appears urgent, and his recommendation on that subject meets my concurrence.

#### CONDUCT OF THE ENEMY.

I cannot close this message without again adverting to the savage ferocity which still marks the conduct of the enemy in the prosecution of the war. After their repulse from the defences before Charleston, they first sought revenge by an abortive attempt to destroy the city with an incendiary composition, thrown by improved artillery from a distance of four miles. Failing in this, they changed their missiles, but fortunately have thus far succeeded only in killing two women in the city. Their commanders—Butler, McNeil, and Turchin, whose horrible barbarities have made their names widely notorious, and everywhere execrable—are still honoured and cherished at Washington. The first-named, after having been withdrawn from the scenes of his cruelties against women and prisoners of war (in reluctant concession to the demands of outraged humanity in Europe), has just been put in a new command at Norfolk, where helpless women and children are again placed at his mercy.

Nor has less unrelenting warfare been waged by these pretended friends of human rights and liberties against the unfortunate negroes. Wherever the enemy have been able to gain access they have forced into the ranks of their army every able-bodied man they could seize; and have either left the aged, the women, and the children to perish by starvation, or gathered them into camps, where they have been wasted by a frightful mortality. Without clothing or shelter, often without food, incapable, without supervision, of taking the most ordinary precautions against disease, these helpless dependents accustomed to have their wants supplied by the foresight of their masters, are being rapidly exterminated, wherever brought in contact with the invaders. By the Northern man, on whose deep-rooted prejudices no kindly restraining influence is exercised, they are treated with aversion and neglect. There is little hazard in predicting that in all localities where the enemy have gained a temporary foothold the negroes, who, under our care increase sixfold in number since their importation into the colonies of Great Britain, will have been reduced by mortality during the war to not more than one-half their previous number.

Information on this subject is derived not only from our own observation and from the reports of the negroes who succeeded in escaping from the enemy, but full confirmation is afforded by statements published in the Northern journals by humane persons engaged in making appeals to the charitable for aid in preventing the ravages of disease, exposure, and starvation among the negro women and children who were crowded into encampments.

The frontier of our country bears witness to the alacrity and efficiency with which the general orders of the enemy have been executed, in the devastation of the farms, the destruction of the agricultural implements, the burning of the houses, and the destruction of everything movable. Its whole aspect is a comment on the ethics of the general order issued by the United States on the 24th of April, 1863, comprising "instructions for the government of armies of the United States in the field," and of which the following is an example:—

"Military necessity admits of all direct destruction of life or limb of armed enemies, and of other persons whose destruction is unavoidable in the armed contests of the war. It allows of the capturing of every armed enemy, and of every enemy of importance to the hostile Government, or of peculiar danger to the captor; it allows of all destruction of property and obstructions of the ways and channels of traffic, travel, or communication, and of all withholding of sustenance or means of life from the enemy; of the appropriation of whatever an enemy's country affords necessary for the subsistence and safety of the army, and of such deception as does not involve the breaking of good faith, either positively pledged regarding agreements entered into during the war, or supposed by the modern law of war to exist. Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God."

The striking contrast to these teachings and practices presented by our army when invading Pennsylvania illustrates the moral character of our people. Though their forbearance may have been unmerited and unappreciated by the enemy, it was imposed by their own self-respect, which forbade their degenerating from Christian warriors into plundering ruffians, assailing the property, lives, and honour of helpless non-combatants. If their conduct, when thus contrasted with the inhuman practices of our foe, fail to command the respect and sympathy of civilised nations in our day, it cannot fail to be recognised by their less deceived posterity.

The hope last year entertained of an early termination of the war has not been realised. Could carnage have satisfied the appetite of our enemy for the destruction of human life, or grief have appeased their wanton desire to inflict human suffering, there has been bloodshed enough on both sides, and two lands have been sufficiently darkened by the weeds of mourning, to induce a disposition for peace.

If unanimity in a people could dispel delusion, it has been displayed too unmistakably not to have silenced the pretence that the Southern States were merely disturbed by a factious insurrection; and it must long since have been admitted that they were but exercising their reserved right to modify their own Government in such manner as would best secure their own happiness. But these considerations have been powerless to allay the unchristian hate of those who, long accustomed to draw large profits from a union with us, cannot control the rage excited by the conviction that they have, by their own folly, destroyed the richest sources of their prosperity. They refuse even to listen to proposals for the only peace possible between us—a peace which, recognising the impassable gulf which divides us, may leave the two peoples separately to recover from the injuries inflicted on both by the causeless war now waged against us. Having begun the war in direct violation of their Constitution, which forbade the attempt to coerce a State, they have been hardened by crime, until they no longer attempt to veil their purpose to destroy the institutions and subvert the sovereignty and independence of these States. We now know that the only reliable hope for peace is in the vigour of our resistance, as the cessation of their hostility is only to be expected from the pressure of their necessities.

The patriotism of the people has proved equal to every sacrifice demanded by their country's good. We have been united as a people never were united under like circumstances before. God has blessed us with success disproportionate to our means, and, under His Divine favour, our labours must at last be crowned with the reward due to men who have given all they possessed to the righteous defence of their inalienable rights, their homes, and their altars.

Richmond, December 7.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent in London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

The INDEX may be obtained, and payments for subscriptions or other dues to the paper made:—

At Liverpool, to MR. BISTOP, 6, Commercial-buildings, 17, Water-st.

At Manchester, F. A. HASLEHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PFEIFFER and MÜLLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1863.

*Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following additional contributions:—*

Through Mr. H. Hotze:—

"From Friends," .. .. £10 0 0

## The Embargo on Cotton.

THE importance, not only to the Southern Confederacy, but to the commercial world at large, of the letter which we published in our last week's impression, has not escaped attention. The Honourable C. J. McRae unites, with the functions of representative of the Confederate Treasury, almost absolute discretion in the disbursements in Europe for the War and Navy Departments of the Confederate Government. As a member of the first or provisional Congress, which convened at Montgomery, he acted an influential part in framing the first financial measures of the infant Confederacy. No man, therefore, in Europe can be presumed to be better acquainted with the resources of the Confederate States, and with their necessities at home or abroad. We may also assume that an officer in such high position will not speak to the public hastily or unadvisedly, and that, even as a simple recommendation, his opinion on an important financial question will have great weight at Richmond. When, therefore, Mr. McRae concludes his letter on the Cotton Loan with the statement that the Confederate Government have it now under consideration to prohibit the exportation of cotton, except for their own uses and the payment of their obligations already incurred, and pronounces this measure "salutary and necessary," we must attach to his words a significance only a degree less than to the accomplishment of the foreshadowed fact. That the financial public does so, is proved by the rise of 4 per cent. in the Loan, despite adverse military news, on the publication of the letter.

It is not, however, so much the effect of the proposed embargo on the Loan that we wish to discuss, though in this the Confederate States have of necessity an absorbing moral interest. We are proud to consider the Loan as quite as much an expression of sympathy and good will as a financial speculation. The North certainly so regards it, or it would not expend such gigantic efforts in the crusade against it and its holders. Mr. McRae well explains that the cotton security upon which it is based has heretofore been a secondary feature, and that the Loan was exposed to all the fluctuations of a stock based solely on the credit, good faith, and good fortune of a nation engaged in a life-and-death struggle. The abundant facilities which the Confederate Government has afforded for bringing this reserved strength of the Loan into play by the conversion of the bonds into cotton, the success that during the year has attended blockade-running operations on private account, and above all, the ample provision that has been made for the payment of the interest falling due and the redemption

of the one-fortieth of the entire Loan at the first ensuing periodical drawing;—all these restorative influences must have produced a healthy stimulating effect, even without so heroic a remedy as the one recommended.

The cure sought, then, is for an evil of far vaster and more dangerous dimensions than the temporary depression of the national securities abroad. It is to heal a disease which threatens the vitals of the nation itself. Every friend of the Confederate States feels that their finances are in a critical condition. To the vicissitudes of a singularly balanced conflict we have long become accustomed; every one who cares to understand the character of their people and the capabilities of their soil knows that in the darkest hour of their chequered fortunes they were richer in material resources than when the war surprised them without an army, without a treasury, without an arsenal, and without a powder-mill. The military situation, therefore, however often well-founded expectations may be disappointed and the hope of peace deferred, causes no real anxiety, except so far as that situation may be affected and impaired by the derangement of the currency. A nation fighting for life may, it is true, fight long without money, and the Confederate States have not yet reached in this respect the misery of the French Republic or even of the American Colonies. But the circulating medium is to a civilised community what the blood is to a living organism, and diseases of either are, in their effects upon the limbs and body, analogous. And, dropping metaphor, it is obvious that the most implicit confidence in the ultimate redemption of a promise to pay, will not replace the fatal want of a present invariable standard of values. With a currency whose relation to coin is wholly arbitrary and changeable from day to day, there may be famine in the midst of abundance. This is actually the case in the Confederate States. Here, also, is the cause of the strange error into which the Southern correspondent of the *Times* has fallen. Contrasting the natural resources of the South with those of the North, and then comparing the silent endurance of the one people with the boastful levity of the other, he most illogically arrived at the deduction that the Southerners lacked that abiding faith in their own success, which buoys up their adversaries. Now, apart from the fact that the paper currency of the South is vastly more in excess of the business of the country, than that of the North, which sufficiently accounts for the greater depreciation of the former, there is the further anomalous fact, which we have long since pointed out in these columns, that the precious metals, the infallible standard in every other country, have ceased to be a standard at all in the Confederacy. Withdrawn by the blockade and the consequent cessation of regular foreign commerce, from the operation of the laws of demand and supply, they at the same time acquire an artificial value through the demand stimulated by the requirements of blockade-running speculations.

A very little consideration will show that of the two chief causes of the financial derangement, the over-issue of paper money is not the most formidable. Grant that the depreciation cannot be in exact proportion to the excess of the circulating medium, yet an inflation of the currency to three times its normal dimensions will not account for the fall to less than one-tenth of its nominal value. Assume that the business of the country can float \$200,000,000, and that \$600,000,000 are issued; if these \$600,000,000 did really represent only one-tenth of the nominal amount, or \$60,000,000, it follows that they would be inadequate to the requirements of business, and that 2,000 millions of the depreciated issues would be needed to restore the equilibrium. A more powerful cause of depreciation, then, must evidently be at work, and this cause is found in the fiction which still accepts as a standard of computation metals whose value has become almost as speculative as certain bulbs were during the tulip mania in Holland. Wholly discarded this standard can of course not be, but if the Government, as the largest purchaser of all commodities in the country, were to set the

example of making all contracts payable in bushels of wheat or in pounds of cotton, or the equivalent, in Treasury notes, of the market value of these articles at the date and locality of payment, a great step would have been taken towards the rehabilitation of the Government promises to pay. Either wheat or cotton might and would fluctuate in price, but these fluctuations would be controlled by circumstances very different from those which affect the price of gold.

Again, during the year now closing, about 130,000 bales of cotton, of about 500 lbs. weight each, have found their way through the blockade to European ports, which, at the ruling prices, sold for upwards of £6,000,000 sterling. With this fund to its credit, had the cotton been exported for its own account, instead of, for the most part, private speculators, the Confederate Government might have dispensed with foreign loans, might have bought its warlike stores at the lowest cash rates, and supplied its citizens with commodities of prime necessity at a moderate advance on cost. Not only would it have earned the fabulous profits pocketed by foreign merchants, but it would have saved itself the issue of that flood of promises to pay with which it purchased importations, and which the importers made haste to dispose of on any terms. And what creditor, at home, could have doubted the solvency of a debtor who was the largest holder of foreign exchange in the country?

Let it not be said that the Government would have failed where private enterprise succeeded. The experiment has been sufficiently tried to demonstrate that the Government, in blockade ventures, has been even more fortunate than individuals, probably for the reason that, thanks to the patriotic enthusiasm of the whole people, it is at present the best served Government in the world. To its success in this respect is due the credit which, amid the most adverse circumstances, it still commands in the markets of Europe. The question, then, would simply have been to extend on a larger scale what has been done with admirable success on a small one. The mercantile marine of every country, not excepting that of the North, is open to it to select the staunchest and the swiftest vessels. It commands a staff of naval officers inferior to those of no country in skill, courage, and dash; and although the service may not be so brilliant and so much to their taste, at the country's bidding they would render it as zealously and devotedly as though they trod the decks of *Merrimacs* and *Albatoms*. It will scarcely be contended that vessels avowedly the property of the Confederate Government would run greater risks on the high seas from the enemy's cruisers than those owned by British subjects run under the warm neutrality of the Foreign-office.

But if private enterprise must be called into aid, the cotton bonds now in the hands of European holders afford the desired machinery, provided all private exportation, except in redemption of these bonds, is prohibited. The £3,200,000 which the Government now owes in Europe, represents, at 6d. per lb., 260,000 bales of cotton, which, at the rate of this year's exportation, could be run through the blockade in about two years. Every obligation thus redeemed would make room for a new one, which, as the only means of purchasing cotton, would be eagerly sought at prices remunerative to the Government. We are told that sound political economy forbids the granting of monopolies; but blockade-running is virtually already the monopoly of those firms which were the first and the most enterprising in the attempt. Why not, if a monopoly must exist, give it to those who have trusted the Government? Besides, no one is injured thereby, for those who now hold this virtual monopoly may still retain it by merely changing their purchasing medium.

We have reasons to believe that in advocating this recommendation of Mr. McRae we express the convictions of nearly every important officer of the Confederate States in Europe, and of the great majority of the friends and well-wishers of the Confederate cause. If anything approaching the same unanimity exists in the Congress now assembled at Richmond



—and there appears no cause to doubt it—we may expect by any steamer within the next four or five weeks, to hear of the passage of an Act laying an embargo on the exportation of cotton, under conditions similar to those here indicated.

## President Davis's Message.

THERE must be little feeling in the man who can read President Davis's Message untouched. Apart from its beauties of style and its power, it has that contagious eloquence, the result of an overmastering consciousness of a just cause and noble purpose, which never fails to move the sympathies of every generous heart and satisfy the requirements of all honourable minds. There was no need, perhaps, of a stronger contrast between the two Presidents of North and South; but if anything could fully illustrate the disproportionate capacities and the opposite characters of the two men, it would be the Messages that have reached us simultaneously from Richmond and from Washington. The President of the Confederate States has, perhaps, a task such as no single human intellect grappled with before. Without the prescriptive authority of monarchy he has more than its responsibilities; without the terrors of demagogism and the fire of fanaticism, he has to conduct the greatest revolution the world ever saw to a successful issue; without the prestige of conquest, he has to convert a community of peaceful citizens into an organised army.\* If there is unpopularity to be encountered he must meet it; if there is despondency to dispel, he must cheer it; if there are risks to be run, perils to be met, or mighty resolves to be taken, it is to him the whole Southern Confederacy looks for inspiration and for action. And it is with the sense of this terrible responsibility that he has to meet the representatives of the nation which, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, "he has created," and lay before them the weighty document which is at once the record of his policy, the register of his failures and successes, the history of the past and the index to the future of the Confederacy. His last message is worthy of the occasion and of the cause. It is honest and fearless. It breathes neither a counterfeited cheerfulness, nor an unseemly despondency. It has a manly, self-reliant tone which inspires confidence. It is a protest against the war, and a disclaimer of its guilt, so far as the South is concerned; an appeal and an argument from the South to the whole of civilisation; a masterly indictment against the Power which, false to its principles, is endeavouring to destroy by the sword the rights to which it owes its own origin.

The Message begins with an impartial sketch of the military events of the months that have elapsed since the adjournment of the Congress. The President acknowledges the grave reverses on the Mississippi and in Arkansas, but bears a willing testimony to the spirit in which they were met. He points with pride to the exertions they called forth from the people of the Confederacy; to the successful resistance at Charleston, to the invasion of Pennsylvania, and the hard-fought battle of Gettysburg, to the successful retreat of the army of Virginia with "large trains of captured supplies, and with a constant but unaccepted tender of battle." At that time all promised well, but the surrender of Cumberland Gap under circumstances so suspicious that they are made the subject of special allusion, destroyed this fair prospect, and opened East Tennessee to the Federal armies. The advance and decisive defeat of General Rosecrans on the field of Chickamauga, and the subsequent fight at Chattanooga against the superior forces of General Grant, are next touched upon. Whilst admitting great losses in Tennessee and Arkansas, the President sees in every other direction grounds for congratulation. Before the firm defences of Charleston even the boasted iron-clads recoil. In Louisiana and Texas the Federals have met with disaster after disaster; the most exposed frontier of the enemy has felt in its turn the tread of an invading army. And these facts, despite the temporary gloom which has overshadowed the Confederacy in the loss of East Tennessee, and in the disappointment of the hopes which the earlier successes of the war had raised, justify the calm conclusion of the President, that "whatever obstinacy may be displayed by the enemy in his desperate sacrifices of money, life, and liberty, in the hope of enslaving us, the experience of mankind has too conclusively shown the superior endurance of those who fight for honour, liberty, and independence, to permit any doubt of the result."

The most painful portion of the Message is undoubtedly that which refers to the foreign relations of the Confederacy, and we fancy few Englishmen will read without a blush the just censure which President Davis passes upon the Administration of

this country. From the first, he complains, that the two great maritime powers of Western Europe took up an attitude inconsistent with a "practical neutrality;" and within the last six months he shows that their action has become in some cases "positively unfriendly." The President cites several instances in which Lord Russell's language betrayed a hostile *animus* to the Confederate States; but his chief ground of complaint, and the one which he most thoroughly substantiates is the violation of engagements of which the French and English Governments have been guilty in recognising the blockade of the Southern coast. That blockade was first proclaimed on the 19th and 28th of April, 1861. It embraced the whole coast-line of the Confederacy, extending some 3,459 statute miles. At that very time the United States navy consisted of twenty-four vessels of all classes in commission, of which half were in distant seas. But to illustrate more strongly the monstrous illegality of a blockade established with such a force, the President cites the engagement entered into by the Governments of England, France, and the Confederate States for the maintenance of the provisions of the Declaration of Paris. The British Consul at Charleston took the initiative. The Confederate Government, without hesitation accepted the terms, and imagined that it had obtained a *quid pro quo*. It abandoned privateering and the belligerent right of capturing neutral ships carrying the enemy's property; but fancied that it had secured in return the non-recognition of paper blockades. Let us see how its concessions were met. On the 21st of May, 1861, Earl Russell announces gratuitously that the blockade could no doubt be rendered effective, notwithstanding the 3,000 miles of coast, considering the small number of harbours. On the 14th of January, 1862, Lord Lyons writes that, in consequence of the Federal navy not being sufficiently numerous to stop up the "small holes," the Federal fleet have closed some of the small inlets by sinking vessels in the channel. On the 6th of May, 1862, Lord Russell states that "the United States Government have now for more than twelve months endeavoured to maintain a blockade of 3,000 miles of coast; that it has been 'kept up irregularly,' and yet that 'Her Majesty's Government never sought to take advantage of the obvious imperfection of that blockade.'" In September, 1862, the noble lord goes so far as to assert that the United States "were very far indeed from being in a condition to ask other nations to assume that every part of the coasts of the so-called Confederate States is effectually blockaded." This is Lord Russell's language to the United States; to the Confederate Government it is exactly the opposite. In February, 1862, Her Majesty's Government, when pressed by President Davis, regarded the blockade as "practically effective." Later still, they twisted the term "effective force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast," to mean presenting an obvious danger to ships approaching the coast. But the climax is to come. Pressed hard about the effectiveness of the blockade, Earl Russell forgets his engagements, repudiates the Declaration of Paris, acknowledges that "the United States navy did not keep up so completely and effectually as was required an effective force," but states roundly that the rulers of England "would have been for ever infamous, if, for the sake of their own interests, they had violated the law of nations and made war in conjunction with the slaveholding States of America against the Federal States." Lord Russell drops the "effective blockade," and, with a rhetorical artifice worthy of him alone, introduces "those slaveholding States." But he is severely handled by the President in the following language, which, if it fail to lower Lord Russell in his own estimation, will certainly not elevate him in the eyes of his countrymen.

"In the second of these reasons," says the President, "our rights are not involved, although it may be permitted to observe that the conduct of Governments has not heretofore, to my knowledge, been guided by the principle that it is infamous to assert their rights whenever the invasion of those rights creates severe suffering among their people, and injuriously affects great interests. But the intimation that relations with these States would be discreditable because they are slaveholding would probably have been omitted if the official personage who has published it to the world had remembered that these States were, when colonies, made slaveholding by the direct exercise of the power of Great Britain, whose dependencies they were, and whose interests in the slave trade were then supposed to require that her colonies should be made slaveholding."

It is only fair to Napoleon III. to state that the President has had no intimation of such views being entertained by the French Government, and that there is reason to believe that at least one attempt has been made by the Emperor to induce the

English Government to take a course of action more consistent with their obligations.

Passing briefly in review other breaches of neutrality—the permitted exportation of arms to the Federals and the stoppage of any ship suspected of being built for the Confederates, the discourteous treatment of Southern Commissioners, and the absurdity of an "impartial neutrality" which was owned to be "exceedingly advantageous" to one of the belligerents—the President discusses the steps that ought to be taken in the face of the plain hostility to the Confederacy. Two retaliatory measures are open to him: the one is, to declare a paper blockade of the United States; the other to rescind the article of the Declaration of Paris to the effect that the neutral flag covers enemy's goods. We rejoice to say that neither is adopted, and that the President of the Confederacy, mindful that war is temporary and peace permanent, and that the Southern people must ever be in favour of neutral rights, refuses to sacrifice to a feeling of resentment the principles to which he has once given his assent.

We have no space to follow the various topics of the Message to the end; but we have endeavoured to select such points in the foreign relations of the Confederacy as may be of immediate interest to our readers, leaving to a later issue the treatment of the finances, of the internal administration of the Confederacy, and of the conduct of the invaders. The Message is published in *extenso* in our columns, and upon all these points deserves the careful study of every reader. But we cannot leave this magnificent State paper, destined hereafter to take a prominent place in the national archives of the South, without quoting its concluding paragraph, characteristic alike of the mind of the writer and of the spirit in which the South has met the vicissitudes of the past, and will meet the trials that are to come.

The patriotism of the people has proved equal to every sacrifice demanded by their country's good. We have been united as a people never were united under like circumstances before. God has blessed us with success disproportionate to our means, and, under His Divine favour, our labours must at last be crowned with the reward due to men who have given all they possessed to the righteous defence of their inalienable rights, their homes, and their altars.

## The Tender Mercies of the Yankee.

WHEN a rebellion has been crushed out beyond the possibility of revival; when the insurgent army has been annihilated in the field; when the last town that held out has been stormed by the royal forces; when the few remnants of the insurgent bands are being hunted down like wild beasts by the cavalry and light troops of the conqueror; when men who have broken their oath of allegiance and committed the gravest crime of which human laws take cognizance, await the sentence of their offended sovereign—what is the harshest doom that a Christian monarch and a civilised government would venture to pronounce upon the vanquished? Death to the actual leaders of the rebellion in the council or in the field—perhaps a score or two of the most deeply implicated ringleaders—banishment and confiscation on a couple of hundred more; the rest, the rank and file of the army, are pardoned on condition of asking and loyally accepting the grace of the master. When a great insurrection has evidently failed; when it has become confessedly clear that the objects of the rebellion are unattainable, although the contest may yet be maintained for a few months longer, what kind of terms are offered by a prudent and clement prince? A free pardon to all but some half-dozen persons excepted by name, with the understanding that these will have the opportunity of leaving the country unpursued; the restoration of the rebels to their civil and political rights, on the sole condition of obedience to the laws; the restitution of their property; a complete amnesty or oblivion of political offences.

What sort of compromise is usually offered, when insurrection has assumed the dimensions of civil war; when it is clear that, whatever its result, the struggle will be long and doubtful; and when both parties are desirous to avoid the horror and guilt of unnecessary bloodshed? Concessions, more or less extensive, according to the strength of the two parties, are offered to those who have taken up arms in vindication of a supposed right; it is agreed that no criminal proceedings shall be taken in consequence of anything done during the contest, and that both parties shall stand in all respects, as subjects and fellow-citizens, exactly as they stood before recourse was had to arms. On no other terms would any sane Government dream of terminating a struggle distinctly recognised as a civil war, of which the issue was yet so doubtful that neither party could venture to claim anything like a complete and conclusive success.

The murders and devastation committed by the Duke of Cumberland, surnamed the Butcher, and



his father, George II., after the battle of Culloden, are universally regarded as crimes against Christianity and civilisation. The atrocities of Nicholas in Poland, and Haynau in Hungary, have attached a strain of ineffaceable infamy to the escutcheons of Russia and Austria. But it would seem that President Lincoln is bent on outdoing all these, and raising his own name, and those of his advisers, to a place among such scourges of mankind as the heroes of the French Revolution. Charles Sumner claims his place with the craven Robespierre; Fouquier Tinville is to acknowledge a worthy rival in General Butler; and Lincoln and Chase and Seward will henceforward be remembered in conjunction with Couthon and St. Just and Marat. Under the name of an amnesty—a proposal for reconstruction—Mr. Lincoln addresses to the Confederate States a proclamation of unequalled insolence and unprecedented ferocity; and his offer of mercy amounts almost exactly to that which Polyphemus made to his captive. We know not whether to admire most the astonishing impudence of such a proposition to a nation capable of self-defence, or the diabolical malignity which could alone have prompted such menaces, even to a crushed and conquered foe.

The South is not reduced to ask mercy of her enemy; she is not brought so low that any of her citizens dream of giving up the object with which they entered upon this war, and returning to the Union on any terms whatever. They refused to do so before a blow had been struck; they preferred independence outside of the Union even to ascendancy within it, though they well knew that with the aid of the Democratic party, reconsolidated by the alarm of secession, they could have extorted any conditions of reunion they might demand. It is not likely that they would accept now what they refused then. Since that time an impassable gulf has been opened between North and South. They are parted for ever by a dark stream of blood spilt in mortal strife, by injuries never to be wiped out, by insults never to be atoned, by outrages never to be forgotten. The ghosts of men murdered on their own hearthstones, of prisoners assassinated in cold blood, of little children butchered in the sight of their parents, stand between the South and a return to fellowship with those whose hands are red with blood not shed on the field of battle. The foul outrages and insults offered to Southern women would alone suffice to make reunion impossible. How could a Southern gentleman stand face to face with the Nana of New Orleans, and forbear to scourge the caithiff in the very Capitol? How could a Southern father or husband meet the man who ordered the outrages at Athens, or the President who let loose the negro assassins of the Beckham family, except as mortal foes? Let Lincoln offer what compromise he might, no Southern man in whom a spark of manhood yet remained could vote for its acceptance.

But he does not profess to propose compromise; he invites submission, and offers a conditional pardon. He, the chief of a Federal Administration, entrusted by thirty-three sovereign States with limited powers for special purposes; he, an executive officer, responsible to the representatives of those States for the use of the scant authority invested in him; he, Abraham Lincoln, who was yesterday a rail-splitter, and will be a rail-splitter to-morrow—offers his gracious pardon and forgiveness to 8,000,000 of people and to thirteen sovereign States, on such conditions as he in his wisdom and mercy thinks proper to impose. He, whose armies have achieved two victories and sustained seven or eight defeats, offers to extend his favour and protection to a nation which has in the field an army of 300,000 men, and which not long since saw 120,000 of his choicest troops beaten, crushed, routed, all but annihilated, under the walls of its capital. He offers his pardon to the victors of Chickamauga; to the garrison of Charleston; to the soldiers who have three times menaced his capital and twice invaded his country; to the troops that saw his generals fly, in headlong haste, from Manassas Junction; that chased his Grand Army through the woods and swamps of the Chickahominy; that compelled his chief arsenal to surrender at discretion; that have twice returned from Maryland and Pennsylvania with long wagon-trains laden with Federal stores; that held the heights of Fredericksburg, and drove an army twice the number of their own in utter rout before them at Chancellorsville. His bitterest partisans, his most unscrupulous agents, do not pretend that the South is beaten or subdued: he himself does not imagine that her strength is broken. His ministers are making preparation to carry on, in 1864, a war as tremendous as that which has already raged for three years. He knows by terrible experience how changeable are the fortunes of that war; he sees his armies everywhere unable to advance, two of them have only just escaped from annihilation, and yet he deems it suitable to assume the airs of a conqueror and dictate the terms on which he will receive the submission

of the enemy and admit them to share the blessings of subjection to his mild and merciful rule.

And such terms! Every one who has held office under the Confederate Government, every one who has resigned military or judicial office in the Federal service when the obligations it imposed became incompatible with his allegiance to his native State, every one who has held rank in the army above that of colonel, or in the navy above that of lieutenant; and, finally, every one who, in obedience to the orders of the Government and the law of nations, has refused to treat fugitive slaves, like the murderers of the Beckham children, on the footing of honourable enemies and prisoners of war, is excepted from the promised amnesty, and left at the mercy of the Chases, Sumners, and Butlers. Every one not included in any of these categories who shall take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, shall swear obedience to the Acts of Congress and the proclamations of Mr. Lincoln, until a court packed with creatures of the Republican faction shall pronounce those acts illegal, and shall acquiesce, not tacitly, but formally, in the ukase which pretends to emancipate the slave population of the South, shall receive a free pardon and be restored to the remnant of his property and to the rights of citizenship. Thus speaks Abraham Lincoln to the free, independent, and sovereign States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and their Confederates:—"Give up your independence; abdicate your sovereignty, renounce your liberties, disband your forces, dissolve your Union, and abide the sentence pronounced upon you. Every man of note, eminence, influence, or worth among you; every man who has rendered you service in council or in camp, by land or sea; every man whose deeds have made his name and that of his country honoured throughout the world; every man who has the talent or the authority to be a leader among you, shall be given up to his enemies, to die the death of a traitor. Four-fifths of your property, not destroyed by war, is confiscated by my sovereign will and pleasure. For the rest, every one of your citizens who will forswear his citizenship, and declare himself a willing and loyal subject of this Government at Washington, to which, heretofore, none ever attributed sovereignty or supposed himself to owe allegiance—who will profess himself obedient to every act which I, or my partisans, have enacted for the better suppression and punishment of your rebellion—may return in possession of the wreck of his fortunes and the shadow of his liberties, and live for the future on equal terms with the slaves whom I have made freemen and citizens." This is Mr. Lincoln's scheme for the reconstruction of the Union; these are the terms of reconciliation which he offers to a people maintaining the struggle for independence with unbroken courage, with undaunted endurance, and with even fortune. What less could he have offered to a conquered and suppliant enemy? If Charleston had capitulated; if Bragg's army were annihilated; if Longstreet had surrendered at discretion; if Mobile and Richmond were in the hands of the Federals; if Lee were a fugitive and his army a broken horde of guerrillas, what worse terms would the conquerors dare to offer? They cannot hang 8,000,000 of people; they cannot confiscate a territory larger than Europe. Never but once, since history began, has such an "amnesty" been offered to an unconquered people. When James II. still had a hold on his dominions; when the Cavaliers of England, surprised but not dismayed, were ready to rise on his behalf; when there was yet a hope for his throne and for his son's inheritance, the last and most obstinate of an ill-fated house destroyed his every chance by a proposal to his revolted subjects rather less ferocious than Abraham Lincoln makes to the citizens of the Confederate States. And what was said by one of the "excepted" then is exactly what every sane partisan of the North will say now: "This is not an amnesty; it is a proscription." Need we ask our readers to remember the names of a few of those whom their former colleagues in the Senate and Cabinet are so eager to hang? The list includes nearly every living American who is known and admired in Europe. Jefferson Davis, the one living American whom Englishmen admit to rank with the great statesmen of the Old World; General Lee, the greatest of living strategists; Maury, who has done more for the honour of America in the world of science than any other of his countrymen; Ewell, the trusted friend of Stonewall Jackson; Morgan, the American Garibaldi; Bishop Polk; ex-Vice-President Breckenridge; Johnstone, Bragg, Longstreet, Kirby Smith, Beauregard, Magruder, Semmes of the *Alabama*, Malfit of the *Florida*, Stuart, the most brilliant of cavalry officers; every member of the Cabinet, nearly every distinguished man, in short, throughout the length and breadth of the South. Never has such a holocaust of noble victims been sacrificed to the devilish malice of the vilest of mankind.

Happily the proclamation can do the South no harm; and it is not likely to do its authors any good. This horrible outburst of savage and sanguinary ferocity exposes the true character of the Republican faction and of "honest Abraham Lincoln" in unmistakable colours; and we hardly think that we shall hear any more praises (save in the columns of journals which, having no influence to exert and no character to lose, are as careless of probability as of truth,) of the humanity and gentleness of the man who patronised and promoted Butler, and who deliberately organised a scheme for the initiation of servile rebellion and midnight massacre in every defenceless plantation and village in the South. This last and most characteristic production leaves no doubt as to the inner nature of the man; and the revelation is such as has seldom disgraced and appalled humanity.

## President Lincoln's Message to Congress.

It is impossible to deny that the Message of President Lincoln to Congress is a work of skill and ingenuity. It is not the effort of a profound statesman, nor is it an emanation from the loyal sentiments of a patriot. In its conception and expression, the craft of an electioneer, the audacity of a despot, and the subtlety of a lawyer, are the moving elements.

To understand this Message, it is necessary to form a clear idea of the position of President Lincoln with regard to the two great political Powers of the North. As in his Cabinet there coexist divergent and even antagonistic principles, so in him, both in reference to the Administration and the country at large, there coexist an image of the Republican and an image of the Democratic party. He is like the god Janus: with the one face he turns to the Abolitionist, with the other to the Conservative faction. Undoubtedly the former party has elevated him to power, and possibly might, single-handed, be strong enough to keep him there; but he has all along shown a desire to conciliate both parties, to lean alternately towards each, and while retaining unimpaired his natural support, to draw to him, or at least to paralyse for all other purposes, the strength of the opposition.

Now a careful appreciation of this situation furnishes the only clue to the policy and meaning of the Message. In its broadest and most apparent features, it seems to be a manifesto to Europe rather than to America. It declares that "the Federal Government is at peace with all the world, that the crisis is past, and the rebellion well nigh suppressed," and it adds the necessary sop for the Abolitionists of England in affirming an adherence to the emancipation policy. If to this there be added a proclamation of amnesty, then to Europe is presented a picture of success, wisdom, and humanity. Yet this picture assumes everything: the death of the rebellion, the reality of the emancipation, (for of its wisdom we need not speak), and the perfection of the amnesty. It is a conversion of mere tropes into facts; it is to assert what we shall prove to be false, on the testimony of President Lincoln and his own ministers.

So far, then, there has been an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of foreign nations. But the importance of the Message consists in its relation to the Federal States. From it the attitude of President Lincoln and his intentions may be learned, and these are not difficult to discover. The first two statements may be considered to be agreeable equally to both parties in the state. Whatever may be the feelings of the North towards England, the period for revenge will be deferred till the termination of the civil war; and it may also reasonably be presumed that, as Republicans and Democrats are supposed to be fighting for some Union or other, both may be delighted to hear that "the crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past."

Now, however, we come to the artistic portion of the Message: a portion which, taken together with the Proclamation, presents somewhat the appearance of a sandwich—the inside being presented as a delicate morsel to the Republican, and the exterior parts to the Democratic party. Of what avail are all reports of Mr. Lincoln's regret at having issued the proclamation of emancipation? He will not so readily desert in word, if in heart, the men who have made him what he is. He makes a bold bid for the continued support of the Abolitionist, and declares that "he will adhere strictly to his emancipation policy so long as he shall remain the executive." In plain words, he says, "Vote for me at the next Presidential election, and I am ready to satisfy the most extreme doctrines of the Black Republican platform." It would, however, have been most dangerous to have put forth such a programme in his capacity as a candidate for the election of next



November, had not some means been adopted to soften the repugnance of the Democrat to the emancipation policy. So he declares that "the rebellion is pressed within its narrowest limits;" in other words, that the war will be ended quickly and that peace is at hand. Does any reasonable man suppose that this announcement is pleasing to the Republican? Certainly it is not so. The Abolitionist is panic-stricken at the mere mention of peace; his theories cannot be realised except by a protracted war. He must exterminate, not defeat, the South, in order to arrive at emancipation; he must destroy every man of note, and confiscate every plantation, to satisfy his insatiable and bloodthirsty vengeance. Moreover, he must destroy liberty, he must complete his great work of revolution. Every vestige of the old United States Constitution, every check on the central authority, every security for individual right, must be swept away for ever. A despotism must be reared up, drawing to it all the rights of States and of individuals, annihilating all local powers, deriving its authority from isolated efforts of universal suffrage, and supporting itself by the sword: a despotism, indeed, in which all men shall be equal and no man shall be free. These aspirations—and with less than these the Republican party will not be content—would be frustrated by that peace which the Democrat may justly desire. But it was necessary that Mr. Lincoln should go a step further in his bid for the Presidency, and conciliate, by more specious means, the good will of the opposition. That is the true meaning of the so-called "amnesty," which promises pardon to the people of the Confederate States, in deference to the Democratic idea of State rights, but reserves the leaders as a holocaust to satiate the Republican vengeance. That, too, is the meaning of the article which remits to the Union any State where a fraction of its voters shall establish a government without the pollution of the oath of Secession. It is a concession to the theory of State Rights, and seems to hold out a promise that seceded States may re-enter the Union on their ancient basis. We will not stop to inquire how far, by this provision, the vote of a seceded State may be fabricated at the next election in case of a split in the Northern voting, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a majority of States. That is not an improbable contingency, but it is at least an additional evidence that the document which is called a Message by President Lincoln is an electioneering manifesto—an attempt to forestall the action of the people in their choice, a daring bid both to the Republican and the Democrat for another four years of power; one more step on the high road to despotism to which the North is advancing with gigantic strides. The men of the North must, indeed, be blind, if they perceive not in what direction they are being so hurriedly led, and perceiving, then mad, for not arresting their headlong career.

It remains, however, to consider briefly the truth of President Lincoln's assertions, when he declares that the "crisis is past and the rebellion pressed within its narrowest limits." Does Mr. Stanton's report agree with this view? He confesses that Charleston, the arch-rebel, still remains intact, in spite of the utmost efforts of the army and fleet before the noble city, and he seems to see no hope of her reduction. He confesses that the conscription only produced 50,000 soldiers. Certainly it furnished \$10,000,000, but dollars are not soldiers; and why, when conscription fails, should volunteering succeed? Why, too, does he recommend the same pay and the same rights for the negro as for the white soldier, if he can obtain a sufficient supply of the latter? There is a confession of anxiety in this proposition more significant than an explicit declaration. Then, too, Mr. Welles speaks of the great success of a blockade which allowed 133 vessels to run into Charleston and Wilmington in seven months, and 130,000 bales of cotton to be exported in eleven months. He even waxes proud of the historical renown of a navy of 588 vessels which is defied by the power of five cruisers. Well, too, may Mr. Chase glory in the success beyond his expectations, while he estimates the Federal debt in June, 1865, at more than \$2,200,000,000, and, like a very magician, pretends to know at what point the issue of greenbacks is to be stopped. Indeed, if proof is wanting of the falsity of the words of victory and peace, what can be more convincing than the language of Mr. Lincoln where he declares that "war power is their main reliance, and that their chief care must be directed to the army?" So also is the emancipation policy, on his own evidence, false and heartless, for he dares to boast that 100,000 freed slaves are in the Federal service and that one-half of them bear arms. Where, we ask, are their wives and children? Are they still slaves, or are they starving? What is the value of an emancipation policy which absorbs the males for the selfish purposes of war, and disregards the women and, above all, the children, with whom, if at all,

emancipation should commence? Who but a fanatic would believe in a philanthropy which looks upon its objects merely as the instruments or the victims of destruction?

The Proclamation is issued as part of the Message, and deserves a passing word. What is the extent of its mercy? It excepts the heads of the Government and the principal military and naval officers. We cannot stop to make a statistical calculation of how many persons would be included in the exception. The interpretation would be such as usually may be expected when propounded by one of the parties to an engagement. Assuming, however, for a moment the readiness of the Confederate States to accept Mr. Lincoln's proposition, does England appreciate the true result? We cannot believe it possible. The acceptance of the amnesty by the South means simply this: first, the death by execution of the greatest and noblest spirits in the South, the most sagacious of her statesmen, the most able and brave of her soldiers; second, the exile of all immediately below these in grade and position; third, the confiscation of the estates and personal property of every family of wealth, name, distinction, or worth, in the Confederacy, the colonisation of their estates by the Northern soldiery, or the appropriation of them by the Northern generals and leaders; fourth, the entire abolition of all State rights, State governments and courts, the centralisation of all authority, irresponsible power over the person and liberty of every individual, military occupation; in fact, all the conditions and misfortunes of what in Europe are known as conquered provinces.

But it will be said that humanity will stand aghast at such an annihilation of all right, at the murder of great men, and at the total extinction of liberty; that England will then awake to her duty and call on the North to stay its hand. But it will then be too late to repent. All Europe says that the partition of Poland was a crime of the deepest dye; the Western nations have been once and again horrified at the cruelties practised on that unhappy people. Yet England and France are powerless: and why? Because they waited until it was too late, and in the end could only vex themselves with undying remorse at their own supineness. When once the independence of a people is lost, and the iron hand of military rule has rivetted its grasp, other nations deplore and sympathise, but they do not act, because it is then too late.

We have desired to put these considerations before the people of England in order that ignorance may not ever be with them an excuse. But do we fear such results as we have depicted? Assuredly not. Supposing that the affairs of the Confederacy were ten times more embarrassing than they now are, does any man, with a spark of faith in virtue, believe that an army would abandon its leaders to destruction—that a brave and free people would abandon themselves to a hopeless servitude? There is not a soldier in the army of Lee or of Beauregard that would not repudiate in disgust such an imputation; and the citizens still believe that to die is better than to serve.

But it is a mere adoption of Northern phraseology to speak of desperation. What value is to be set on such words as the "pressure of the rebellion within its narrowest limits," when a check to the Confederate arms in East Tennessee is followed by the springing up, as if by magic, of an army in West Tennessee, to defend West Tennessee, West Kentucky, and North Missouri, to the Tallahatchie—when the banks of the Mississippi are patrolled by 10,000 Confederate troops—when Charleston is defiant, and the army of Lee lies in unimpaired strength in Virginia, and makes the sound of its cannon heard in Washington—above and beyond all this, when a people is united as one heart and one soul in the noblest cause, with confidence in itself, its leaders, and its destiny?

It has been often urged in these columns that the extinction of the liberties of the North was a condition precedent to the attempt to subjugate the South. Indeed it is an axiom that the destruction of the rights of one section of a federation involves the destruction of the rights of all. The truth of this view is now manifest. In the Message of Mr. Lincoln we no longer recognise the address of the chief magistrate of a republic to a free and honourable federation, but the edict of a despot to his subjects—a despot at once the creature and the creator of revolution. It ignores the Constitution and the rights of every man under it. It is the work of a man in the temporary possession of power, seeking by the boldest and most disloyal usurpation to grasp at absolute dominion, demanding that those who were once his fellow-citizens and now his subjects should aid him to enslave a free people, who were once also his fellow-citizens; above all, it is the work of an incendiary, who, though foreseeing a future of bloodshed and ruin, recoils not from the prospect while seeking

the end of his ambition. In it there is not a word which is conservative or constructive; it re-echoes destruction, extermination, annihilation—it strikes at the foundations of society, and desires to reign over chaos.

These views are not confined to ourselves or to the Southern States: they have found expression in the North, and in the columns of a New York paper. The *New York Daily News* says that Mr. Lincoln's Message is the "despot's edict, which reveals the radical policy in all its disloyal, disunion, and Republican aspect, and consigns its author to eternal infamy. So far from being self-government, the realisation of the President's scheme for the re-admission of the seceded States would be worse than tyranny—it would be the betrayal of the principles fought for by our fathers by a mean and treacherous trick, which would eternalise discord, suspicion, and hatred between the sections."

## The "Anglais Timide" and Denmark.

DAY by day the little cloud in the north of Europe attracts more and more attention, and because of its nearness to us even partially eclipses the great conflict in America. It is not, perhaps, from any sympathy with Holstein, or from any regret at the danger that threatens the integrity of Denmark, that men are anxious about the proceedings of the German Diet and the action of Christian IX. The Emperor Napoleon explained the cause of this uneasiness in his reply to the address of the Senate. His Majesty quoted the little remembered aphorism of Napoleon I., that war between European nations was in effect civil war. When peace is broken anywhere on the Continent no statesman, however sagacious, can tell how long the war will last, or what countries will be dragged into the contest. Will the Federal execution in Holstein lead to hostilities? Those who are best acquainted with the temper of the Danes and the Germans think it will do so. Can the dispute be confined to narrow limits, or will the Great Powers be involved in the quarrel? Will England,—for we desire to look at the question from a purely English point of view,—be able to maintain a neutral position? No doubt the general reply would be in the affirmative, but it is equally certain that the general impression is that the situation is highly critical, and that a single blunder on our part may compel us to unsheathe the sword. Ten years ago, when we were on the very eve of war with Russia, when our fleets had departed for the scene of action, and when our troops had been embarked for foreign service, from press and platform came continued asseverations, that the despatch of our ships and soldiers only meant an armed demonstration. If we had not been so deceived it is possible that war might have been averted, or we might have been better prepared for the encounter. But then, as now, men were loath to believe that a dreaded evil was near, and they preferred to hope against hope. Ten years ago, however, such a hope was more reasonable than it is now. Austria had too much to do at home to enlist in any enterprise; the kingdom of Italy was not in existence; if Prussia would not co-operate with the Western Powers her neutrality was certain; the relations between England and France were cordial; and Russia, without an ally, was confronted by a formidable alliance. How different is the aspect at this moment! If war ensues, Prussia, Austria, and Italy must be belligerents. Our Foreign Secretary has succeeded in damaging the cordial alliance between this country and France, though he is now inadvertently playing into the hands of France. And there is another ground for apprehension. We have been for years getting ready for war. Europe is armed *cap-a-pie*, and every exchequer is impoverished. It is true, that being ready for hostilities will often discourage them, but then this policy must not be pushed too far. War, though long, must end; but to an armed peace, which is scarcely less exhausting, there is no end except in war. A feeling is wide-spread that it would be better to have a trial of strength, and then reduce the exorbitant military establishments. The Emperor of the French, doubtless, had this in his mind when he proposed a Congress, which, by settling disputed points, would permit Europe to disarm.

But until lately the situation, though threatening, was not desperate. Provided an immediate outbreak could be avoided, the dangers that menaced the peace of Europe seemed remediable. Prussia, Italy, and Austria would not fight willingly. War will cost the Prussians the loss of their constitutional Government; the King of Italy wants time to consolidate his power; and Austria cannot fight without money, or obtain money without fomenting discontent at home. Holstein was the difficulty, but a difficulty that admitted of an easy solution.



We will not trouble our readers with the much-vexed Slesvig-Holstein question; but in order to show how Earl Russell has jeopardised our security and welfare, it will be necessary to glance at the actual state of affairs when Charles IX. ascended the throne.

It has always been the policy of Sweden to keep clear of any connection, either direct or indirect, with the German Diet, and consequently her relations with Denmark, though friendly, were not so intimate as they would have been but for the Danish association with Germany through Holstein. When, therefore, the late King Frederick published an ordinance which severed Holstein from all political connection with Denmark except allegiance to a common sovereign, Sweden was forthwith pledged to assist Denmark in case of need. Never had the latter Government been so strong, and never had the German Diet been so effectually checkmated. There might be a Federal execution in Holstein, but with Sweden at the back of Denmark, Germany would not dare to pursue the game of which the Federal execution was merely the first step and the cover. The death of King Frederick gave the Germans an opportunity for intrigue, and, thanks to Earl Russell, they have been able to upset the offensive and defensive alliance between Sweden and Denmark. The dispute about the title of Christian IX. was primarily of little significance. The succession had been settled by a solemn treaty; and it is utterly false to allege that the Holsteiners had been handed over to a new government without their consent being asked or obtained. The Great Powers were not guilty of such injustice. They made no change in the government of Holstein: they left the Duchy under the protection of the German Diet. All they did was to decide the succession to the throne of Denmark and to the dukedom of Holstein, so as to prevent the untoward complication of a dynastic war. And be it observed, that to effect this arrangement, although the Holsteiners were not called upon to make any change in their law of succession, the Danes had to consent to an important modification. If the new king made any attempt to violate the rights of the Holsteiners, he was amenable for his conduct to the German Diet, which body had the power—a power that it is now exercising—of taking military possession of the country and administering its affairs. Under such circumstances, if there had been no interference between Germany and the Scandinavian Powers, there would have been no prospect of war, in spite of the blustering of Germany and the angry recriminations of Denmark. But Earl Russell presides at the English Foreign-office; and although his lordship has a very sincere horror of war—a horror that makes pusillanimity appear a virtue in his eyes—he is perpetually writing despatches and otherwise so acting as to produce and foster ill-will and hostilities.

It is the traditional policy of this country—a policy not only approved by our statesmen, but in which the people heartily concur—to maintain intact the integrity of the kingdom of Denmark. The Danes are so placed, geographically, that, though few in number, they hold an important strategic position. To have Denmark on our side in the event of an European war is of moment, because, besides her power on land, she occupies ports that would be dangerous in the hands of an enemy and are most convenient in the hands of a friend. Nor had we any reason to expect that the alliance between England and Denmark would fail us. As long as Denmark remained independent she was our natural ally; but if Denmark should be absorbed into a Scandinavian kingdom, then we could no longer calculate on her firm friendship. A new Power would exist, which might seek other alliances than ours, and which would be more likely to look to Paris than to London for support. What, then, has been the conduct of Earl Russell? Has our Foreign Secretary sought to give all lawful aid to Denmark? Has he acted like an English Minister?

How he has played fast and loose with the question is now a matter of history. One year he wrote a despatch strongly in favour of the German Diet, and the following year a despatch as strongly in favour of Denmark; and the extraordinary spectacle was presented of the antagonists respectively offering to be guided, each one by the despatch that favoured his side, both despatches emanating from the same source. But Earl Russell has not been so neutral as it might be inferred from his running with the hare, and holding with the hounds. The marked disrespect with which the Danish Royal family has been treated when in this country has long been the topic of conversation on the Continent, and it has even encouraged the Germans to conclude that we are ready and willing to sacrifice Denmark. When the King of Greece was here, although it was of the utmost importance to him and to the success of his

arduous enterprise that he should be supported by all the moral influence of this country, he was not honoured with an interview with Queen Victoria. For this, every loyal subject, well knowing and admiring our sovereign's devotion to her duties, will hold the constitutional Ministers of the Crown solely responsible. Nor is this all. When the Prince and Princess Christian, now the King and Queen of Denmark, were visiting this country, they had but one brief interview with Her Majesty; and on that occasion, it is reported, they were received at the Windsor station by no higher official than the station-master. But it might have been expected that when a crisis arrived, Earl Russell, no matter how strong his German proclivities, would have pursued a policy acceptable to his fellow-countrymen and useful to Denmark. He has done nothing of the sort. By his influence Christian IX. has revoked the patent of March, and is, so it is alleged, prepared to make further concessions.

Earl Russell will find his policy of cringing to the spoiler an utter failure. The appetite of the covetous is never satiated by compliance with unjust demands. The more the German Diet gets the more it will want. Unless our Foreign Secretary is very ill served in Denmark he must have learned from our minister at Copenhagen what is the feeling of the Danes, and that King Christian risks his crown by every concession to Germany. They are resolved not to give up an inch of territory or any of their rights; but if Europe allows Holstein to be wrested from them, then they are ready to join Sweden and to merge their nationality in a Kingdom of Scandinavia. Such a result would be very acceptable to French interests, and the conflict that must precede such a settlement might gratify French ambition, by giving the opportunity for a campaign on the Rhine; but we suppose the programme will not be very acceptable to Englishmen. Yet how is it to be avoided? By a European Congress? Earl Russell, in emphatic and discourteous terms, has rejected the idea. Will the moral suasion of England be effective? Earl Russell has made the very term a by-word and a laughing-stock. We have weakened the position of Denmark, and the hour seems rapidly approaching when we shall be placed in this dilemma: either we must go to war against Prussia to protect Denmark, or we must suffer Denmark to be dismembered and so lose a faithful and valuable ally.

It has been the boast of Earl Russell in reference to the American quarrel that he has been so neutral as to provoke the ill will of both the Confederates and the Federals. He can hardly make this boast now, seeing how zealous his agents have been in Canada in acting as Federal detectives, and that even the Northerners admit that he has been very friendly indeed in being so wide-awake about steam-rans, and so blind about recruiting in Ireland; but so far as Europe is concerned, his lordship can still glory in that kind of neutrality which consists in offending everyone. Earl Russell talked big to Russia and then ate humble-pie, and England was never so low in Russian estimation as at this moment. He encouraged the Poles to hope for assistance, and deserted them in their great need. The German press teems with virulent articles against this country. In Denmark, English friendship is more dreaded than German enmity. In Greece, we have set up a king and are already quarrelling with him, and in that country, where our influence was supreme, we have become decidedly unpopular. In Italy, French influence prevails. With the French, those sincere relations that were the best guarantee of peace in Europe are not so good as formerly. If we extended our survey to the East we should find that there, as elsewhere, Earl Russell has bullied the weak and cringed to the strong, and that everywhere he has made the name of England either hated or despised. Thus are we sowing the seeds of enmity broadcast, and some day, and perhaps before long, we shall reap the fruits of Earl Russell's masterly policy, which consists in leaving England without a friend or an ally, either in the Old World or the New.

#### PARIS TOPICS.

##### A NEW WORK ON THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 22.

If speech had not been invented to conceal men's thoughts, one might safely predicate that France had no thought of going to war. The debate in the Senate, of the opening passages of which I wrote in my last, has been all in favour of a peaceful policy. In vain M. de Ségur d'Agnesseau pleaded the cause of Poland, even to the extent of war. The only other advocate who raised his voice in favour of that most unfortunate people was fain to acknowledge that, while deploring its fate, he had no remedy to offer. Even with railroads, France is still a long way off from Poland—a truth which was made self-evident to the victims of written and spoken declarations, both here and elsewhere—even by M. Bonjean. The Marquis de la Rochejaqueleine spoke eloquently, and was listened to with significant favour when he denounced the assassinations of the secret committee which a few weeks ago, if no longer,

governed Warsaw, and the falsehoods with which the Polish organs have pandered to European imaginativeness. But the *coup de grace* was given by M. Dupin—now *Procureur Général*, Louis Philippe's testamentary executor, and for the whole, or greater part, of his reign, President of the Chamber of Deputies. His speech was decisive; he spoke the thoughts of France, which will have no war; and he was really on this occasion, as I have heard said, the *Procureur-Général* of France. Your readers will have seen in the daily papers the Emperor's answer to the Senate's Address published in this morning's *Moniteur*—they will have seen that it re-echoes the peaceful language of the Senate, and they will have remarked the quotation from the first Napoleon's sayings—which sometimes differed from his doings.

The proposed Address of the legislative body has not yet seen the light. I am told that in committee one of the Liberal opposition proposed the insertion of a paragraph in favour of the North, which was at once voted down. It is also rumoured that the great Legitimist orator, M. Berryer, has undertaken to bring forward an amendment in the same sense. His doing so can be ascribed to nothing but a desire to embarrass the Government, superadded to the old Legitimist self-glorification, which ascribes the Independence of the American colonies, not to Anglo-Saxon sturdiness, but to the aid of the French court. We may respect an honest delusion, even when it serves to blind its worshippers to the disastrous consequences of which they were themselves the victims; but it is still passing strange to see the great opponent of all revolutions siding with those who are its advocates, both in Europe and America. So much there is in a name, that the really conservative movement in the late United States, because it has been nicknamed a rebellion by men whose theory of government knows no such word, frightens the most brilliant speaker, and not the least sound thinker, in France, from his propriety.

"Le Congrès est mort, vive le Congrès," is the cry of French diplomacy. In my studies of works on the culinary art I have met with a recipe for making omelets without eggs. So a Congress there will be, without England and Austria, unless the ministerial conferences which are to precede it end as such things sometimes do, in demonstrating the utter hopelessness of the principals agreeing. The King of Italy wishes for Rome and Venice, the Pope for Italy and a *piéd-à-terre* in the rest of the world; Spain is growing clamorous for Gibraltar, and the Sultan insists upon keeping what he has; Prussia has probably hardly made up its mind to the loss of certain Rhine provinces which considerations of sound geography, if not of nationalities, will exact from it, and we have not yet heard what *sop Russia* is prepared to throw to this Cerberus.

Notwithstanding the new assurance of peace which the Congress gives, although peace be proclaimed with the eloquence of a Dupin—not at the street-corners, indeed, but in the *champs clos* of the Senate—the Bourse, deafened, perhaps, with its own noise, hears none of these good things—all funds are falling, though least of all the 3 per cents., which are sustained by those who have an interest in the new loan. It is now rumoured that it will be a public one, with certain advantages to the holders of Treasury bonds, which comes very much to what I stated as its probable form. The true reason of the fall in securities is most probably that the pressure for money is quite as severe here as it is in England, although the rate of discount has not advanced beyond 7 per cent., nominally.

Since I last wrote there has appeared in Paris a work\* on the condition of the Confederate States. It is in the form of a *mémoire* to Napoleon III., and is written by Dr. Charles Girard, formerly secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Its greatest praise is that it is utterly unpretending, and fulfils its object as no art of rhetoric could have done. Addressed to a sovereign, it contains no superfluous word, and is disfigured by no flight of oratory. It is a plain statement of plain facts, related with a not inelegant simplicity which bears the sterling stamp of truth. As I believe that the author does not contemplate publishing an English edition I shall send you some rather copious extracts, only regretting that the space I can claim from you does not allow of my sending you the entire work.

Dr. Girard reached Charleston on the 8th of July, the day before the Federals made their first attack on Morris Island, the first act in what may be called the second siege of Charleston. He describes with dry humour the desperate attack on Fort Wagner on the 19th, and how a negro regiment took a glorious part in the repulse they suffered, encouraged to deeds of daring "at the post of honour" by Federal bayonets directed to its seat. But he did not tarry in Charleston, proceeding directly to Richmond, and the two or three pages which he allows to this journey of 450 miles give a glimpse of powers of description which make the reader regret that the intention of the work prevented their display.

His first visit was to the President, to whom he had the good fortune to have valuable letters of introduction. Thanks to these, he found not only a warm reception, but obtained permission to visit the various factories which have sprung up in the Confederate States with such truly American rapidity, and also the army of Northern Virginia under General Lee.

The Cabinet of the President is composed of an attorney-general, four secretaries—for foreign affairs, army, navy and finance—and a postmaster-general. Most of your readers know the range of affairs which these officers embrace, and those who do not, can do no better than consult the work itself. I shall speak only of the postmaster-general, whom I take to be a fair sample of the others, and one whose achievements are most easily understood by strangers, for they are expressed in something like pounds, shillings and pence.

"Up to the time of the separation the postal system in the United States cost the treasury \$300,000 (£60,000) a-year. The Constitution of the Confederate States provides that the Post-office shall pay its own expenses. Under the administration of the postmaster-general, Mr. Reagan, not only the expenses of this department have been covered, but there was a surplus at the end of the fiscal year 1863."

From the Post-office we may go to the Admiralty, where we shall find business not less efficiently conducted.

"Captain J. M. Brooke, head of the artillery department of the navy, is the inventor of the gun with one or several rings which is now known by his name. He was so obliging as to give me all the information I required on this subject, as well as in regard to the Confederate ironclads, *Merrimac*, and its celebrated sea-duel with the Federal *Monitor*."

"When the *Merrimac* left Norfolk, on the 8th March, 1862, its object was to destroy the wooden vessels which barred the entrance of that harbour. The Confederates had not at the time the least idea of the approach of the *Monitor*, and did not therefore force the episode which I am about to relate."

"After setting fire to the Congress sinking the *Cumberland*, damaging the *Minnesota*, battering the *Saint-Laurence* and



disabling the *Erie* and some gun-boats, besides silencing the surrounding forts—in all defended by 2,899 men and 220 guns, the *Merrimac* offered battle to the *Monitor*, which chance, it is said, had brought to the scene of action. After a fight which every one remembers, the two champions left the scene of combat at the same time and without decisive result."

"Europe was startled by this unaccustomed action between iron-clads. It was the first in a new era of naval warfare. It was said that the advantages had been equal, and that a new engagement was required to decide on the superiority of one or the other of the combatants. This mode of reasoning was based on the idea that the two parties fought with equal arms, whilst in reality it was not so. The *Merrimac* carried only shells, without a single shot on board. It went out only to attack wooden ships, intending to run them down with its projecting prows or to set them on fire with its shells. It was therefore considered that shot were useless. At the same time it must be allowed that the Confederates had not then the means of making balls, and it is to be presumed that if they had had them the *Merrimac* would have carried some for the chance of accident."

"The Confederates were not blind to the importance of keeping the secret on this occasion, so that public opinion was not set right by the press, which vied in discussing the results of this first engagement. They waited patiently for the day when a new naval combat should settle all doubts on the subject."

"A month afterwards the *Merrimac* being ready to renew the struggle, which had been, as if by mutual consent, interrupted on the 9th of March, again offered battle to the *Monitor* in Hampton Roads. My readers will remember that the *Monitor* did not take up the gauntlet, and this for reasons which are still unexplained. It is supposed that the Federals, having got wind of the real state of things, thought it more prudent to decline the trial which was offered them."

"The *Monitor* took refuge under the guns of Fort Monroe, and the *Merrimac* retired. Both these 'monsters of the sea' have since disappeared: the *Merrimac* destroyed by the hands of its officers to prevent its falling into the power of the enemy when the Confederates evacuated Norfolk, May 11th, 1862; the *Monitor* was swamped on a stormy night in the following December, in doubling Cape Hatteras.

"But Brooke's guns and his projectiles have survived these disasters."

The author gives a description of both, interesting to the peace-loving citizen of Great Britain, who reads the columns of the *Times* devoted to the experiments at Shoeburyness with even more gusto than the reports of the Matrimonial Cause Court; but I must refer him to the original for the satisfaction of his innocent curiosity. But if Dr. Girard has not been misled, he may be satisfied that neither Armstrong nor express-train Whitworth comes up to the Brooke gun, at least at short distances.

The next point which strikes the writer for the press is the freedom, the truly English freedom, which the Confederate Government has under very trying circumstances maintained. It stands even in favourable contrast with the English practice in Ireland in 1848 or '49. Neither the central nor any of the State Governments has an official organ. But yet neither the Government of Richmond nor the State Governments it represents are without their violent opponents.

"The Opposition is generally composed of men who are influenced only by disappointments; who attack the Government of their country only because they have not reached the objects of their personal ambition. This is the secret of the social theories they proclaim."

"This was the case with the *Raleigh Standard*. It systematically ran down the cause of the South, and it needed all the respect of the Government of Richmond for the freedom of the press and for the sovereign rights of the State of North Carolina to save it from suppression. It required all the firmness which marks the President's character to enable him to resist the popular current, which was strongly in favour of severe treatment."

"I was myself witness of the indignation with which some numbers of the *Standard* in the beginning of August were received by the people. . . . Judging by certain symptoms I am inclined to believe that the North Carolina regiments, had they been at Raleigh, would have taken it on themselves to vindicate the honour of their State, as the inhabitants of Raleigh were very near doing when they assembled before the office of the paper. Mr. Vance, the Governor, came himself to appease the exasperation of the crowd, and exhorted it to treat the paper and its writers with silent contempt, so as not to furnish history with a single incident which resembled an attack on the liberty of the press."

"The crowd listened to Mr. Vance and obeyed him, and the paper soon left the place, having lost every subscriber."

This long extract seemed too interesting to be omitted, contrasting as it does with the repressive measures by which the press has been muzzled in the North.

I had marked also for extract the chapter containing a visit to Drewry's Bluff, otherwise Fort Darling, and the historical rectification Dr. Girard gives of the Federal account of the battle of the 15th May, 1862. Space forbids this, and I conclude with some passages showing the treatment of Confederate prisoners by the Federals, as well as the disregard of all the usages of war by the Northern armies.

"In one of my conversations with the President (Davis) reprisals were talked of. I had been often present at warm discussions on this subject on the part of men in various ranks of life and of various instruction. The newspapers treated the question in all its aspects. General Lee, in one of his orders of the day, had summed it up in such noble words that they brought conviction to almost the entire nation. 'The question,' said he, 'is not as to what our enemies deserve, but what is worthy of us.' The President, in the interview to which I allude, exclaimed, 'I am forced to do myself violence to prevent being carried away by the just feelings of hatred and vengeance which the conduct of our enemies inspires me with; men without faith or law, with no principles of morality, depraved and abject beyond all that language can express.'"

"Thus at the time of which I speak the exchange of prisoners was made on the most liberal scale on the part of the South, which often gave three for one. But after the events of Vicksburg and Port Hudson the North suddenly and for the first time held a greater number than the South. At first the North stopped the cartel entirely, and afterwards it would only make exchanges of the privates, reserving the officers as hostages for the chance of future reprisals."

It often happened also that when a cartel had been agreed to between the belligerents, instead of forwarding those who were included in it by the most direct road, as was always done in the South, they marched them long round-about routes from penitentiary to penitentiary, through pestilential districts, until disease, fatigue, and privations of all sorts had decimated their numbers. It was thus that 5,000 prisoners

were five months in coming from Arkansas to Virginia. I need hardly add, that the prisoners for whom the South received them had long since returned to their homes, and many were again enlisted in the Federal service."

"Another detachment of some hundreds of prisoners, who, after their exchange was agreed to, had been thus marched from prison to prison across the United States, passed lately through Washington, where Mr. Lincoln reviewed them. The men who composed the detachment were only the remnant of a larger number, who had survived the misery and disease under which their fellows had sunk during their long captivity. This tells sufficiently what their present state must have been. One of them saw a negro in the crowd who had once been his servant. 'Master,' said the negro, 'you seem ill and in want of the most necessary things. Here are a \$100, and as soon as the war is over, when I can get out of this uniform, I shall come back to the plantation.'"

In Dr. Girard's pages we have several glimpses of the atrocities committed by the Northern troops and the utter disregard their generals show for the acknowledged rights of non-combatants. He finds at Richmond 180 families of refugees from Western Virginia, who had been driven from their homes with only sixty pounds of baggage each and \$100 of money. In their raids into North Carolina they fire the villages after taking all they can carry away, even robbing the women of their ornaments; not unfrequently, with cold blooded ferocity, firing through the windows at groups of women and children.

"I, one evening, at General Cooper's, heard the Governor of North Carolina tell how, in their numerous incursions into his State, the enemy carried off by force whole families of negroes; that on several occasions, being surrounded at the moment of embarkation by the local militia, the negroes took the opportunity of escaping to return to their masters, and that then the Yankees turned their fury on the negro children, whom they tore from their mothers' arms and flung into the water. On other occasions they drowned the negroes by wholesale when they resisted the attempt to carry them off."

"The Yankees exercised similar cruelty on the whites. In one detachment of prisoners, of whom a great part was ill of small pox, caught in the miserable huts in which they had been lodged, they amused themselves with fastening them two and two, a sick man to a healthy one, to spread the disease; and then, when the disease reached its height, they would throw them overboard with loud cheers."

We hear only of a small number of the engagements which take place between the two parties, it often happening that several are fought on the same day at great distances.

"Up to the 1st of January, 1863, 250 engagements, more or less important, had taken place, and of these about two-thirds had been favourable to the Confederates."

"The losses were estimated, on the side of the Confederates, at 102,677, as follows:—

Killed .. .. .	20,891
Wounded .. .. .	59,615
Prisoners .. .. .	22,169

On the side of the Federals, in all, 209,116:—

Killed .. .. .	43,874
Wounded .. .. .	97,029
Prisoners .. .. .	68,213

"It is calculated that the number who have fallen victims to disease, or their wounds, were 120,000 on the side of the Confederates and 250,000 on that of the Federals."

In taking leave of Dr. Girard's work, from which I would gladly have made more copious extracts, I may call attention to the map which accompanies it. It shows the division of the States, not exactly as it at present exists; Maryland, for instance, which is retained in the Union by force, figures here as a Southern State; but it is striking as an answer to Mr. Lincoln's geographical dilemma, for here we see a frontier plainly marked out by great natural boundaries or ancient landmarks. The immense extent of the Confederate territory, as thus seen at a glance, is very striking, and offers the best argument in answer to those sanguine friends of the North who look to the speedy subjugation of the Southern States.

## THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN ITALY.

(From *La Discusione* of Turin, December 9.)

A COUNTRY which is fighting for independence is sometimes called upon to delegate to the military power which has taken up its defence the entire management of public affairs. It is pardonable in a country, menaced by a foreign invasion, if it voluntarily renounces its municipal rights, so long as the contest lasts. How much more, then, must we admire a people which, in the hour of extreme national distress, not only combats the external enemy with surpassing valour, but preserves intact all its home liberties, and continues to maintain a dignified, calm, and perfect public order, without needing, even for a moment, to confer unlimited power on its military chiefs!

This is the heroic and admirable attitude which the people of the South have preserved.

Whatever may be said by their enemies, or by those who see only in this people a haughty aristocracy of slave-holding planters, it cannot, even by them, be denied that in the midst of all the horrors of a Vandalic war carried on against it by a powerful and unscrupulous neighbour—in the midst of the multiplied dangers which surround it on every side, and in the midst of bombardments, of penury, of the blockade, and of privations of every sort, with financial difficulties and universal mourning—the judicial power has not ceased its functions for a single day, and the Habeas Corpus, that palladium of a free people, has not been suspended in a single instance.

Admitting that the South is an aristocracy, can it be said that that is a blameworthy or odious aristocracy which bears itself so gallantly on the battle-field, and in the midst of all its difficulties maintains inviolate its internal franchises? What aristocracy has ever done so much before?

Let us now cross the Potomac and see what is passing in the North. No stranger enemy threatens to invade that country; no external violence seeks to suspend the constitutional liberties of those States. Far from it; the property of their citizens is secure, commerce is flourishing, the sanctuaries of home and of religion are unpoluted by a licentious soldiery, and Peace herself might seek her abiding place in the midst of that sublime scenery. But a mad craving for conquest has disordered every mind.

To satisfy the thirst of this national folly no horror is left unperpetrated, there is no humiliation to which all heads do not voluntarily bend. Thus we see the Habeas Corpus suspended, coin banished from circulation, and the country inundated with worthless paper; the press is muzzled, the hustings are silent, and the pulpit itself is bought. The civil tribunals are occupied by dragoons, and the few individuals to whom God has left sense enough to protest against this spontaneous and universal degradation, are taken in the night

time, handcuffed, and cast into prison. Every moral sense is abdicated! For what? For the Union!! Yes! perish liberty, let all traditional franchises disappear, let all be demolished and destroyed, but save the Union!

Behold to what the loud outcry of the North has come—behold the aim and end of the war—the preservation of the Union! 'Those who were weak enough to believe that the North would spend its millions and shed its blood to liberate the negro are now, we may hope, convinced—alas! too late for humanity—how unfounded and fallacious was their credulity.

But if there be any who still persist in seeing in the present war a noble intention to redeem a family of mankind, they will do well to read the speech made by Mr. Lincoln's prime minister at Auburn, on the eve of the elections. Not a word was said on that solemn occasion in favour of the negro, but the predominating sentiment from first to last of the speech was the preservation of the Union at any cost. For this end nothing will be left untried; and if by chance the people of the North at the next presidential election took it into their heads to set aside the present Administration and to choose a new President, Mr. Seward takes care to warn them that their master, Lincoln, is now the master of legions, and that the soldiery is now the supreme power in the State. 'Name another President,' says Mr. Seward, 'and you will have civil war in perpetuity, which is simply perpetual anarchy. Undeceive yourselves. Mr. Lincoln cannot cease to be President until the Union is re-established. In virtue of his election in 1860, Abraham Lincoln must be President of the South, for otherwise peace will be lost to the country, and the Union itself will make shipwreck.'

Let us take note of this menace, which is the first step towards a military despotism, and let us watch to see if deeds will follow these words. Assuredly they are words of great weight, for they come from the mouth of a prime minister whose master is the absolute disposer of 300,000 bayonets; but let us hope that even if the North submits to such ignominy the heroic resistance of the South will render the plot nugatory.

## THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our own Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, December 23.

THE inhabitants of the important borough of Burnley have followed the example set them by other Lancashire towns, in declaring, by a vast majority, in favour of a separation of the Northern and Southern States. The meeting was officially called by the Mayor, in accordance with a requisition presented to him by 300 of his fellow-townsmen, for the purpose, in the terms of the address, "of considering the propriety of adopting a petition to Her Majesty to take measures in concert with other European sovereigns to put an end to the present disastrous war in America, upon the basis of the Independence of the South."

In the unavoidable absence of his worship, and lest a sufficient civic authority might on that account appear to be wanting to the proceedings, the conduct of the meeting was placed in the hands of the town-clerk (Captain Creeke), who was unanimously voted to the chair. Among the principal speakers were the Rev. E. A. Verity (Rector of Habergham), the Rev. J. T. Shawcross, Mr. Alderman Robinson, and Mr. Councillor Kay. With regard to the first-named reverend gentleman, some opposition was offered by the Northern minority who contended that, as a point of order, it was incompetent for him, not being resident within the town, to address a meeting which was specifically an assembly of townsmen; but upon the town-clerk putting the question to the vote, it was decided that Mr. Verity should be heard.

The reverend gentleman then addressed the meeting at some length, but was frequently interrupted by the same section of his audience that had raised the point of order. The chairman, though repeatedly called upon to exercise his authority by ordering the removal of certain persons, steadily declined to do so, upon the ground that, whatever might be the decision of the meeting upon the great question under consideration, such decision could not go forth as final unless the fullest liberty were allowed to all in the free expression of their opinions. In the course of his address, Mr. Verity exposed the specious fallacy that the American war was in any Northern sense a struggle of liberty against slavery; and even supposing that such was the case, he argued that slavery could not be put an end to by any amount of violence. Slavery could only be suppressed by peaceful means—by the civilising influence of public opinion, and by the spread of the gospel of peace and good will. Referring to the attempts made by the Northern party in Lancashire to qualify the evils of the cotton famine, and thereby to strengthen the hands of the Government in its policy of doing nothing, the reverend gentleman pointed to the increase of pauperism as shown by the returns of the relief committee, and appealed from the statements of the Union and Emancipation Society to the bitter experiences of the operatives themselves. Did they not see distress around them, in their neighbours' dwellings as well as in their own? Was it true, that the people of Lancashire were content to work on Surats? Were not thousands and tens of thousands reduced to depend upon the scanty dole of charity, while they were eagerly waiting to do a fair day's work for a fair day's wage? And, even of those who were still in employ, were not the majority earning less by one-third now than three years ago? He contended that, notwithstanding the so-called patience of the people (by which phrase he understood their degradation and ruin), it was the bounden duty of the Government to consider if something could not be done to mitigate the evils of the crisis in Lancashire. It was true that England declared her neutrality in a proclamation issued at the beginning of the war; but, since that time nearly three years of useless bloodshed had rolled away, and not only was the war no nearer its termination than ever, but it became more and more evident that it was carried on for the purpose of imperial aggrandisement, and for the sake of exterminating—not only slavery—but the white men of the South. He had much pleasure in moving the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting, the war in America is an injury to the world, and that the present aspects of the conflict afford no hope of its early termination, unless by means of the moral influence of Europe. We, therefore, earnestly urge upon the Government of this country to enter into communication with the European Powers to concert with them as to the best means of bringing about peace."

Mr. James Greenwood, in supporting the resolution, called attention to the pacific terms in which it was couched. He showed that what the Government was asked to do in the words of the motion had been done before in several instances. There was no need to draw the sword in support of friendly counsels. England had peaceably interfered in the case of Spain and Holland, Holland and Belgium, and Turkey and Greece. In each of those cases separation had taken place, and the several nations were living in peace with each other.



Mr. Alderman Robinson was of opinion that the British Cabinet should at once enter into communications with the Cabinets of Washington and Richmond, with a view to deal as tenderly as possible with the susceptibilities of both belligerents, so that the proposals for peace might be rendered as acceptable as the circumstances of the case would allow. He contended that England was not acting in the full spirit of her proclamation of neutrality; nor did he believe it possible for any nation to be neutral as regards its moral influence. In the present instance the British Government, while professing the most impartial neutrality, was really lending its influence in supporting a war of extermination.

Mr. H. Uttley thought it was the bounden duty of every upright man to do the utmost in his power to stop the war. A great deal had been said in disparagement of the South on account of the domestic institution of slavery. If the Southerners loved slavery, the Northerners hated the slave. He would rather be the slave of a master than the degraded subject of a political faction. The Union and Emancipation Society said a great deal about liberty. He would like to know what kind of liberty they meant. Was it liberty to free slaves and kill them? Was it liberty to prevent others from enjoying it? Yet such was the liberty the North was preaching to the world. The South wished to separate itself from the North, but it seems that, according to this new liberty, the South is to be coerced by the North because the Northerners are the only liberty-loving people in the world. He thought the moral power of England would have great weight with all sections of the American people, and if they failed in urging the British Government to exercise that power, still the world would see that Englishmen had done their duty like men, by the legitimate means of petition and remonstrance.

The following amendment was moved, but rejected:—  
“That this meeting believes that the neutral policy hitherto pursued by Her Majesty’s Government is just, wise, prudent, and dignified; and hopes that the present representatives in Parliament will sustain the advisers of the Queen in the course of non-interference which they have hitherto pursued.”

The original motion was then put, and carried by an overwhelming majority.

The Rev. E. A. Verity then read a petition embodying the sentiments of the meeting, and a vote was taken to authorise the chairman to sign it on behalf of the inhabitants of Burnley in public meeting assembled.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Captain Creeke for the impartial manner in which he had conducted the meeting, and the assembly dispersed after cheering cordially for the “South and Independence.”

Copies of the following petition to both Houses of Parliament are now lying for signature at upwards of 100 of the largest cotton mills in the Manchester district:—

“The humble petition of the undersigned managers, overlookers and others engaged in the cotton manufacture at Messrs. ———’s mills,

“Sheweth—That your petitioners depend for their livelihood entirely on the cotton manufacture, and therefore on the importation into this country of a sufficient supply of cotton.

“That until civil war broke out in America, the Southern States have always supplied cotton enough of the quality best adapted to our wants, by the use of which we could earn wages sufficient for the support of ourselves and our families; and as no failure in the supply of such cotton was anticipated, our rate of wages has been based upon its use.

“That since the beginning of the war, one half of our number have been entirely deprived of work, thereby becoming paupers or recipients of charity; while a large majority of the remainder, compelled to use inferior cotton, have earned only about two-thirds of their former wages.

“That when first the war destroyed our means of livelihood we suffered our privations patiently, believing that they could not last; but we see with dismay that every successive mail from America brings tidings of greater cruelty and ferocity on the part of the Northern leaders, and of a sterner resolution on both sides to carry on the war.

“Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your lordships [for honourable House] will be pleased to take such steps as may, in your judgment, most speedily lead to the re-establishment of peace.

“And your petitioners, &c.”

At the monthly general meeting of the Central Relief Committee, held on Monday last, the honorary secretary (Mr. McClure) reported a further increase of about 1,700 in the number of persons receiving parochial relief. The committee at present hold a balance of about £225,000, while the Mansion-house, Liverpool, and Bridgewater-house committee have still at their disposal about £185,000. A few weeks ago Mr. Commissioner Farnall issued circulars to the relieving officers in the cotton districts, asking for information as to the present position and employment of those labourers and factory operatives who have ceased to receive parochial relief since 6th December, 1862, when pauperism attained its maximum. Some of the returns which have been received are incomplete, but making the best use he can of the data with which he has been supplied, Mr. Farnall frames the following estimate:—That 15,564 persons who were paupers in December 1862, cannot be traced by the relieving officers; that 54,474 have resumed their usual work; that 25,943 are employed in out-door works, and that 7,782 have either removed or emigrated. But these returns do not include those persons who were solely maintained by the various local relief committees. The number of persons now returned as receiving parochial relief is 130,630, as against 59,492 in December 1861; the cost at the several periods being £8,073 15s. 6d. as against £2,910 7s. 11d.

**ERRATUM.**—In the letter of Hon. C. J. McRae a typographical error substituted 50,000 for 30,000 as the number of bales of American cotton imported into the Liverpool market since 1st of August. It should have read that about 100,000 from 1st of January to 1st of August, and 50,000 since the latter date had been received, making in round numbers 130,000 during the year.

**THE LAW,** whether intentionally or accidentally, operates in favour of the Federal belligerent. It was expected that judgment would have been pronounced yesterday in the case of the *Alexandra*. The Court of Exchequer pronounced judgment in many cases, but not in that of the *Alexandra*. The effect of this is to defer judgment until the first day of next term, that is, until the 11th of January next. We infer from the delay that the judges are divided in opinion; or that the case is not quite so plain as the legal officers of the Crown in England asserted it to be. The judges no doubt feel a difficulty in pronouncing in favour of the *Crown*; for if they adjudge that the *Alexandra* should be confiscated, what are they

to do in the case of the *Victor*, alias the *Rappahannock*, should a question respecting that vessel ever come before them? The Admiralty sold Her Majesty’s sloop-of-war *Victor* apparently without inquiring into the character of her purchaser. The *Victor* is now the Confederate war steamer *Rappahannock* of six guns. If the judges decide that the builders of the *Alexandra* violated the Foreign Enlistment Act in selling her, will they not, by that decision, decide that Her Majesty’s Admiralty have transgressed the law in a still greater degree?—*Dublin Irish Times*.

[The third article on “The Causes of the American War,” by Professor Bledsoe, is unavoidably held over until next week.]

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Dec. 23.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

SINCE the last rise in the Bank rate of discount the Money Market has assumed, and retains a far more steady and satisfactory appearance. In addition to the Bank returns, which continue favourable, there have been considerable arrivals of specie, most of which has been sent into the Bank; whilst, at the same time, the withdrawals for transmission abroad are merely nominal; all of which tend to give strength to the markets. The applications for accommodation, both at the Bank and out of doors, have been greatly restricted, and the brokers are dealing freely at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or  $\frac{1}{4}$  below the Bank minimum; and for choice bills the terms are in some instances  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The joint stock banks are well supplied with capital, which they dispose of at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. On the Stock Exchange the supply continues abundant, and short loans on Government securities are advanced at 4 per cent. It is indeed said that the Bank directors will immediately reduce the minimum term of discount.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The bullion and specie transactions during the week have been on the whole of a satisfactory character. Specie to a considerable amount is again finding its way into the Bank, whilst the withdrawals have been very limited. The total amount sent in, including £128,000 this afternoon, has been £472,000, whilst there has been taken out only £42,000. The arrivals of gold have also been large, the total reaching £696,242, of which all is from New York, with the exception of £242,332 from Port Phillip. The Peninsular and Oriental steamer on Tuesday took out £122,589, of which £92,115 was in silver and £30,474 gold, the whole being on merchant’s account. The following were the proportions:—India, £29,904; China and the Straits, £64,215; Mauritius, £17,000; Alexandria, £11,300; and Ceylon, £170. The market for silver has again become quiet, but in the early part of the week there was an active demand for Bombay. The bar silver brought by the last West India packet has been sold at 5s. 1½d. per ounce, showing no alteration. Mexican dollars are very inactive, and there is little or no demand for them, the price, however, is called 5s. 1d. per ounce. The only gold ships at present known to be out are the *Prince of Wales* with £142,000, and the *Transatlantic* with 15,000 sovereigns.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The improved state of the Money Market, with the better appearance of commercial affairs in general, has materially influenced the English Stock Market. The brokers show more eagerness to do business, prices have in consequence advanced considerably, and there appears at present every prospect of a further improvement, though for the next few days, in consequence of the intervention of the Christmas holidays, less animation must be looked for. Consols closed this evening at  $91\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  ex div. for money, and  $91\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  ex. div. for the account, which as contrasted with last week, is an advance of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Exchange Bills are also taken, being now up to 9s. to 4s. 6d. The foreign stock market has also shown more animation, and with the exception of Greek, which have declined about  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., prices have generally improved, particularly with regard to the more speculative descriptions. Mexican, in consequence of the more satisfactory nature of advices, have risen  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; Spanish have likewise advanced from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.; and Turkish  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The closing quotations this evening were, Greek Stock 25½ to 25¾; Mexican, 37 to 37½; Spanish Passives, 33 to 33½; Ditto Certificates, 13 to 13½; Turkish Six Per Cents (1854) 89 to 89½, and ditto ditto (1862) 70½ to 73½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

Throughout the week a moderately fair business has been transacted in American Government and railway securities, but without any material alteration in prices, till to-day, when the business increased very considerably, and in the majority of instances at a rise of from 1 to 2 per cent. in quotations. The chief dealings, however, have been in those securities more particularly connected with the New York districts. The dealings have been as follows:—Virginia State Six per Cents, 32, 31, 30, 30½, 33, 34, 33½, 34½, and 34. Atlantic and Great Western Railway, New York Section, 80½, 81, and 83. Ditto ditto, Pennsylvania Section, 80, 79½, 82, 81½, 80½, 80, 80½, 80½, and 80½. Erie \$100 Shares, all paid, 63, 62½, 64, 62, 63, and 65½. Ditto Seven per Cent., fifth mortgage, 65½, Illinois Central \$100 Shares, 890 paid, 26½, 26, 25, 25½, and 24½ discount. Ditto, ditto, all paid, 67½, 69, 68½, 69, and 71. New York Central \$100 Shares 80 and 80½. Panama Railway, first mortgage, 100½ and 100. Ditto ditto, second mortgage, 106 and 105½.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

A more extensive business has been transacted in British railway shares than for some time past, and prices in almost all instances have advanced; the more satisfactory state of monetary affairs inducing the dealers to operate with much greater freedom; the chief variations, as compared with last week, are a rise of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Lancashire and Yorkshire, Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, and Midland, of 1 per cent. in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Great Southern and Western (Ireland), London and Blackwall, and Metropolitan; of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Caledonian, Great Eastern, Great Western, Brighton, London and North Western, Chatham and Dover, and of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. in North Eastern (Berwick). The market for foreign Railway Shares has not been quite so brisk; but although prices exhibit an upward tendency, the variation has been unimportant. For shares in British possessions the market continues to show dullness; the dealings have been more restricted than usual; but, nevertheless, prices are fairly sustained.

### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

This stock has been firmer during the past week. Yesterday it opened at 39 to 41, and closed at 38 to 40.

### BANK MEETINGS &c.

The directors of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China, have just declared a dividend of 5 per cent., and a bonus of £1 5s. per share, free of income-tax for the current half-year, payable to the shareholders on the London register, on the 1st January, and to the shareholders on the Bombay register, 15 days after receipt of the outward mail of the 18th December. At a special general meeting of the proprietors of the London Bank of Scotland, the resolution passed at the meeting held on the 4th December, in favour of the Company obtaining legal authority to issue their own notes in Scotland, was confirmed. At a meeting of the London Financial Association it was decided to double the capital by the issue of 20,000 new shares of £50 each. One new share to be given for every old one, at a premium to be fixed by the directors, and the proceeds of which are to form the nucleus of a reserve fund. No further call is proposed to be made upon the old shares at present, but £15 is to be called up on the new shares by instalments. There will then be a paid-up capital of £600,000, which will afford increased facilities for conducting business. The general meeting under the new regulations is to be held early in January, when (the chairman remarked) a full and satisfactory statement will be laid before the shareholders.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The prospectus has just been issued of the Consolidated Discount Company (Limited); the object of the undertaking being the purchase of the old-established business of Messrs. Sandeman and Co., of Abchurch Lane. It is stated that there is no promotion money, and that the terms on which the business has been purchased will, it is believed, enable the directors to offer an immediate and secure dividend of at least 10 per cent. The business of the Company will commence as from the 1st of January, at the old premises. The directorate, which is influential, includes three of the members of Messrs. Sandeman’s firm—viz., Mr. Hugh Fraser Sandeman, Mr. Richard M. Sanderson and Mr. Samuel Baker, who will have the chief conduct of the business. The proposed capital is \$1,000,000, in 20,000 shares of £50 each; of which 10,000 shares only are to be issued at present.—The prospectus of the National Provincial Aerated Bread Company (Limited) has also been circulated. The formation of this Company is due to what is described as the “extraordinary success” of the London Aerated Bread Company:—an undertaking which has just declared a dividend at the rate of 12½ per cent. per annum from the earnings of a few bakeries only. The present Company propose to introduce Dr. Daughlish’s system of bread manufacture throughout England and Wales, and the patent rights remaining undisposed of have been purchased on terms considered highly advantageous to the Company. It is further stipulated that the chief portion of the price to be paid is made conditional on the success of the undertaking. In the first instance, bakeries are to be established in Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham; and the Company also propose to sell licences for the manufacture of the bread in those districts where it does not contemplate carrying on operations itself. The proposed capital is £250,000, in 25,000 shares of £10 each, of which only 10,000 are to be issued in the first instance.—The Contract Corporation Company is another heavy undertaking just issued under very satisfactory auspices. The object of the undertaking is the construction of railway and other works, both at home and abroad, a class of business hitherto exclusively conducted by private contractors. The sub-letting of contracts, which is known to be the source of considerable profit, will form an important element of the business. The capital to be raised is £400,000, in £40,000 shares of £100 each. The first issue is to be 20,000 shares only, with a deposit of £1 on application and £2 on allotment.—The National Volunteer Hotel Company at Wimbledon is another undertaking just brought forward, the object being the construction of a convenient hotel for the accommodation of the numerous visitors to Wimbledon connected with the volunteer movement. A favourable site for the building has already been obtained. The capital proposed to be raised is £120,000, in 12,000 shares of £10 each, with power to increase; 10s. per share to be paid on application and £2 on allotment.—The Llanrhidian Bituminous Colliery Company is another scheme for public approbation, the object being the obtaining of a valuable mineral property in the parish of Llanrhidian, Glamorganshire, which it is calculated can be worked profitably, and a dividend of 7½ per cent. is guaranteed for the first year. The capital required is £100,000, in 20,000 shares of £5 each; 10s. to be paid on application and £—on allotment.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

The American produce markets, in common with most others, show continued inactivity, but not in a greater degree than is usual at the close of the year, and in nearly every department a healthy tone prevails. There is some falling off in the clearances for consumption as well as export, but they are still of sufficient magnitude to indicate favourably of the general progress of trade. The cotton market has been dull during the past week, but without sensible depression. Transactions in American provisions have been confined to the finer qualities of all the various descriptions, and have not in any case altered current quotations. The grain trade is about as quiet as it very well can be, and where sales are pressed, rates are again 1s. lower for wheat, but there is no general disposition to force off supplies. Barrel flour has not arrived in any quantity, and is relatively firm. The advanced quotations of petroleum from New York, and the imposition of the new export duty by the Washington Government, have affected our market for this article. Refined has risen 1d. to 2d. per gallon—2s. to 2s. 1d. being the present quotation. All the crude offering at £16 10s. was readily cleared off, and £17 10 is now demanded. The depression in linseed oil is still unrelieved, and our quotations are again lowered 10s. per ton, bringing the price down to £34 10s. Rape oil is also cheaper. Fish oils remain without essential changes. French turpentine gave way 2s. in the early part of the week, but has again recovered to 70s. at the close. The advance in petroleum has caused a firmer market for tallow, but business is not active. Jute is less offered, and some small purchases are reported at an advance of 10s. per ton from the late lowest point. Sugar remains at the decline noticed in our last, but is rather firm. In drugs and dyes, salteries there has been very little movement to affect quotations, which generally have a steady tendency. Arsenic, however, is lower. Scotch pig iron has further advanced to £3 6s. 6d. per ton, and spelter to £19 2s. 6d. Lead is firm at £20 15s. to £21 15s. per ton.

### MERCANTILE SUSPENSION.

Advices from Bradford announce the suspension of Mr. Jowett, wool-spinner, with liabilities estimated at between



£80,000 to £100,000. The books have been placed in the hands of a local accountant, and competent valuers are engaged in valuing the machinery, stock, &c. The creditors will be called together as speedily as possible.

### COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 23.

Our cotton market has assumed a very quiet appearance during the last few days, as is generally the case as the close of the year approaches. The dealings have been quite of a retail character, buyers have operated very cautiously, and though there has not been any general pressure to sell, there has been sufficient offering to make prices irregular and lower. American descriptions have given way  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. In Egyptian prices have been very irregular, at a decline of  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 1d. per lb. There has been but little inquiry for Brazil, and quotations must be reduced from  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. The better qualities of Surats have given way about  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., whilst the middling and lower descriptions are down fully 1d. per lb. Madras, Bengal, Scinde and China descriptions exhibit about a similar decline. The sales this week have been but moderate, the total being 20,000 bales, of which 8,000 were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year, down to the present time, have been 2,553,820 bales, and to the corresponding period last year they were 2,667,550 bales. There have been imported this year altogether, 1,592,134

bales, and to the same period in 1862, 1,155,626 bales. This year there have been exported 458,101 bales, and to the same time last year, 415,049 bales. Taken for consumption this year, 1,287,300 bales; to the like period in 1862, 1,148,300 bales. Taken on speculation this year, 747,780 bales, and to the corresponding date in 1862, 1,069,000 bales. At the present time the computed stocks are 236,070 bales. At the same last year they were 231,170 bales. The following resolutions were passed at a recent meeting of the Cotton Broker's Association held here. "It was resolved first: That the bill of a bank of limited liability drawn upon the head office, or any of its branches, is not a proper payment for cotton; and, secondly, that on all limited Bank paper presented for the payment of cotton, at least two approved names, in addition to that of the Bank must appear." The latest quotations were Middling Orleans, 27d.; Mobile, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Upland, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; estimated fair Egyptian, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; fine Dhollerah, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and Sarats, 11d. to 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

MANCHESTER, December 22.

We have no improvement to report in our yarn and cloth market since this day week, but rather the opposite, and prices are tending downwards from day to day, producing a positive action on the part of spinners and manufacturers in closing their establishments.

The very favourable weekly return published by the Bank of England on Friday last has tended very little to check the idea that we are to see a still more stringent money market shortly. Letters to hand to-day from Bombay, dated 28th November, report that during the previous fortnight money

had been fearfully scarce, and the banks had been borrowing at 15 per cent. in the Bazaar, while the public could not get money under 25 to 30 per cent. on security of Government paper, and the consequence was no sales could be made of our staple goods.

Further telegraphic advices from India are now past due, and are anxiously looked for by both buyers and sellers.

Cloth agents are complaining of the accumulation of stocks in their hands, and are agreed that unless some improvement takes place in demand soon, there will have to be a more general resort to short time.

There has been a very general discussion to-day as to the probable surplus stock of cotton in Liverpool on the 1st of January next after stock-taking; estimates here vary from 50,000 to 120,000 bales more than the brokers' circulars would lead one to suppose.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX OF Dec. 17, are—  
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

PARIS TOPICS.  
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASTHIRE.  
LETTERS FROM RICHMOND, NOV. 14, OCT. 24, 31.  
TENNESSEE AND VIRGINIA.  
STATE OF AFFAIRS NORTH AND SOUTH.  
EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY INTERLUDES.  
THE COTTON LOAN: LETTER FROM THE HON. J. C. McRAE.  
THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.  
CHARLES THE BOLD.  
LITERARY NOTES.  
MR. COBDEN AND THE "TIMES."  
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There are at this time many thousands of Confederate prisoners of war confined in the various forts and camps of the Northern States. A large proportion of them are wounded, or sick, and all are in a state of destitution, the accounts of which, as given in private letters and in the newspapers, present a picture of human suffering, which has scarcely a parallel in modern times. The merest necessities of life are wanting, and frequently the wounded prisoner has no ragged save that which is stark and stiffened with his clotted blood. Horrible as war is in all its features, assuredly it has no greater horrors than the long agony of the poor captive who, when the feverish excitement of the contest is over, is left to the bitter charity of strangers and foes, without one friendly hand to soothe the pains of body or friendly voice to whisper hope and comfort to his despairing mind. These men, cut off from the assistance of their kindred or the protection of their Government, have peculiar claims on the patriotism of their countrymen in Europe, and upon Christian benevolence everywhere. They did not recklessly or from choice embrace the profession of arms, but in exchanging the comforts, and often the luxuries, of home for the toils and hardships of a soldier's life, they obeyed a stern sense of duty and the call of their country in its extremest need. An unusual proportion, also, of those that fill the ranks of the Confederate armies belong to the higher walks of life, upon whom privations, such as are endured by prisoners in the hands of the North, fall with increased severity.

The Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund is intended to mitigate some of these sufferings which cannot altogether be relieved. Within little more than a twelvemonth, nearly £3,000 have been collected and expended in relief. The managers of the Fund are assisted in their efforts by self-devoted ladies in the principal Northern cities, who visit the sufferers and give them such aid as the means at their disposal render possible. Of late the Federal Government has granted permission that this Samaritan work may be done openly. It is earnestly hoped that all Southerners residing in Europe will support the Fund to the extent of their ability, and its objects may recommend themselves to all, irrespective of country or political convictions, who sympathize with the sufferings of their fellow-men.

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# THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

VOL. III.—No. 88.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31, 1863.

[PRICE 6D.]

## CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
PARIS TOPICS.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1863.

INJUSTICE NOT GENEROSITY.

THE BUDGETS: FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE.

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.—No. 3.

LETTER FROM RICHMOND, NOV. 30.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE.

AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

## NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

### AMERICA.

THE war news is not very full or explicit, but no one can read it and the amnesty at the same sitting with a grave face. Such a grotesque spectacle was never before presented for the amusement of mankind.

We do not wonder that when the news reached Washington and New York that Longstreet had turned upon and beaten the column in command of General Sheridan, it was disbelieved, although "traced to several usually reliable sources." But two days later the rumour was confirmed, and there was no longer any doubt that on the 14th inst. General Longstreet had attacked the Federals under the command of General Shackleford, not General Sheridan, and driven them back half a mile. Next we hear that General Longstreet is still fighting, and Union citizens were so doubtful of the result that they were leaving Knoxville. At the latest advices the Federals were falling back in East Tennessee. Nor is this the only Confederate success reported from that quarter. On the very day that Mr. Lincoln's amnesty proclamation was read in Congress, the Richmond *Enquirer* published a despatch which announced that General Giltner had routed a Federal corps at Maynardville, Tennessee, and captured a number of prisoners. It appears also that the Federals have abandoned Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and all the country between that place and Ringgold. It is not for us to speculate upon the issue of pending events, but it does occur to us that Mr. Lincoln was premature in calling upon his loyal people to return thanks for Longstreet's withdrawal from Knoxville.

From the Army of the Potomac we have intelligence that its winter-quarters are comfortable, and that great numbers of the officers and men of that distinguished body have obtained leave of absence. The only item of interest is an official letter written by General Meade just before his last movement "on to Richmond." He says:—

I am in receipt of many letters, some from persons in high position, telling me I had better have my army destroyed and the country filled up with the dead bodies of the soldiers than remain inactive. While I do not suffer myself to be influenced by such communications, I am, and have been most anxious to effect something, but am determined at every hazard not to attempt anything unless my judgment indicates a probability of accomplishing some object commensurate with the destruction of life necessarily involved. I would rather a thousand times be relieved, charged with tardiness or incompetence, than have my conscience burdened with a wanton slaughter of brave men, or with having jeopardized the great cause by doing what I thought was wrong.

General Meade sacrificed his judgment and conscience for the sake of the political exigencies of his employers, advanced, lost a number of men, and retreated. Though the Army of the Potomac is in winter-quarters the Confederates will not allow it to rest upon its laurels, but continually harass the outposts. The main army of the potentate who has just issued a decree of amnesty is encamped round about his capital for its protection, and is worried by the enemy.

Charleston was heavily bombarded on the 10th inst., but the Federal batteries were soon silenced by the Confederates. From day to day a little Greek fire is thrown into the city, but the damage it does is trifling. A fire occurred in Fort Sumter which caused the explosion of some ammunition and the deaths of ten men. Advices from Charleston announce the arrival of the officers and crew of the Federal gunboat *Perry*, which was captured at Merville Inlet.

General Butler has informed his Government that a portion of his force, under General Wistar, captured 80 Confederates at Charles City cross-roads, on the James

River. He says, "The 139th New York infantry, in fifty-four hours, marched sixty-one miles, mostly in a severe storm, moving day and night, and walking their shoes off, which should be made good by the Government." We suspect the shoe-leather supplied by loyal contractors is not of the best quality.

General Washburn has captured Fort Esperanza, on Matagorda Island, Texas. The Confederates had previously abandoned the place, after spiking the guns and blowing up the magazine. The Federals, it must be admitted, are very successful in their military operations when they meet with no resistance. We have another proof of this in the capture of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, a small and undefended town.

In Kentucky, a Confederate force, under Captain Everett, has made a raid upon Mount Stirling, and captured a large number of horses and \$100,000 in greenbacks.

The telegraphic summary, per *Etna*, contains an item of much interest to all maritime Powers. It says, "The official reports of the commanders of the monitors during Dupont's attack upon Charleston, now published for the first time, show that all the monitors received severe damage, and if the attack had been continued they would have been disabled. One commander says he was disappointed beyond measure at the experiment of monitors overcoming strong forts, and considers it a fair trial." This will explain the inactivity of Admiral Dahlgren, and will make the Federals less sanguine about the capture of Charleston.

The Confederate Senate has, on the recommendation of the President, passed a bill prohibiting the employment of substitutes in the army. This measure will increase the effective force of the Confederacy, but it is still more important as an evidence of the spirit which animates the people.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, has made a violent speech in the House of Representatives, in which he blamed President Davis for the loss of Vicksburg and the reverses in East Tennessee. Mr. Foote is a good patriot, though somewhat lacking judgment and discretion; but he is a member of the free legislature of a free people, and no one in the South will question his right to find fault with the conduct of the Executive.

The Message of Governor Letcher to the Virginia Legislature is worthy of the chief officer of the Old Dominion. The Governor thinks that the struggle may last for a long time, and that the Confederates will have to make great sacrifices, but he is confident "that the end will be liberty, independence, and the establishment of free government." He objects to exemptions from military service, and suggests that no man capable of taking the field should occupy a post that could be filled by the aged or the wounded. He has always been opposed to the system of substitutes, but holds that such contracts having been entered into for three years, they cannot be violated. In conclusion, he pays a tribute to the patriotism displayed by Virginia, and says "Thanks to the Ruler of the Universe for His blessings conferred upon us with such liberality, for the successes which have attended our arms, for the unity and harmony of our people, and for the spirit and courage with which He has nerved them for this contest."

The North Carolina Legislature assembled on the 24th November. Governor Vance, in his Message, asks for authority to buy corn, flour, and bacon as a provision for the poor, adding, "Still I see no cause for an alarm, and my last year's experience has encouraged me to believe that all can be fed from our own resources by proper prudence and economy." He announces that the blockade-running has been a complete success, and that the troops are well provided for. On this head he observes:—

With what we have imported and the purchase in our home markets, I think I can safely say that the North Carolina troops will be comfortably clothed to January, 1865—should God in His Providence so long see fit to afflict us with a continuance of the war—except shoes and blankets. Neither the ordnance nor quarter-master's departments placed too much reliance on foreign importation, but every effort has been made to stimulate home production. Both the quality and quantity of arms and munitions manufactured have been improved in the past twelve months.

Governor Vance, referring to the Northern rumours of reconstruction, says, "our people will not crucify afresh their own sons, slain in their behalf, or put their gallant shades to open shame, by stopping short of full and complete national independence."

Resolutions have been introduced in the North Carolina Legislature in which the Confederate army is complimented for its gallantry and heroism, and urged to continue faithful in the discharge of its duty by vigorously prosecuting the war until peace can be re-established upon the basis of separation from the Federal States.

The Report of the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury is commented on in our leader columns. The receipts into the Treasury from all sources from January 1 to September 30, 1863, were, in round numbers, \$600,000,000, of which \$400,000,000 was raised by issuing treasury notes; \$175,000,000 from loans of various kinds; \$4,000,000 have been raised by a war tax; sequestration has yielded nearly \$2,060,000; customs, \$1,000,000; export duty on cotton, \$8,000; the patent fund, \$10,000. The expenditures have reached within \$17,000,000 of the receipts, and \$375,000,000 have been spent for the war. The entire debt of the Confederate States is nearly \$1,000,000,000, of which \$800,000,000 are treasury notes, and \$700,000,000 of these notes are in circulation. Mr. Memminger says that the amount needed to carry on the Confederacy to the 30th of June, 1864, is \$475,000,000, beside the amount of the undrawn appropriations of the last Congress, which reaches \$476,000,000. And if the estimates are extended so as to include the entire year of 1864, the amount will reach \$1,427,000,000. Mr. Memminger proposes to raise a loan of \$500,000,000, the interest to be paid in specie. The present treasury notes in circulation are to be withdrawn, and a new issue to be made of \$200,000,000.

The Reports of Mr. Stanton and of Mr. Welles are documents that deserve more than a cursory perusal; They are a singular commentary on the presidential announcement of the rebellion being nearly crushed. Mr. Stanton states that 50,000 men have been obtained under the conscription; but what addition is this to the army compared to the number of recruits that the Northern Government requires, if it is to make good the deficiency in its ranks caused by the carnage of the field, by diseases, by the hardships of campaigning, desertions, and, above all, by the expiration of the terms of service of those who are now in the field? Conscription was resorted to because volunteering had failed, and now the conscription has proved abortive: it is not likely that the volunteer system will be more successful than formerly. Mr. Stanton feels this, and cannot help giving expression to it in his Report; for though to please his master and his master's friends he asserts a conviction that in another year the war will be over, he admits that the fighting material of the North is becoming rapidly exhausted by pointing to the negro as a recourse in the emergency. He advises the enlistment of negro troops, and recommends that they should have the same pay as white soldiers. If they get the same pay so much the better for the camp followers, who will be sure to fleece them; but the recommendation to enlist negro troops is rather odd. Does not Mr. Stanton know that no efforts have been spared to enlist negro troops, and that wherever it has been possible there has been placed a wall of coloured men, behind which the Yankees have skulked?

Mr. Welles writes much such a Report as an undignified, bragging, and Yankeeised Englishman might have penned after the culminating victory of Trafalgar. He states that 1,039 blockade-runners, of all sorts, have been captured, but he omits to mention the tonnage of most of these prizes; and for the information of the British public, we beg to notify that if a Federal cruiser comes across a deserted fishing-smack it is forthwith set down as a prize. Mr. Welles must be of a singularly sanguine disposition, for he says that, under his auspices, the navy of the United States has achieved great and new historical renown. Where, and on what occasion? Does he refer to the battle in Hampton Roads, when the daring achievements of the *Merrimac* scared the Federal fleet and revolutionised the system of naval warfare? Was he thinking of Charleston, where the iron-clads were once driven off, and have lately been for months kept at bay? Does he refer to those much-vaunted iron-clads—the *Weehawken*, for example—that have proved unseaworthy? Does he refer to the services of the gun-boats that have, on more than one occasion proved an asylum to beaten Federal armies? Historical renown! Yes; the only renown acquired by the United States navy in the war is its ingenuity in keeping out of the reach of the five Confederate cruisers



that have played such havoc with the Federal mercantile marine.

The Report of the Federal Secretary of the Interior announces the complete failure of the African Colonisation project. This, however, will not be a serious annoyance to the Government, for philanthropic New England has devised a far more inexpensive way of getting rid of the hated race. The males are taken into the army, where they are shot down by the enemy, or die of camp diseases, at a rate that would horrify any other people than the New Englanders, and the negro women and children are left to die from hunger and destitution.

The quantity of tobacco stored in Richmond on account of the French Government, the exportation of which through the blockade has just been conceded by the Federal Government, is from six to seven thousand hogsheads of from 1,200 to 1,800 lbs. troy-weight, and worth, at the prices before the war, about 17,000,000 francs.

The Confederate authorities have refused to receive any more supplies from the North for the Federal prisoners in Richmond. One reason assigned for this is that the Northern press has intimated that the packages were not faithfully delivered; another reason is the insolent conduct of the Federal officers confined in the Libby Prison. They got up a dinner, announced a very grand bill of fare, and offered the inhabitants of the city the fragments of the feast.

The reported mortality amongst the Yankee prisoners in Richmond is contradicted by the *Richmond Examiner*, which states that since the 1st of January only 671 had died out of 30,000, or less than 3 per cent. The stories of ill-treatment and great mortality arose from the Confederate authorities kindly allowing some prisoners who appeared to be consumptive to return to their homes. Whilst on this subject, we may mention that the Confederate surgeons who have lately come from the North give a melancholy account of the treatment of Southern prisoners.

The *Atlanta Register* gives an account of Federal atrocities in East Tennessee. It says, "By a special order of Nero Burnside, every rail was to be burned from around the splendid farm of Mr. Lenoir, and he has been rendered penniless. Mrs. Lenoir, an aged lady of seventy-three winters, was murdered because she asked a Yankee to leave enough cabbage-heads to make seed the ensuing season. Mr. and Mrs. Walker, bending under old age, of near fourscore, were driven from their homes and everything destroyed. Not an item left in the way of clothing, ware, or subsistence, because of their Southern principles. These are only a few of the outrages committed by the hated foe. The conduct of the officers in Knoxville was revolting to civilisation; such as walking arm in arm with the negro wenches of Colonel Mettrell and others."

There have been rumours in Washington of Southern propositions for peace, which of course turned out to be unfounded. The Message of Governor Vance will, we think for some time put an end to all *canards* about North Carolina wishing to return to the Union.

In the Federal Senate, Senator Lane has introduced a bill prohibiting the traffic in gold, silver, or exchange for speculative purposes, under the penalty of a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$10,000, and imprisonment for not less than one month nor longer than one year. The bill was referred to the finance committee.

In the House of Representatives Mr. Fernando Wood submitted a resolution requesting the President to appoint two commissioners to negotiate with the authorities at Richmond with the view of terminating the war, and restoring the Union upon the terms of equity, fraternity, and equality, under the Constitution. The resolution was tabled by a vote of ninety-eight against fifty-nine. The Republicans do not desire peace on the basis of the restoration of the Union, and if they did, their wishes would be disappointed. The Democrats waste their strength and time in advocating such an impossible policy. Yet it seems they are sincerely desirous of peace even on the basis of separation, for sixty-four of the party voted against a resolution that the war should be protracted so long as the Confederates are found in arms. But friends who fear to act are no better than enemies.

Thanks to the vigilance of the British officials, the *Chesapeake* has been recaptured at Nova Scotia. No resistance was offered by the crew, all of whom, excepting three, escaped to the shore. The authorities in Nova Scotia had forbidden the furnishing of coals to the *Chesapeake* by the people of that Province; they had ordered her detention wherever she appeared, and gave the information to the Federals which led to her capture.

It appears that the English authorities are so fully engaged in protecting the Federals against any movements of the Confederates that they have no time to look after British interests, for if they were not, most assuredly the merchant vessels trading to Matamoras would not be left at the mercy of Yankee cruisers. Even Earl Russell will find it difficult to defend the conduct of his friends in respect to the seizure of the bark *Science*. According to the written statement of the captain to the owner, the circumstances are these. The *Science* had been lying at Matamoras for twelve weeks, during which time she had discharged her outward cargo and had taken on board a cargo of cotton and copper for the home voyage. On the 3rd of October a Federal officer from the gun-boat *Virginia* boarded the *Science*, examined her papers and then left. At that date the outward cargo was half dis-

charged, and what remained was duly inspected by the Federal officer. A month later, that is to say on the 5th of November, the Captain of the *Virginia* boarded the *Science*, examined all her papers, and told the commander "that he should detain the vessel" for the most extraordinary reason ever put forth to justify such an act. It was not pretended that the *Science* was then engaged in an unlawful voyage; it was not pretended that the *Science* had at any time been engaged in an unlawful voyage—that is, that she had attempted to evade the blockade. The case was too clear for any such pretext, for the *Science* had sailed from a neutral port to a neutral port, discharged her cargo, and, with a cargo of cotton, was preparing to return to a British port. Therefore, the Federal captain seized the ship "for having brought contraband of war." We can only say that if this is submitted to, the commercial marine of this country is in considerable jeopardy—that is to say, those vessels that have at any time carried to a neutral port what Mr. Lincoln's Government is pleased to designate contraband of war, such, for example, as quinine, or any other drug. The object of this proceeding is to stop the trade with Matamoras, and this object will be attained if the only remedy for such a flagrant breach of law is an award of damages after many months' detention. The commander of the *Science* writes, "the absence of an English man-of-war enables the Yankees to annoy the English or other neutral vessels as much as they please, as the trade to Matamoras is an eye-sore to them, and they want to make it so that English and other neutral vessels will not go there to run the risk of annoyance similar to what we had to contend with."

The *New York Herald* proposes General Grant for next President, observing, "The present Administration is engineering for another term of office; but Mr. Lincoln, his Cabinet, his last Congress, his present Congress, so far, and the clique of fanatical politicians by which Cabinet and Congress have been and are controlled, have signally failed to meet the just and reasonable expectations of the country. In a word, the present Administration has proved a deplorable failure. . . . Let the independent masses of the people, who have had enough of their despicable managing party politicians, and their horrible, bloody, and destructive work, proceed at once to bring out General Grant as their presidential candidate." Among other recommendations of General Grant it is urged that he will not only restore the Union, but also drive the French out of Mexico and "punish" England.

Some of the Federal States have been making calculations as to the proportion of their share of the debt of the Union, and the property they have to meet it. Mr. Dawes, the Abolition member of Congress for Massachusetts, predicted that the public debt would be \$3,000,000,000. Mr. Chase says that it will be \$2,200,000,000 in 1865; but as we may rely on it that the Federal Secretary is too good a patriot to make the worst of his case, and as balance-sheets are always a little worse than they seem to be, and for other good and substantial reasons, we think the estimate of Mr. Dawes is likely to prove correct. An Iowa newspaper, taking it for a basis, thus figures out the quota of that State and its present financial condition:—

State of Iowa to United States Creditors:—Dr.	
To her quota of war debt .. ..	\$142,850,000
" share interest on debt .. ..	8,520,000
" annual pensions .. ..	1,000,000
" revenue tax and debt .. ..	2,000,000
" corporation indebtedness .. ..	20,000,000
Total .. ..	\$174,370,000
Cr.	

By what the United States census-takers found all her property to be worth in 1860 \$205,166,983

Balance in favour of State over United States indebtedness .. .. \$30,796,983

Pennsylvania has also been engaged in a like calculation. The *Philadelphia Mercury* thus states the account:—

Pennsylvania:—Dr.	
To her share of the national debt .. ..	\$500,000,000
To principal, at 6 per cent, of her share of pension list .. ..	67,000,000
To her own State debt .. ..	38,000,000
	\$605,000,000
Cr.	
By her own valuation of her own property ..	\$596,000,000
Balance against the State .. ..	\$9,000,000

"So that if Pennsylvania," says the *Mercury*, in conclusion, "were put up at auction to-morrow, and sold for the full sum at which her own Revenue Board has valued her, she could not meet her obligations by \$9,000,000. That is, her debt is \$9,000,000 more than she is worth." Under these circumstances, we rather think that Pennsylvania and Iowa will decline to pay; and, indeed, if the war goes on, repudiation may not be a matter of choice.

Gold has advanced in New York; at the latest date it was quoted at 52 per cent. premium.

#### ENGLAND.

The last day of December rouses us to a consideration of the events that have crowded themselves into the short space of the departing year. Almost without an effort the past of that period rises before us, the present refuses to be denied our attention and the future our anxiety. The year 1863 has not been an eventful and therefore has been a prosperous year for England, for times replete with tranquillity and destitute of stirring incident are those in which the wealth and happiness of the people have progressed without interruption.

In the early spring the cloud which since the death of the Prince Consort had hung over the Court was broken if not entirely dispersed by the auspicious marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. No one will easily forget the manner in which the English people displayed their unbounded devotion to the Royal Family on that occasion. Such a reception as was accorded by the inhabitants of the metropolis and the Corporation of London to the future King and Queen of England has been denied to the greatest of kings and the most fortunate of warriors. Throughout the boroughs and the rural districts the festivities were worthy of the event. A brilliant London season followed, marred to some extent it is true by the absence of Her Majesty from all scenes of enjoyment—an absence which everyone hopes will not be prolonged into the coming season. Under these auspices the trade of the metropolis and of other towns in the manufacture of all articles of luxury and splendour received a great impulse, and recovered to some extent the paralysing effects of the death of the Prince Consort.

In the political world, the utmost stagnation has prevailed. The session of Parliament was not marked by any struggles for power, and the Ministry, weak and almost disorganised, was yet able to hold its ground through the forbearance of the Conservative party. The tact and discretion of Lord Palmerston prevented any attempt at legislative novelties calculated to raise an issue, while Mr. Gladstone contented himself with a budget void of empirical efforts, and was even cautious enough to remove from it the few objectionable features which seemed to invite opposition. The strength and compactness of the Conservative party, and their loyal abstinence from faction or any greed of office, gained the applause of their supporters and the reluctant approbation of their adversaries; while a tangible proof of the direction of public opinion was given in the great accession to the numbers of that party through the success of Conservative candidates at the various elections held throughout the year. The weakness of the Government has been on the increase during the recess, and the miserable failure of its foreign policy has destroyed what little favour it possessed. It exists, and has existed throughout the year, by the influence and popularity of its chief and the forbearance of its opponents.

The manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the country has, with one striking exception—that of the cotton trade and manufacture—been unprecedentedly good. Till the close of the year the money market had been in a satisfactory condition, and the result was seen in enormous lists of joint-stock companies, of projects of enterprise, and of railway undertakings. The railway bills which will come before the committees of next session recall the days of the railway mania, while the operations of the companies are no longer confined to the country, but are, as far as regards expense and engineering efforts, mainly directed to the improvement of communications in the metropolis and its suburbs. The money market has within the last week shown signs of much greater ease. The high rate of discount seemed to be but a natural result of the exigencies of a superfluity of joint-stock companies, of the speculation in cotton, and the exportation of the precious metals to Egypt in exchange for cotton. In its combination of quantity and quality the harvest was beyond all precedent, but the advantages of abundance have been entirely with the consumer. Within the memory of men living, wheat, its quality being considered, never has been so cheap, and consequently, though other interests have benefited largely, the farmers have not found in the present yield that return which they had fondly hoped would have recompensed them for the disasters of 1860 and 1861. Indeed, if the cotton interest be excepted, we believe that no class of traders have suffered such a lack of profits as the farmers during the last three or four years. At the same time it is to be understood that considerable gains have been put to the credit of the breeders and graziers of stock, and a small section, in point of fact, compared with the vast numbers of corn-growing farmers.

In the cotton districts there has been no great revival of work, and no prospect whatever of activity. The pauperism has decreased during the summer, but as winter has approached, even in the mildest of forms, the favourable character of affairs has turned. The Government works are not yet in operation, but on the other hand, no test has yet been witnessed of the probable effect of a severe winter. It is necessary, however, to remember first, that the masters, while undoubtedly sorely pressed by the cotton famine, had in many cases held large stocks of made goods at the commencement of the American war, that vast quantities of raw material were also in store, and that the prices both of goods and material have been enormously enhanced; second, that in spite of the blockade 130,000 bales of American cotton have arrived in Liverpool during the war; third, that the price of wheat has been unprecedentedly low. All these influences have helped Lancashire in its distress to a considerable extent, but there is no reason whatever to suppose that any real recovery will take place till the Southern States resume their supply of cotton, even the most sanguine persons now admitting that all the efforts of the Cotton Supply Association will never supplement the deficiency. The revenue of the country has proved itself highly elastic, and in no former year have the middle classes spent such large sums of money in travelling and amusements.

The action of the Government in its relations towards the contending parties in America has caused much excitement in the country, and the seizure of the *Alexandra* and the steam-rans has at once afforded a subject of political agitation, a theme for the writers on international law, and a task for the law courts. The sympathy of the people for the Southern States has taken a more decided character since the declaration of Earl Russell at Blairgowrie. In the principal towns of the



north of England large majorities have declared for the Confederacy, and the tone of the English press has been eminently favourably towards the South.

The English army has had scope for its activity to a certain extent in an unfortunate war in New Zealand with the native tribes, and no decisive operations calculated to end the war have as yet distinguished the campaign. The war is, perhaps, the inevitable result of the collision of the white and dark races, but it is not the less regrettable. Some fighting also has occurred on the north-west frontier of the Indian empire. The navy has been engaged in operations against one of the Daimios in Japan, and the destruction of the town of Kagosima has been the lamentable result of an unfortunate quarrel. With these exceptions the country has been at peace with all the world. The Government, however, has been actively engaged in launching a fleet of magnificent iron-clad ships. The cost of these has been enormous, but their success in point of speed and power seems indubitable. Considerable progress also has been made in the vast fortifications around Portsmouth.

On Thursday last Earl Russell was elected Lord Rector of Aberdeen University. The noble lord obtained 231 votes, while his adversary, Mr. E. Grant Duff, M.P., polled 133 votes. The installation will take place in April next.

The Lords of the Admiralty are making the most searching investigation into all the circumstances attending the equipment and departure from the Nore of the Confederate ship *Rappahannock*, formerly the *Victor*. The correspondence is of course carried on with secrecy, but certain circumstances have come to light. It seems that the ship was purchased by a London firm, and that several of the Government mechanics, with the cognisance of certain of the officials, were allowed to be employed in the equipment, and that several of the men connected with the engineer department went with the ship from Sheerness to Calais. All these, together with those concerned in the equipment, have been dismissed from the dockyard. A rumour is also current that two of the officials holding responsible office will be called on to resign their appointments. Precautions have been taken to prevent a similar use being made of other ships sold out of the service.

Mr. Lindsay, M.P., has addressed a letter to the *Times* in reference to the trial in the action against the underwriters of the steamship *Harbinger*. The leading points in the case were given in these columns last week. Mr. Lindsay refers to the evidence and to the language of the Chief Justice as proving that, inasmuch as Mr. Lindsay's share in the vessel was of the value of more than £6,000 and his insurance only £2,700, he was more interested in the safety of her than any twenty underwriters put together, that the person who bought the hull for £200 did not attempt to take the ship to a neighbouring port for repairs, as the *Times* argued that it was the duty of the master to have done, and that the best judges of the course to be adopted were the persons on the spot, conversant with the character of the bay and the dangers of navigation on that coast. Mr. Lindsay also observes that the nature of the compromise effected was wrongly stated (an error into which we also inadvertently fell), and that, in fact, the underwriters eventually agreed to pay £4,500 beyond the sum paid into court. Mr. Lindsay also points to the fact that the "leading" underwriters, to the number of 27, settled the claim without dispute, and therefore that the course pursued by the remainder was contrary to custom, and calculated to inspire distrust in men's minds of those persons who adopted such a course. He further shows that on the first trial in February, 1862, the verdict was for him on all points, and that now, after four years' litigation, the verdict has been only modified so far as to declare that communication ought to have been made to the underwriters before abandonment. It really seems to us that Mr. Lindsay has good ground for complaint. Insurers and underwriters must be guided by the principles of good faith and mutual confidence. Such lawsuits as these would quickly annihilate the whole system of insurance. It is not denied that cases occur which demand very strict investigation; but where the firm of shipowners stands high for wealth and respectability, and where, on the face of the transaction, the owners must be losers by the loss, it is hard to conceive good reason for litigation. Certainly, in this case, there were points of law, the solution of which by a series of appeals at an enormous cost would have been profitable to the bar and interesting to the text-writers, but we have yet to learn that this is an object satisfactory to litigants. Men of business, in fact, insure in order that when the loss occurs they may be paid, not harassed by expensive lawsuits.

One of our great literary men has gone from amongst us. The author of "Vanity Fair" died on Thursday last. His death was sudden and unexpected. It was only a few days since that we saw him looking hale, hearty, and happy. Now his name is matter of history. Mr. Thackeray was born in Calcutta in 1811. He was educated at the Charter-house, and loved always to recall his schoolboy reminiscences in his writings. On leaving school he went up to Cambridge, where his taste for painting and etching rather interfered with his dryer studies. He never took his degree; but to cultivate his taste for art went to the Continent, and enjoyed for some years the society of artists at Rome, Paris, and other places. By his keen observation, when abroad, of men and their manners, he laid up for himself a store of treasures, from which he afterwards most felicitously drew. It was not till after his return that he changed his pencil for his pen, making his *début* with the latter in *Fraser* with moderate success. He was one of the first promoters and contributors to *Punch*. On being called to the bar a few years afterwards, he did not for-

sake literature for law. Still, real success, as a popular writer and novelist, could scarcely be called his till the publication by him, at the age of thirty-five, of "Vanity Fair." By it his fame was at once made, and he took his place in the foremost ranks of our novelists. It would be impossible to compare or even touch upon the respective merits of his principal works. Whether the preference be given in story or style to "Vanity Fair," "Esmond," "The Newcomes," "The Virginians," or "Pendennis," each and all contain matter of deep interest and sound instruction; wholesome moral lessons and useful domestic hints pervade them all; he abhorred the characteristic snobism of the age, and vented his righteous rage against it with playful severity. We each saw ourselves quizzed and portrayed in some character or other; our little peccadilloes and weaknesses truthfully explored. Still we could not be angry; we were in excellent company. With equal success he broke lances with the haughty knight and humble squire, with the exclusiveness of a Mayfair dowager and the offensive presumption of a Pentonville grocer. Everything, however, was written in right good humour, and one of his greatest sorrows was that people ever thought him a cynic. To America, his works ought especially to be dear. Many can recall the stories by visiting the scenes of the "Virginians" and "Esmond." In general society he was quiet and observant, whilst in the more genial company of a few of his old friends, his wit was brilliant. A high tone of morality distinguished him all through life. In fact, to sum up Mr. Thackeray's private character, we can only repeat the words of his old college friends, that "a better fellow or wiser friend than William Thackeray never lived."

Inasmuch as Christmas-day fell this year on a Friday, it was generally agreed that Saturday should be kept as a holiday to an extent exceeding even the glorious associations of "Boxing-day." Throughout the morning the principal shops in London were shut, the Stock Exchange suspended business entirely, and the Bank of England, the Government offices, and the great private houses did as little as possible in the way of work. The principal attraction during the day was the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, which to its ordinary beauties added the splendour of a gigantic Christmas tree, banners, decorations, gorgeous illuminations, shadow pantomimes, dances, gymnastics, ballets, and other festivities. The crowd was drawn from that class which in England knows how to keep holiday in a jovial but orderly style. The number of visitors reached the figure of 43,741. In the evening the theatres were of course crammed in the orthodox style, and the "gods" pelted the "pit" with the proper quantity of "chaff" and orange-peel. The pantomimes were good as ever, the pen of Mr. H. J. Byron having shown undiminished skill at Covent Garden, in a new version of "St. George and the Dragon," at the Adelphi in a fairy tale entitled "Fortunio and his Seven Magic Men," at the Strand in a piece called "Orpheus and Eurydice," and also at St. James's in the "Sensation of the past Season." Mr. E. L. Blanchard contributed a piece called "Harlequin Sinbad the Sailor" to the entertainment at Drury Lane, from time immemorial the real abode of the great Christmas pantomime. The piece turned on the discovery of the Nile, and was immensely successful. The Princess Theatre, perhaps, carried off the palm in the "Christmas pieces," with a play called "Harlequin Little Tom Tucker," which connects in the most elaborate manner in one system of relationship, all the personages who have from all time figured in the nursery rhymes and stories of England. At the Haymarket Mr. Sothorn reappeared in Lord Dundreary, which play, with certain novelties in dialogue and construction, met with all its ancient favour. We ought not to omit, perhaps, the mention of the Polytechnic, where Mr. Pepper not only "draws" with his renowned "Ghost," but gives a valuable lesson on "Burning to Death and Saving from Death," exhibiting a lay figure of a young lady which succumbs to the flames in spite of wet blankets, and a live lady who defies the fire in a muslin dress dipped in a non-combustible composition.

We gave, a fortnight since, an account of the remarkable sale of Lord Stamford's race-horses, and informed our readers that seventeen of the best and most highly-priced animals had found their way back into his lordship's hands. It will be remembered that the horses were put up for sale "without reserve," and that condition, coupled with the names of the purchasers, induced us to suppose that the sales were *bond fide*, and that Lord Stamford had simply bought back the animals from the purchasers, exactly as any third party in the ordinary course of dealing might have done. It is now stated that Mr. R. C. Naylor has written to Messrs. Tattersall, claiming of them the yearling filly Sloth, for which he had been outbid by Mr. Ten Broeck; that Messrs. Tattersall forwarded the letter to Lord Stamford, and that the filly has been given up to Mr. Naylor. Shortly afterwards Messrs. Tattersall received a demand from Lord St. Vincent's solicitors for the two horses Cambuscan and Archimedes, at the respective prices of 4,900 and 2,900 guineas, the sums bidden by Edwin Parr, who acted for Lord St. Vincent, and was the last *bond fide* bidder. The demand was accompanied by a notice that, unless the horses in question were delivered up within four days, legal proceedings would be taken. What course Lord Stamford has pursued in answer to this demand we know not, but we are sure that on the above facts no comment is necessary.

However, events have taken a fresh turn, for Captain White, who made the highest bid for Cambuscan, came forward last week and claimed the horse, and tendered to Messrs. Tattersall the price. A meeting of the solicitors for the parties was thereupon held, at which Captain White indignantly repudiated the idea that he was not a *bond fide* purchaser. Lord St. Vincent then withdrew his claim, and Captain White paid the purchase-money. Both Archimedes and Cambuscan still

remain at Mr. Butler's stables. The filly Sloth, which had been claimed by Mr. Naylor, has been relinquished to Lord Stamford.

The Earl of Charlemont died last week. He remembered the first rising of the Irish Volunteers, being at that time himself of the age of five years. He was then, as the heir of the Earl of Charlemont, regarded as the hope of the Irish nation. He knew all the men who have been illustrious in Irish history since 1782, was familiar with Grattan, and told anecdotes of Avonmore, Forbes, and Gardiner. He remembered Burke well. He was elected for the county of Armagh in '97, and was one of the strongest opponents of the Union. Notwithstanding some reluctance, he took his seat in the House of Lords after Union. His last public appearance was at the Dublin exhibition, when he appeared as the senior of the Knights of St. Patrick.

The convict George Victor Townley has been respited until the further commands of Her Majesty.

After a prolonged investigation, a prosecution has been instituted against six of the men who enlisted on board the Federal sloop-of-war *Kearsage*, at Queens-town, some short time since. The men were brought up on warrant last week before Mr. J. L. Cronin, R.M., at the Queenstown Petty Sessions Court, and a *plea* in the uniform of the Federal navy. The Crown Solicitor and the Sessional Crown Prosecutor appeared to prosecute on behalf of the Attorney-General. The depositions of Patrick Kennedy and George Patterson were read in the presence of those witnesses. The substance of their evidence has already been given in these columns. It was proved thereby that the prisoners sailed away on board the *Kearsage*, and gave full particulars of the enlistment. The 4th section of the now famous Foreign Enlistment Act was then read over, and four of the men then stated that they did not pass the doctor at all, or at any rate not till they arrived at Brest. The wages were to be \$18 a month, and a dollar and a half for grog. His worship committed the men for trial at the next Cork Assizes, and agreed to take bail in £20 each, with two sureties of £10 each.

#### THE CONTINENT.

The year which closes this day will be memorable in the history of most nations of the Continent. Poland has again risen in arms against her great oppressor, has again obtained the sympathy and the good wishes of the Western nations, and after having been encouraged by them to protract the contest and make the most appalling sacrifices, has again been abandoned to the tender mercies of the Muscovites. The Slesvig-Holstein question, for ten years a subject for the bad jokes of ignorant writers, has been brought by the death of King Frederick to a crisis, and 1864 leaves to the new year the legacy of a war, of which, as M. Thiers says, the present generation will probably not see the end or the consequences.

General elections have taken place in most continental countries. In France the policy of abstention, so long pursued by the old parties, has been abandoned, and the men who were the glories of the parliamentary régime have sworn fidelity to the Emperor, and thrown in their lot with the new dynasty. In Prussia a new House of Deputies, represents opinions more advanced than those entertained by a House dissolved on account of its opposition to the royal wishes. In Spain the Government obtained an overwhelming majority, thanks to the abstention of the opposition from all part in the elections. In Belgium the Catholic Ultramontane party, after a severe struggle, gained a slight advantage. In Switzerland the elections have left the strength of parties much the same. The Austrian Constitution has received a further development by the election of deputies to the Reichsrath from Transylvania, thus putting that body in possession of its full powers. And the Finnish Diet has met, after a suspension of more than half a century.

A grand effort has been made to establish German Unity. The Emperor of Austria convoked his brother sovereigns to the old imperial city of Frankfurt; but the effort failed, as all efforts to effect the same object will fail, before the jealousy of the two great German Powers.

A noble effort to realise the Utopias of a past age, to settle again upon surer and juster foundations the fundamental pact of Europe, has been made by the Emperor of the French. Thanks to the jealousy of England, the plan failed; and at the moment the possibility of the Congress was destroyed, the death of the King of Denmark provoked a quarrel which only such a Congress could fitly settle. For more than half a century no year has opened upon Europe so gloomily as 1864.

The inference which has been drawn in some quarters from the fact that the Prince de Camille has joined the *Legion Etrangère*, now under orders for Mexico, is quite unfounded. We are enabled to state authoritatively that the difficulties which hindered the accession of the Archduke Maximilian to the throne of Mexico, have been removed. His Imperial Highness will visit Paris in March, and shortly after set out for his dominions.

The Federal troops are in possession of Holstein and Lauenburg. On Thursday morning, at an early hour, the Danish garrison left Altona, amidst the howlings of the populace, whose courage was brought out by the knowledge that the Germans would be in the town directly, and at eight o'clock a Saxon regiment made its appearance. Slesvig-Holstein colours were immediately suspended from all the windows, and the 1st October was proclaimed Duke of Slesvig-Holstein. The same scene appears to have been repeated in other parts of the Duchy as soon as the Danes retired. The Federal Commissioners have selected Altona as the seat of government, and have addressed proclamations to the people,



urging them to order and patience, at the same time that they have winked at the measures taken by the partisans of the Augustenburgs. A large popular assembly was held at Elmsborn, on Sunday, to which delegates from different parts of the Duchy came to proclaim Prince Frederick and receive from Herr Metz, of Darmstadt, one of the spouters of the *National Verein*, the assurance that the German nation will support Slesvig Holstein with all its power. It seems that the Danish Government not only means to evacuate Holstein, but also those parts of Slesvig which the Holsteiners claim to belong to them, including the important military works at Rendsburg and the *tête de pont* at Fredericksstadt, situated on the south side of the Eider, and almost absolutely essential to the maintenance of the great line of defence extending across Slesvig, by the Dannevirke, from sea to sea.

These concessions may prevent for the moment any outbreak of war, but they place Denmark in a most unfavourable position as soon as it does begin. They are due to Russian and English influence. It seems that the English Government is anxious to preserve peace at all cost, and, as the only possible chance, will sacrifice Denmark. The English Government has extorted from King Christian a promise to suspend or revoke the new Constitution for Denmark and Slesvig. The Ministry, however, would not have anything to do with a measure which would be so extremely, so dangerously unpopular, and moreover would not produce the slightest advantage. Mr. Hall and his colleagues have therefore resigned, and the King, after several unsuccessful attempts, has commissioned General Oxholm to form a Ministry. There seems to be no probability that he will succeed in doing so, and the feeling which the encouragement given by the Federal Commissioners to the revolutionary proceedings of the partisans of the Pretender has occasioned in Copenhagen will hardly allow the King to persist in his purpose of suspending the Constitution. No measure of that nature would now satisfy Germany and secure the recognition of King Christian's title.

The smaller States, with Bavaria at their head, are pressing on a decision in favour of the title of Prince Frederick. A motion of the Bavarian Minister at the Diet that the Holstein committee should report within a week upon the succession question was carried on Wednesday, the 23rd, by twelve to four votes; Austria and Prussia were in the minority. The committee will certainly report in favour of Prince Frederick, and the Diet will as certainly adopt its report, and give him its assistance to take possession of the lands which it recognises to be his inheritance. The opposition of Austria and Prussia has little weight, because it is not believed to be sincere. If those two Powers had really determined to maintain the Treaty of London, Saxony, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and the smaller States would not have ventured to reply to their identical notes in the bold language they have employed, and the resolution to bring on the succession question would not have been carried. At first, the two great Powers were really desirous to stay the agitation; they feared that they would be held by Europe to their engagements. The attitude of England has reassured them, and they will seize the favourable opportunity to get money, which they otherwise could not have obtained.

How bent the smaller States are upon pushing matters to an extremity, and how faintly Austria and Prussia resist them, is shown by the fact that Hesse Darmstadt has already proposed that the Diet should immediately occupy Slesvig to ensure the rights of the Confederation, and that Austria and Prussia have suggested as an amendment that Denmark should first be summoned to suspend the new Constitution, and that in case of non-compliance Slesvig should then be occupied. The one proposal is as illegal as the other. Either, if resolved upon, would be a declaration of war against Denmark.

Another sign of the intention of Prussia to go with the stream is the King's answer to the Address of the House of Deputies. His Majesty announces that the decision of the question of the succession in Holstein is reserved, and that the withdrawal of Prussia from the London Treaty would not be feasible without further consideration. Such language shows plainly enough that the King intends to take advantage of the opportunity which the deputies offer him.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha has authorised the Pretender to enlist and equip an army in his territories. We suppose his next step will be to declare the paper money which the Slesvig-Holstein Minister issues legal tender.

The meeting of the German representatives at Frankfurt was not so unanimous as the telegraphic reports—all coming, of course, from good patriots—represented it to be. The proposal to form a central standing committee, to secure the rights of the Duchies and of the Prince Frederick, created a schism, which resulted in the withdrawal of forty South German members, including some of the leaders of the *Gross Deutsch* party, from the Congress—a fact, upon which one of the other party thus commented, amidst the enthusiastic applause of the majority: "We have to fight the Danes as well in Germany as out of it." And this is the people which pretends to believe in its own unity!

Denmark is not now represented diplomatically at Berlin or Vienna, or indeed anywhere in Germany; and the Austrian and Prussian Ministers, although remaining in Copenhagen, stay there only as private persons. They were accredited only to the late King, and the German Governments have not recognised King Christian—have even refused to receive the ambassador sent to announce his accession to the throne.

Earl Russell has been writing to the Diet, which treats his despatches as so much waste paper. He communicates the Treaty of London, and says that if by over-hasty measures the Confederation should depart from the course thereby marked out most serious complications may ensue. England is, however, ready to take part in a conference. All this is idle talk. There is but one kind of language to which Germany will listen, and if it had been spoken at first all this difficulty would long since have been over.

The bill authorising the loan of 300,000,000 of francs for the reduction of the floating debt has passed the Corps Législatif by 242 to 14 votes. The votes of the minority were not really intended against the bill; they were given in support of an amendment proposed by M. Thiers, limiting the issue of treasury bonds for the year 1864 to the sum of 100,000,000 of francs. His speech in this debate may be taken as M. Thiers' *début* into the public life of Imperial France. It was a sober speech, with little or no party tendency, and was directed to the support of M. Fould's proposal to reduce the floating debt, and to show the necessity of the adoption of his own amendment if the Chamber wished to prevent the floating debt from speedily resuming its old proportions. He had intended, he said, to give, when he first spoke, some explanations upon the motives which had decided him to reappear in that place and upon the intentions he brought with him, but he reserved that subject until a better opportunity, the debate on the Address. He declared himself a decided partisan of peace, although not of a peace which would be obtained at the cost of the honour and interest of France. He observed, that of all nations France has the greatest influence upon the question of war or peace. The next war, he said, will be no isolated one; it will be a general war, of which the present generation will perhaps see neither the end nor the consequences.

In principle, the Government and the committee of the Chamber to which the bill had been referred did not differ from M. Thiers. The Government had already proposed to limit the issue of bonds for 1865 to 150,000,000. To adopt a limitation in 1864 even to that sum, much more to that proposed by M. Thiers would, the Government commissioners argued, be productive of very great inconvenience, inasmuch as the loan intended to pay off the 300,000,000 of bonds now existing would not be fully realised for perhaps eighteen months. The debate was especially noteworthy for the evidence it gave of a scission in the Opposition: whilst MM. Thiers, Ollivier, and Picard declared themselves decided partisans of peace, MM. Havin and Guérout, the editors of the *Sédele* and the *Opinions Nationales*, declared that they would support a war for the liberation of Poland. The feeling of the Chamber was decidedly in favour of peace.

Garibaldi has followed the example of several Sicilian deputies and resigned his seat in the Italian Chamber.

The address in reply to the speech from the throne, has been carried in the Spanish Cortes by 141 to 75 votes.

News from St. Domingo to the 7th, coming from Spanish sources, announces that the insurgents had been everywhere defeated, and that the capture of Azua, which was immediately expected, would terminate the insurrection.

The news from Greece is not satisfactory. The National Guard has been relieved from some of its duties, and has accordingly made a great disturbance, whilst the sittings of the National Assembly continue to be of a turbulent character. It is said that Count Sponeck, the young king's mentor, has been called home, his services being required for Denmark at the present crisis.

The Moldo-Wallachia Chamber has unanimously passed a bill introduced by the Ministry for the sequestration of the property of the monasteries. Bucharest was consequently illuminated. This measure may be for the moment very convenient for the Government and very agreeable to the people; but it will get the Hospodar into hot water with his suzerain and the great Powers.

#### JAPAN.

A TELEGRAM from Paris says that, according to news received from Alexandria, the parties of the Tycoon and Prince Satsuma had agreed upon the expulsion of foreigners from Japan. Japanese news coming *vid Paris* must be received with great caution.

#### THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN LANCASHIRE.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

MANCHESTER, December 30.

It was little more than half a year ago that an unprompted advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, inviting the friends of the Confederate cause to communicate with the advertiser, with a view to forming the nucleus of a Southern Association in this city. The appeal was cordially responded to, a provisional committee, chosen by the promoters, was appointed for three months, offices were opened for the enrolment of members and the transaction of the Society's business, and everything augured well for the success of the purely spontaneous undertaking. Such were the small beginnings of a movement which has since made itself a power throughout the manufacturing districts in the North, and of which the influence is now not confined to Lancashire, or even to this side of the Atlantic.

The Southern Independence Association has, in the Right Hon. Lord Wharncliffe, a zealous and most efficient President; and its list of vice-presidents contains the names of the Duke of Cleveland, the Marquis of Lothian, Right Hon. Lord Teynham, Viscount Gormanston, Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Lord Adolphus Vane Tempest, M.P., Lord H. F. Thynne, M.P., and many other noblemen and gentlemen of high distinction

in the political world. The General Council is composed of gentlemen of local position and influence, whether as merchants or manufacturers, or as members of the liberal professions, or as representatives of the trade and commerce of the town and district. It is specially worthy of note, if only as a protest against the War-Christian doctrines held and promulgated by the Rev. Ward Beecher, that some hundreds of clergymen of various denominations (not excluding even Mr. Beecher's own) do not find it inconsistent with their calling to give their countenance and support to a political movement in the interests of peace.

It may be desirable, for the information of patrons and friends residing at a distance from the scene of the Society's more immediate operations, to offer a brief statement, at the close of the year, of the progress that has been made during the past few months. In the first place, branch societies, provided over by local officers, and managed by local committees, have been established in the following towns:—Ashton, Stalybridge, Heywood, Bury, Blackburn, Preston, Middleton, Stockport, Mossley, Bolton, Burnley, Rawtenstall, Rochdale, Todmorden, Hyde, Ipawich, Macclesfield, Bacup, Huddersfield, Glasgow, Glossop, Ramsbottom, Droylsden, Bradford, Leigh, Bury St. Edmunds, Over Darwen, Stone, Newcastle, Nantwich, Knutsford, Leicester and Northampton. These branch societies (and others are continually in course of formation) comprise, with the Central Association in Manchester, an aggregate of upwards of 20,000 members, of whom, however, the large majority, composed as they are of operatives and men employed in other forms of labour, contribute nothing towards defraying the very considerable expenses of conducting the movement with the efficiency which has hitherto distinguished it. More than 500 lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Association, and in scarcely a single instance has the audience recorded an adverse vote, while in nine cases out of ten the majorities have been overwhelming. Tracts, pamphlets, and "Papers for the People" are now issuing by thousands and even tens of thousands; the literary contributions being in all cases furnished gratis, and the papers themselves distributed without charge. The titles of a few of these plainly argued and well-written tracts will sufficiently indicate their general character; for instance "An Examination of the Political and Religious Antecedents and Teachings of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher," "An Investigation of the Causes of the American War," "Notes on Slavery, especially in relation to the American Question," "An Analysis and Exposition of the United States Tariffs," &c., &c. Although these papers are circulated for the most part in the manufacturing districts, there is scarcely a county in England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales, into which they have not penetrated, in testimony of the activity of the Southern Independence Association in Manchester, and of the zeal with which its officers and members have entered upon their self-imposed labour of goodwill towards the Confederate States. Nor is the Society less active in its various other departments. Petitions and memorials to both Houses of Parliament are now lying for signature in nearly every cotton-mill in the district; and it is gratifying to find that every respectable mill-owner or other capitalist who is largely an employer of labour, is offering all reasonable facilities for carrying out this important measure. In some cases the process of signing is already completed, and the documents are prepared for presentation at the opening of Parliament. In the event of the numerous branch societies adopting the same course in the several towns they represent, the tables of both Houses will present in February next such a spectacle of public feeling in relation to the American war as has not been equalled in intensity since the days of Free Trade. In addition, however, to this mode of testing and concentrating the opinion of the people, the Association has undertaken to parcel out the city and district into wards, and, by means of a personal canvass and register, ascertain, for Earl Russell's information, the extent to which, so far as Lancashire is concerned, his Lordship erred in his division of Federal and Confederate feeling in England. Such is a brief and necessarily imperfect outline of operations, either completed or in course of progress, under the auspices of the Southern Independence Association; and it only remains to be added that, while the action of the Society has not hitherto been crippled through want of funds, the disbursements have been extremely heavy, though by no means out of proportion to the results which have been so satisfactorily achieved.

Proofs are daily accumulating of the extensive scale upon which the Association is conducting its operations, not only in the midland counties, but in the agricultural districts in the south. The latest instance of this was afforded last week at Northampton, where Mr. J. H. Smith, one of the lecturers engaged by the Association, delivered a very able lecture in vindication of the rights of the Southern States. At the conclusion of a well-reasoned address upon that subject, the lecturer proceeded to disabuse the minds of his hearers of the many false prejudices as to the origin, motives, and character of the war. First on the list of the grievances of the South he placed the division of territory; and second in order, though not in importance, the system of revenue and disbursements adopted by the Federal Government. He showed that every year about \$40,000,000 went into the pockets of the North from those of the South. It was against the determined resistance of the South that the high tariff of 1824 and 1829 was passed, and the tariff of 1861 seemed to have been expressly formed for the purpose of precipitating an irreconcilable separation. It was the selfish dream of the Republican party to surround the United States as it were with a Chinese wall of tariffs, and to compel England and all other foreign countries to purchase with gold, and not by barter of manufactures, those goods of which the United States had the monopoly. The Southerners would have much preferred that the immense stream of wealth poured by them into the lap of the North should have gone to England; and it was matter for astonishment to find Mr. Cobden, the great apostle of free trade, standing up as the advocate of those States which were the embodiment of high tariffs and commercial restrictions, while he had no sympathy to spare for those States which had always been, and were now, the consistent supporters of free trade, and of open, upright and unrestricted commerce. Whatever surprise might be felt at Mr. Cobden's inconsistency, there was little to be wondered at in the conduct of the North. The South were by far the best customers the North ever possessed. Even of their own actual manufactures, the North did not purchase so largely as the South. It was the South, which, by purchasing annually from \$60,000,000 to \$80,000,000 worth of Northern goods, sustained the agriculture, the commerce, the manufactures, the fish-ries of the North. Such were some of the solid motives which induced the North to draw the sword in the bloodiest civil war the world has ever seen. But the sword was the worst possible remedy for disunion, and it was equally powerless for exter-



nating the evil of slavery. The removal of slavery must be sought by other means, and as a necessary preliminary to the adoption of them, the institution must cease to be protected by the shield of the Union. But to this the North said, "No." Their cry was still, "Union, Union, glorious Union;" but the cry was of no more effect in restoring Union, than the cry of "health, health, glorious health," would avail to restore life to the dead body. Abolition did not mean love for the negro, but hatred for his master; not sympathy for human sorrow, but lust of dominion. "Was nothing," asked the lecturer, "but war, war to resound throughout the world, until a gallant race had been exterminated?" The North could never subjugate the South, and the South had no desire to subjugate the North. Nor was it for the interest and peace of the world that a country extending 3,400 miles from east to west, and 1,700 miles from north to south, should be reconstructed and reconsolidated, even if such an event were possible. The lecturer concluded by calling attention to the overbearing conduct of the Federal Government in past years, and stated his firm conviction that the hostile feeling constantly evinced by that Power towards England would sooner or later lead to a war with this country; and, that being so, he could not understand how anyone calling himself an Englishman could array himself on the side of the North as against the South in its present war of independence. The lecture was well received by an attentive audience, who awarded to the lecturer a cordial vote of thanks at the close.

The symptoms of serious increase in the pauperism of the distressed districts not only continue unabated, but are assuming a more unfavourable appearance from week to week. At the weekly meeting of the Central Executive Committee, on Monday last, Mr. Commissioner Farnall reported an increase by more than 2,000 in the number of persons receiving parochial relief. The returns for Manchester alone showed an excess of 707 above the previous week; Rochdale, 379; Ashton, 372; and Salford, 106; the total number on the books of the twenty-seven unions being 132,676 as against 61,264 for the corresponding week in 1861; the exact increase being 116.6 per cent. It should be added that in ten out of the twenty-seven unions there was a decrease, amounting, however, in the aggregate, to the comparatively trifling number of 240, as compared with the returns for the previous week.

A Hyde operative, named Richard Driver, who, like many another rhyming weaver in Lancashire, is in his humble way a genuine poet-laureate of the manufacturing districts, has been achieving of late something more than a local reputation for his muse, by singing the sorrows of the Cotton Famine. His latest effusion, which is styled a "Series of Dialogues in Verse between President Lincoln and President Davis," is now enjoying a circulation among his brother operatives, to an extent that might move the envy of more pretentious poets. As a specimen of this writer's artless but animated verse, take the following, being a portion of a "Dialogue" upon the recently proposed "amnesty":—

DAVIS.—No, no: for I prefer to die  
A martyr's death, ten thousand times,  
Rather than seem to justify  
Your black and most infernal crimes.  
LINCOLN.—If, then, thou dost prefer to die,  
Let Vengeance rouse up all my hate,  
And every power I have apply  
To desolate each Southern State.  
Now, Fury, take command of all;  
Use powder, cannon, shell, and ball;  
Roll Nature back, and make her wild;  
Spare not the mother, slay the child:  
Butcher them all—revenge is sweet—  
Ply well the army and the fleet;  
Let Europe, trembling, stand and gaze,  
While all the South is in a blaze  
For Europe, like an ugly whelp,  
Would like to give the South a help.  
I am not mad, how'er I seem,  
I am not mad, nor in a dream.  
For every negro I set free,  
I'll slay two white men—may be three;  
And he who shall oppose my plan,  
Is not like me, an honest man!  
DAVIS.—Lincoln! I hate thine ugly name;  
And now I tell thee to thy face,  
That thine own party yet will shame  
At their dishonour and disgrace,  
For thus allowing thee to rule  
And govern like a Yankee fool:  
For is it not a barbarous plan  
To butcher every Southern man—  
Men that are noble, brave, and good,  
And of the Anglo-Saxon blood,  
Whose fathers were of English birth,  
The topmost race of men on earth?  
Ah! thou may'st try to burn the South,  
And in the North gage every mouth;  
But, spite of that, the world shall see  
The sons of English fathers free:  
And thou, sir, like a Yankee knave,  
May'st swagger, bluster, rant, and rave.

#### MR. CHASE'S ESTIMATES.

(From the Times of December 28.)

THE new session of the Federal Congress has brought us some welcome information on the mysterious subject of American finance. We have now before us what would be termed in this country the Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and if that exposition is in some respects more obscure, it is in others more diffuse than the annual revelations which our own Parliament receives. Mr. Chase unfortunately has to open his budget and explain his proposals, not at the close, but in the very middle of a financial year. The computations of the Federal Treasury are made from Midsummer to Midsummer, and consequently the Secretary, in presenting a report at Christmas, is compelled to reckon by estimates only for three quarters out of the four. He can close the account up to the Midsummer previous, and can produce the proper figures for the quarter ensuing, but after that all is speculation and conjecture. It is also a disadvantage that his communication is made by a written Report, and not by that oral statement which in our own House of Commons introduces the audience directly to every detail of the public expenditure, and admits of immediate discussion on any obscure or debatable point. On the other hand, there is the advantage, as it were, of a double delivery; for the President receives the Secretary's Report first, and communicates it afterwards to Congress with comments of his own. Besides this, the American Minister is far more ambitious than any British Chancellor of the Exchequer in his forecasts of the future. Mr. Chase, after producing his complete account up to June 30, 1863, proceeds to estimate the receipts

and expenditure of the nation not only for the year current, but for that terminating with June 30, 1865. His statements for these several periods we shall now place before the public, reducing them, for perspicuity's sake, not only to the denominations of our own currency, but to our own forms of speech.

The aggregate revenue, then, of the Federal States for the year ending at Midsummer last was, in round numbers, £180,000,000; the aggregate expenditure, £179,000,000. The receipts were constituted as follows:—

Customs .. .. .	£14,000,000
Excise .. .. .	7,500,000
Direct Taxation .. .. .	297,000
Woods and Forests .. .. .	35,500
Miscellaneous .. .. .	600,000

Total regular revenue .. £22,430,500

This sum is only 50 per cent. in excess of the ordinary revenue of the United States before the war, which was about £15,000,000; so that the increase of taxation has been considerable. But we have stated that the expenditure of the Federal Government for the year in question was £179,000,000; so that there was a deficit on the ordinary account of £157,000,000. This was supplied by loans to the amount of £155,000,000, the difference still remaining being covered by the balances in the Treasury. We now subjoin the several heads of the expenditure thus incurred:—

Civil Services .. .. .	£4,650,000
Pension List and Indian Charges .. .. .	843,000
Interest on Public Debt .. .. .	4,946,000
Army .. .. .	120,000,000
Navy .. .. .	12,600,000

Total expenditure .. £143,039,000

But this, it will be seen, is some £35,000,000 short of the aggregate given above. That sum was taken for "the payment of funded and temporary debt," but the President explains in his Message that these payments, "having been made from moneys nominally borrowed during the year, must be regarded as merely nominal payments, and the moneys borrowed to make them as merely nominal receipts;" so that this £35,000,000 may be either added to the disbursements, or deducted from both those and the receipts together. This part of the statement is not very clear, and it probably involves the explanation of a particular item, which is certainly not intelligible as it stands. How does it come to pass that the Public Debt of the Federal States entails an annual charge of less than £5,000,000 sterling? There is considerable incredulity in America about the actual amount of this debt, but we have Mr. Chase's own acknowledgment that it stood on the 30th of last June at \$1,098,793,181, or as nearly as possible £220,000,000. Much of this, of course, was contracted during the year, and did not carry interest during the whole of the period, but if we take even half of it as coming to charge, we find it impossible to understand how the interest upon it, at American rates, could have been liquidated for £4,900,000. It is remarkable, too, that in the estimate for the year ending with Midsummer next this item is omitted from the calculation, but it is introduced again in the estimate for 1865, and there figures for just £17,000,000.

To an English eye, the most notable characteristic of these budgets will be the comparatively small amount raised by taxation, and the enormous amount left to be provided by loans. In 1862-3 £22,000,000 was produced by taxes and £155,000,000 by borrowing, being in the proportion of one-eighth from the former source to seven-eighths from the latter. This proportion is modified a little in the Estimates for coming years, but it still remains very striking. In 1863-4 a total estimated expenditure of £150,000,000 will be defrayed by £30,000,000 of ordinary revenue and £120,000,000 of borrowed money. In 1864-5 the outgoings are put at nearly the same amount, but the ordinary revenue is expected to rise to £40,000,000 and the loans to sink to £110,000,000. President Davis, in his Message, gives us some explanation of these arrangements. He remarks, on behalf of the South—and his words, under the circumstances, are of course equally applicable to the North—that when the war first broke out, and war expenditure became inevitable, "a long exemption from direct taxation by the General Government had created an aversion to its raising revenue by any other means than by duties on imports." In this tone of the popular mind we get the key to the whole system of American taxation. It is hardly too much to say that when Mr. Chase has found out what he wants for the service of the year, he raises as much as he can by Customs duties and borrows the rest. All his other sources of revenue together produced last year less than £9,000,000. His Excise, as he confesses, proved a failure, yielding only £7,000,000, instead of the £17,000,000 which he had expected to obtain. As to direct taxation in the Federal States, it literally produces altogether little more than our dog-tax, and actually less than our tax upon carriages. When, therefore, Mr. Lincoln states in his Message that "by no people were the burdens incidental to a great war more cheerfully borne," we are certainly entitled to observe that the burdens in question have not as yet been very perceptibly imposed. The Americans have incurred enormous charges, but, instead of paying them, they have left them still to be paid. At present they are living upon credit; it is when the duty of redeeming this credit comes that the "burdens of the war" will begin to be really felt.

To illustrate the case by a comparison, we will take the budget of this country for the year 1814, a year in which our expenditure made some approximation to the present American standard. No less a sum than £111,000,000 was then required for the service of the State; but of this sum more than two-thirds—instead of one-eighth—were raised by taxes, and one-third only procured by borrowing. In the year 1855, when the Crimean war was at its height, our total expenditure was £84,000,000, but of this, too, we raised £63,000,000, or three-fourths, by the taxation of the year. The Americans, according to Mr. Chase's programme, will provide from their own pockets no more than £90,000,000 during the three entire years from June, 1862, to June, 1865. For the rest of their needs they will resort to borrowing. That they can borrow, or have, at any rate, been able to borrow hitherto, is certainly plain, and Mr. Chase is thus far justified in his sanguine expectations of future supplies. But even supposing that his currency continues in favour, it must be clear that the Americans are consuming at an extravagant rate that public credit which should be a nation's last resource. We cannot tell whether these statements put the whole truth before us by bringing every species of liability to account, but we can tell that even according to these figures and estimates the Federals will have incurred by next Midsummer twelvemonth a debt so great that the entire revenue of the United States before the war would be insufficient to defray its annual charge.

PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.—The inordinate length to which, by a time-honoured tradition, the Messages of American

Presidents run, has been even exaggerated by the President of the Confederate States. This excessive prolixity may possibly diminish the effect which so able a state-paper would naturally exercise. But, at all events, it gives to foreigners a complete and exhaustive view of the present position of the Confederacy which they could not otherwise obtain. Like all the other documents issued by President Davis, its good taste and high moral feeling distinguish it broadly from the political compositions which we are accustomed to receive from America. The most thorny and irritating questions are discussed with calmness; and a severe simplicity, rare in transatlantic literature, is sustained even in those solemn appeals which will sometimes tempt a European writer into bombast. It is only when he is led to speak of the wanton and wilful cruelty which is being practised upon his countrymen by the Moura-vieffs of the West that his style loses, for the time, its even balance. A more important merit is the internal evidence of truthfulness which the document contains. Its whole tone is that of a man who knows that, to master difficulties, he must first look there fairly in the face. The narrative which is given of the reverses that have lately befallen the Confederate arms contrasts honourably with the lying braggadocio that used to conceal a Federal defeat. The disasters of the last campaign are nothing extenuated; if anything, they are painted in darker colours than previous accounts seemed to warrant. No enemy could speak more strongly of the disgraceful conduct of the troops to whose faintheartedness the rout at Chattanooga was owing. The President's commentary upon the campaign in Tennessee serves to explain some portions of it that have hitherto seemed inexplicable. The abandonment, for instance, of Chattanooga and Knoxville appeared to be a gratuitous surrender of important strongholds. It is now explained that the tenability of the whole of that line of defences depended upon the possession of Cumberland Gap. This post having been surrendered by an officer who was either treacherous or singularly timid, the relinquishment of the others followed of necessity.—*The Saturday Review*.

The Confederates unquestionably have been "hard hit." Mr. Davis admits as much, candidly and boldly. They have encountered one or two important defeats, and they have been disappointed in one or two expected victories. They have lost much territory and many men. The blockade of their coast has of late been much more close and severe than formerly, and has inflicted upon them great hardships. The price of the ordinary necessities of life has risen in many parts to a most inconvenient pitch. Their paper currency is fast degenerating into the condition of assignats. To crown the whole, their hopes of assistance from European Powers have gradually dwindled away, and appear now in fact to have been almost wholly abandoned. In all this there is much ground for uneasiness, no doubt, but no ground for despair. Discomfiture and defeat their enemy may inflict upon them by virtue of his superior numbers and more inexhaustible resources,—but anything approaching to subjugation or conquest can come upon them only by the failure of their own resolution or by division in their own ranks.—*The Economist*.

#### PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, —Another year of health and of sufficiently abundant harvests has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude is due. We remain in peace and friendship with foreign Powers. The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars to aid an inexcusable insurrection have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's Government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has by a like proceeding promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade and other belligerent operations between the Government and several of the maritime Powers, but they have been discussed, and as far as was possible accommodated, in a spirit of frankness, justice, and natural good will.

It is especially gratifying that our prize courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime Powers.

The supplemental treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade, made on the 17th day of February last, has been duly ratified and carried into execution. It is believed that, so far as American ports and American citizens are concerned, that in human and odious traffic has been brought to an end.

I shall submit for the consideration of the Senate a Convention for the adjustment of the possessory claims in Washington Territory arising out of the Treaty of the 15th of June, 1846, between the United States and Great Britain, and which have been the source of some disquiet among the citizens of that now rapidly improving part of the country.

A novel and important question, involving the extent of the maritime jurisdiction of Spain in the waters which surround the island of Cuba, has been debated without reaching an agreement, and it is proposed in an amicable spirit to refer it to the arbitration of a friendly Power. A convention for that purpose will be submitted to the Senate.

I have thought it proper, subject to the approval of the Senate, to concur with the interested commercial Powers in an arrangement for the liquidation of the Scheldt dues, upon the principles which have been heretofore adopted in regard to the imposts upon navigation in the waters of Denmark.

The long-pending controversy between this Government and that of Chili touching the seizure, at Setana, in Peru, by Chilean officers, of a large amount in treasure belonging to citizens of the United States, has been brought to a close by the award of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, to whose arbitration the question was referred by the parties. The subject was thoroughly and patiently examined by that justly respected magistrate, and, although the sum awarded to the claimants may not have been as large as they expected, there is no reason to distrust the wisdom of his Majesty's decision. That decision was promptly complied with by Chili when intelligence in regard to it reached that country.

The joint-commission, under the Act of the last Session, for carrying into effect the convention with Peru on the subject of claims, has been organised at Lima, and is engaged in the business.

Difficulties concerning interoceanic transit through Nicaragua are in course of amicable adjustment.

In conformity with principles set forth in my last annual Message, I have received a representative from the United States of Colombia, and have accredited a Minister to that Republic. Incidents occurring in the progress of our civil war have forced upon my attention the uncertain state of international



questions touching the rights of foreigners in this country and of United States citizens abroad.

In regard to some Governments these rights are, at least partially, defined by treaties. In no instance, however, is it expressly stipulated that in the event of a civil war a foreigner residing in this country, within the lines of the insurgents, is to be exempted from the rule which classifies him as a belligerent, in whose behalf the Government of his country cannot expect any privileges or immunities distinct from that character. I regret to say, however, that such claims have been put forward, and in some instances in behalf of foreigners who have lived in the United States the greater part of their lives.

There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries, who have declared their intention to become citizens or who have been fully naturalised, have evaded the military duty required of them by denying that fact, and thereby throwing upon the Government the burden of proof. It has been found difficult or impracticable to obtain this proof for want of guides to the proper source of information. These might be supplied by requiring clerks of courts, where declarations of intention may be made or naturalisations effected, to send periodically lists of the names of the persons naturalised or declaring their intentions to become citizens to the Secretary of the Interior, in whose department the names might be arranged and printed for general information. There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading duties imposed by the laws of their native country, to which, on becoming naturalised here, they at once repair, and, though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this Government as citizens.

Many alterations and great prejudices have heretofore arisen out of this abuse. It is therefore submitted to your serious consideration. It might be advisable to fix a limit beyond which no citizen of the United States residing abroad may claim the interposition of his government.

The right of suffrage has often been assumed and exercised by aliens under the pretence of naturalisation, which they have disavowed when draughted into the military service.

I submit the expediency of such an amendment of the law as will make the fact of voting an estoppel against any plea of exemption from military service, or other civil obligation, on the ground of alienage.

In common with other Western Powers, our relations with Japan have been brought into serious jeopardy through the perverse opposition of the hereditary aristocracy of the empire to the enlightened and liberal policy of the Tycoon, designed to bring the country into the society of nations. It is hoped, although not with confidence, that these difficulties may be peacefully overcome. I ask your attention to the claim of the Minister residing there for the damages he sustained on the destruction by fire of the residence of the legation at Yeddo.

Satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Emperor of Russia, which, it is believed, will result in effecting a continuous line of telegraph through that empire from the Pacific coast.

I recommend to your favourable consideration the subject of an international telegraph across the Atlantic ocean, and also of a telegraph between the capital and the national forts along the seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico. Such communications, established with any reasonable outlay, would be economical as well as effective aids to the diplomatic, military, and naval service.

The consular system of the United States under the enactments of the last Congress begins to be self-sustaining, and there is reason to hope that it may become entirely so with the increase of trade which will ensue whenever peace be restored.

Our ministers abroad have been faithful in defending American rights. In protecting commercial interests our consuls have necessarily had to encounter increased labours and responsibilities growing out of the war. These they have for the most part met and discharged with zeal and efficiency. This acknowledgment justly includes those consuls who are residing in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Japan, China, and other Oriental countries who are charged with complex functions and extraordinary Powers.

The condition of the several organised territories is generally satisfactory, although Indian disturbances in New Mexico have not been entirely suppressed. The mineral resources of Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona, are proving far richer than has been heretofore understood. I lay before you a communication on this subject from the Governor of New Mexico. I again submit to your consideration the expediency of establishing a system for the encouragement of immigration, although this source of national wealth and strength is again flowing with greater freedom than for several years before the insurrection occurred.

There is still a great deficiency in every field of industry especially in agriculture and in our mines, as well of iron as the precious metals. While the demand for labour is thus increased here tens of thousands of persons destitute of remunerative occupation are thronging our foreign Consulates and offering to emigrate to the United States if essential but very cheap assistance can be afforded them.

It is easy to see that under the sharp discipline of civil war the nation is beginning a new life. This noble effort demands the aid and ought to receive the support and attention of the Government. Injuries unforeseen by the Government and unintended may in some cases have been inflicted on the subjects or citizens of foreign countries, both at sea and on land, by persons in the service of the United States. As this Government expects redress from other Powers when similar injuries are inflicted by persons in their service upon citizens of the United States, we must be prepared to do justice to foreigners. If the existing judicial tribunals are inadequate to this purpose, a special court may be authorised, with power to hear and decide such claims of the character referred to as may have arisen under treaties and the public law. Conventions for adjusting the claims by joint commission have been proposed to some Governments, but no definite answer to the proposition has yet been received from any.

In the course of the Session I shall probably have occasion to request you to provide indemnification to claimants where decrees of restitution have been rendered and damages awarded by the Admiralty courts; and in other cases, where this Government may be acknowledged to be liable in principle, and where the amount of that liability has been ascertained by an informal arbitral award.

The proper officers of the Treasury have deemed themselves required by the law of the United States upon the subject to demand a tax upon the incomes of foreign consuls in this country. While such a demand may not in strictness be in derogation of public law, or perhaps of any existing treaty between the United States and a foreign country, the expediency of so far modifying the Act as to exempt from

tax the income of such consuls as are not citizens of the United States, derived from the emoluments of their office, or from property not situated in the United States, is submitted to your serious consideration. I make this suggestion upon the ground that a comity which ought to be reciprocated exempts our consuls in all other countries from taxation to the extent thus indicated. The United States, I think, ought not to be exceptionally illiberal to international trade and commerce.

The operations of the Treasury during the last year have been successfully conducted. The enactment by Congress of a national banking law has proved a valuable support of the public credit, and the general legislation in relation to loans has fully answered the expectations of its favourers. Some amendments may be required to perfect existing laws, but no change in their principles or general scope is believed to be needed. Since these measures have been in operation all demands on the Treasury, including the pay of the army and navy, have been promptly met and fully satisfied. No considerable body of troops, it is believed, were ever more amply provided and more liberally and punctually paid, and it may be added, that by no people were the burdens incidental to a great war more cheerfully borne.

The receipts during the year from all sources, including loans and the balance in the Treasury at its commencement, were \$901,125,674 86c., and the aggregate disbursements \$895,796,630 65c., leaving a balance on the 1st of July, 1863, of \$5,329,044 21c. Of the receipts, there were received from customs, \$69,069,642 40c.; from internal revenue, \$37,640,787 95c.; from direct tax, \$1,485,103 61c.; from lands, \$167,617 17c.; from miscellaneous sources, \$3,046,615 35c.; and from loans, \$776,682,361 57c., making the aggregate, \$901,125,674 86c. Of the disbursements, there were for the civil service, \$23,253,922 8c.; for pensions and Indians, \$4,216,526 59c.; for interest on public debt, \$24,729,846 51c.; for the War Department, \$599,298,600 83c.; for the Navy Department, \$63,211,105 27c.; for payment of funded and temporary debt, \$181,086,635 7c.; making the aggregate \$895,796,630 65c.; and leaving the balance of \$5,329,044 21c. But the payments of the funded and temporary debts, having been made from moneys nominally borrowed during the year, must be regarded as merely nominal payments, and the money borrowed to make them as merely nominal receipts, and their amount, \$181,086,635 07c., should therefore be deducted both from receipts and disbursements. This being done there remains as actual receipts \$720,039,039 79c., and the actual disbursements \$714,709,995 58c., leaving the balance as already stated.

The actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the ensuing three-quarters of the current fiscal year 1864, will be shown in detail by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to which I invite your attention.

It is sufficient to say here that it is not believed that actual results will exhibit a state of the finances less favourable to the country than the estimates of that officer heretofore submitted, while it is confidently expected that at the close of the year both disbursements and debt will be found very considerably less than has been anticipated.

The report of the Secretary of War is a document of great interest. It consists of:—

1. The military operations of the year detailed in the report of the General-in-Chief.
2. The organisation of coloured persons into the war service.
3. The exchange of prisoners, fully set forth in the letter of General Hitchcock.
4. The operations under the Act of enrolling and calling out the national forces, detailed in the report of the Provost-Marshal-General.
5. The organisation of the Invalid Corps; and,
6. The operations of the several departments of the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, Paymaster-General, Chief of Engineers, Chief of Ordnance and Surgeon-General. It has appeared impossible to make a valuable summary of this report, except such as would be too extended for this place, and hence I content myself by asking your careful attention to the report itself. The duties devolving on the naval branch of the service during the year and throughout the whole of this unhappy contest have been discharged with fidelity and eminent success. The extensive blockade has been constantly increasing in efficiency.

If the navy has expanded, yet on so long a line it has so far found it impossible to entirely suppress illicit trade. From returns received at the Navy Department it appears that more than 1,000 vessels have been captured since the blockade was instituted, and that the value of prizes already sent in for adjudication amounts to over \$13,000,000.

The naval force of the United States consists at this time of 588 vessels, completed and in course of completion, and of these 75 are iron-clad, or armoured steamers. The events of the war give an increased interest and importance to the navy, which will probably extend beyond the war itself. The armoured vessels in our navy completed and in service, or which are under contract and approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other Power; but while these may be relied upon for harbour defence and coast service, others of greater strength and capacity will be necessary for cruising purposes and to maintain our rightful position on the ocean. The change that has taken place in naval vessels and naval warfare since the introduction of steam as a motive power for ships of war demands either a corresponding change in some of our existing navy-yards, or the establishment of new ones for the construction and necessary repair of modern naval vessels. No inconsiderable embarrassment, delay, and public injury have been experienced from the want of such governmental establishments. The necessity of such a navy-yard, so furnished, at some suitable place upon the Atlantic seaboard, has on repeated occasions been brought to the attention of Congress by the Navy Department, and is again presented in the report of the Secretary which accompanies this communication. I think it my duty to invite your special attention to this subject, and also to that of establishing a yard and depot for naval purposes upon one of the Western rivers. A naval force has been created on these interior waters, and under many disadvantages, within a little more than two years, exceeding in number the whole naval force of the country at the commencement of the present Administration. Satisfactory and important as have been the performances of the heroic men of the navy at this interesting period, they are scarcely more wonderful than the successes of our mechanics and artisans in the production of war vessels, which have created a new form of naval power.

Our country has advantages superior to any other nation in resources of iron and timber, with inexhaustible quantities of fuel in the immediate vicinity of both, and all available, and in close proximity to navigable waters. Without the advantage of public works, the resources of the nation have been developed and its power displayed in the construction of a navy of

such magnitude, which has, at the very period of its creation, rendered signal service to the Union.

The increase of the number of seamen in the public service from 7,500 men in the spring of 1861 to about 34,000 at the present time has been accomplished without special legislation or extraordinary bounties to promote that increase. It has been found, however, that the operation of the draughts, with the high bounties paid for any recruits, is beginning to affect injuriously the naval service, and will, if not corrected, be likely to impair its efficiency by detaching seamen from their proper vocation and inducing them to enter the army. I therefore respectfully suggest that Congress might aid both the army and naval service by a definite provision on this subject, which would at the same time be equitable to the communities more especially interested. I commend to your consideration the suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy in regard to the policy of fostering and training seamen, and also the education of officers and engineers for the naval service. The Naval Academy is rendering signal service in preparing midshipmen for the highly responsible duties which in after life they will be required to perform. In order that the country should not be deprived of the proper quota of educated officers, for which legal provision has been made at the naval school, the vacancies caused by the neglect or omission to make nominations from the States in insurrection have been filled by the Secretary of the Navy. The school is now more full and complete than at any former period, and in every respect entitled to the favourable consideration of Congress.

During the past fiscal year the financial condition of the Post-office Department has been one of increasing prosperity, and I am gratified in being able to state that the actual postal revenue has nearly equalled the entire expenditures, the latter amounting to \$11,314,206 84c., and the former to \$11,163,789 59c., leaving a deficiency of but \$150,414 25c. In 1860, the year immediately preceding the rebellion, the deficiency amounted \$5,656,705 49c., the postal receipts being \$2,643,722 19c. less than those of 1863. The decrease since 1860 in the annual amount of transportation has been about 25 per cent.; but the annual expenditure on account of the same has been reduced 35 per cent. It is manifest therefore that the Post-office Department may become self-sustaining in a few years, even with the restoration of the whole service. The international conference of postal delegates from the principal countries of Europe and America, which was called at the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, met at Paris on the 11th of May last and concluded its deliberations on the 8th of June. The principles established by the conference as best adapted to facilitate post-intercourse between nations, and as the basis of future postal conventions, inaugurate a general system of uniform international charges at reduced rates of postage, and cannot fail to produce beneficial results.

I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith laid before you, for useful and varied information in relation to public lands, Indian affairs, patents, pensions, and other matters of public concern pertaining to his department. The quantity of land disposed of during the last and the first quarter of the present fiscal year was 3,841,549 acres, of which 161,911 acres were sold for cash; 1,456,514 acres were taken up under the Homestead law, and the residue disposed of under laws granting lands for military bounties, for railroad and other purposes. It also appears that the sale of the public lands is largely on the increase.

It has long been a cherished opinion of some of our wisest statesmen that the people of the United States had a higher and more enduring interest in the early settlement and substantial cultivation of the public lands than in the amount of direct revenue to be derived from the sale of them. This opinion has had a controlling influence in shaping legislation upon the subject of our national domain. I may cite as evidence of this the liberal measures adopted in reference to actual settlers, the grant to the States of the overflowed lands within their limits, in order to their being reclaimed and rendered fit for cultivation, and the grants to railway companies of alternate sections of land upon the contemplated lines of their roads, which, when completed, will largely multiply the facilities for reaching our distant possessions. This policy has received its most signal and beneficent illustration in the recent enactment granting homesteads to actual settlers. Since the 1st day of January last before mentioned, the quantity of 1,456,514 acres of land have been taken up under its provisions. This fact and the amount of sales furnish gratifying evidence of increasing settlement upon the public lands, notwithstanding the great struggle in which the energies of the nation have been engaged, and which has required so large a withdrawal of our citizens from their accustomed pursuits. I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, suggesting a modification of the Act in favour of those engaged in the military and naval service of the United States. I doubt not that Congress will cheerfully adopt such measures as will, without essentially changing the general features of the system, secure, to the greatest practical extent, its benefits to those who have left their homes in defence of the country in this arduous crisis.

I invite your attention to the views of the Secretary as to the propriety of raising by appropriate legislation a revenue from the mineral lands of the United States.

The measures provided at our last Session for the removal of certain Indian tribes have been carried into effect. Sundry treaties have been negotiated, which will in due time be submitted for the constitutional action of the Senate. They contain stipulations for extinguishing the possessory rights of the Indians to large and valuable tracts of land. It is hoped that the effect of these treaties will result in the establishment of permanent friendly relations with such of these tribes as have been brought into frequent and bloody collisions with our outlying settlements and emigrants. Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the Government demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilisation, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevating and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations, of the Christian faith. I suggested in my last annual Message the propriety of remodelling our Indian system. Subsequent events have satisfied me of its necessity. The details set forth in the report of the Secretary evince the urgent need for immediate legislative action.

I commend the benevolent institutions established or patronised by the good in this District to your generous and sterling care.

The attention of Congress during the last Session was engaged to some extent with a proposition for enlarging the water communication between the Mississippi river and the North-eastern seaboard, which proposition, however, failed for the time. Since then, upon a call of the greatest respectability, a convention has been held at Chicago upon the same subject, a summary of whose views is contained in a memorial



addressed to the President and Congress, and which I now have the honour to lay before you. That this interest is one which ere long will force its own way I do not entertain a doubt, while it is submitted entirely to your wisdom as to what can be done now. Augmented interest is given to this subject by the actual amount of work upon the Pacific Railroad, under auspices so favourable to rapid progress and completion. The enlarged navigation becomes a palpable need to the great road.

I transmit the second annual report of the Commissioners of the Department of Agriculture, asking your attention to the developments in that vital interest of the nation.

When Congress assembled a year ago the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and there had been many conflicts on both land and sea with varying results; the rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits, yet the tone of public feeling and opinion at home and abroad was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves, while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon and furnished from foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarters as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We have failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject.

The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that coloured men of suitable condition would be received in the war service. The policy of emancipation and of employing black soldiers gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope, and fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the Government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, was followed by dark and doubtful days.

Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and by the complete opening of the Mississippi the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which, three years ago, would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.

Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full 100,000 are now in the United States' military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks, thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labour from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be supplied with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection or tendency to violence or cruelty has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticised, and denounced; and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past. Looking now to the present and future, and with a reference to a resumption of the national authority in the States wherein that authority has been suspended, I have thought fit to issue a proclamation, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. On examination of this proclamation it will appear (as is believed) that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution. True, the form of an oath is given, but no man is coerced to take it. The man is only promised a pardon in case he voluntarily takes the oath. The Constitution authorises the Executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion, and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities. It is also proffered, that if in any of the States named a State Government shall be recognised and guaranteed by the United States, and if under it the State shall, on the constitutional conditions, be protected against invasion and domestic violence, the constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and to protect the State in the cases stated, is explicit and full. But why tender the benefits of this provision only to a State Government set up in this particular way? This section of the Constitution contemplates a case wherein the element within a State favourable to republican government in the Union may be too feeble for an opposite and hostile element, external or even within the State, and such are precisely the cases with which we are now dealing.

An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State Government, constructed in whole or in preponderating part from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former movements.

But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the United States and to the Union under it, why not also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery?

Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended.

To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith.

I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the Acts of Congress.

For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of those measures shall be included in the oath, and it is believed that the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has a clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision.

The proposed acquiescence of the national Executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labour throughout whole States. It is hoped that the deeply afflicted people in these States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if to this extent this vital matter be left to themselves. While no power of the national Executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition, the suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political framework of the States on what is called reconstruction, is made in the hope that it may do good without danger of harm. It will save labour and avoid great confusion. But why any proclamation now upon the subject? This subject is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long or be taken too soon. In some States the elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive apparently for want of a rallying point—a plan of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B, rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the General Government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation, a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying point, and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would. The objection to a premature presentation of a plan by the national Executive consists in the danger of committing itself on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document as to avoid embarrassment from this source, saying that on certain terms certain classes will be pardoned, with rights restored. It is not said that other classes or other terms will never be included, saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specific way. It is not said it will never be accepted in any other way. The movements by State action for emancipation in several of the States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust this Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to the great consummation. In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look for a time to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them; until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, which have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that, in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do honourably recognise the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom more than to others the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated.

December 8.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

#### THE FEDERAL "AMNESTY" PROCLAMATION.

The following Proclamation is appended to the Message:—

##### PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment; and whereas a rebellion now exists, whereby the loyal State Governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States.

And whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscations of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorised at any time thereafter by proclamation to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions, and at such times and on such conditions, as he may deem expedient for the public welfare.

Whereas the congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with the well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and whereas, with reference to the said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in the said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States and to reinaugurate loyal State Governments within and for their respective States; therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them, and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where the rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:—

"I, —, do solemnly swear in presence of Almighty God that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all Acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are or shall have been civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Govern-

ment; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of the said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States and afterwards aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating coloured persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity; and I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such States at the Presidential Election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter according to the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called Act of Secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State Government which shall be republican, and in nowise contravening such oath, such shall be recognised as the true Government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefit of the constitutional provision which declares that:—

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion on application of the legislature, or of the executive, when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State Government in relation to the freed people of such State which shall recognise and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which yet may be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a labouring, landless, and houseless class, will not be objected to by the national Executive.

And it is engaged as not improper, that, in constructing a loyal State Government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws as before the rebellion be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State Government. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State Governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State Governments have all the while been maintained; and for the same reason it may be proper to further say that, whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats constitutionally, rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the Executive; and still further, that this proclamation is intended to present to the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended and loyal State Governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State Governments may be re-established within said States or in any of them, and, while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest with its present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the 8th day of December, A.D. 1863, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 88th.

By the President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

THE HUMAN HAIR.—M. Pruner Bey has recently contributed to the Paris Anthropological Society a most important and valuable memoir on the human hair. Hitherto our information on this interesting subject has been most vague and unsatisfactory. The microscope has at last yielded most important results, and will greatly tend to the elucidation of the problem of the diversity of human races. We shall present our readers with the more important results of M. Pruner Bey's labours. Thus we find that so well defined are ethnic diversities in mankind that a single hair will now be sufficient to decide to what race the individual belonged. What seems more wonderful still is that half-blooded races can be detected by the structure of the hair! The following are the conclusions to which M. P. Bey has arrived:—1. Microscopic examination accounts for the different aspects the hair of the human race presents to the naked eye. The flatter the hair, the more it curls, and the rounder the hair the more stiff and smooth it becomes. 2. One extreme end of the scale is represented by the Papuans, the Bosjesmans, and the Negroes; the other by the Polynesians, the Malays, the Siamese, the Japanese, the Turanians, and Americans, not excepting the Esquimaux. The Aryans occupy the intermediate space. 3. The Basques differ from the Aryan stock as much by their hair as by their language. 4. Cross-breeds are recognisable by the fusion and juxtaposition of the characters inherent in the hair of their parents. 5. It is much less, the anatomical disposition of the constituent elements than the form of the hair which produces the characteristic differences. Anatomically there would only be the transparent centre deprived of medullary substance in some branches of the Aryan race which would deserve to be considered. But the fine points of the hair belonging to allophylic races, as well as their down, present the same peculiarity. 6. A single hair, presenting the average form characteristic of the race, might serve to define it. But, without pretending to this degree of certainty, it is indubitable that the hair of the individual bears the stamp of his origin. 7. Though there are appreciable differences in the form of hairs in the same individual, the extreme forms are only met upon the same head when there is a commixture of blood. 8. The small scale assigned to the diameters of the hair explains the relative resemblances between single hairs belonging to individuals of different stocks; but in spite of this apparent inconvenience, the general or predominant form of the sections does not in the same race transgress certain limits, and it is upon that we must base our diagnosis. 9. The hair examined by our method appears to us to possess an incontestable value for the study of characters inherent in the races of man. 10. Some will find in it forms of transition, for instance, from the Polynesian to the Melanesian, from the Malay and Lithuanian to the Turanian, &c., from this to the Basque and the American, &c., whilst others may energetically point out the different and constant forms even in this apparently insignificant appendage of the skin. 11. It is with the form of the hair as with the form of the cranium, however unequal may be the importance of these two characters.



## TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. All communications on business to be addressed, and Post-Office Orders made payable to, J. B. HOPKINS, 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London E.C.

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At Liverpool, to Mr. BISHOP, 6, Commercial-buildings, 17, Water-st.  
At Manchester, F. A. HASLEHAM, Esq., Manchester Southern Club Office, Market-street.

At Paris, to Messrs. PEREYER and MULLER, 52, Rue du Château d'Orléans, Paris.

At Turin, to Sr. FILIPPO MANETTA, 4, Borgo Nuovo.

At St. Thomas (West Indies), C. W. WHITE, Esq.

## THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1863.

*The Third Volume of the Index, comprising the numbers from April 30th to December 31st inclusive, is completed with the present number.*

Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, Treasurer of the Southern Prisoners' Relief Fund begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following additional contributions:—

Through D. Hubbard, Esq., Paris—

Mme. Destrehan ..	£2 0 0
John Simpson, Esq., Penrith ..	1 0 0

## The Campaigns of 1863.

THE history of half-a-dozen European wars seems rolled into one when we review the military events of the year in America. Greater numbers have closed in mortal conflict even in modern times than strove together at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; greater distances have been traversed by conquering armies; greater physical difficulties have been overcome by great commanders, from the days of Hannibal's crossing the Alps, to that of the march of a French army to Moscow. But we may ransack history in vain for a parallel to the gigantic war between North and South, complete in all respects; and the task of Napoleon I. defending the soil of France against the Allies in 1814 is dwarfed by the magnitude of the work Jefferson Davis has to accomplish—the defence of the Confederacy against half a million of armed men, aided by fleets which menace every town along the coast, and which traverse without resistance the great rivers of the Confederacy, so many safe highways for the invader. When we add that the fighting grows more desperate as the months roll by; that the area of the warfare is increasing; that the skill and military aptitude of both North and South are being rapidly developed; and that in the energy, self-reliance, and unexhausted resources, the Confederacy has exhibited, there is abundant evidence that on her part the war may be protracted for years, we have said enough to prove that there is in this war an unprecedented material for history, a field of interesting research for military students, and a volume of experience for the commanders of great armies, such as no wars since those of the Revolution have supplied us with.

Four great campaigns have been carried on during 1863. There have been intervals of rest, but the object for which they were commenced has never been lost sight of, and, with the renewed readiness of the armies to fight, has been persistently pursued. The States of Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana have been the great battle-fields, and in each the attack has been fierce, and the resistance stubborn; in each, invaders and invaded boast of their successes. In Virginia, as was natural, the struggle has been severest and most unrelenting. The year dawned upon the slopes of Fredericksburg, as yet hardly cleared of the Federal dead who fell in Burnside's mad attempt to storm the heights. Through January and February the Northern army remained in cantonments at Falmouth, recruiting, drilling, and preparing for a new movement in the spring. By the end of the month of March the roads were tolerably fit; Hooker declared his 130,000

men irresistible, and crossed the Rappahannock, to return a week later with the loss of a third of his army, beaten and disgraced, out-manceuvred and out-fought at every point. The victory was dearly purchased by the loss of Stonewall Jackson, but for whose death it would have been, in all probability, much more complete. But Chancellorsville effectually disposed of the cry of "On to Richmond" for the year. Hooker, taking up a strong position north of the Rappahannock, busied himself once more with filling up the gaps which desertion and demoralisation had produced in his army. Lee, having repaired his losses, and anxious to strike a blow that would have its effect throughout the whole theatre of the conflict, determined on carrying the war into the enemy's territory. Leaving Hooker in a perfect bewilderment as to his plans, he moved northwards by his left, and before the Federal general knew where he was, had fallen upon Milroy's division at Winchester, and pushed his advance across the Potomac. Losing no time, he marched rapidly through Maryland into Pennsylvania, and made the whole North tremble for its great cities. The Federal General Meade, however, followed with equal rapidity; and Lee, finding his line of retreat threatened, was compelled to face about and give battle. The two armies met somewhat accidentally at Gettysburg; and an engagement took place the same day, which terminated altogether in favour of the Confederates, but unfortunately left the Federals in a remarkably strong position on a "horse-shoe" range of hills two miles from Gettysburg. Numbers and position were against the Confederates, but Lee trusted to his gallant soldiers, and the attack was ordered. The struggle lasted two days. In spite of the dashing gallantry of the Southern soldiers, the odds were too great; at the close of the second day's fight they had gained but little ground, and Lee reluctantly gave the order to retire. The Federals were too roughly handled for a vigorous pursuit. On two occasions Lee offered battle, and the enemy declined. Finally he made good his retreat across the Potomac with the bulk of his spoil, all his prisoners, and the loss of two guns. We confess, however, the sacrifices incurred were not redeemed by the advantages gained. The attack at Gettysburg was a mistake. Lee underrated his opponents and paid the penalty. So far as we can learn, there was no reason why the Confederate general should not have selected his own ground, and awaited attack in perfect confidence, and it was probably only the "untoward" victory of the first day's engagement which induced him to become the assailant. The moral effect of the invasion of Northern territory was, of course, marred by the spectacle of Lee's army retiring from a drawn battle, by the renewed courage inspired in the breasts of the Federals, and the heavy loss of life on the part of the South, unattended by any adequate result. A few months of inaction followed, and Federals and Confederates found themselves fronting each other almost in their old quarters north and south of the Rappahannock. At one time Meade seemed intent upon a forward march, but the attitude of his opponent quickly checked his advance, and resulted in his retreat, almost a flight, upon Centreville and Fairfax Court-house. Again Meade pushed forward, but it was only to find the Confederates too strongly posted on Mine End valley, and again he retired, with Lee's cavalry harassing his rear and plundering his trains. Both armies have by this time gone into winter-quarters. The balance of the success rests with the Confederates. Two decided victories, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville; a drawn battle, in which they inflicted far greater loss on the enemy than they sustained; a raid into Pennsylvania and Maryland; the safety of the Southern capital for another twelve months—these are the laurels of General Lee and the Army of Virginia. The North has lost in its Virginia campaign 100,000 men by battle, desertion, and exhaustion, and it is actually not so near Richmond as it was fourteen months ago.

In Tennessee the contest has been hardly less severe. But here the Federals can boast of a

decided progress. Early in the year the two armies, under Generals Bragg and Rosecrans, met at Murfreesborough. The battle lasted two days, and the Federals owed their escape from the most decisive disaster of the war to the presence, energy, and indomitable resolution of their commander. The trophies of the fight rested with the Confederates, but Rosecrans accomplished his purpose; he broke up the Confederate force that threatened Nashville, and occupied Murfreesborough, which he soon converted into a fortified camp. Early in the month of July Rosecrans again moved forward, driving the Confederates easily before him from Shelbyville and Tullahoma, and even from Chattanooga, where a determined resistance was expected. There his triumphs ceased. Engaged by Bragg on the Atlanta-road at Chickamauga Creek, some seventeen miles south of Chattanooga, his army sustained a disastrous defeat which ought to have cost the Federals the whole of Tennessee. At the same time General Burnside, who had marched from Kentucky, captured the force holding Cumberland Gap without firing a shot, but reaching Knoxville, was completely isolated, and both Federal armies were apparently lost. A month's inaction on the part of the Confederates restored their old numerical superiority to the Federals. Generals Grant, Sherman, and Hooker, brought up forces to Chattanooga, and Grant, finding himself at the head of 90,000 men, decided upon attacking the Confederates posted on the heights of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain. The Confederates fought bravely for some time, but at length gave way under the superior numbers of the enemy, thus yielding to the Federals the first real victory they have achieved during the war. The blow that relieved Chattanooga saved General Burnside, and Longstreet, foiled in an attempt to take the town by assault, retired, pursued by the enemy's cavalry. By the latest accounts he appears to have turned round and inflicted a severe blow upon his pursuers. But he will hardly recover Knoxville. In Tennessee, then, the Federals have gained clear advantages. The possession of East Tennessee gives them a valuable base of operations against Richmond from the south, or against North Carolina. At Chattanooga they are in an equally commanding position for an attack upon Georgia or South Carolina. But they are still exposed to the inconvenience of a very long line of communication, running through an enemy's country. No doubt the Confederates will make every effort to break up their communications, and in the event of their success the position of the Federals in Tennessee will be most precarious.

In Mississippi and Louisiana the Federals have triumphs to boast of; but they are by no means of the importance occasionally ascribed to them. The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson has been useful to the North, not so much from the strong positions they have gained, as from the fact that the armies employed in reducing them became available for operations elsewhere. From first to last the capture of these two strongholds can hardly have cost the Federals less than 70,000 men; but it has not opened the Mississippi River to the commerce of the Western States; nor has it secured the States of Mississippi and Louisiana to the Union. On the contrary, both States are now, with the exception of three or four important points, almost denuded of Northern troops; whilst in the latter the Confederates have been strong enough, on more than one occasion, to inflict a severe defeat on the invader. The fighting in Arkansas can scarcely be called a campaign, for there has been nothing worthy of the name of a battle. And in Texas, General Banks's operations have been as yet confined to the sea-board. There has been no success to counter-balance the disgraceful defeat at Galveston, and the repulse at Sabine Pass. But the greatest failure of the year has been the attack upon Charleston, which holds out to-day as strongly as she did six months ago, and whose batteries send as fierce defiance to the Federal iron-clads now, as they did when the *Keokuk* was sunk, and the whole squadron drew off in the space of a brief half hour. Fort Sumter is in ruins; Fort Wagner is taken. But the flag



still flies from the ruins of Sumter, and half a dozen batteries have risen to take the place of Wagner; 1863 leaves Charleston as safe, as undaunted, as when in Christmas 1860 she witnessed the retreat of the Federal garrison from Moultrie to Sumter.

We have touched upon the leading events of the war, so far as space will permit; and we find no reason for despondency or distrust in the ultimate success of the Confederate arms. It is plain that the further the Federals press into Confederate territory, the greater will be the resistance they will meet; the greater the physical difficulties they will have to overcome; the more need they will have of large reinforcements to their armies. Where are these to be obtained? The last draft drove New York into a riot, and required the presence of 40,000 soldiers to enforce it. In the spring the term of the three years' service men, the veterans of the army, will expire. How many of them will remain in the army? How will those who leave be replaced? At present the North is compelled to call away troops from Mississippi and Louisiana to hold Tennessee. And yet Confederate forces are recruiting in Tennessee and Kentucky. Unless the North can be prepared with 300,000 fresh men in the spring, so far from extending its conquests it will hardly hold its own. The lesson of the past years' struggle, with all its vicissitudes, its triumphs, its reverses, and its disappointments, is yet a hopeful one to the South. It proves that the difficulties of the invader grow with the progress he makes, whilst his resources are failing; and it points to the day—not so remote as Mr. Seward, in canvassing for Mr. Lincoln's next Presidency, would imagine—when the North, from sheer exhaustion, must so far restrict the operations of her armies, as virtually to abandon the dream of subjugation.

### Injustice not Generosity.

AMONG the contrasts which abound in the respective State papers of the two American Confederations, there is always a striking difference of tone in regard to their relations with foreign Powers. Hitherto, the North has been querulous, suspicious, and insolent, finding at every turn some new occasion of complaint, and discerning in the most ordinary and inevitable applications of the clearest principles of public law a wrong calling for remonstrance, if not justifying war. The Confederate Government, on the other hand, was at first well satisfied with the consideration it received at the hands of Europe; and afterwards, when it was treated in some cases with scanty justice and still more scanty courtesy, it forbore to utter any exaggerated or undignified complaint, and confined itself to the simple expression of diplomatic regret at the failure of what it deemed its reasonable expectations. Now for the first time President Lincoln speaks on this subject in a tone of satisfaction; he admits, or we should rather say he boasts, that the relations of his country with the European Powers are such as he wishes them to be; he returns grateful thanks for the policy pursued by the Emperor of the French, and condescends to acknowledge, though perhaps less fully and frankly than they deserve, the sacrifices of personal honour and patriotic duty which Lord Russell has made out of pure devotion to the Federal cause. The Confederate statement is in complete contrast to this. President Davis regrets the necessity which obliges him to announce to Congress that the foreign relations of the Confederacy are by no means in a satisfactory position; and that the European Powers have pursued a course which, if not absolutely inconsistent with the legal status of neutrality, is certainly one of passive co-operation with the aggressor in the war. He speaks with calmness and dignity; but his tone is bitter, and the spirit of his Message is that of strong though suppressed indignation. It is impossible for any one to read it without feeling that it utters the convictions of a man who conceives that he has been grievously wronged, but who refrains from giving vent to his sense of injury in consideration of the paramount duties imposed upon him, as the chief of a nation only too ready to take fire at the first hint that it has suffered insult or injustice at the hands of others. Nor is it possible for any honest-minded man to read with attention the President's statement, and the evidence which it embodies, without feeling that he does well to be angry; and that if an English Minister had to present a similar statement to Parliament in regard to the conduct of Russia or France, the outburst of wrath which would ensue would make the avoidance of a quarrel an exceedingly difficult matter. It is beyond question that the policy pursued by Europe—that is, practically, the policy of France and England—has been from the first more favourable to the North than to the South. It is beyond question, moreover, that at every point at which a determination has had to be taken—on

every occasion on which it has been necessary to choose between two lines of neutral action—the course least friendly to the Confederacy has been adopted; and we regret to say, it is equally beyond question that this system has been initiated, enforced, and insisted on in each and every instance by England, speaking by the voice of her authorised representative. It is with bitter shame and regret that those journals which are not restrained from speaking the truth on this subject, either by attachment to the Ministry or by devotion to Mr. Lincoln, have admitted the truth of this impeachment. Exception may be taken to the evidence of those newspapers which are notoriously hostile to the present Administration, and may be supposed, therefore, to take a jaundiced view of Lord Russell's policy. But no exception lies to the evidence of the ablest and bitterest of Liberal organs, which last week but one wrote an article defending Lord Russell as Foreign Minister, on the ground that he was preferable to either of his two possible successors, and which last week describes his policy in these pregnant words:—"From the known character of Lord Russell it may be safely assumed that ample justice, and something more, has always been done to the claims of the stronger side; and there is, on the same ground, every probability that he has leaned against the weaker combatants as heavily as the most strained construction of law would permit." It is Lord Russell, and England as represented by Lord Russell, that has been the author of the unfair and partial policy that has provoked a protest even from the calm and much-enduring statesman who directs the affairs of the Confederacy. We need hardly waste words in showing that, in pursuing this policy, both England and France have been guilty of extreme folly and shortsightedness. The Emperor is not so weak as to suppose that the new Empire of Mexico can stand, except by his support or by that of the Confederate States, against the hostility of the North; he is not blind to that hostility because for the moment his enemies observe a politic silence; nor does he forget that, if he is to be saved from a most expensive and dangerous burden, it must be by a Confederacy strong enough to establish a real balance of power on the American Continent. He does not need that we should remind him that the triumph of the North involves perils which even his courage cannot pretend to despise. Nor does any English statesman suppose that it is possible to conciliate the Yankees; to make them ashamed of their braggart, aggressive, unprovoked animosity, or of their greedy hankerings after Canada. It is admitted on all hands (except by Messrs. Bright, Taylor, and their associates) that the reconstruction of the Union means war with England. It is admitted by all men capable of reasoning that it is for our interests that the Confederate States should be strong enough to keep the North in check and preserve order and international equality in America without assistance from Europe. It is felt that we have every possible reason for desiring the speedy termination of this miserable conflict, which is destroying the producing powers that have fed our manufactories, and the consuming powers that have taken so large a portion of our manufactures. There is no doubt in any mind capable of influencing the national councils that the interests of England are identical with those of the South: that the interests of Europe require the establishment of a balance of power on the American continent. And yet Europe refuses to lend a hand to achieve that end, and England leans as heavily as possible against the South. How is it that such things can be?

Partly because England—the nation—is not fully aware how heavily her influence has been felt in the scale against the belligerent with whom she fully sympathises. As a contemporary says: "The general opinion has been that no case of injustice to the Confederates has arisen yet that is sufficiently well-marked to justify the interference of Parliament with the conduct of the Government." Partly, we affirm and will maintain, from a feeling of generosity of which England, perhaps, is alone capable. The friends of the North made a strong appeal to English generosity and English chivalry. "Do not take the occasion to avenge your old wrongs on the weakness of your enemy. Don't stump Jonathan to a fight when his hands are full. Bear with him now, when you cannot be supposed to fear him, and don't take up the side that has such strong inducements to offer you. Don't lean to the side on which your interest so obviously lies. Rather endure wrongs and pocket insults than, in order to enforce a right or resent an affront, lay yourselves open to the charge of seeking a plausible excuse for grasping at great but dishonourable advantages." And England listened to this appeal to national Quixotry, and acted as she did thirty years ago, when she ruined her most valuable possessions and added thirty millions to her debt in order to clear herself from "the stain of slavery." She thought

only of the sacrifices she was asked to make, of the rights she was called on to forego, of the insults she was bidden to disregard. Her Minister knew better; and if England had understood the issue as well as he did, she would never have listened to his insidious counsels. She was willing to be generous to her enemy; she had no intention to be unjust to her friends. And we call attention to Mr. Davis's message for the express purpose of showing that the real issue has not been fairly presented to the country; that, under pretence of forbearing to press our rights against the North, she has really been guilty of gross and flagrant injustice towards the South; that, while intending simply to be lenient and forbearing towards a foe unable to resist her, she has been unwittingly made the accomplice of a Minister whose policy it has been to back the strong against the weak, the invader against the patriot, the aggressor and would-be conqueror against those who fight only for honourable peace and national independence.

One of the first acts of Earl Russell was to exclude from the ports of Great Britain and her colonies all prizes made by either party. This was nominally a neutral act; really, it has in no single case imposed inconvenience on the North, while, as it was intended, and as the North at once admitted that it would, it has operated to limit and cripple exceedingly the maritime warfare carried on by the South.

One of his first measures, in his communication with the Northern Government, was to call attention to the intermediate and dubious kind of recognition vouchsafed to the South, and to claim credit from Mr. Seward on that score. Then, when the Southern Commissioners came over, and Mr. Adams had the unparalleled impudence to complain of their reception as private individuals by the Foreign Minister, how did Earl Russell act? Did he inform Mr. Adams that it was not for a foreign Envoy to dictate to Her Majesty's Secretary of State whom he should and whom he should not receive? Did he remind him that, except as regards the formal matter of diplomatic recognition, the Confederate States stood in the same relation to England as the United States? Did he, in a word, answer with the dignity befitting the Minister of a great Power—nay, with the spirit of an English gentleman? He actually took the tone of apology, and informed the envoy who menaced him with foreign hostility if he dared to see whom he pleased, that "he did not expect to see the Confederate agents again." And so well did he observe this understanding, that his open insolence to Mr. Mason has been the theme of comment and rebuke from all independent journals, and finally obliged the Confederate Government to withdraw from the attempt to open diplomatic communication with a country whose Minister would neither observe the decencies of official intercourse nor the courtesies due from one gentleman to another.

We pass over the significant fact that Lord Russell actually condescended to inquire, on the complaint of Mr. Adams, whether the citizens of Nassau had or had not been guilty of a new crime against laws human and divine: the crime of trading with a belligerent Power without the permission of its enemy. We pass over the violent measures which he has taken, by perversion of law and vexatious abuse of all the delays, appeals, and annoyances which it permits, to prevent the purchase of ships in England for the service of the Confederacy, while British ships every week convey hundreds of Irish recruits to the Federal armies, and thousands of Birmingham rifles to the Federal arsenals. We come to a more flagrant, open, and daring violation of honour, neutrality and pledged good faith—the acknowledgment by England of an invalid blockade.

As to the fact, *habemus confitentem reum*. In his correspondence with the Federal Government, Lord Russell expressly notes the invalidity of the blockade, and claims credit for the friendliness to the North displayed in recognising it in the face of that invalidity. And this utterly confounds all his hesitating and prevaricating pleas in its favour, as one which we should ourselves have recognised, before his audience at Blairgowrie. He might have a better case on the ground of generosity, if English interests alone were involved. But generosity to the strong at the expense of the weak generally goes by an uglier name; and generosity which consists in the violation of an express treaty with one belligerent in order to oblige another is commonly described as treachery, falsehood, and dishonour. As Mr. Davis remarks, Lord Russell invited the Confederate States to accept a convention consisting of three articles, two of them concerning neutrals alone, the third involving the interests also of the belligerent less powerful at sea. The South has kept her share of this engagement faithfully. She has respected our flag when it covered Northern goods; she has respected our goods under the



Federal flag. She calls upon us to observe the third article of the compact; that a blockade, to be binding, must be enforced by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast. Lord Russell hesitates, quibbles, prevaricates, and finally meets the difficulty by a direct falsehood. He, who in 1856 took these words in their literal and natural sense, and justly denounced them as a mischievous and disastrous concession on our part, now declares that they mean nothing at all, except to declare the old law of nations, that a blockading force must be able to create some real and evident danger to ships approaching the blockaded coast! Did this man speak the truth before Parliament then, or does he speak it before Europe and America now? For one or other of his statements must have been wilfully and consciously untrue.

Here we pause. When once the real state of the case becomes apparent to the public; when once it is understood that the cry for generosity to the North is a cry for injustice to the South; when once it is comprehended that the execration uttered on the idea of an alliance with slavery against freedom is really a plea for the violation of a distinct and unmistakable treaty entered into with a view to the exigencies, and after the commencement of this very war, we feel sure that no further appeals to their prejudices, no further sophistry and declamation, will avail to silence the demand of Englishmen that justice shall be done and faith be kept. Meantime, let us pray the Confederate States to bear in mind that Lord Russell is not England; and that it is only by deceiving and bewildering the English nation that he obtains leave to insult and wrong their kindred of the South.

### The Budgets: Federal and Confederate.

A FORTNIGHT ago we dwelt upon the marked contrast presented by the state of affairs in the North and in the South. Both sections of the late Union were three years ago free from debt, and in the enjoyment of a commercial and industrial prosperity that was at once the admiration and envy of nations taxed for the debts contracted by past generations. We do not agree with those who suppose that the United States had a monopoly of social and political freedom; but it is undeniable that they were as free as any people could desire to be. And they had an unprecedented advantage. Every other nation had purchased liberty by sacrifices of blood and treasure, whilst the United States had liberty without debt. The Union was dissolved, and the new Confederation and the old Federation were involved in war. It might have been supposed that at the end of three years both belligerents would have exhibited a decadence from their wonted prosperity; but so far as the surface is concerned, the North seems to have grown richer on account of her profuse expenditure, whilst the South manifests unmistakable signs of the exhaustion caused by the outlay necessitated to carry on the gigantic struggle. Two strong men are stricken with the same disease; but the one in sickness wears the appearance of exuberant health, whilst the other plainly evinces suffering. As we pointed out, these appearances are utterly delusive, and the seeming prosperity of the North conceals from the superficial observer inevitable ruin and collapse. The reports of Mr. Chase and Mr. Memminger exactly illustrate this position; and if they are carefully studied cannot fail to gratify the friends of the South, and to fill the partisans of the North with dismal forebodings. But there is no chance of such lengthy documents being studied by the general public, and we, therefore, propose to notice a few leading features and facts.

The candour with which Mr. Memminger tells his fellow-citizens of their monetary difficulties is admirable. If Mr. Chase had been called upon to prepare a statement of the financial condition of the South, he could not, unless he had falsified figures, have produced a more unvarnished balance-sheet. The Confederate Secretary abstains from indicating facts which cannot be ignored, and which make the prospect considerably brighter. Considering the relative populations, it would appear from the figures of the two budgets that the South owes more than the North, but a moment's reflection shows that such is not the case. In July, 1863, the public debt of the United States was \$1,098,793,181, and the public debt of the Confederate States was \$701,447,510; that is, about \$50 per head of the population of the United States, and about \$85 per head of the white population of the Confederate States. Of course, in excluding the negroes, we are making the calculation tell unfairly against the South, since the negroes, though not payers, are the producers of the wealth that pays taxation. Including them, in the South

the indebtedness per head in July, 1863, was about \$70, and in the North about \$50. But more than two-thirds, that is \$701,447,510 of the Confederate debt was unfunded and had been contracted for purchases made with the currency five times greater than the country can bear even in time of war. Moreover, a considerable portion of the funded debt had been created in liquidation of Government liabilities contracted on such unfavourable terms. If the Confederate ports had been open to commerce, as we contend they would have been had England and France been faithful to their treaty engagements and had refused to recognise a paper blockade, then the currency of the South would not have been unduly inflated, and the Confederate Government would have made its purchases at usual war prices. Whilst the Northern debt in July, 1863 would have been \$50 per head of the population, the Southern debt would have been less than \$20 per head. We are not putting forth a paradox. We are not contending that an inflated currency, and the consequent depreciation of Government issues, is a good thing. Our object is to show that it is absurd to judge of the financial position of the South, of her *de facto* expenditure, and the actual strain upon her resources, by merely looking at Mr. Memminger's figures. No doubt the South, from banking with the North, had not at the time of secession a large stock of bullion on hand; and in further proof of this we may cite the fact that the separation did not cause a commercial crash in New York, which would have happened if Northern houses had been under heavy advance to their Southern clients. But the stock of bullion in the South was large enough for internal commerce, and that stock has not been diminished. It has disappeared from circulation, but it remains in the country. When peace is proclaimed it will again come into use, whilst the North will be drained of her bullion which she is now using to purchase supplies in Europe. Whatever may be the nominal debt of the Confederate States, the real debt is no more than it would be if the currency were in a normal condition. When peace is declared the North will have nothing to offer in exchange for European gold; but the South will have a stock of cotton worth at least £20,000,000 sterling, or in Confederate currency, \$200,000,000. But it may be said that that will be so much worse for the Government, which will have to redeem its obligations at par. And so it would if the unfunded debt was not wiped off or reduced to such an amount as proposed by Mr. Memminger. Foreseeing this, as well as desiring to remedy present evils, the debt will go doubt be forthwith funded. However high the interest demanded, the Confederate Government must pay it in justice to the community, for then public credit will be benefited by the return of prosperity in the gradual reduction of the interest, and therefore the amount of the public debt. The South is suffering from a financial difficulty that peace will remove; for the North there is no such relief. We do not mean that the South is any better for her present trouble, and we regret that Southern statesmen, well knowing the antagonism of the North, did not in years past provide and station a navy which, in the event of separation and war, would have kept her ports open to the commerce of the world. What we mean is, that the position of the South is not so bad as it seems, is vastly better than that of the North, and will improve rapidly after the cessation of hostilities. We submit that Mr. Memminger, whilst with praise-worthy candour presenting a truthful balance-sheet, might with propriety have shown the silver lining to the cloud. However, he does not address himself to foreigners, and no harm can come from a brave and determined people having an exaggerated notion of the difficulties to be overcome.

Mr. Chase's budget is of a very different character, so far as style is concerned, but its figures are even less encouraging. The Federal Secretary begins by announcing that his sanguine expectations have been exceeded, and ends by solemnly thanking God for the success that has attended his administration. That Mr. Chase has displayed great ability is unquestionable. His object has been to meet present requirements, and industriously, and with what his countrymen call smartness—a word which means unscrupulous cunning—he has pressed into his service the national resources. He has inundated the country with greenbacks, which he parades as the new national currency—very much in the manner the late Mr. Muntz used to eulogise the paper currency that he wanted John Bull to adopt instead of the old-fashioned gold and silver coinage. In order to distribute his greenbacks, he has not only paid Government debts with them, but he has substituted for the issues of the private banks the products of his own presses. In every considerable town he has set up a Branch National Bank,

the business of these establishments being to float Government paper. Nor has Mr. Chase been unmindful of the necessity of getting his greenbacks funded as fast as possible. To effect this he has employed agents who have gone about the country selling bonds, very much in the way that in the olden times was adopted by the touters employed by lottery-keepers. His industry and tact have been duly rewarded, and he boasts that every man in the United States has more or less interest in the stability of the Government. This is true, as far as it goes, and is equally applicable to the Confederate States; but the point is, whether the Government obligations are redeemable. A national debt is a safeguard against revolution so long as the national credit is unimpaired, but it fosters revolution when there is national insolvency. Mr. Chase is clearly of a different opinion. Like "kite-flying" merchants, he looks upon heavy indebtedness as the best foundation for credit. He says, "It is a distinguishing characteristic of our financial history in this rebellion that the public credit, which was at the lowest ebb in the months which preceded its breaking out, has steadily improved in the midst of the terrible trials it has brought upon the country." Such a statement was never before made by a financial minister. When we were engaged in war, and spending more than we could raise from taxation, it was common enough for the leaders of the war party to assure their friends that it was all right and safe, because our commercial supremacy gave us the carrying trade of the world, and enabled us to pay the interest; but no one ever ventured to assert that our credit was improved by our growing indebtedness. It occurs to us that if Mr. Chase would essay to obtain a loan in gold, either at home or abroad, he would find money rather tighter and dearer in 1864 than it was in 1860. But then Mr. Chase does not care about gold, and might tell us that the higher the interest demanded by the lender, the greater the credit of the borrower. Some of his maxims are about as reasonable.

We have observed that Mr. Chase's figures are not quite so encouraging as his comments; and it will be easy to establish that position. According to the budget, the debt of the United States in July, 1864, will be \$1,686,956,641.44, and in July, 1865, \$2,231,935,190.37. Mr. Chase thus gives the future debt to a cent; but such precision is rather suspicious, and reminds us of accommodation bills, which are always drawn for some odd pence, in order to make them look genuine. Mr. Chase's calculations fall very short of those made by his political friends, who estimate the public debt at \$3,000,000,000 in 1864, and we venture to think the larger estimate is more likely to be correct. It must likewise be borne in mind that the States are also contracting debts. But on the present occasion we will accept Mr. Chase's figures, and without going to 1865 assume that in 1864 the public debt of the United States will be about £340,000,000 sterling. The interest on this debt is nearly 6 per cent. Mr. Chase says it was on the 1st October only 3.95 per cent.; but he gives us a statement that shows that we must not rely on his calculations of interest. As we have seen, Mr. Chase estimates the debt in July 1864 at \$1,686,956,641; but a third of this was to be contracted between July 1863 and July 1864, and consequently interest on this large amount will not have to be paid in the first year, ending July 1864. If, then, we make an average, we may assume that interest will have to be paid in that year on \$1,500,000,000. Now, the interest on this at 4 per cent.—Mr. Chase takes it at 3.95—is \$60,000,000. But Mr. Chase estimates the interest to be paid in the fiscal year, ending 30th of June, 1864, at \$85,387,677—or nearly 6 per cent. We hope our readers have followed these figures, for they are a fair test of Mr. Chase's reliability, and justify our assumption that the rate of interest is not 3.95 per cent., but 6 per cent.

Accepting Mr. Chase's estimates, the interest on the public debt in 1864 will be £21,000,000, or equal to 21s. per head of the population; whilst the interest on the public debt of England is about 17s. 6d. per head of the population. If the war lasts till July, 1865, the interest will be equal to 27s. per head of the population.

Meanwhile, let us see what proportion of the lavish expenditure is met by taxation. We are told over and over again that the country never was so prosperous, and it is true that from the inflation of the currency and the excessive Government expenditure, the opportunity for payment of taxes was all that could be desired in the fiscal year ending the 30th June, 1863. The expenditure during that period was \$714,709,995. The total income during that period derived from taxation and sale of lands was \$111,399,764; that is, not a sixth part of the expenditure. Of this \$37,640,787 was from internal revenue, and only \$1,485,103 from direct taxes. No wonder the people have borne such burdens



without murmuring; but it is odd that Mr. Chase should congratulate himself on the result, seeing that the income from internal revenue and direct taxation was not half so much as he expected. The sovereign people refuse to pay now they are being enriched with Mr. Chase's issues; and under such circumstances we think the prospect of future payment is not very promising.

We elsewhere publish some calculations as to the solvency of the States of Iowa and Pennsylvania. Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, affirms that the public debt will foot up to \$3,000,000,000, and in that case all the property of Iowa, except \$80,000,000, will be pledged; and Pennsylvania would not be able to meet her engagements by \$9,000,000. Even at Mr. Chase's estimate for July, 1865, the national resources will be pretty well exhausted; so that, even if the Union could be brought to the hammer, the assets, over and above the payment of creditors, would be very small. Altogether, we vastly prefer the position of the Confederate States. The South will have a heavy burden of debt, but likewise the means to meet it. The North will have a much heavier debt, and less assured means of paying the interest thereon. The South is at the worst, and will improve with peace; the North is at the best, and must certainly suffer a financial collapse.

### THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

BY A. T. BLEDSOE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

No. 3.

A FEDERAL organ in this city exults in the "triumphant and crushing logic of Mr. Cobden." "Nothing," says that journal, "more damaging to the South—nothing more unanswerable by its friends—has ever been said. The authority of the first of free-traders has now extinguished the pretence that the South is fighting against a protectionist tariff. Mr. Cobden was in America in 1859, the year preceding the election of Mr. Lincoln, and he was disappointed to find there was so little interest felt on the free trade question—that there was no party formed, no public agitation, no discussion whatever upon the subject of free trade. To this statement he adds the records of an experience common to all who have studied the documentary evidence of the causes of secession." In these bold assertions the journal in question reflects all the confidence of Mr. Cobden himself, who seems most perfectly and profoundly convinced of the truth of his positions. "We were told," says he, "in the House of Commons, by one who was once the great champion of democracy and of the rights and privileges of the unsophisticated millions, that this civil war was originated because the South wished to establish free-trade principles, and that the North would not allow it." Then, having adduced the facts to demolish this position, Mr. Cobden adds: "Is it not astonishing, in the face of facts like these, that any one should have the temerity, with any regard to decency or any sense of self-respect, to get up in the House of Commons and say secession has been upon a question of free trade and protection?" "It is a war," says he, "to establish a slave empire. This is its sole aim and object. The question of free trade and protection has nothing whatever to do with it. Slavery, slavery—slavery," he cries—"that is all. It is this object and purpose with which the war was begun, that in my opinion renders success to the Secessionists impossible."

Now we hope, we trust, nay, in a judgment of charity, we believe, that the organ in question is profoundly ignorant of the documentary evidence to which it so confidently appeals. Mr. Cobden relies on one document only—the report of the famous Committee of Thirty-three. But it takes more than one swallow to make a summer, more than one document to make the history of a great empire, or of a great revolution. Mr. Cobden's inference may, if any one pleases, flow from his premises; but his premises are too narrow—far too narrow—to support a just conclusion. It is due to Mr. Cobden's dialectical skill to say that his argument is admirably constructed. His premises are well chosen, and his inference is well drawn. Nothing could present a more plausible and taking view of his side of the American question—that is to say, provided it be exhibited to those only who have little or no acquaintance with the history of American affairs. Nothing is better calculated to deceive and mislead such persons. Hence, if the assertion or opinion of Mr. Cobden be true, that there is no "Protestant country in the world where the masses of the people are so illiterate as in England," then must his most skillfully-put argument have produced a tremendous effect when addressed to those masses. No wonder, then, that it called forth from the thousands who heard him reiterated "cheers" and cries of "hear, hear," nor that it should produce a similar impression among the tens of thousands who have read his speech at Rochester. In this view of the subject, we fully concur with the sentiment that "Nothing more damaging to the South has ever been said."

But is it true that "nothing more unanswerable by the friends of the South" has ever been uttered? If so, then indeed must the cause of the South be impregnable, and the very strength of her enemies will be found to be sheer weakness in her hands.

We do not deny that the institution of slavery, or rather the violent and angry agitation of the slavery question, was one of the causes of the dissolution of the Union. But how far this was a real cause, and how far it was only the hypocritical pretext to cover ulterior designs, is not the question now before us. This question relates to the assertion of Mr. Cobden, that the desire of free trade, and a hatred of the system of protection tariffs, was not one of the causes of secession. "The political field was wholly occupied by one question," says he, "and that question was slavery." Let us, then, look beyond that little field, and see if we cannot find another cause of secession.

"The tariff is," says Mr. Everett, in an address delivered in New York on the 4th of July, 1861, "with one exception, the alleged monster wrong, for which South Carolina drove the Union to the verge of civil war, and which, next to Abolitionism, the South has been taught to regard as the most grievous of the oppressions which she suffers at the hands of North." &c. Every reader of American history knows it was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, who taught the South to regard the protective tariff as "the monster wrong" under which she was so grievously and so cruelly oppressed. Nor did South Carolina ever find relief, except at short intervals, from a sense of that wrong, or cease to groan under a conviction of its oppression, until she had finally seceded from the Union. This system of protection tariffs, then, as one great source of that deep, abiding, and embittered hostility between the two sections, may surely be regarded as one of the causes of the secession of the South.

Henry Clay, although he was not the author, became the leading advocate, of the protection policy, which was called by him and his party the "American System." It was, indeed, the "American system" as opposed to the interests of the Old World; but it was the Yankee system as opposed to the interests of the South. This became so apparent in 1832, and was so keenly felt by the South, that the Union was in imminent peril. It was then that Mr. Clay startled the Senate with the words, "Save the country, save the Union, save the American system," and concluded a most eloquent appeal to the friends of that system with the exclamation, "How is the system to be sustained against the united South, and the increased impending dangers of civil war?"

This danger was averted and the Union saved by one of Mr. Clay's compromises; according to which the protective policy was to be gradually abandoned, and the tariff reduced to the revenue standard. The compromise was accepted by Mr. Calhoun, but not approved by Mr. Webster. "The honourable member admits," says Mr. Webster, "that though there will be no positive surrender of the power there will be a stipulation not to exercise it—a treaty of peace and amity, as he says, which no American statesman can hereafter stand up and violate." But American statesmen did afterward stand up and violate that treaty of amity and peace, and we are sorry to add that Mr. Clay was foremost among the number. "The Tariff Act of 1842," says Governor Hammond, "was equally stringent with that of 1828. This Act, which was passed in open violation of the compromise of 1833—a violation which should for ever put an end to all faith in legislative compromises and Congress."

"A resort to State action to resist this oppressive Act was again proposed by some in South Carolina," continues Governor Hammond, who was Mr. Calhoun's successor in the Senate of the United States, "but Mr. Calhoun resisted it because he believed the next congressional elections would bring into power a party strong enough to repeal it." But this hope proved fallacious. Hence "in 1844," he says, "a more strenuous effort was made to excite State interposition. But Mr. Calhoun resisted still. There was one hope left." That hope also proved delusive. Mr. Calhoun submitted still; because, as he believed, "the Union could not survive" the interposition of the State—so deep and so enduring was his love of the Union. "But," concludes Governor Hammond, "his love of the struggles of more than a quarter of a century," from 1832 to 1850, "the protective system, though somewhat weakened in opinion and narrowed in practice, still flourishes, in violation of every principle of free and equal government—a gross infraction of the Constitution and a deadly injury to the South."

Now, in all this have we not conclusive evidence of the existence of a party at the South opposed to the protective system? Has Mr. Cobden never heard nor read of this party? nor of its life-long struggle with that "monster wrong," that "deadly injury to the South,"—the protective system? Has he never heard nor read of the impatience of the South, and especially of South Carolina, under the galling injustice of that system, nor of how it loosened the bonds of the Union? It is a remarkable, a significant fact, that South Carolina, in which the protective system had always been the most keenly felt and the most vehemently resented, was the first State to secede from the Union; while Kentucky, the State of the great protectionist, Henry Clay, and herself the recipient of some of its advantages, never seceded at all. Does this look as if protection had nothing to do with the phenomenon of secession?

But we are not left to inference. No one who has ever lived in America, or is at all familiar with its political history, can be ignorant of the fact that the "monster wrong" of the Tariff is one of the alleged causes of disunion. The debates in Congress, and all the periodical literature of the day connected with American politics, are replete with evidences to this effect. One of the most popular pamphlets on the Northern Side of the question, written by Professor Hodge, of Princeton, and scattered all over both sections of the Union just before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, bears direct testimony to the glowing expectations of the South of the great results to flow from "the advantages of cotton and free trade." In a reply to Professor Hodge, written and published at the South in 1861, we find these words: "In the present Southern movement, the voice of the people is unmistakable. They think, as Mr. Hodge tells us, that secession will make the South a great people; that it will add vastly to their trade, population, and advancement, in all material and moral good. They rely with confidence on the advantages of cotton and free trade." Here again is evidence from both sections of the Union that the South regarded the protection system as an incubus on her greatness and prosperity, from which secession and free trade would deliver her.

In another work, entitled "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," written by a Northern man and published in 1860, the year of Mr. Lincoln's election, it is estimated that by means of the Tariff alone the South was made to pay the enormous tribute of \$40,000,000 annually to the North. The estimate by Southern writers reached \$50,000,000. The author of "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," a New-Yorker, and the well-known editor of the *Democratic Review*, says, "the profits of other business may be approximated as follows:

Bounties to fisheries per annum .. .. .	\$ 1,500,000
Customs, per annum, disbursed at the North .. .	40,000,000
Profits of manufactures .. .. .	30,000,000
" of importers .. .. .	16,000,000
" of shipping, imports and exports .. .	40,000,000
" on travellers .. .. .	60,000,000
" of teachers at the South, sent North .. .	5,000,000
" of agents, brokers, commissions, &c. .. .	10,000,000
" of capital drawn from the South .. .	30,000,000
Total from these sources .. .. .	\$231,500,000

\* The Carolina Tribute to Calhoun. Page 307.

"This is an approximation," adds the author, "of the annual load which Southern industry is required to carry, and the means of paying it depends upon black labour. . . . No matter how great may be the production of wealth at the South, it pours off into Northern coffers as rapidly as it is created, and, singularly enough, the recipients of that wealth are continually upbraiding the South with its production."

Mr. Story and other Northern writers admit that the Tariff question was one of the alleged causes of disunion. But he insists that this was merely a pretext. What! the tribute of \$50,000,000 a year a mere pretext! What! \$231,000,000 a year, paid out of Southern wealth in the shape of Northern profits, a mere pretext! Better—far better—might it have been said that the tax of a few pence upon tea was a mere pretext. If, then, the authors of the Revolution of 1776 could resist that tax, exclaiming, "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute," surely their descendants may be allowed to refuse to pay millions upon millions for tribute—especially for tribute to those from whom they received nothing but scorn and contempt in return.

The truth is, that during the year 1860 many persons, both at the North and at the South, began to calculate the value of the Union. The well-grounded fear that an unscrupulous and rapacious faction, confined to one section, would soon usurp all the powers of the Government, roused them to this calculation. The effect in both sections of the Union was prodigious. The South, for the first time, was made to see, in all its naked magnitude, the stupendous burden under which she had so long groaned. Thousands and tens of thousands of her sons, including the more intelligent portion of them, began to realise the profound insight and prophetic wisdom of Calhoun. "The dazzling splendours of the 'American system,'" which had been conceived in a spirit of hostility to the Old World, faded from their view, and the frightful features of the Yankee system occupied the field of vision. Of course, that odious and oppressive system could no longer be tolerated; especially after it was seen that the Northern faction could have everything its own way, and institute a still more grievous drain upon Southern wealth.

The effect at the North was equally great. Professor Hodge, in the paper already referred to, declared that the South owed all her prosperity to her union with the North, and that her dream of prosperity and wealth out of the Union would prove a fatal delusion. "The North," said he, "can do without the South, and hold on in her grand career of prosperity, wealth and glory; while the South must inevitably sink into insignificance and contempt." But his eyes were soon opened. In the course of three months, he again appeared in print, with the burden of his song entirely changed. For it seems that, in the meantime, he had discovered that the North really had some need of the South, and that if she seceded it would be quite necessary to whip her back into the Union.

In like manner the *New York Tribune*, the leading advocate of the Black Republican faction, as late as December 1860, says, "Whenever a portion of this Union, large enough to form an independent self-subsisting nation, shall see fit to say to the residue, 'We want to get away from you,' we shall say—and we trust self-respect, if not regard for the principle of self-government, will constrain the residue of the American people to say—Go!" But how sudden the transformation! How quick the Somerset! Having discovered the great secret disclosed by "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," or by some other similar production, it turned right around, and said, the South shall not go—must not go; it will be ruin to the North. "The almighty dollar" prevailed, and "self-respect" with "the principle of self-government," was given to the winds.

Mr. Banks, the Black-Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress, and the author of the low slang expression, "Let the Union slide," was as suddenly converted as Mr. Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*. And having been thoroughly converted, he became a general in Mr. Lincoln's grand army of coercion to keep the Union from sliding. In short, all the leaders of the Anti-slavery party who had so long and so openly fought under the banner of secession, on which was inscribed the motto, "No Union with Slaveholders," and who had so often rent the very heavens with the shout, "Down with the pro-slavery compact of the Constitution," down with that "covenant with death and agreement with hell;"—yea, all these very consistent and pious politicians wheeled right around and fell into the ranks with Greeley and Banks for the preservation of the "pro-slavery compact" and a forced "union with slaveholders!" The very men who had been the loudest in the cry for a dissolution of the Union, became, all on a sudden, the fiercest and most sanguinary advocates for its preservation. Comment is unnecessary—comment is beggared and confounded.

The cause of all these changes is no secret. The word by which they were wrought or completed went forth from Washington. When Mr. Lincoln was asked, "Why not let the South go?" he simply replied, "Let the South go? Where, then, shall we get our revenue?" This word is upon record, and it speaks volumes. I do not mean to assail slavery, said he; my oath of office and the Constitution forbid; as he proclaimed to the whole world in his inaugural address. But I mean "to collect the revenue," and hold the "property of the Union." That is my purpose and design, and that is all. Let the South go, indeed! Where, then, should we "get our revenue?" What, then, would become of that glorious "American System," which has so long cheated the silly bird of the South into laying the golden egg for the North? No! The South cannot go! The South shall not go!

Where, then, "shall we get our revenue?" This opens the secret of the war. It is the old story repeated of the rage of Pharaoh, who, seeing his revenues so sadly reduced, if not ruined, by the exodus of a despised and oppressed people, pursued them with the fury of his vengeance. That the people of the North really worshipped the Union must be admitted. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that that worship waxed and waned with the advantages derived by them from the Union. In New England especially, this worship, like all others, except the worship of "the almighty dollar," was exceedingly prone to decay. The Union was, indeed, but the golden calf of their idolatry; and no less than five times in the course of her history did her mercenary sons threaten to dethrone the unpropitious god. The legislature of Massachusetts, as every reader of American history knows, passed a resolution declaring the State out of the Union, simply because, from the acquisition of the territory of Louisiana, she apprehended that the balance of political power might turn in favour of the South. But how deep, how intense, how earnest, how all-absorbing became her worship of the Union when this balance was entirely overthrown in favour of the North!—when the

\* "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits." Page 127.



General Government, in all its departments and with all its powers, fell into the hands of the North, so that she could plunder the South without stint, without limit, and without the least check or restraint! Then, indeed, she could worship the Union, as Moloch was worshipped of old, by the sacrifice of millions of human victims on its bloody altar, and present to her sister States of the South, not the three fair words of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," but the grim Jacobinical alternative of "Fraternity or Death!"

## LETTER FROM RICHMOND.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

RICHMOND, November 30.

We have suffered a serious disaster in Tennessee. Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge, the lines of Chickamauga, are in the hands of the enemy. General Bragg has fallen back to Kinggold, in Northern Georgia, with what loss it is impossible for us to form any reasonable conjecture. As usual, the telegrams of the Associated Press are more enigmatical than any responses of the Delphic oracle in the most inebriated condition of the Pythoness. We are told, for example, that the loss of the retreating Confederate army was 1,000 in killed and wounded, while that of the pursuing Federal army was 20,000 in killed and wounded—a disproportion of casualties which, if it were true, would convert defeat into brilliant victory, and make it only necessary for General Bragg to go on retreating and mowing down his pursuers, with the certainty that before he reached the Gulf of Mexico the Federal army would be completely annihilated. As far as we can understand the events of the past week by comparing the accounts of the Yankee press with the fragmentary, fitful, confused statements of the operators at Atlanta, it would seem that after a heavy cannonade, kept up during Sunday the 22nd inst., and heavy skirmishing the following day, the Yankees charged our works on Lookout Mountain at daylight on Tuesday the 24th in immense strength, at the same time engaging our right wing on Mission Ridge; that a desperate and sanguinary fight ensued, which was kept up throughout the day, the Yankees having been repulsed again and again by the corps of D. H. Hill, under the personal command of General Breckinridge; that at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, by sheer force of numbers, they carried our left centre, whereupon our men, seeing themselves entirely cut off, fell into great confusion, and were made prisoners to the extent of two or three brigades; that during the night the remnant joined the right wing on Mission Ridge, where they were attacked on Wednesday with great vigour; that the right wing gallantly held its ground under the command of Hardee and strewn the heights with the dead bodies of the assailants; that after night-fall, the enemy having enfiladed our position on Mission Ridge, it became necessary to abandon it, which was done, leaving a considerable number of guns in the enemy's hands, besides prisoners, variously stated at from one to five thousand. There is some doubt with regard to the present position of Bragg's army. His headquarters are at Ringgold. Whether he holds the Chickamauga lines or not is not known. The telegraph holds to the affirmative, but the general belief is the other way.

The news of this disaster has certainly produced a considerable depression here, but it was not unlooked for. The knowledge of the fact that Bragg's army was utterly without confidence in their leader and that Longstreet had moved off with his fine corps d'armée to operate elsewhere, had prepared the public mind for the reception of disagreeable intelligence from Lookout Mountain, and it was this knowledge on the part of the enemy which doubtless precipitated the attack. They profited by Longstreet's absence as Hooker had hoped to profit at Chancellorsville, when that heroic leader was investing Suffolk—the difference was that Hooker dashed himself against Stonewall Jackson, and Grant had no such obstacle in his way.

The retreat of Bragg, under circumstances of so much discouragement, makes the success or failure of Longstreet at Knoxville a matter of the very first importance. If he can force Burnside to capitulate, the victory of Grant at Lookout Mountain will be rendered of comparatively little consequence, and the Yankees may be compelled after all to withdraw from Tennessee, which has been the principal object of our Western campaign. We are informed that Knoxville is invested on all sides; that Burnside and his whole force are shut up within the town; that Longstreet is shelling it; that all the Federal troops in Eastern Tennessee, other than Burnside's force, have left the country by way of Cumberland Gap, and we may therefore reasonably hope that two or three days' time will suffice for the reduction of the place and the capture of the garrison. There is, indeed, a rumour that Knoxville has surrendered, but it is not credited. The situation is one in which time is everything. If Burnside's supplies are as scant as has been represented, he may have been compelled to yield before this writing; otherwise, should Grant prefer reinforcing him to an advance in the direction of Rome and Atlanta, and Longstreet not be strong enough to carry Knoxville by direct assault, he may be reduced to the necessity of abandoning the siege, and making a safe retreat into Virginia or North Carolina.

There has been heavy fighting on the line of the Rapidan, and a general engagement is expected at any moment. On Thursday, the 26th instant, a despatch from General Lee informed the Secretary of War that Meade was moving with his whole army towards the lower fords at Ely's and Germanna Mills, obviously with the design of crossing, and that he was pressing forward with all haste to confront him. That night the corps of the Federal General French crossed at Germanna Mills, and the next day advanced towards Spotsylvania Court-house, for the purpose, as was thought, of making a flank movement upon the division of General Edward Johnson, belonging to Ewell's corps, the old command of Stonewall Jackson. Johnson's division was at that time on the march for the ford at Germanna Mills. The two forces came in collision in a field distant one mile and a-half from the river, near the plank-road leading from Orange Court-house to Fredericksburg (so well remembered from the importance it bore in the memorable battles of Chancellorsville and the Wilderness), at half-past two of the afternoon, and a desperate conflict ensued, which was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, until night closed over the bloody scene. The enemy was repulsed at all points, and just before dark was glad to get behind his intrenchments, from some of which our troops dislodged him. Our loss in this engagement was about 500 in killed and wounded; the loss of the enemy was certainly much greater, and we captured a considerable number of prisoners. These latter, with our wounded, have been brought to the city. While French and Johnson were thus engaged, our general, Rosser, made a bold and successful dash upon the enemy's ordnance train, which was moving in

the rear of French's corps, and took 100 ordnance wagons, forty ambulances, 400 mules, and the entire guard and body of teamsters accompanying them, much of which plunder was destroyed on the spot, though the mules and ambulances were safely brought off, and the prisoners are in security on Belle Isle.

Intelligence of these operations having reached the city late Friday night, the belief was generally entertained that a battle would be joined on Saturday between the armies of Meade and Lee in full force; but the morning of Saturday, the 28th November, throughout Eastern Virginia, was probably just such a morning as hung that day over Ludgate-hill and Fleet-street. The densest fog that has been seen for many years enveloped all objects. In the city, the other side of the street was but dimly visible. Carriages, as they rattled by, vanished into a thick gloom at the distance of fifty paces. In the open field it was impossible to discern anything at close pistol-shot. Of course all military manœuvres were impracticable in such a mist, and a cannonade was just as likely to prove destructive to friend as foe. The fog gave way on Sunday morning to a heavy rain, which further suspended the inevitable shock of arms; but, as all believe, this cannot be delayed beyond three or four days at the farthest. Momentous issues depend upon the result of this encounter. The army of Meade is superior to that of Lee by two to one; they are moreover flushed by the recent successes of the Yankees in the West, and they advance under the miserable delusion that the reduction of Richmond would terminate the war, and thus cover them with imperishable laurels; but despite these material and factitious advantages of the enemy, we have the liveliest confidence that the army of Lee is invincible, and will maintain its prestige on another victorious field.

The bombardment of Sumter goes on with small results, in a most theatrical style, with blaze of calcium lights and roar of great guns at regular intervals. Charleston is honoured with a shell now and then, but has not been set on fire. The most painful incident of the last week has been the killing of Captain Frank H. Harleston, while going his rounds over the ruins of Sumter: a most gallant, devoted, and accomplished soldier and gentleman, whose loss is deeply lamented. Four more heavy pieces of ordnance have been unmasked by the Yankees at Battery Gregg, and several mortars of extraordinary size have been added to the offensive materiel of Morris Island; but there is no great reason to apprehend that, with all their weight of metal and expenditure of ammunition, they will accomplish anything beyond what has already been achieved.

The solitary waters of James River, which have been disturbed by nothing more than a few Yankee gun-boats from time to time, and the regular weekly steamer bearing the flag of truce to City Point, these three years, have recently been enlivened by the visit of a French frigate. The captain, leaving the vessel at City Point, has come up to Richmond, on business, it is said, connected with the removal of the tobacco belonging to the Emperor of France which now lies in the Richmond warehouses. By consent of both Governments, Federal and Confederate, the tobacco is to be removed and six or eight French merchantmen are to come for it. Of course there are rumours that Mr. Slidell has obtained, in return for this concession on the part of the Confederate States, assurances of the most friendly character, &c., &c., from His Imperial Majesty, which is all nonsense, &c., &c. The high naval dignitary who is now in the city on this business, is the guest of the French Consul, but he will probably fly from Confederate cuisine at the very earliest possible moment.

The interruption in the execution of the cartel for the exchange of prisoners still detains in our hands 16,000 or 17,000 Yankee soldiers, rank and file, and the mournful ululation of the Northern press and pulpits deepens in volume over the horrible barbarities they charge us with inflicting upon them. They do not hope to deceive Europe with these mendacious reports; nobody abroad, out of the small circle that shouted over the harlequinades of Ward Beecher, will believe them; their purpose is to stimulate enlistment and keep up the war spirit at home by inaugurating a new crusade for the liberation of the captives. There seems little hope just now that the exchange of prisoners will be resumed. Lincoln insists that we shall recognise the negro as the equal of the white man, and this we will never do. Lincoln is just a little behind the Abolition party proper of the North, which now proclaims that the negro is the superior of the white man. An Iowa judge has lately decided that a negro may sue out a writ of *habeas corpus* but that a white man may not; and the Rev. Dr. S. H. Tyng, of New York City, in a recent sermon, lays down this novel proposition:

"The African race is the embodiment of the highest type of humanity; and as the emotions are superior to the intellect, so is the African the superior of the Caucasian."

A late number of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* is embellished with a cut representing the negroes on a Mississippi plantation flogging the overseer, and all the indications are that the followers of Beecher and Charles Sumner will soon be blatant pro-slavery men. They will favour the perpetuity of the institution, reversing only the relations of the blacks and whites as master and slave. I commend this solution of the slavery question in America to the notice of the philanthropists of Exeter Hall.

The two branches of the Confederate Congress will convene in the Capitol in this city this day s'ennight. Senators and representatives are already arriving by every train, and it seems probable that a quorum will be had in each House on the first day of the Session.

## LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, December 15.

MILITARY operations are universally thought to be over for weeks, perhaps months, except for irregular movements by guerillas, and such enterprises as that of General Banks, in gradually occupying the coast places in Texas. Meade has taken his army into winter-quarters in Virginia. There is less talk now about removing him for the failure of his last advance upon Lee. Grant is resting at Chattanooga, securing the possession of East Tennessee, and has evidently no thought of advancing upon Atlanta until his preparations are all ready, which it is given out will not be until the opening of the spring; it may be earlier, but not very soon. During the winter both parties will hurry forward to Western Georgia, East Tennessee, and South-Western Virginia, as a great central battle-field, all their disposable forces for a tremendous struggle, to be decisive of military predominance in the heart of the Confederacy.

In the lulling of arms all ears are open to hear what is going

on at Washington. Congress is in session, indeed, but business has not yet been commenced. The committees having been only appointed on Monday. But the tone of the two houses is plainly discoverable in the speeches of the leading members and the measures of which notice is given. It is fully in accord with that of the President's Message, which is that of exuberant triumph—and the unrelenting purpose to enjoy and use victory without moderation and without remorse. They seem to be thoroughly convinced that the power of resistance in the South is utterly broken, and that the whole territory may be seized whenever orders are given for the troops to go forward and take possession.

Many people in the North—who share in this delusive opinion that the war could be ended at once if the immense military advantages of the North were vigorously pressed, and accompanied by measures of amnesty, compromise, and liberal concession, to win the submission of the Southern people to their inevitable subjugation, by tendering them the hope of merciful treatment—are fully persuaded that the Administration and its friends in Congress do not desire the war to be closed until their own measures are ripe for carrying into effect the political designs with which they have identified the war, and they reap for themselves the party and personal profit. For those ends, military operations are designedly delayed and edicts are issued by the President, and schemes brought forward in Congress and urged by the organs of party opinion—the effect of which is inevitably, and the design is charged to be, to exasperate the Southern mind beyond the possibility of reconciliation, inflaming it by studied outrage and goading it to desperation. Peace is only offered on such terms of shameful degradation and utter ruin, that any extremity of resistance, however hopeless of success, would be preferable to submission. A protracted warfare is thus ensured by the course of the Administration, purposely indecisive, in order to make its plans for the extinction of the Southern States a continual military necessity, which is allowed to swallow up all questions of constitutional powers, and in order also to ripen into political uses the appetite of the Northern people, which is growing fast into a national passion for seizing and dividing among themselves the whole property and all the lands of the South.

This is the estimate which the Northern men in opposition put before the country of the designs of the Administration. Affecting a high public virtue, they talk of them indignantly as utterly without authority in the constitutional powers of either President or Congress—outrages which every man in the North ought to resist as the caprices of a lawless tyranny, subversive of his own liberties, and no Southern man could yield to without utter ruin as well as infinite baseness. But this opposition exhausts its virtue in angry words, and weakens itself with the effort. It loses ground because it loses character in its shameless inconsistency of arraigning the Administration for great crimes, and at the same time hotly contesting with it for superiority of zeal, in furnishing the excuses under which they are justified and the means by which they are executed.

The conduct of the leaders and journals of the Democratic party leaves no ground for surprise that it has no weight in Congress and no coherence or influence in the country. They present nothing around which an honest, humane, constitutional party could rally, if there were the elements of such. The just men among their followers are confused by their teachings or disheartened by their treacheries. Many of their followers, unable to see any difference in principle, or to foresee any difference in results between their policy and that they attack, yield to the temptations offered them to join with that party which has the dispensation of the spoils and rewards opened to their view by the breaking up of the Government of the Southern States, and the parceling out, among the Northern victors, of all the possessions of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of Southern people. By these managements on one side, and mismanagements on the other, during the past two years, the party of the Administration has been made to be all powerful, in the country and in this Congress. Whatever edicts the President may issue, or the policy his party may dictate, will be ratified by the legislative power and carried into effect by the executive and the army, which is absolutely under his control, and which he has moulded into a mighty political machine.

No legislative action is required of this Congress in order to give either money or men to the President. Last winter, in the midst of the Democratic reactions, which were afterwards lost, there was an apprehension at Washington that the House of Representatives might in this Congress be against the Administration; and they made haste to put all important bills beyond the reach of their successors by granting unlimited power to raise money, and passing conscription bills and revenue bills, which the Congress could not touch, except in the way of amendment, and with the consent of the other two branches in which their continued ascendancy was secured. The precaution against repeal of these measures has proved to have been unnecessary; but it leaves little for this Congress to do, except to help in making the bills more effective. The conscription law is to be improved, so as to be more productive; but the power to call out the whole physical force of the country and compel service, needed no enlargement. It is ample and absolute. There is still an unexpended authority to borrow about \$900,000,000, so that the Secretary need not ask for any new provisions, except the improvement of the system of taxation already in force, so as to facilitate the payment of interest on the money he has the right to borrow.

The Administration has, therefore, full command of all the resources of the country, the undoubted support of Congress, and the acquiescence, in fact, of its adversaries, in the prosecution of the war, and in the enforcement, by military means, in the first place, and by the auxiliary legislation it may ask for, of its own policy.

The President's Message and the Proclamation which he sent out with it are the charts of that policy. They are his plans, carefully prepared, in consultation with the chiefs of his party, for restoring the authority of the United States, in the States which are expected to be won, by force or submission, within the grasp of the forces of the Union. The President's propositions are these:—

The States in rebellion have forfeited their constitutions, and have no longer a right to possess or to frame any form of government, except such as may be conceded to them by the conquerors.

But by this concession, the inhabitants may now form new constitutions, and create new States, on conditions which the President undertakes to lay down as the law for them.

The population must be loyal citizens of the United States, as defined and created by tests which the President, by virtue of his office, undertakes to impose. It is assumed, in effect, that by secession and war every inhabitant of a seceded State is *prima facie* disloyal, and needs to be reinstated.



Every person falling within this description is liable to suspicion and arrest, and to confiscation of all his property as a traitor. To all such, with a large list of enumerated exceptions, the President offers the privilege of citizenship within the States: pardon and amnesty to every individual who will come forward and subscribe in person an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and a further sworn pledge to support the proclamations and other presidential measures against slavery, and all the acts of Congress for the prosecution of the war, until they are repeated or made void by the Supreme Court of the United States—which he has been engaged in remodelling, so as to be in consonance with him. In other words, no Southern man is to have any share in the government of his State until he shall have declared on oath his acquiescence in the whole abolition and disfranchising policy of President Lincoln.

But all Southern men are not to have even this option. There is a very large class of the best among them, who will not be permitted, if it were possible they could desire, to make themselves thus infamous. The President secures the grovelling character of the constituency he invites, by excepting out of those he is willing to receive on submission, all officers of the Confederate army above the rank of colonel; all officers of the navy above lieutenant, and all persons whatever who have held any civil, political, or diplomatic appointment under the Confederate Government, and a further class of those who have had any direct participation in the treatment of negro soldiers of the United States otherwise than as equal to the whites. In brief terms, every man whom the Southern people have trusted and employed in their struggle for freedom—for his peculiar capacity, eminent trustworthiness, or special ability and desire to serve them, is to be proscribed, hunted, and punished, and they are expected to renounce and denounce him. There was no idea that such men would seek the ignominy of being sworn vassals of the destroyers of their country. The marked exclusion of the possibility shows that only the ignoble, the venal, and the cowardly, were wanted, for such service as the manufacture of new States on the President's model.

The constituency thus carefully selected out of these materials, may, by the President's permission, erect themselves into a State, with such territory as they may define as limiting their jurisdiction. The President only thinks it "not improper" to engage that he would prefer as much respect to the old boundaries, old laws, and ancient habits, as they might find it convenient to observe. As to the numbers required to constitute a sufficient depository for the new State authority, the President is contented to exact that they shall not be less than one-tenth of the number of votes cast at the presidential election of 1860. That one-tenth, if loyal and sufficiently oath-bound to the President's policy, will be maintained by the army of the United States as the true Government of the State.

But this pledge is not without its further conditions. The framers of the new constitution are required to take a preliminary oath that it shall contain nothing at variance with the President's proclamations and the laws of Congress, and that it shall contain an express provision for the prohibition of African slavery within the proposed State.

These are the terms of amnesty and reconciliation on which the President's party affects to expect a return of large masses of the Southern people into the restored Union, the disbanding and dispersion of the Southern armies, and the early submission of the whole country to the authority of the United States and the tender mercies of the Northern Government. They are so wantonly humiliating and deliberately insulting that they give strong confirmation to the political accusations of the enemies of the Administration, that they were purposely made intolerably offensive in the full expectation that they would be scornfully repelled, that peace might be made impossible, and the tremendous war powers remain in their hands, to enable them to make sure of retaining the control of the Government, and to bring in to their help and their profit the sordid passions that are waiting greedily for the extermination of the Southern people and the division of the Union.

It is in grotesque consistency with this mockery of concession for peace, which means war for bloody persecution and universal spoliation, that Mr. Lincoln finds his authority to direct and sanction these weighty changes in a harmless clause of that section of the Constitution which gives to the President the power of granting pardons in all cases except impeachments. On the conceded power to release convicts from the legal penalties of crime he bases the right to extinguish the civil life of great communities, and establish over them new governments, dictated by his own will and administered by his own creatures, under the armed protection of the United States. He reasons that the power to grant pardons includes by necessary construction the power to impose conditions. By easy transition, the power to impose conditions exists without limit. Being competent to release the penalties of the law upon convicted rebels, he may pardon in advance of conviction, on the admission of offence contained in the acceptance of the pardon. By another transition, the employment of pardoned rebels may be dealt with as a part of the war policy, which has no constitutional limits. Whatever pardoned rebels may be required to do for the breaking up of the power of rebels, is a lawful use of the pardoning power for the overthrow of rebellion, and the President's authority is complete to do that, by compact with pardoned rebels for which no statesman ever found the power, direct or implied, in the whole Constitution and all the departments of the Government—the power by executive act to extinguish States that were independent and sovereign before they were betrayed by their faith in a written constitution into a confederation, which grew strong to oppress and now seeks to destroy them. To this hideous system of construction there is not an audible word of dissent among the partisans of the Administration, and the words of protest by the minority are feeble and unheeded. Everything is held to be lawful, or justified as a necessity stronger than law, which ministers to the passions of ambition, cupidity and revenge, that are working together with such demonic energy for the subjugation, humiliation, and plunder of the South.

These lusts, and the insolent assurance of speedy success, exhibit themselves in all the doings and sayings of the new Congress, in the elections for speaker, and the wretched discomfiture of the poor attempts to make it the representative of moderate counsels; in the organisation of the committees; in every incidental debate, even on the most trivial topic, and by the flood of notices already poured in for motions, bills, constitutional amendments, and multitudinous projects for new varieties of vindictive administration, of which the prevailing idea is of the South is at mercy, and the unconcealed and undisguised purpose, to deprive the inhabitants of their civil rights, to overthrow their system of labour, to rob them of their property, and scourge them out of their homes into penniless exile.

I describe to you thus plainly the temper, determination, and passions of the North, that you may understand and admire the great qualities which come forth at the South in the time of their needs, to enable them to bear up as they do against this ferocious enmity, backed by such unlimited resources and wielded with such intensity of desperate will. That there is among them a solemn sense of great peril is avowed in the recent Message of President Davis with a heroic firmness and august dignity which entitle him and his cause to the profound respect of mankind. There is no effort to conceal the anxieties of the situation, the painful disappointment of high expectations, the unfortunate results of great enterprises, the magnitude of the sacrifices and sufferings already incurred, or of the still greater that are yet to be encountered, before the people can hope to be rid of the cruel invasion and possess their liberties and property in peace. The whole condition of public affairs is laid bare, as a father confides his difficulties to his children, and asks their help for the salvation of their common home. The loss of battles, embarrassments of finance, the exposure of important points on an extended frontier which it is impossible to defend everywhere, the coldness and caprices of foreign governments, which, in the name of neutrality, are powerful friends of the North; the greatness of the dangers which thicken around the cause of Southern Independence, and the increased demand for more struggle and more endurance, are all told simply, without the slightest indication of a thought that the manly avowal of the necessities of the State will weaken the courage and faith of the people, or fail to bring out responsive pledges for new efforts and unflinching determination. There is in that Message, and will be found in the manner with which it is received by those to whom it is addressed, the assurance, which the world may accept as unalterably true, although the arrogant North derides it, that the Government and people of the Confederacy are united in the resolute purpose to consent to no end of the war, short of absolute and final Independence.

## PARIS TOPICS.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, December 29.

THE feeling of disquietude which has for some weeks taken hold of the public might have been expected to yield to the peaceful character of the Emperor's answers to the Senate, and to the speech by which M. Thiers inaugurated his return to public life—a speech which was one of his happiest efforts, as reflecting the universal yearning for quiet which only seems to strengthen by the excitements to war which the radical press now openly indulges in. But yet there is an undefined uneasiness, the cause of which has found a formula of expression—"the dread of the unknown," but whose existence is more distinctly felt than its grounds are defined. It might be thought that when France and England are agreed that there shall be peace, there can be no fear of war; but there is a vague idea that while both peoples are heartily agreed on this subject, the higher Powers who consult for them, and are the best judges of their good, may have otherwise decreed. It may only be that people have made up their minds to be uneasy until after the 1st of January, and that then, the Christmas bills and other sorrows of the past year being settled, they will begin a happy new year with renewed spirits. The news from Holstein is here considered more menacing than, judging from what I read in the London papers, it seems to be thought in England. It is very distinctly felt here that France has a direct interest in the question, and that the doctrine of nationalities which threatens the King of Denmark with the loss of the Duchies because he is a Dane, may also be applied to merge his crown in that of a Scandinavian kingdom because he is a German. In fact, of the "unknown" one element seems to be making itself visible, and men who have for months made up their minds that they were sitting on a powder-barrel, are as much flustered by the lucifer-match which is near at hand as by the torch which has so long been blazing further off.

The French papers published only extracts of the Messages of the Presidents, either document being too long for their columns. They have been very sparing of comment, but the gist of their appreciations may be found in the remark of the *Globe*, that "Mr. Lincoln's Message is simply absurd, and that that of Mr. Davis bears no impress of despair." One or other half of this judgment is presented in stronger colours, according to the leanings of the writers; but this is the thought that all express. "The only conclusion to be drawn from these documents is the determination on both sides to continue the effusion of blood." It is certain that the interest felt here in the events of a war which no turn of fortune seems to bring nearer that end for which only wars are made now-a-days, peace, has long been flagging, and is now very nearly extinguished, in the general public. I have already mentioned that the reverse is the case in Italy, and that it is in the more advanced journals of the Liberal party of that country that the American struggle is beginning to be appreciated both in its causes and its necessary results. The *Commercio*, which is the organ of the Society of Political Economy, has of late treated these questions frequently, and I have remarked in it several long extracts from your columns on the economic bearings of the war.

My last letter extended to such a length that I was unable to refer to a very valuable paper, published in the *Mémorial Diplomatique* of the 20th, on the branches of international law committed by the Prize Courts of New York. The subject is of the highest importance, and is here treated in a thoroughly statesman-like manner. It is well worthy of engaging more attention in England than has hitherto been the case. English publicists are unwilling to touch upon this theme, on the ground that our country, being the greatest maritime Power, and depending, in no small measure, on this for her position in the world, it is our interest to see the rights of belligerents extended, and even to suffer in our present abnormal position of neutrals, for the sake of the increased power which we shall thus acquire as belligerents. Such writers forget that the wrongs we thus put up with can never be drawn into precedents in our favour. We shall have all the world against us if we attempt to enforce the present American practice in our own case, and the very first protests that will be made against the exercise of such rights as we fancy we are acquiring will come from the United States. We are suffering a wrong which is doubly disgraceful: for we know that it is a wrong, and submit to it either from fear or from the hope that we may hereafter derive some profit from it. By the Treaty of Paris, the only people against whom we could enforce those rights would be the United States, which was not included in it; and we well enough know their faithlessness, the spirit of bullying in which they accept the concessions we are making,

and that when they are themselves at peace and we at war they will forego no profit for the sake of past complaisance.

All the sea-faring nations in the world are interested in what is now going on in the prize-courts of the United States of America. The solicitude of the French Government should be awakened by them. Although the English flag is alone at this time the victim of the inadmissible pretensions of the Northerners, the decisions we are about to examine, and the grounds on which they are given, are nothing less than a serious attack on the rights of neutrals—the rights which, for several centuries, it has been the particular honour of France to watch over and defend.

The rights and the duties of neutrals and belligerents in time of war are founded on certain essential principles derived from natural right and consecrated by precedents. On the part of neutrals these rights and duties consist in abstaining completely from all interference in acts of hostility; on the part of the belligerents, in the obligation not to suffer the direct consequences of the state of war to weigh injuriously on neutrals. If the neutral violates his duties, he becomes by the very fact of this violation the ally of one of the belligerents, and the enemy of the other, and therefore becomes liable to be treated as an enemy. If it be the belligerent who violates his duties, inasmuch as by this violation he deprives the neutral of the benefits of his neutrality and causes him to suffer the inconveniences of war, he exposes himself to seeing the latter take openly the part of his enemy.

The code which fixes the duties of neutrals and belligerents not being strictly a written law, but a code, which, though derived from the natural law, reposes for the most part on treaties, decisions of courts, and, in a word, on precedents, it becomes essentially important to neutral nations that no unjust precedent which may be invoked at a future time should be introduced into the law of nations."

The writer then examines Judge Betts's decisions in the cases of the *Stephen Hart* and the *Springbok*, and concludes that there is in each of them "not one, but several violations of the public law; viz., 1. Arbitrary assimilation of objects of merchandise with contraband of war. 2. Arbitrary seizure of a neutre cargo because it contains some articles of contraband. 3. Seizure and confiscation of neutral merchandise sailing in a neutral bottom between the neutral ports, under the pretext that the merchandise is ultimately destined for one of the belligerents."

There is an appeal from these monstrous eccentricities of American jurisprudence to the Supreme Court of the United States. "Let us hope that they will be reversed. If this expectation be deceived, if the higher magistrature accept these heresies of Judge Betts and confirm his unjust sentences, it will be the duty of all the maritime Powers to protest against this attack on the law of nations."

I mentioned the publication about three weeks ago of a pamphlet by M. Aucaigne on the Russo-American alliance. It is still time to give a short sketch of its contents, which, as it treats of a long existing fact, have not lost their interest. M. Aucaigne answers those writers of the French Liberal, or rather of the Radical press of all countries, who, unable to reconcile their professed admiration for the conduct of the North in the American war and their sympathy for Poland with the cordiality which liberty-bestowing United States parade for tyrant Russia, have taken refuge in the pretext that the hard measure meted out to the North by England and France had forced the unwilling Yankees into the embrace of the Russian bear; that, in short, it was only their utter loneliness in the world which made the friendless Northerners rush into the arms of the "Butcher of Poland." "But you are wrong, my friends," says M. Aucaigne. "Birds of a feather flock together," and I am about to show you that the American vulture belongs to the very same category with the Russian eagle, and delights in precisely the same garbage. They are, in fact, not new allies, but very old friends. Their cries send forth identical broods, on your own showing. Their Butlers, Turchins, McNeils, and other names of infamy, are the very counterparts of the pictures which you daily sketch of the Mouravieffs, Bergs, and Annenkoffs.

In a single day McNeil has hung more prisoners than Mouravieff has sentenced in a month. Villages are burned on the Mississippi on not more provocation than on the Vistula. If the Russian Government condemns the soldiers of the Polish rebellion to a frightful death during the winter months, by forbidding the importation of furs, winter clothing, and shoes, Mr. Lincoln goes much further than this; he makes medicines and the surgical instruments, destined to the hospitals, contraband of war. He condemns his own wounded, whom his generals have a habit of leaving in the hands of the enemy, as well as the Confederate patriots, not to the anæsthetic death of frost, but to the burning agonies of slow death from untended wounds. If pillage on the largest scale be the right of Cossack officers, it is not less the privilege of Federals; but no Cossack would be so shameless as to parade his Polish spoil. He may take money for his booty, or content himself with its destruction; but the Yankee officer, though himself as ignorant of the value of works of art, takes pride in carrying them off to adorn his house, or, perhaps, to present them to some sniffling war-preacher, shrewd in such matters than himself. "We care little," says that shining light, Beecher, "about the Confederates. We want only their land. They may go where they will." No doubt it is a very paying business to exterminate the inhabitants of a country, provided always that one has people ready to occupy it at a handsome rent. Russia has such tenants ready at will, but this little difficulty is a terrible embarrassment to poor Mr. Lincoln. The Czar's position is, in this respect, considerably the better. His serfs do not question the humane motives which prompted his proclamation of emancipation; but Mr. Lincoln makes a merit of having taken this step only as a war measure, and the negroes, undeveloped though their brains may be, have still convolutions enough in them to appreciate the benevolence which told their colour-fellows that there is no room for them in his dominions. If Russian despatches are insolent, Yankee ones can fairly vie with them. Why, oh! my friends, have you two weights and two measures? Is noon at New York sunset at St. Petersburg, morally as well as geographically?"

The parallel is drawn out in a most amusing manner; but it is not all play, even the rough play I offered you specimens of. There is something very serious in the conclusions of this light-toned composition.

Admirers of the Model Republic, hear what a long sojourner in its chief cities says:

"These two countries, Russia and the United States, have been long succeeded in deceiving the opinion of Europe. They have done so because we are about as far from one as from the other. But visitors to either have rarely been taken in, and those who have tarried a time in them, never."

"Was not Russia in the 18th century the Land of Freedom, the Home of Progress, the Ark of the Philosophical Cove-



nant? Who was great, and noble, and virtuous, and liberal of jewelled snuff-boxes like Catherine? All the philosophers of those days, even Voltaire, all, excepting only morose Jean Jacques, sung to this tune.

"Why?"

"Because the Russians, like the Yankees, each after his fashion, are adepts in the harmonious art of singing—their own praise; twin Orpheus, philosophical *force nature* gambol to their strains, and lively type rush into laudatory forms at their bidding. In plainer language, they know how to make much of chance visitors, and they take care to show them only the right side of the medal.

"Let us look at history, and explain, if we can, how we have been blind to the facts it was meant to teach us in the constant intimacy which may be traced between Russia and the United States.

The sympathy between Russ and Yankee has never been at fault. In 1812 there was war between the United States and England. Russia offered to mediate, but England in those days had ministers, asses perhaps, whom Orpheus strains could not charm. They at first refused the offer, but, pressed hard in the great Napoleonic struggle, they at length agreed, and Russia testified her zeal for the interests of her transatlantic friend by extorting from Great Britain—intent above all things on securing the liberties of Europe—the price of the slaves whom the English had made prisoners both in the North and the South. At that time the North had slaves of its own—an expensive bargain in a cold climate—of which they were determined to be rid by selling them into the South. They had calculated their value, and were more clamorous than the planters themselves for the restitution of their lost slaves or their price. England was, perhaps, more loath to seem thus to sanction the institution by paying a price than to sacrifice the money, so at least said her statesmen; but she was forced to yield to the urgent representations of Russia, which was drawing large subsidies on her own account at the same time.

"Again, we find Russia the very good friend of the United States, when they extorted from Louis Philippe, by threat of war, a payment of 23,000,000 francs. Russia, on this occasion, by weighing on the would-be founder of a left-handed dynasty, obtained the payment which the threat that accompanied the claim should have rendered impossible in France, and in return for the darling dollars she had helped to extort, American sympathy was undisguisedly with Russia in the Crimean war, and gave her all the aid she could—with profit to herself.

"If we bring all these facts together, add to them Mr. Seward's 'sentiment,' telegraphed to the Russian banquet at New York in honour of Prince Gortschakoff; the hot haste with which the prince refused the French proposal of mediation; and, again, the moral tendencies and the past history of the two countries, we shall come to understand that the Russo-American alliance, officious and private at the New York *fête*, will become official and formal at no distant day."

From the summary I give, it may be seen that the pamphlet is well worth reading.

The telegrams continue to bring hourly more alarming reports of the dangerous state of things in Germany. For fifteen years great Deutschland has brooded over the wrongs inflicted upon it in the matter of the Duchies, and now at the most dangerous moment in modern history it rises from its beer-cans and rushes frantic towards the Elber. The Bourse, however, of this evening, so long stagnant at 66.50, or thereabouts, has only fallen 5 centimes, notwithstanding the telegram from the *Europe*, of Frankfurt,—"There can be no longer any illusion; war is inevitable, imminent!" We take comfort here in the still lingering echoes of M. Thiers' speech; we persuade ourselves that it has been taken to heart in high places, and we fancy we can see a bright cloud in the stormy horizon, no less than a counterpart of the celebrated New Year's speech of 1859. Not this time the thunderclap, but the gentle dew of heaven which blesteth, &c. There are persistent rumours renewed, even at this last minute, of the reduction by 100,000 men of the force now under arms. This would be answered by a rise of 3 or 4 per cent. in the funds, and by a general broadening of the financial features which have for so long looked so drearily long. But we must not be too eager to accept such good auguries. Besides the hand-breadth of storm looking black in the North, there is a fleecy little cloud in the South-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, going up from the famous *rigoles* of the Suez canal—all the water that can be poured into it with the aid of 20,000 Egyptian fellahs may be wanted to effuse the dry phrases in which it pleased Her Majesty's Ministers to express her answer to the Emperor's invitation. The Sultan's answer is published in to-day's *Moniteur*, but shorn of its fairest part, the page of titles—which would have given at least some amusement to *Figaro* and the *Charivari*.

## AFFAIRS FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, DEC. 30.

### THE MONEY AND DISCOUNT MARKETS.

In all monetary and commercial circles, business during the week has been greatly circumscribed, but nothing of an adverse nature having occurred to create alarm, a generally good feeling has prevailed. The money market has become much easier, and in consequence the directors of the Bank of England felt themselves justified at their weekly meeting on Thursday last in reducing the *minimum* rate of discount from 8 to 7 per cent., a course which at this season must prove of the greatest advantage to the commercial community. Money continues tolerably abundant in all quarters, but within the last day or two the applications for discount, to meet the engagements maturing at the end of the year, have considerably increased both at the Bank and in the open market. The brokers, however, have not advanced their terms. The lowest rate for first-class paper is 6½ per cent., but exceptional transactions are recorded at a fraction lower. The joint-stock banks are working their resources at full rates. On the Stock Exchange money was in rather large demand this morning, and the terms for advances on Government Securities were 6 to 6½ per cent., but subsequently there was more ease, and money was lent at 5½ to 6 per cent.

### BULLION AND SPECIE MOVEMENTS.

The transactions in bullion and specie have been on a contracted scale, but on the whole the results must be regarded as favourable. Although the amount sent into the Bank is comparatively small, £151,000, on the other hand, it is satisfactory to know that there have been no withdrawals for transmission abroad. The arrivals of specie have been £40,000, but of this large amount £260,000 is from the West Indies, and the remainder from New York. The Bombay steamer, which left on the 27th, took out £36,650, of which

£317,350 was in silver for Bombay, and the remainder, gold, for Bombay and Alexandria. There has been an active demand for bar silver, but owing to the small supply in hand, the price has improved to 5s. 1½d. per ounce. The Mexican dollars brought by the last West India mail, have just been sold at 5s. 1d. per ounce, being the same as before. The *Prince of Wales* and the *Transatlantic*, from Australia, are still out at sea, one with £142,000 in gold, and the other with 15,000 sovereigns.

### HOME AND FOREIGN SECURITIES.

The Christmas holidays have to a certain extent put a stop to business during the greater part of the week, and anything like activity cannot be looked for till after the commencement of the new year. Still, for the two or three days that business may be said to have been in progress, a fair amount of dealings have been recorded in the English Stock Market. There has, however, been very little variation in prices, but quotations have nevertheless been well supported. Consols closed this evening the same as on this day week, viz.—91½ to 92 ex. div. for money, and 91½ to 92 ex. div. for the account. Exchequer bills are also without change, being still at 9s. to 4s. dis. A more active business has been transacted in foreign stocks, particularly in those of a more speculative description. At one period Greek declined 1½ per cent. on sundry adverse rumours; but there has since been some recovery. Mexican remains steady; Spanish Passives have improved ½, and the Certificates ¾ per cent. There has been but little alteration in Turkish. The closing quotations this evening were—Greek, 24½ to 25; Mexican, 37½ to 37½; Spanish Passives, 33½ to 33½; and the Certificates 13½ to 14½; Turkish (1854) 89½ to 90½; Ditto (1862) 70½ to 70½.

### AMERICAN SECURITIES.

Considering the unsettled state of business during the week the dealings in American Government and Railway Securities have been pretty numerous, but prices have not been well supported, and the market closed this evening with weakness, and with very little inclination on the part of the dealers to operate. The dealings have comprised, Virginia State Six per Cents. at 33; Atlantic and Great Western, New York Section, 81½; ditto ditto, Pennsylvania Section, 80½, 79½, 80½, and 79½; Erie \$100, all paid, 65½, 66, 67, and 66½; Illinois Central Seven per Cents. 74½ and 74; ditto ditto \$100, \$90 paid, 24½, 23½, 24½, and 24 discount; Marietta and Cincinnati Railway Bonds, 73 and 72; and New York Central Seven per Cent. Convertible Bonds, 80½.

### RAILWAY SECURITIES.

Although the transactions in the British railway share market have been less numerous than usual, still a fair business has been done, at, in almost all instances, improved quotations. To-day, however, there has been less animation, and, in some instances, prices have fractionally receded. As compared with last week, the following changes have taken place:—In Caledonian a rise of 1½ per cent.; Great Northern have advanced 1½ per cent.; Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, and North British, each 1 per cent.; Midland, North Eastern (York), and North London ¾ per cent.; Great Eastern, Great Western, Lancashire and Yorkshire, Brighton, Chatham, and Dover, London and North-Western, Metropolitan, North-Eastern (Berwick), and do. do. (Leeds), each ½ per cent. The only decline has been in North Staffordshire, which are down 1 per cent. There is scarcely any alteration to notice in foreign railway shares; business has been generally restricted and prices steady. There has also been but little doing in the shares of those undertakings connected with the British possessions, but quotations are uniformly supported.

### THE CONFEDERATE COTTON LOAN.

The market continues inactive; the quotations are unchanged, 37 to 39.

### PROGRESS OF ENTERPRISE.

The Mauritius Land, Credit, and Agency Company, (Limited), has just been brought out, the capital required being £250,000, in 12,500 shares of £20 each, of which 1,500 shares are reserved for Mauritius. It is not intended, however, to call up more than £4 per share. This company has been organised and introduced by the International Financial Society, and is another of those useful undertakings which are seeking to utilise capital in our various colonies. It is stated that the legal rate of interest on mortgages in Mauritius being 9 per cent., the company will be able to preserve such a margin as will enable them to realise a considerable profit on the small amount of paid up capital required to conduct the business. The Credit Foncier system of a sinking fund is to be adopted, and the Company's investments, besides being limited to first mortgages, are to be strictly limited in amount. The prospectus has also been issued of the Western Fire Insurance Company, with a proposed capital of £1,000,000 in 100,000 shares of £10 each, of which the first issue is to consist of 25,000 shares. A deposit of 10s. is to be paid on application, and 10s. more on allotment, beyond which the prospectus states no further call is anticipated. The Company has been established to work in conjunction with the Western Life Insurance Company, established in 1842. Thus associated, it will commence its operations with many substantial advantages over similar new undertakings; the valuable and widely diffused connections already established, whose influence and support have been secured; a large number of agencies completely organised and in full working order, with fully appointed chief offices in London and Manchester, and branch offices at Birmingham, Liverpool, Plymouth, Shrewsbury, Bradford, and other important places. From these advantages the formation of this company will be attended with but small expense, and a large amount of business will be immediately obtained. The prospectus of the English and Foreign Library Company has, likewise, been issued, the object being to purchase the stock and good-will of Hookham's Library, in Old Bond-street, which, founded in 1764, is the oldest establishment of the kind in the metropolis. The capital is to be £100,000 in 10,000 shares of £10 each, with a deposit of £1 on application and payment of £1 10s. on allotment.

### MEETINGS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES.

At the annual meeting of the Oriental Inland Steam Navigation Company held to-day, the report of the directors was adopted. It appears that great losses have followed the company's operations on the Ganges, but the twelve months' operations on the Indus had been attended with satisfactory results. It is intended to transfer a portion of the company's fleet to the Indus, from which favourable results are anticipated.—At the half-yearly meeting of the Canal Company, also held to-day, a dividend of £1 per share was declared.

### THE COURSE OF THE PRODUCE MARKETS.

In most departments, business, since our last, has been checked by the usual holidays, and the markets for American

produce have not formed an exception to the general rule. But a firm and healthy tone is perceptible, notwithstanding the prevailing quiet, and a steady legitimate demand for all the leading descriptions of produce is expected on the resumption of business in the new year. As an exception to the general inactivity at the moment, cotton has sold freely and has advanced ¼d. to ½d. lb. The grain markets are firm, with small supplies of both home and foreign produce. In American provisions the dealings have been confined to some trifling sales of New York singed bacon sides at 38s. to 40s. Large arrivals of American beef have caused buyers to look for earlier rates, and transactions consequently remain in abeyance. Holders of fine qualities are however firm. Petroleum maintains the recent advance, 2s. to 2s. 1d. per gallon being the present quotation. Lined oil has not further given way, but the market is still dull. Rape oil is a shade firmer. In fish oils there is too little doing to establish quotations. Turpentine has advanced to 72s. per cwt. for French; for American quotations are nominally unaltered. Tallow is again dearer owing to the threatening aspect of political affairs in the North of Europe. For fute the demand is dull, but the tendency rather firm than otherwise. In sugar nothing worth naming has taken place. Drugs and drysaltary articles have participated in the general dullness, but in the few transactions that have occurred steady rates have been paid. The metal trade has been very active all the week. For Scotch pig-iron extensive contracts have been made, and prices have further advanced 3s. per ton, bringing the present quotation up to £3 9s. 6d. cash. In spelter, also, a considerable business has taken place, the closing prices being £20 to £20 5s. on the spot, or 20s. per ton advance of the rates of this day week.

## COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Dec. 30.

The intervention of the Christmas holidays has, to a certain extent, interfered with the progress of business, but nevertheless a fair number of dealings have taken place; prices have advanced, and still exhibit an upward tendency. The sales this week have amounted to 31,000 bales, of which 15,000 were taken on speculation and for export. The total sales this year have been 2,575,420 bales, and to the same period last year 2,702,070 bales. There have been imported this year 1,627,648 bales, and to the like period in 1862, 1,557,733 bales. There have been exported this year 467,135 bales, to the same period last year 416,986 bales. Taken for consumption this year 1,299,600 bales; to the like period last year 1,161,400 bales. Taken on speculation this year 750,710 bales, same in 1862, 1,087,390 bales. Computed stocks at the present time 250,270 bales, same period last year 216,320 bales. For American descriptions, slightly higher prices have in some instances been obtained. In Sea Islands there has been but little doing at smaller rates. Egyptians have been in fair demand, at a slight advance in quotations. In Brazil the dealings have only been moderate, but previous rates have prevailed. Surats have been well supported, but the supply is somewhat limited. The latest quotations this afternoon were: American 26d. to 29d. Egyptian 26½d. to 34d. Pernambuco 22½d. to 23d. Bahia and Macao 25½d. to 27½d. Maranhao 27½d. to 28½d. Japan 21½d. and Surats 15½d. to 25½d.

MANCHESTER, December 29.

We have very little to say of our last week's business, a only a few trifling transactions have been entered into, and many millowners have taken advantage of the holiday time to close their works for a few days.

Telegrams from India to hand on Monday, although of an unfavourable character, were not quite so bad as had been reported in the earlier part of the day; this, combined with more favourable advices from China, and a disposition shown by the Liverpool market to advance again, produced a rather better feeling on the part of holders, who held out firmly for the prices of the week previous.

To-day (Tuesday) a better tone has been manifested by spinners and manufacturers generally, who have advanced their pretensions. Home trade yarns may be said to be about ¼d. per lb. dearer than last week. Although some few dealers would not sell under an advance of ¼d. per lb.

In cloth very little has been done and quotations are only nominal.

General Polk assumed command at Enterprise, Mississippi, on 20th November. In an order of the day he says:—"In conformity with orders from the President of the Confederate States, I assume command of the prisoners captured and paroled at Port Hudson and Vicksburg. The place of rendezvous for both garrisons is fixed at Enterprise. Of these prisoners some have been organised, exchanged and returned to the field. The rest should be prepared to follow their comrades at the earliest moment. The emergencies of the service, as well as the brilliant pages they have already contributed to the history of the war, demand this. To accomplish it, they must be in hand, well disciplined, and ready to resume their arms so soon as exchanged."

We are informed, upon undoubted authority, that the Messrs. Laird have received several *bona fide* offers for their celebrated iron-clad rams from friendly Powers who are at peace with themselves and all the rest of the world. Messrs. Laird have positively declared that the vessels are not for sale; and it would thus seem that they have no desire to shirk the responsibility of proving that they took the order for the construction of the ships in the first instance from parties whose connection with either one or the other of the American belligerents it will be difficult, if not impossible, to show. The last offer for the purchase of the "rams" was refused only in the early part of this week.—*The Army and Navy Gazette*.

Among the Contents of THE INDEX of Dec. 24, are—

- NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK AT HOME AND ABROAD.
- THE EMBARGO ON COTTON.
- PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.
- THE TENDER MERCHES OF THE YANKEE.
- PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.
- THE "ANGEL'S FIGHT" AND DISMAY.
- A NEW WORK ON THE CONFEDERATE STATES.
- THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN ITALY.
- THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.
- AFFAIRS, FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.



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# GENERAL THOMAS J. STONEWALL JACKSON.

Two Continents, both friend and foe, combine to mourn the premature death of General JACKSON, hero and Christian. Two years have been sufficient to create a fame which has won the kindly respect of enemies and the admiration of the Old World, which twenty-four months since was ignorant of his existence

It has been suggested that some general recognition from Great Britain of the worth of such a man, by name, by race, and by character related to us, although the citizen of another land, would be a graceful token of friendly feeling from the old country to our kinsmen across the Atlantic.

The eminent sculptor, J. H. FOLLY, Esq., R.A., has undertaken to execute a Marble Statue, heroic size, of the General, for £1,000, while £500 may be required for pedestal, inscription, and other extras. Accordingly, for £1,500 a complete Statue of "STONEWALL" JACKSON, by one of our most distinguished sculptors, may be prepared for transmission to his native country when the unhappy war shall have ceased. Towards raising this sum, the Subscriptions of our countrymen and countrywomen are earnestly solicited. Central and Local Committees, with auxiliary Ladies' Committees, are being formed to collect the necessary funds.

The undersigned will gladly receive Subscriptions until the final arrangements are made, and an account has been opened for "General JACKSON'S Statue," at Messrs. COUTTS and Co.'s, Strand, London, W.C.

N.B.—It is not at all intended that Subscriptions to the Statue should imply any opinion on the merits of the American struggle. They will be taken solely and simply as a recognition of the rare personal merit of General Jackson.

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**THE HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW.** No. VII. (January 1864.)

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1. MR. GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL STATEMENTS.
  2. MILITARY COURTS-MARTIAL.
  3. THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.
  4. PARIS, MUNICIPAL AND ECONOMICAL.
  5. OLD SPANISH BALLADS.
  6. CLASSICAL MYTHS IN RELATION TO THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.
  7. CELTIC ETHNOLOGY.
  8. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES.
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  10. THE MUNICH CONGRESS.
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1861 .. 785 ..	527,626 ..	16,553 2 9
1862 .. 1,037 ..	768,324 ..	23,641 0 0

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18 ditto .. 3 3 8 1/2	6 ditto .. 1 1 2 1/2
17 ditto .. 3 0 2	5 ditto .. 0 17 8
16 ditto .. 2 13 7 1/2	4 ditto .. 0 14 2
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